



DISSERTATION

The Contentious Pull of the Malay Logosphere: Jawization and Factionalism among Cambodian Muslims (late 19th to early 21st centuries)

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Figure 1. Provincial map of Cambodia. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

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List of abbreviations

AA *Acta Asiatica*

AAF *Asian Affairs*

AE *Asian Ethnicity*

AGC *Ahmadiyya Gazette Canada*

AJISS *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*

AM *Asia Maior*

ANAS *Advances in Natural and Applied Sciences*

ANC *Archive Nationale du Cambodge*

ANC-RSC *Archives Nationales du Cambodge – Résident Supérieur de Cambodge*

BAEFEK *Bulletin de la Association d'Echanges et de Formation pour les Etudes Khmères*

BCAI *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*

BCAS *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*

BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*

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

BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

CIC *Cambodian Islamic Center*

CMDF *Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation*

CO *Les Cahiers de l'Orient*

COA *Cahiers d'Onomastique Arabe*

CPP *Cambodian People's Party*

CRC *Chroniques royales du Cambodge (Mak Phoeun)*

CSSAAME *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*

CTM *Cambodia Tribunal Monitor*

DC-CAM *Documentation Center of Cambodia*

DI *Der Islam*

DK *Democratic Kampuchea* (“Khmers Rouges Regime”, 1975-1979)

EI² *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*

E&R *Excursions et Reconnaissances*

FEER *Far Eastern Economic Revue*

FLC *Front for the Liberation of Champa*

FLHPC *Front for the Liberation of the High Plateaus of Champa*

FLKK *Front for the Liberation of Lower Cambodia*

FULRO *Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées*

FUNSK *United Kampuchean Front for National Salvation*

GAL *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Brockelmann)

GDTC *Gia-dinh-Thung-Chi* (Aubaret)

HOR *History of Religions*

HS *Hikayat Siak*

IC *Indonesia Circle*

I&C *Iran and the Caucasus*

IH *Islamic Herald*

IHOR *Islamic Horizons*

IJHSS *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*

IL&S *Islamic Law and Society*

I&MW *Indonesia and the Malay World*

ISIMR *ISIM Review*

IUM *Islamic University of Medina*

JA *Journal Asiatique*

JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*

JHS *Journal of the History of Sufism*

JIA&EA *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*

JIMMA *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*

JIS *Journal of Islamic Studies*

JMBRAS *Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JP *Jaspan Papers*, Hull History Centre

JPRS-TSEA *Joint Publications Research Service – Translations on South and East Asia*

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

JSAS *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies*

JSEAH *Journal of Southeast Asian History*

JSEAS *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*

JSS *Journal of the Siam Society*

JSSH *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* (Pondicherry)

KIS *Kan Imam San* (Islamic Community of Imam San Cambodia)

KUN *Koleksi Ulama Nusantara* (Shaghir Abdullah)

LDD *Language Documentation and Description*

LPD *Lajnah Penerangan dan Dakwah* (DPP Kawasan Dungun, Terengganu, Malaysia)

MAS *Modern Asian Studies*

MRDTB *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*

MUI *Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu* (Kelantan)

NA *National Archives* (Washington, D.C.)

OISO *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*

PGMK *Persatuan Guru Muslim Kemboja* (blog)

PPP *Phnom Penh Post*

PRK *People’s Republic of Kampuchea*

REI *Revue des études islamiques*

RIHS *Revival of Islamic Heritage Society* (*Jam‘iyyat Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-Islāmiyya*)

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

RMM *Revue du Monde Musulman*

SE *Sud-Est (Paris)*

SEAA *Southeast Asian Affairs*

SEAR *South East Asia Research*

SEAS *Southeast Asian Studies (Kyoto)*

SFT *Searching for the Truth*

SI *Studia Islamica*

SIk *Studia Islamika*

SK *Seksa Khmer*

SMB *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*

SRS *Social Reform Society (Jam'iyat al-Iṣlāḥ al-Ijtimā'ī)*

TBG *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*

TJ *Tablīghī Jamā'at*

TM *Tamadun Melayu*

TN *Tuḥfat al-Nafīs*

TUSM *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu (Ismail Che Daud)*

UM *Utusan Malaysia*

UO *Utusan Online*

UNB *Ulama Nusantara Blogspot (Shaghir Abdullah)*

UBP *Ulama Besar dari Patani (Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani)*

VC *Vietnam Courier*

VR *Vietnam Review*

WI *Welt des Islams*

WK *Warisan Kelantan*

Note on spelling and transcription

Arabic names and terms are given in common English academic transcription throughout this study, whereas Malay ones are – no matter if encountered in the context of classical Malay (i.e. written in Arabic script) or modern Malay/Indonesian – are reproduced according to modern Malay spelling. As far as the Arabic-derived names of Southeast Asian Muslim scholars and others are concerned, these are commonly given in modern locally common spellings. The important exception to this rule is represented by Malay and Cambodian scholars known as authors of *jawi* works, whose names are reproduced – in harmony with the commonly Arabic titles of their writings – in Arabic transcription. For reasons of convenience, a limited number of authors referred to extremely often, are (apart from their first mention) rather invoked by the short Malay forms of their names (e.g. Ahmad Patani instead of Aḥmad al-Faṭānī or Mat Sales Haroun instead of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Hārūn). Terms of the Cham language are given in accordance with the transcription used by Gérard Moussay’s *Grammaire de la langue cam* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2006), or – if clearly derived from Arabic script-based contexts – following that of the *Qāmūs Melāyū-Čam* of Muḥammad Zayn Mūsā, Yūsūf Muḥammad, Aḥmad Ḥafīz ‘Uthmān & ‘Ārifīn Mūsā (Bangi: Penerbit UKM, 2012). Khmer (place) names and terms are – in the absence of convenient standardized non-academic forms of transcription engendered by the often wide disparity between Khmer spelling and pronunciation – given according to their perceived most widespread form in English language publications. Despite the fact, that this complicates reference to the included provincial map (which employs academic transcription), the names of Cambodian provinces should be readily recognizable to readers unfamiliar with Khmer language, except in the cases of Pursat and Kratie (Pouthisat and Kracheh on our map).

Introduction: Religious and social change, and intra-Muslim factionalism

*“Mā khashīta an taṭīra?” (“Aren’t you afraid you’ll fly away?”). Polemical question posed by Abū Ḥanīfa to Ibn al-Mubārak during prayer, as related by Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (d. 870) in his *Kitāb Raḥ al-Yadayn fī l-Ṣalāt* (The Book on Raising the Hands in Prayer).*

*“Law qāla al-naṣrānī ‘anā muslim’ lā yakūnu musliman, wa law qāla li-muslimi ‘anā muslim mithluka’ yakūnu musliman, ka-dhā law qāla ‘man musalmānam’ (“If a Christian says ‘I am a Muslim’, he does not become a Muslim, but if he says to a Muslim ‘I am a Muslim like you’, he becomes a Muslim, just as if he says ‘I am a Muslim’ [in Persian]”). Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ūshī (d. 1173), *al-Fatāwā al-Sirājīyya* (The Sirājīan Fatwas).*

The two opening quotations to this study have been selected due to the fact that they are capturing the two focal points of the present enquiry in a convenient manner. Moreover, they are stemming from completely different times and regions of the Muslim World than are under study here, thereby supporting the present author’s contention that its findings, ways of analysis and methodological approaches are relevant also for other time periods in the history of Islam as well as for different geographical settings of the Muslim World. The two foci of this study thus hinted at are intra-Muslim factionalism and the potentially unifying and homogenizing but also hegemonic and therefore divisive qualities of so-called “Islamic” languages other than Arabic. Thus, the first quotation relates to one of the proverbial instances of intra-Sunni factionalism, namely Ḥanafi-Shāfi‘i conflict. It shows the eminent hadith scholar al-Bukhārī, undoubtedly one of the main stalwarts of a seemingly alltime united Sunni community, as taking a wholly partisan stance in intra-Sunni strife for his Shāfi‘i faction (then still far from fully developed as a major Sunni school of law) by defending its emblematic practice of raising the hands at specific instances during

canonical prayer¹. Despite the apparent centrality of ritual performance, and therefore of ostensibly strictly religious considerations, Bulliet has convincingly argued that Ḥanafī-Shāfi'i factionalism in 10th-12th century Iran, one of the main and most violent arenas of the conflict, rather represented the clash of different social groupings within the local Muslim community, and that therefore much more was at stake than discussions about correct ritual practice. Contrarily, the contending groups more generally appeared to subscribe to diverging rival world-views and even aesthetic tastes². Even apart from the presently again particularly rampant Sunni-Shiite “sectarianism”, instances of such intra-religious strife and factionalism are pervasive throughout Muslim history (just as they are in other religious traditions for that matter). It should therefore also not come as a surprise that such likewise occurred and are still unfolding among Cambodian Muslims of the 20th and 21st centuries. Similarly, also here the deeper roots of factionalism are more often than not covered by highly emblematic discussions around specific aspects of religious practice.

In this respect, the second introductory quotation relates to a specific recurring - though mostly overlooked - factor in the emergence of intra-Muslim factionalism, namely the spread of particular hegemonic homogenizing Islamic discursive traditions and Muslim cultural formations by way of languages endowed with written religious and/or bureaucratic authority. Whereas such a role within the Muslim World has commonly only been ascribed to Arabic, Persian has clearly also played such a role in Iran and Central Asia and later also throughout the Ottoman, Safawid and Mughal empires. Thus, the fatwa of al-Ūshī, a legist from Transoxania, where major Islamic scholars were already exhibiting a pronounced elevation of Persian as language of religious discourse virtually on par with Arabic by the 10th century³, clearly testifies to the fact that proficiency in Persian was in his mind (and surely more generally in his surroundings) considered as in certain respects more important for locally passing as a “true” Muslim than Arabic. Along the same lines, proficiency in Urdu, Malay or Swahili - and not in individual mother-tongues - would concomitantly become the touchstone for religious education and trans-regional identities among most Muslim peoples in South and Southeast Asia and East Africa several centuries later. Such hegemonic discourses could, despite their unifying role on one hand, naturally only expand at the expense of other more localized Muslim cultures and Islamic traditions

¹ Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 73f.

² Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1994), p. 110-113.

³ Ashirbek Muminov, “*Diḥqāns and Sacred Families in Central Asia*” in Morimoto Kazuo (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies. The Living Links to the Prophet* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 204f.

on the other, which frequently led to some measure of open or concealed resistance. The either direct or indirect result of such encounters was therefore often the emergence of factionalism.

It is thus the establishment of a trans-Southeast Asian Islamic scholarly culture - predicated on the spread of Malay language and its adaptation of the Arabic script known as *jawi* - and its expansion into Cambodia, as well as the changes in religious outlook and the factionalism it has engendered among the country's Muslims, that will represent the prime field of enquiry for this study. Indeed, the presently most intriguing feature of the Cambodia's Muslims, which were estimated at making up 340.450 people (or roughly 2.5 per cent of the general population) living in over 450 villages in 2010⁴, is their split into two distinct officially recognized Islamic communities. This bifurcation is all the more striking, as it does neither fall into the category of Sunni-Shiite differences nor fully accords to the ethnic make-up of the community, which consists of a 80 per cent majority of ethnic Chams, speakers of the Cham language of the Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) family and descendants of migrants from the territories of former Cham kingdoms in present-day coastal Central and Southern Vietnam, and 20 per cent so-called Chvea, who speak the national Khmer language and claim descent from unions between Malay settlers and local women⁵. Regarding the Cham people it must be noted that most Chams are nowadays living outside former Cham domains in Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand and Laos. Whereas the entirety of this Cham diaspora is Muslim, Islam is professed by approximately only one third of those still inhabiting the territories of the former Cham realm of Panduranga, now located in the Vietnamese provinces of Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan. This unfinished process of Islamization has been commonly attributed to isolation from the Malay and Muslim Worlds since the occupation of Panduranga by the Vietnamese in the late 17th century. Whereas the Brahmanist and Muslim Chams of former Panduranga, known as *Cham Jat* (or *Ahier* or *Balamon*) and *Cham Bani* (or *Awal*) respectively, are thus separated along religious lines, those of Cambodia are contrarily characterized by a remarkable intra-religious split.

It will be argued that this split and the institutionalization of two separate Islamic communities in Cambodia, one headed by the Mufti of Cambodia and the other by the *on g'nur* ("venerable master") as leader of the so-called *Kan Imam San* (Community of Imam San), was the direct long-term result of a local process which is, due to its intimate

⁴ Kok-Thay Eng, *From the Khmer Rouge to Hambali: Cham Identities in a Global Age* (Newark, PhD. Dissertation Rutgers Univ., 2013), p. 34f.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 36f.

connection to the spread of Malay language and the *jawi* script, best described as *Jawization*, and has unfolded mainly between the mid-19th century and the early 1970s. Accordingly, this study seeks to successively elucidate the local and wider conditions for the process of *Jawization* (chapters two to four), its local manifestations in terms of religious change and resulting factionalism (chapter five), its vehicles, agents and networks underlying it (chapter six), the role played by French colonial policies in propelling it (chapter seven), and, finally, its complex legacy in the age of globalization (chapter eight). It is the story of a non-Malay-speaking Muslim community coming to fully immerse itself in an evolving trans-Southeast Asian Muslim scholarly and social world most decisively unified by the use of Malay language and *jawi* script, as well as of the changes and local reactions this has precipitated. Far from representing a unique case, it will be argued that the experiences of Cambodian Muslims in the period were very much in tune with wider developments in the region and even the Muslim World at large. It is only due to the fact that particularly the Chams of Cambodia were also heirs to an elaborate and extensive Islamic literary tradition recorded in their own language and non-Arabic-based script, which became largely subject to obliteration through *Jawization*, that their history, besides for example the Javanese case, provides us with one of the most visible instances of the workings and consequences of such regional processes of homogenization in Islamic scholarship and religious and social practice. As such, it is likewise highly reflective of the intra-community tension (and ultimately often also factionalism), which invariably accompanies comparably sudden religious and social changes and local resistance to them among certain parts of the community.

In recent years observers of Islam in Cambodia have frequently shown themselves alarmed by the rise of an intra-Muslim factionalism in the country, which they have reflexively attributed to the recent import of alien Islamic traditions from different parts of the Muslim World, most notably the Persian Gulf. Whereas rapid changes have indeed taken place among Cambodia's Muslims since the country was re-opened up to the outside world in 1992 following two decades of international isolation, the long-term perspective of this study will go some way to show that instances of factionalism have been an inextricable part of the history of Islam in the Khmer kingdom for at least a century, and are therefore not strictly phenomena of the era of globalization. Likewise, the development of Islam in Cambodia has frequently been depicted - in one-sided terms - as a narrative of cultural loss. On the contrary, it will be shown that *Jawization* in Cambodia and Southeast Asia is also a tale of cultural formation and transformation not to be necessarily or solely viewed in

terms of loss, and that particularly the remarkable constitution of Cambodia's *Kan Imam San* represents a rare case of cultural assertiveness and resilience against all odds.

I. Foregrounding the Jawization of Islam in Cambodia

“Les Chams mahométans, ceux du moins du Cambodge, n’ont pas d’ouvrages de religion écrits dans leur langue; ils se servent de ceux des Malais, qui sont écrits en arabe”. Jean Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge* (1883).

“Hal keadaannya aku meterjemah dengan bahasa jawi supaya dapat paham oleh orang yang tiada mengetahui akan kalam arab” (“I have translated these matters into jawi language, so that those people who do not know the Arabic language can understand”). Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyya* (1301/1883).

1. Approaches informing the concept of Jawization

Before discussing the concept of Jawization, around which this study revolves, it is necessary to engage with a number of key approaches informing this conceptual tool. Most of these have been designed by scholars of Islamic Studies or the anthropology of Muslim societies as mechanisms to grapple with the inherent present as well as historical diversity within Islam and the Muslim World. As the whole notion of Jawization is closely tied to issues of language and script use, the first key concept influencing its application by the present author is that of the logosphere, or, more precisely, of different Islamic logospheres. According to Roland Barthes (d. 1980), “everything we read and understand, covers us like a mantle, surrounds and envelopes us like an environment: this is the logosphere. [It] is given to us by our epoch, our class, our craft: it is a ‘condition’ of our subject”⁶. In the field of Islamic Studies, the concept of the logosphere was first put forward, without acknowledgment of Barthes’ prior formulation of the notion, by the renowned historian and philosopher Mohammed Arkoun (d. 2010). Defining it as “the linguistic mental space shared by all those who use the same language [...] to articulate their thoughts, their representations, their collective memory, and their knowledge according to the fundamental differences and values claimed as a unifying *weltanschauung*”, he specifically addresses two contrary examples of the workings of logospheres.

Firstly, he suggests, that the use of Arabic to impart Islamic values to various non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities of the world, accounts for the fact, that Muslim peoples at

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes: 2. 1966-1973* (Paris: Éds. du Seuil, 1994), p. 261.

large are sharing the same religiously “unthinkable”⁷. On the contrary, he further postulates that, apart from hegemonic logospheres such as the Arabic Muslim, Greek and Latin Christian in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, or English today, there also remain smaller subaltern logospheres in the shadow of major expanding languages and associated civilizations⁸. As the dialectic between a never fully achieved (sacralized) “Tradition with a capital ‘T’” and local traditions unfolds everywhere and at all times, “there are as many ‘Islams’ with their specific traditions as there are ethno-socio-cultural and *linguistic* environments sharing a long historical collective memory”⁹. Accordingly, an adequate study of Islam and of its expression in various Muslim societies would require a historical sociology of belief for each group employing a distinct language preserving a distinct memory of particular ways of adherence to the Islamic orthodox corpus¹⁰.

Even though an enhanced place of Arabic or of any given Islamic supra-language (i.e. a language used as religious, and often also commercial, *lingua franca* by a variety of Muslim communities with different mother tongues in one specific region) cannot outdo the relevance of first languages as constituents of “a unifying *weltanschauung*”, such influences cannot be discounted either and are of course also translated into loanword and concept acquisition. The uniformizing aspect alluded to in Arkoun’s first suggestion does clearly apply to Islamic supra-languages other than Arabic as well. As Bourdieu has aptly observed, there is nothing natural in language choice¹¹. Thus, even changes in supra-language or the unprecedented full-scale adoption of one, especially when coupled with script change (or the adoption of a new script), can have strong effects. The issue of script itself is notably absent from Arkoun’s expositions. Yet, he regards the diversity of Islamic discourses as “more-or-less influenced by the scriptural tradition developed under the impact of four ideological forces: a central state, writing, learned written culture and thought – orthodoxy”¹². The potential role of scripts in such a scheme is more than obvious, with script change, besides practical considerations, often being an almost proverbially ideological choice. Concerning the language-script nexus Stephan Guth has thus recently noted the following: “No matter if diglossia, monolingualism, bilingualism or multilingualism, one thing is clear in all cases: identities are hinging on languages (and in

⁷ Mohammed Arkoun, *Islam: To Reform or to Subvert?* (London: Saqi Essentials, 2006), p. 19f. (quotation from p. 19).

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 266. Emphasis mine.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133f.

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 45f.

¹² Arkoun, *Islam*, p. 266.

the same manner also on scripts); the language one speaks, commonly constitutes – consciously or unconsciously – a major part of one’s conception of the self, [and] is always a central element in the bundle of features, by which one defines, *who or what one is (or wants to be)*¹³. It is precisely the existence different stances on this latter point within a given Muslim community that can lead to internal factionalism.

Whereas this study will make ample use of Arkoun’s concept of the logosphere and the distinctive forms of Islam different logospheres can produce, it is nevertheless necessary to introduce some qualifications and refinements to his scheme. Firstly, his notion of “many ‘Islams’” and local traditions (as opposed to “Tradition with a capital ‘T’”) is evidently not very convenient to use in scholarly writing. Therefore, I have decided to link the point he makes to Talal Asad’s view that Islam should be treated as a discursive tradition, in which the relationship of believers with the foundational texts is interpretive and not determinative, rather than as an acting agent in a system of religion and culture envisaged as by necessity constituting a priori systems of meaning¹⁴. Even though logospheres are not the issue in Asad’s treatment, an Islam regarded as a (multilingual) discursive tradition clearly has to be made up of sub-discourses pertaining to different logospheres and their interpreting communities, an assumption which resonates well with what has been said above concerning different linguistic and social environments preserving a distinct memory of engagement with concepts, texts, modes of interpretation and practices pertaining to, or at least associated by its adherents with, Islam. Accordingly, this study will commonly approach Muslim religious diversity through the lense of different Islamic discursive traditions rather than by speaking of different Islams. Those more familiar with Asad’s concept will certainly notice that my combination of his approach with Arkoun’s is arguably resting on a selective or, some may claim, even distorting reading of Asad¹⁵. Yet, just as Leif Manger, I find his approach - and especially also his terminology - particularly compelling for the analysis of Muslim diversity¹⁶, as it avoids sweeping judgements of what is Islamic and what is not or who a true Muslim is and who is not.

¹³ Stephan Guth, *Die Hauptsprachen der Islamischen Welt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), p. 10. Emphasis mine.

¹⁴ Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies – Georgetown University, 1996).

¹⁵ Ovamir Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and his Interlocutors”, *CSSAAME*, XXVII (2007), p. 656-672. Cf. the author’s comment that “Richard Eaton’s reference to Asad [in his *India’s Islamic Traditions, 711-1750* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003)] in explaining divergent and syncretic practices in India is one example where a partial and potentially mistaken use of Asad’s ideas has been made in order to essentially support a relativistic kind of claim”. *ibid.*, p. 669.

¹⁶ Leif Manger, “Muslim Diversity: Local Islam in Global Contexts” in *id.* (ed.), *Muslim Diversity: Local Islam in Global Contexts* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), p. 9f.

Secondly, Arkoun's statement about the uniformizing aspect of the Islam-wide reliance on a shared Arabic lexicon "to impart Islamic values" needs to be qualified in two respects. Going beyond the narrow confines of "values" (arguably a quite nebulous formulation), there is, of course, a wide lexicon of Arabic-derived concepts, genres, names for sciences (not necessarily Islamic) and religious specialists (both formal and informal, from legal scholars to Sufi saints) and their different forms of religious knowledge, commonly shared and even broadly identical in many Muslim languages and their logospheres. Focusing on what he calls the "Sufi idiom" (and the Islamic supra-language of Persian), Nile Green has in this regard drawn attention to the ways in which this common lexicon is not only giving a degree of unity to a Muslim World of linguistic and cultural diversity, but has also been employed in a subversive manner by individual groups to disguise actual divergence. Hereby elements of local religiosity or particularities in religious leadership are only outwardly brought into line with more widely accepted or centrally sanctioned forms of Muslim religious expression¹⁷.

In addition, a minority of peoples and language communities embracing Islam have over centuries held to their own languages and scripts for the production and transmission of religious literature, thereby enjoying a polyphonic instead of subservient relationship with surrounding Islamic supra-languages¹⁸. One important consequence of this status is that the Arabic-derived lexicon of religious terminology is notably smaller than is the case with either (Arabic-script based) Islamic supra-languages or in smaller logospheres strongly influenced by them. Cases in point of particular interest are Bengali and Chinese. Yet, also the past role of Javanese and ongoing function of Cham among parts of its users appear to fall into this category, in which, due to a lesser degree of loanword acquisition, the inter-cultural and inter-religious encounter of the periods of Islamization necessitated an even greater degree of translation (in both literal and metaphoric sense). Far from viewing such encounters as by necessity conflictual, Stewart has described these translation processes as a search for equivalences on both sides, leading to the localization (on this concept below) of a new religious impetus in the local cultural, linguistic, religious and social

¹⁷ Nile Green, "Idiom, Genre, and the Politics of Self-Description on the Peripheries of Persian" in *id.* & Mary Searle-Chatterjee (eds.), *Religion, Language and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 202-219. Central authorities may at times even provide tacit approval to this kind of deception. Thus, both the Turkish Alevis/*Qizilbāsh* and the Nizari Ismailis, long surviving in hostile environments under the protection of Sufi idiom and organizational structures, evidently did so with a certain degree of Ottoman/Safawid connivance.

¹⁸ Tony K. Stewart, "In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Hindu-Muslim Encounter through Translation Theory", *HOR*, XL (2001), p. 275.

environment¹⁹. In the long-run, however, the particular way of localization may become challenged by the turn of parts of the community towards the scholarly and social world represented by an Islamic supra-language (and by all such a turn implies), thereby calling the polyphonic status of the local languages into question.

One more conceptual approach informing the notion of Jawization needs some comment at this point. This concerns the pairs of localization/de-localization and their corollaries heterogenization/homogenization. As it is assumed that there is a strong link between language and culture²⁰, as epitomized in the concept of the logosphere, there should be no doubt that the situation of Islamic discourse in (and its prior as well as ongoing translation into) a given local language is a prime function of making it comprehensible and relevant to local audiences, as well as a major factor influencing its expression in actual religious practices. Thus, notwithstanding the obvious homogenizing and de-localizing role of so-called World Religions, their historical as well as present spread – in various forms – into, and localization in, new cultural and linguistic environments has, for example, necessarily resulted in greater diversification or heterogenization of Islam (and global Islamic movements and trends)²¹. In this regard, Østebø has stressed, with reference to Asad, that “there can be no discursive tradition of Islam except for the localized discursive tradition of Islam”²². Keeping this in mind, the evolution of speakers of different South and Southeast Asian languages – in the field of religious discourse – towards (forming) an overarching scholarly and social world of Urdu or Malay has nevertheless to be viewed as a step towards the de-localization of local Islam and enhanced religious homogenization within the respective regions under the respective hegemony of Urdu and Malay. It is in this sense that these notions will be used in the course of this study.

2. The concept of Jawization and similar processes in the Muslim World

The historical evolution of the term *melayu* (Malay) clearly exhibits a progression towards an inextricable inclusion of religious connotations. Thus, initially referring to a geographical location and a people inhabiting a certain realm (with no religious

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ Claire Kramsch, *Language and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000); Karen Risager, *Language and Culture: Global flows and Local Complexity* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2006).

²¹ This discussion draws on Østebø's recent usage of these concepts in relation to the spread of Salafism in Ethiopia, in which language issues are, however, not figuring prominently. Terje Østebø, *Localising Salafism. Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 13-42 (esp. p. 22, 35f.).

²² *ibid.*, p. 35.

implications at all), it eventually came to denote, in a generic manner, much of Southeast Asian Muslim culture and its bearers in general. This evolution incidentally necessitated a shift of the perceived cradle of *melayu* culture from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula. Despite the undisputable major contribution of (Muslim) Aceh to this new understanding of a Malayness, now largely resting on religious (i.e. Islamic) consciousness, the Sultanates of Melaka and its weaker successor Johor-Riau came to be seen as the foundation and greatest embodiments of things *melayu*²³. Intriguingly, this view provided a suitable basis for the agendas of both British colonizers and, later, Malay nationalists²⁴. Thus, for the British, a Malay was unquestionably a Muslim and thus to be treated juridically as such, whereas, half a century into the era of an independent explicitly multi-ethnic and multi-religious Malaysian nation state, national history, as on display in the Malaysian National Museum, is practically devoid of anything pre-Islamic (that is, pre-Melakan)²⁵. Compared to Melaka and Johor-Riau, the example and contribution of Aceh is especially relevant for the Cham and other cases, because of the bilingual character (Acehnese on the one hand and Malay for diplomatic, commercial and literary purposes on the other) of Acehnese society²⁶.

In contrast, the term *jawi*, deriving from the Arabic *nisba* “al-Jāwī”, first attested in a 15th century *ṭabaqāt* work (referring to a scholar flourishing already in the preceding century)²⁷, apparently had Islamic connotations in Southeast Asia right from the outset. In its Arabic usage, the adjective *jāwī* could be applied to goods originating from Southeast Asia, which was collectively subsumed under that designation (*jāwa* or *bilād al-jāwa*) in Arab descriptive geography from the 13th century onwards²⁸, as well as to someone whose biography was connected to the region either through birth, lineage, education or occupation. In Southeast Asia *jawi* came to denote, among other things, *melayu* language (classical Malay) as written in the local adaptation of the Arabic script, whose earliest specimen (the *batu*

²³ L. Y. Andaya, “The Search for the ‘Origins’ of Melayu”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 315-330; *ibid.*, “Aceh’s Contribution to Standards of Malayness”, *Archipel*, LXI (2001), p. 29-68.

²⁴ Shamsul A.B., “A History of an Identity, an Identity of a History: The Idea and Practice of ‘Malayness’ in Malaysia Reconsidered”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 355-366.

²⁵ Chang Yi Chang, “The Malaysian National Museum and the construction of the idea of ‘Malaysian Society’”, paper presented at the *International Malaysian Studies Conference (MSC 8)*, 9-11 July 2012, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi.

²⁶ Andaya, “Aceh’s Contribution”, p. 45.

²⁷ R. M. Feener & M. F. Laffan, “Sufi Scents across the Indian Ocean: Yemeni Hagiography and the Earliest History of Southeast Asian Islam”, *Archipel*, LXX (2005), p. 186-189.

²⁸ Earlier the term *Zābaj* (Srivijaya) had been widely in use. The watershed appears to be Yāqūt al-Rūmī’s *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (1224), which is the earliest such source to introduce *jāwa* but likewise mentions *Zābaj* in its discussion of (maritime) lands between India and China. G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 55f., 90; Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (ed.), *Jacut’s Geographisches Wörterbuch*, III (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1864), I, 506; II, 904; III, 445.

bersurat [engraved stone] of Terengganu) dates from the 14th century²⁹, and which clearly functioned not only as *lingua franca* in the field of trade but also as shared common literary language of Southeast Asian Muslims. Accordingly, it has even been suggested that “as a [n religiously-connotated] meta-ethnic term, Malayness has devolved from an older sense of Jawiness”³⁰. Classifications are known to potentially systematically affect people, despite the fact that this is surprisingly rarely acknowledged³¹. Being collectively classified as *jāwī* by Arabic and Persian-speaking (or educated) Muslims, could thus have been either agreed or disagreed with by different groups of Southeast Asian Muslims. Yet, the great majority of those involved in interaction with the wider Muslim World did eventually accept and appreciate this classification. In this context it shall, following Andaya, once again be emphasized that especially Aceh’s greatness, as in the long run somewhat side-lined main contributor to standards of Malayness, rested to a significant degree on its “infusion of Islamic ideas in the society”, which was in turn the result of its extraordinarily intense relationships with the Muslim World beyond Southeast Asia³².

Of interest is of course also the usage of the “Javanese” (*jawi*) label as ascriptive nomenclature in a number of Southeast Asian languages of the mainland, which is clearly analogous to that encountered in Arabic and Malay. This applies equally to Cham itself (*jawa*), Vietnamese (*cha va, đờ bà*) and Khmer (*javā* – pronounced *chvea*)³³, where it first appears in Angkorean inscriptions of the 10th century³⁴. In Thai where, for geopolitical reasons, greater sensitivity towards peninsular Malays prevailed, *chawa* in the *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya* denoted at least Muslims of both Javanese and Sumatran origins. In Makassar it was applied to (Muslim) people from the Western part of the Malay World in

²⁹ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Correct Date of the Terengganu Inscription* (Kuala Lumpur: Muzium Negara, 1970).

³⁰ M. F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia. The Umma below the Winds* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 14.

³¹ Ian Hacking, *Rewriting the Soul. Multiple Personalities and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 237-239.

³² Andaya, “Aceh’s Contribution” (quotation p. 64).

³³ Po Dharma, *Quatre lexiques malais-cam anciens: rédigés au Campā* (Paris: PESEO, 1999), p. 1; Po Dharma, G. Moussay & Abdul Karim (eds. & trans.), *Nai Mai Mang Makah. Tuan Putri Dari Kelantan* (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia & EFEO, 2000), p. 13-14 n. 5; Choi Byung Wook, *Southern Vietnam under the Reign of Minh Mạng (1820-1841). Central Policies and Local Response* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asian Program Publications, 2004), p. 34-35 n. 71; Saveros Pou, *Dictionnaire vieux Khmer-Français-Anglais* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2004), p. 186. In Vietnamese the label even came to encompass foreign (presumably Muslim) merchants also of Indian and African origin. Michael Laffan, “Finding Java: Muslim Nomenclature of Insular Southeast Asia from Śrīvijaya to Snouck Hurgronje” in Eric Tagliacozzo (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Islam, Movement and the Longue Durée* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 59 n. 105.

³⁴ Khing Hoc Dy, “La présence du malais dans la langue et la littérature khmères”, BAEFEK, XIV (2008), p. 1. http://aefek.free.fr/iso_album/presence_malaise.pdf

general³⁵. Incidentally, the *Gowa Chronicle* includes people from Champa, besides those hailing from Patani, Minangkabau, Johor and Pahang, among the local residents pertaining to this category³⁶. It is instructive, however, that in Burma which, as far as Muslim presence and contacts are concerned, has always been more exposed to Persianate Indian and Bengali rather than Malay influences, the term *zerbadi* (from Persian *zīr-bād* – “below the wind”) denotes local converts and Muslims of mixed marriages³⁷, thus people typically dubbed *jawi peranakan* in the Malay World³⁸.

An inherent feature of the emerging meta-ethnic character of *melayu/jawi* identity in Southeast Asia was its openness towards entries from without. Most probably already before, but particularly after the fall of Melaka in 1511 and the emergence of a trading diaspora of former Malay residents of the realm, which in turn provided new impetuses to numerous other trading hubs on the Peninsula (Johor-Riau, Patani), Sumatra (Aceh, Palembang), Borneo (Brunei, Banjarmasin), Java (Banten), Sulawesi (Makassar) as well as on the mainland (Ayutthaya and Phnom Penh), newcomers from various ethnic backgrounds joined the emerging trans-Southeast Asian community of *orang melayu* (Malay people)³⁹. Firstly, this as well as earlier and subsequent dispersals of trading communities and, to a lesser degree, of princely families of maritime Southeast Asia, fostered the adoption of an over-arching identity and cultural framework (including Islam) then in the process of being recognized throughout the region in commercial as well as political spheres. This recognition, it should be added, was likewise, to varying degrees, soon to be shared by the colonial powers⁴⁰. Thus, after the fall of the northern Cham kingdom of Vijaya to the Vietnamese (1471) and then of Melaka to the Portuguese (1511), the Chams of Melaka and other Southeast Asian ports, just like the North Philippine Luzons (Tagalogs) and the (Sino-) Javanese in Melaka, which both disappear as distinct groups in the course of the late 16th

³⁵ William P. Cummings, *A Chain of Kings. The Makassarese chronicles of Gowa and Talloq* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), p. 2 & 57 n. 66.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁷ Laffan, “Finding Java”, p. 47.

³⁸ Pue Giok Hun & Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, *Peranakan as a Social Concept* (Bangi: KITA, 2012). Stemming from the Malay root *anak* (“child”), the original meaning of *peranak* seems to have been womb. Prominent cases of *jawi peranakan* communities are those of Penang and then Singapore (mostly the Malay speaking offspring of marriages between South Indian Muslim men and Malay women) or the Muslim assimilated Chinese of Palembang (South Sumatra) and Makassar. William R. Roff, “The Malayo-Muslim World of Singapore at the Close of the Nineteenth Century” in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 86; Barbara W. Andaya, *To Live as Brothers. Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 1993), p. 124f., 189, 218; Heather Sutherland, “The Makassar Malays: Adaptation and Identity, c. 1660-1790”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 409-11.

³⁹ Anthony Reid, “Understanding *Melayu* (Malay) as a Source of Diverse Modern Identities”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 300f.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 301-304.

century, blended into local Malay identity or elsewhere into the Malay diaspora. The same goes for the Javanese traders leaving Java due to the disruptions of their business caused by the VOC and the sultanate of Mataram in the 17th century⁴¹.

Secondly, numerous less prominent groups throughout Southeast Asia joined the ever expanding Malay trading, religious and meta-ethnic networks. As a result, the notion of *masuk* (“to enter”) *melayu* or *masuk jawi* came to be synonymous with embracing Islam⁴² and Malay Muslim culture as well as with participation in Malay trade, all of which was mediated by the use of Malay as carrier-language. As far as already established or emerging royal circles – as opposed to mere traders – were concerned (rulers of maritime, riverine and more often than not also inland polities in Southeast Asia usually held stakes in trade), models of Malay kingship and court culture were likewise embraced. Hence the short-lived *Melayu*-ization of Cambodian kingship under Ramadhipathi I/Sultan Ibrahim in the middle of the 17th century⁴³ and the Malay regal title of Champa’s Muslim king (*Paduka Seri Sultan*) around the same time⁴⁴. As startling as the existence of such meta-ethnic communities may seem to the 21st century observer still nurtured on nationalist paradigms already wavering but nevertheless only brought into full fruition in the course of the second half of the 20th century, such constellations were not unique at that time, not even in Southeast Asia. Whereas Malay identity was confined to Southeast Asia with tentacles stretching out to other parts of the Muslim and Indian Ocean World (Arabia, Persia, coastal India and East Africa), the first phase of globalization⁴⁵, inaugurated by Iberian overseas expansion,

⁴¹ As Muslim traders operating out of Manila, the Luzons vanish from the records shortly after the fall of Manila to the Spanish. Similarly much of the Javanese of Melaka eventually came to be identified (and also to identify themselves) as Malays. See Anthony Reid, “Continuity and Change in the Austronesian Transition to Islam and Christianity” in Peter Bellwood et al. (eds.), *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006), p. 336; *id.*, “The Rise and Fall of Sino-Javanese Shipping” in Geoff Wade (ed.), *China and Southeast Asia, Vol. II: Southeast Asia and Ming China (from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century)* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 87, 90.

⁴² In this sense the notion still prevails at least in Malaysia and Southern Thailand. Zainal Kling, “Social Structure: The Practices of Malay Religiosity” in Mohd. Taib Osman (ed.), *Islamic Civilization in the Malay World* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997), p. 52.

⁴³ Carool Kersten, “Cambodia’s Muslim King: Khmer and Dutch Sources on the Conversion of Reameathipadei I, 1642-1658” in *JSEAS*, XXXVII (2006), p. 1-22; Alfons van der Kraan, *Murder and mayhem in seventeenth-century Cambodia: Anthony van Diemen vs. Ramadhipati I* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009).

⁴⁴ In 1680 the Cham king referred to himself by that title in a letter to the Dutch in Batavia. F. De Haan (ed.), *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1680* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1912), p. 242, 252-3. French missionary reports dating to 1682 and 1685 confirm the Cham king’s adherence to Islam. Adrien Launey, *Histoire de la mission de Cochinchine 1658-1823, I: 1658-1728* (Paris: Société des Missions-Étrangères, 1923), p. 243f., 352f.

⁴⁵ Intriguingly coinciding with strong trends towards Islamization and *Melayu*-ization in Southeast Asia, the period from 1450 to the middle of the 17th century has been convincingly identified as the first epoch of (accelerated) globalization, brought about by extensive maritime voyages and soon accompanied by an unprecedented flow of humans, ideas and agricultural products. Michael Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavenkultur und Emanzipation* (Zürich: Rotpunkt Verlag, 2004), p. 29f. The overture to this process in

precipitated the emergence of just such a meta-ethnic category on global scale. Thus, those actors running under the label “Portuguese” in the trading circuits of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and therefore particularly also within Southeast Asia, were frequently of even more mixed, creolized bent than their Malay competition⁴⁶. Yet, also here the same triad of participation in a specific (here “Portuguese”) trading network within its particular parameters, reliance upon its *lingua franca* (“Bazaar Malay” versus “Portuguese Creole”⁴⁷) and (an at least superficially adhered) common religion (in this case Catholicism), was at work.

Although, it has been argued (for a later period) that Islam played only a subordinate role in this Malayness “based instead on a common trading culture along the Melaka Straits and South China Sea”⁴⁸, the fact that Malay language was clearly the main vehicle for the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia, naturally adds relevance to this inherent connection between the constitutive elements of Malayness. From a linguistic point of view, the grammatical profile of loan-words with Arabic or Persian origins (predominantly nouns displaying hardly any influence from grammatical systems of the source languages) “supports the notion that a resilient and adaptive Malay, and not an external (non-Nusantara) language, was the vector of Islam within Nusantara”⁴⁹. Notably, this likewise applies to Champa and the Chams at large⁵⁰. Therefore, the very spread of Islam among the Chams from the 15th to the 17th century already resulted from strong Malay influences. Accordingly, the Cham equivalent to *masuk melayu/jawi* referring to the adoption of Islam is *tuei jawa* (“following the Malays”)⁵¹. Moreover, Cham tradition in the southern Cham realm of Panduranga locates *Makah* (Mecca) in the Malay World (*nagar jawa*)⁵². Yet, these initial processes and their contemporary echos need to be differentiated from the concept of Jawization as

Southeast Asia was certainly the period of the Zheng He voyages (1405-1433), which unfolded concomitant to the emergence of Melaka as dominant Muslim trading polity and were pursued under Muslim command.

⁴⁶ Stefan Halikowski-Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies. The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁴⁷ Pue & Shamsul, *Peranakan*, p. 43f.; Halikowski-Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora*, p. 112-114; Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986), p. 163-165.

⁴⁸ Timothy P. Barnard, “Texts, Raja Ismail and Violence: Siak and the Transformation of Malay Identity in the Eighteenth Century”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 333.

⁴⁹ Russell Jones (ed.), *Loanwords in Indonesian and Malay* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), p. xxiiiif. Accordingly, examples of the direct influence of colloquial Arabic (and thus actually of Arabic speakers) in Malay dialects (particularly Betawi in Jakarta) on the contrary do reflect attempts at following or imitating the morphology of the respective verbs. Nikolaos van Dam, “Arabic Loanwords in Indonesian Revisited”, *BKI*, CLXVI (2010), p. 224.

⁵⁰ Po Dharma, *Quatre lexiques*, p. 8.

⁵¹ Po Dharma, Moussay & Abdul Karim, *Nai Mai Mang Makah*, p. 50. Cf. Muḥammad Zayn Mūsā, Yūsūf Muḥammad, Aḥmad Ḥafīz ‘Uthmān & ‘Ārifīn Mūsā, *Qāmūs Melāyū-Ĉam* (Bangi: Penerbit UKM, 2012), p. 252.

⁵² Po Dharma, Moussay & Abdul Karim, *Nai Mai Mang Makah*, p. 19 n. 20.

employed in this study to analyse religious transformations among Chams and Chvea in Cambodia as well as among other Muslim peoples of Southeast Asia beginning in the 19th century.

Firstly, the choice of Jawization instead of Malayization or *Melayu*-ization is a deliberate one, not merely based on the observation that things *melayu* appear under the *jawa* label among the Chams or as *chvea* among Khmer-speaking Cambodian Muslims. While it may seem, especially given the purportedly synonymous character of *masuk melayu/jawi*, that both terms could well be used interchangeably once Islamically connotated notions of *melayu* had become unanimously accepted as exo- as well as endo-definitions, this does not apply to all localities. Actually, as Malay, also *lingua franca* of Dutch Southeast Asia (followed by Portuguese language), likewise became the main language of local Protestant Christian communities in Ambon (Maluku) and Minahasa (North Sulawesi)⁵³, *masuk melayu*, in stark contrast to its overall usage in most of Southeast Asia, meant becoming Christian in some parts of Eastern Indonesia⁵⁴.

On the contrary, such ambiguities are inexistent regarding the term *jawi*, and it is in the light of this lack of ambiguousness that we must again consider Laffan's abovementioned suggestion that (strongly Islamically connotated) Malayness may have actually sprung from an earlier concept of Jawiness. *Jawi*'s lack of ambiguity partly stems from its probable origins in Arabic and Muslim usage (as opposed to the erstwhile connection of *melayu* to Srivijaya) as well as from its terminological and practical connection to the script bearing its name, and thus, to literary Malay. Therefore, as Acehnese luminaries of the late 16th to late 17th century such as Shams al-Dīn of Pasai (d. 1630) and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1693) introduced their works as being written in *jawi* language (*bahasa jawi*), they did not just refer to Malay but to Malay in the local adaptation of the Arabic letters (i.e. *jawi* script)⁵⁵. The Dutch Orientalist François Valentijn (d. 1727) saw Malay as an unsuitable device for the spread of the bible among indigenous populations of the Dutch domains. Indeed, after having observed far greater proficiency in the language among Muslims than among local

⁵³ It perfectly fits the picture of Portuguese identity outlined above, that emerging Protestant Christian communities would quickly adopt Malay language, whereas Batavia's Catholic *mardijkers* ("free men", from Malay *orang merdeka*) or, less pertinent, Sri Lanka's Catholic Afro-Portuguese stuck to local variants of Portuguese also under Dutch rule. Blussé, *Strange Company*, p. 163-165; Shihan de Silva Jayasuriy, *African Identity in Asia. Cultural Effects of Forced Migration* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009), p. 119, 130, 134.

⁵⁴ Reid, "Understanding Melayu", p. 305f.

⁵⁵ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 13f.

Christians, which he credited to the existence of extensive literature (of course in *jawi* script) among the former, he considered it to be “the preserve of an Islamicate culture”⁵⁶. On the other end of the colonial spectrum, William Marsden (d. 1836) was already aware of the historical roots of *melayu* in Sumatra and its comparably recent genesis towards being strongly defined in Islamic terms. He clearly regarded the influence of *jawi* as ultimately debilitating to the “original” *melayu* culture. Explicitly rejecting the “term ‘Malay’ as a Muslim coverall resting on nothing more than circumcision and an ability to read *Arabic script*” in his 1783 *History of Sumatra*, Marsden lamented the loss of Sumatran genuineness among Minangkabau and especially Acehnese, who “had so thoroughly adopted Arabic ways and *Arabic script*”⁵⁷. Despite his view of cultural loss among the Minangkabaus due to Islamization and Jawization, he nevertheless had to concede that he had been unable to find any genuine (i.e. non-Arabic derived) scripts among Sumatra’s Malays, Minangkabaus or their dependents⁵⁸. He also noted that being *melayu* was locally almost synonymous with being Muslim in common parlance, as evinced in the expression *menjadi melayu* (“to become Malay”) for the adoption of Islam⁵⁹. In contrast to this situation close to the heartland of ancient Malay civilization, the *melayu* label was until recently apparently largely unknown among the Chams, as exclusively the *jawi* label was current⁶⁰.

Moreover, Muslim peoples such as the Javanese, Sasaks and, intriguingly, the Chams, have produced extensive literatures not only in their own languages but likewise by employing their own scripts. These literatures as well as oral vernacularizations are both product as well as cause of a strong localization of Islam among Javanese, Sasaks and Chams, leading to the emergence of distinctive Islamic traditions such as the so-called Javanese *Mystic Synthesis* and the related *abangan* Muslim identity⁶¹, the *Waktu Telu* on Lombok⁶², or the Islam of the Cham *Bani* and *Kan Imam San* in Vietnam and Cambodia respectively. Needless to say, for their obvious distinctiveness, these plainly cannot be subsumed under the unifying *jawi* or even *melayu* categories. Whereas one could justifiably point to isolation

⁵⁶ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam. Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2011), p. 78f.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86. Emphases mine.

⁵⁸ William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, reprint of 3rd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), p. 197-99.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁰ Nakula, “Orang Melayu di Kemboja”, *Pengasuh*, 410 (Nov. 1975/Zulkaedah 1395), p. 11.

⁶¹ M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: a history of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries* (Norwalk, Conn.: Eastbridge, 2006); Stephan C. Headley, *Durga’s Mosque. Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Central Javanese Islam* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2004).

⁶² Sven Cederroth, *The Spell of the Ancestors and the Power of Mekkah. A Sasak Community on Lombok* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1981). I am indebted to Martin Slama (Vienna) for drawing my attention to this group.

from the Malay and Muslim Worlds as a reason for the specific development of Islam among the Bani, this appears to be hardly applicable to the Javanese case, and, as will be seen below, not even to the closely linked *Kan Imam San* of Cambodia.

Also the widely accepted view of Champa's (Bani) Muslims as having plainly slid back into pre-Islamic beliefs and concepts needs to be questioned on the grounds of its inherent unidirectional approach to what must have been a protracted process of interaction. It is particularly the existence of an elaborate Cham aristocratic culture akin to its Javanese counterpart, certainly not wiped of the map of history and social relations with a single (Vietnamese) stroke in 1471 with the fall of the northern Cham realm of Vijaya, and the reasonable assumption that Islamization began in the ports and not at court, which should alert us to the great possibility of cultural transmission in both directions. Consequently, what was convincingly (though unconventionally) argued by Ricklefs for Java most probably also applies to Champa/Panduranga, namely, that the "Javanization" of different ruling groups in diversified coastal realms, resulting from awe and emulation of Javanese aristocratic culture, may have been as significant as the Islamization of the latter in the interior⁶³. Taking such a dialogic process - which has gradually left its imprint *inter alia* (besides the realm of practices) also in a Cham literary tradition with historical, religious and other content - as our starting point, in preference over a simple narrative of incomplete Islamization and backsliding into pre-Islamic forms, should sharpen our understanding of the early phases of the evolution of Bani Islam as a distinctive Islamic discursive tradition, and of Cham as an Islamic logosphere.

Thus, issues of oral versus written regimes of religious knowledge and, accordingly, of *jawi* versus other non-Arabic-based scripts are indeed of importance. Therefore, Jawization among the Chams has to mean more than merely the adoption of Islam. Embracing Islam (*tuei jawa*) or even only elements of it, such as the figure of Allah as supreme god, as opposed to firmly sticking to ancestral religious traditions, may have been the main question in Panduranga in the early phases of its Islamization, prior to the concretization of Cham *Jat* and *Bani* communities. Yet, by the 19th century at the latest we are among the Bani largely (and in Cambodia solely) talking about Muslim contexts in which being non-Muslim was generally no more an option. Indeed, whereas Cham identity in Cambodia had presumably been closely tied to Islam for centuries already, it has likewise been suggested by Ricklefs, that, by the 17th century, due to the actually fairly recent emergence of the

⁶³ M.C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamisation in Java" in Nehemia Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), p. 106.

“notion of a Javanese people”, it similarly came to be almost “coterminous with an Islamic identity”⁶⁴.

In this context one of Ricci’s observations regarding her research on Javanese versions of the *Book of One Thousand Questions*⁶⁵, both a remarkable example of circulation within the wider Muslim World as well as a testament to the dynamics of Jawization in a specific (that is, Javanese) context, deserves mention. Whereas the original setting of the book was a disputation between the prophet and a Jew, named ‘Abdullāh b. Salām and eventually converting to Islam, Javanese late 19th century versions (now known as *Suluk Seh Ngabdulsalam*⁶⁶) were suddenly devoid of any conversion narrative as the interlocutors were now an Islamic scholar (*guru* – “teacher” or *seh* – “shaykh”) and his students. As Ricci notes concerning the text’s inherent tension “in the distinction consistently made between ‘Arab’ and ‘Java’, it is clearly not one between different religions, but rather between perceptions of what it may have meant to be a Javanese Muslim”⁶⁷. Similarly, what is thus at issue here is a contest and dialogue (as no such intra- or even inter-religious encounter is ever exclusively conflictual) between different Islamic discursive traditions. More precisely, Jawization in our case is about the evolution of large parts of (Cham) Islam in Cambodia and Vietnam towards specific regional hegemonic discourses of Islamic orthodoxy, a process closely linked to the expansion of a particular form of Islamic education resting on Malay language, the *jawi* script and a new availability of printed materials. It is this specific process, which is referred to throughout this study as Jawization, and it is assumed that this concept can be applied to other, similar cases of religious change in Muslim Southeast Asia as well.

Moreover, as has been suggested above, Jawization in Southeast Asia was not a unique process, but rather just one among other regional variants of a larger phenomenon of religious standardization in the Muslim World, which relied mainly on specific “Islamic supra-languages” (e.g. Swahili, Urdu and Malay) for its transmission and unfolding, despite also fostering greater engagement with Arabic beyond mere Qur’ān recitation. Starting in

⁶⁴ Headley, *Durga’s Mosque*, p. 62.

⁶⁵ Ronit Ricci, “From Jewish Disciple to Muslim Guru: On Literary and Religious Transformations in Late 19th Century Java” in R. Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea (eds.), *Islamic Connections. Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 68-85.

⁶⁶ Note that already changing the title from *Serat Samud* (Book of Samud [the name commonly employed in Java for Ibn Salām]) to *Suluk Seh* (“Mystical Poem of Shaykh”) *Ngabdulsalam*, despite the strongly localised discussion in the text, points to involvement in its redaction of scholars more conscious of the Arabic source of the original text. Although this is a mere guess, it resonates well with the later role played by graduates of religious schools (*pesantren*) in the re-Arabization of Indonesian loanwords from Arabic preserved in forms obviously deviating from classical Arabic. van Dam, “Arabic Loanwords”, p. 219.

⁶⁷ Ricci, “Jewish Disciple”, p. 77f.

the 19th century, large parts of South Asia witnessed the greatly enhanced gravitation of significant segments of local Muslim society towards the social and religious world of the Persianized Muslim elites claiming Arab and Central Asian descent (*ashrāf*)⁶⁸. Known as *Ashrafization*⁶⁹, it was brought about, and at the same time equally resulted in, a proliferation of Islamic schools and an accompanying greater outreach of written transmission of religious knowledge also among religious and social groups previously almost exclusively grounded in oral (and therefore vernacular) transmission. Strikingly, this appears to have only been made possible by the spread of Urdu as new integrative (especially literary and educational) Islamic supra-language rapidly displacing Persian⁷⁰. Therefore Urduization rather than Ashrafization might indeed be preferably used for the phenomenon in question. Like its elitist precursor, Urdu is written in the Arabic script, yet, as a Persianized variant of Hindustani, itself long established as the regional *lingua franca* outside courtly circles and their Persianate systems of education (not necessarily Muslim by the way), it was in a much better position to act as linguistic unifier with religious overtones.

In the long run, Islamic literatures relying on Indic scripts and often exhibiting distinctive forms of localization of Islam would become suspect, associated with Hinduism or at least syncretism. The most instructive example of this is of course Bengali Islam, which has been commonly described as syncretistic⁷¹. Incidentally, the more than 170 million Bengali-speaking Muslims of Bangladesh and India represent the only major Muslim people to have never adapted Arabic script for its own language, which accordingly contains a much smaller number of Arabic and Persian loanwords than Urdu⁷². Even though this aforementioned homogenization affecting large parts of South Asia, which was obviously aided by British legal and educational policies, made – through the use of Urdu – Islamic

⁶⁸ Marc Gaborieau, “Towards a Sociology of Indian Muslims” in M. Waseem (trans. & ed.), *On Becoming an Indian Muslim. French Essays on Aspects of Syncretism* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), p. 294-315; *ibid.*, “L’onomastique moderne chez les Musulmans du Sous-continent Indien”, COA, III (1985), p. 9-50. Important correctives to Gaborieau’s presentation are provided in a recent contribution of Buehler, who, however, unfortunately largely leaves out issued of language. Arthur F. Buehler, “Trends of ashrafization in India” in Morimoto Kazuo (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies. The Living Links to the Prophet* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 231-246.

⁶⁹ Dominique-Sila Khan, *Crossing the Threshold. Understanding Religious Identities in South Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 56-58. The new accessibility and adoption of symbols of elite culture was naturally also a channel for social mobility or at least for hopes thereof. Yoginder Sikand, *Bastions of the Believers. Madrasas and Islamic Education in India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2005), p. 55.

⁷⁰ This displacement went hand-in-hand with subtle curricular changes further diminishing specifically Indo-Persian elements in South Asian Madrasa education. Francis Robinson, *The ‘Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (London: C. Hurst, 2001), p. 32-38; Tariq Rahman, *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History* (Karachi: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011).

⁷¹ Asim Roy, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983).

⁷² Robert Siegfried, *Bengalens Elfter Kalif. Untersuchungen zur Naqšbandiyya Muğaddidiyya in Bangladesh* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001), p. 12-14; Stewart, “In Search of Equivalence”, p. 260-287.

literary tradition more easily accessible to ordinary Indian Muslims⁷³, it naturally unfolded to the detriment of a variety of local Islamic discourses, literatures and so-called “liminal” groups⁷⁴.

Similarly, also Swahili, the Islamic supra-language of East Africa long written in the Arabic script, shares important traits with Malay. It likewise has a long history as regional *lingua franca* in trade and has a distinctive background in its connection to the maritime Indian Ocean World, already reflected in its name, which derives from Arabic *sawāḥil* (plural form of *sāḥil* – “coast”)⁷⁵. Nowadays, however, the connection between Swahili language and Islam is much less pertinent than in the cases of Urdu, or even Malay/Indonesian. Following remarkable language spread as well as Romanization and British and German support for administrative colonial purposes in the 20th century, only a minority of the present speakers of Africa’s most widespread indigenous language are Muslims⁷⁶. Nevertheless, as a people, the Swahili represent a very similar case to the Malays (*melayu*) as far as common tendencies towards meta-ethnic identities and regional roles in Islamization are concerned. Accordingly, the adoption of Islam was historically an important component of the Swahilization of various East African tribal and ethnic communities until at least the 19th century, just as being Muslim naturally continues to be regarded as *sine qua non* for being a “real” Swahili among Muslim Swahilis⁷⁷. What is more, as language of Islamic education (and to a certain measure also of the further spread of Islam), Swahili has expanded beyond the geographical confines of East Africa in the course of the 20th century to serve as main language of religious instruction and discourse also for the Muslims of Burundi, Ruanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Zaire)⁷⁸. In this respect, Swahilization -

⁷³ Sikand, *Bastions of the Believers*, p. 72f.

⁷⁴ Khan, *Crossing the Threshold* (esp. ch. 3). One important such “liminal” group exhibiting strong influences of both Islam and other Indic religious traditions, and thus a high degree of acculturation, are the Ismaili Khojas, who had their own tradition of religious literature in a distinctive script. Known as *Khojkī*, it was employed for writing six different Indian languages (primarily Gujarati) as well as Persian (and, rarely, even Arabic), and represents a remarkable case of a particular script (and not a language or language-cum-script) serving as chief unifier of a dispersed and multi-linguistic community. Ali S. Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment. The Ismaili Devotional Literature of South Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p. 36-38, 100-145. Much other preserved pre-Urduization Gujarati religious literature, perhaps exhibiting just as pronounced localization of Islamic discourse and *topoi*, remains so far unstudied. Personal communication with Sajjad Rizvi (Exeter) (Doha, March 31st 2014).

⁷⁵ Guth, *Hauptsprachen der Islamischen Welt*, p. 235-241.

⁷⁶ Farouk Topan, “From Coastal to Global: The Erosion of the Swahili ‘Paradox’” in Roman Loimeier & Rüdiger Seesemann (eds.), *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa* (Berlin: LIT, 2006), p. 58f.

⁷⁷ James de Verre Allan, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, 1993), p. 15-17, 254f.

⁷⁸ Justo Lacunza Balda, “The Role of Kiswahili in East African Islam” in Louis Brenner (ed.), *Muslim Identity and Social Change in East African Islam* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993), p. 226-238.

understood as the spread of Swahili as an Islamic supra-language and Muslim cultural model - is still an ongoing process.

Likewise, the relationship to schooling and written transmission of religious knowledge is well captured in the term Santrization (Indon. *santrinisasi*, from *santri* - “religiously learned”) to denote the Javanese facet of a process very similar to contemporary Urduization and Jawization, and largely carried by the products of an enhanced, modified and rapidly spreading sector of formal Islamic education and a growing number of hajjis, many of which combined pilgrimage with studies in the Ḥaramayn and thus epitomized attachment to a supposedly true global Islam⁷⁹. This state of affairs is what makes Santrization such an apt term, despite the fact, that its exponents, as a distinctive group, were locally (except on the North coast) rather referred to as *putihan* (“White Ones”) than as *santri*. Also in this case a greater relevance of the written word to the detriment of oral religious cultures is evident⁸⁰. Likewise, the particular way in which Santrization confronted not only orally-based strongly localized Islamic discourses but also their literary culture as preserved in a rich heritage of Javanese script writings, serves to elucidate that Santrization was actually a mere local manifestation of a larger process of Jawization. This assumption is considerably bolstered if one considers the crucial fact that early Malay Muslim book printing, in its center of Singapore, was in grossly disproportionate measure dominated by the local Javanese community⁸¹. Most of these publishers (or their ancestors) hailed from the Semarang region of the *pasisir*, a strong point of Santrization⁸². In the 1880s their products were already on sale at Maluku, on the other geographical end of the ecumene⁸³. Indeed, due to the strong acculturation of Islam among large parts of Javanese society, which was now explicitly challenged, Java represents probably the most violent and instructive example of Jawization. Javanese was, besides Malay, the only other language approaching Islamic supra-language status in Southeast Asia, as can be inferred from the existence of separate Javanese-language study circles in Mecca, and had its own adaptation

⁷⁹ M.C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and other visions (c. 1830-1930)* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007); Martin van Bruinessen, “Global and Local in Indonesian Islam”, SEAS, XXXVII (1999), p. 50-55.

⁸⁰ The binary writing/orality is of course an artificial one as, within societies, both are intersecting and constantly influencing each other. Shail Mayaram, *Against History, Against State. Counterperspectives from the Margins* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2003), p. 6. Keeping this in mind, shifts in the relations of power between the two, affecting the degrees to which one tends to influence the other are nevertheless perceptible. Moreover, the balance of power is rather obvious in mostly illiterate segments of societies.

⁸¹ Ian Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books. A provisional account of materials published in the Singapore-Malaysia area up to 1920, noting holdings in major public collections* (Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Malay Studies and the Library, University of Malaya, 1993), p. 32.

⁸² In 1872 Semarang had the largest number of religious scholars and students of all the Javanese-speaking residences. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 66.

⁸³ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 35.

of the Arabic script (*pegon*). The establishment of Javanese-language study circles would have been natural already due to the large proportion of first-language users among the *Jāwa* residing in Mecca. As can be discerned from Snouck Hurgronje's late 19th century observations, approaching Arabic via the supra- (or second) language of Javanese, was, however, only an option for those living closest to Javanese-speaking areas (Sundanese, Madurese). Even so, despite Javanese being the preferred medium of instruction in their home *pesantren*⁸⁴, the Sundanese, for example, are noted to have varied in their choices regarding joining one or the other group of study circles⁸⁵. Nevertheless, a growing local relevance of Arabic and Malay (particularly in the form of *Jawi* literature) in the course of the rapid growth of religious schools and increased interaction with local Arabs and non-Javanese Southeast Asian Muslims is perceptible during the period⁸⁶.

By the middle of the 19th century two more or less competing school systems had developed in Java, whose students, for reasons of script choice grounded in cultural-religious considerations (*pegon/jawi* versus Javanese), were not in a position to write a letter to each other⁸⁷. A century later, "command of Javanese script was almost unknown among the young"⁸⁸. Whereas Malay had still been in a clearly secondary position vis-à-vis Javanese (in *pegon*) in the *pesantren* of the 1880s⁸⁹, this was about to change, aided by the choice of Malay over Javanese as main language for the archipelago, which was common to both the Dutch as well as the nascent nationalist movement (unsurprisingly including those of its exponents aspiring to a form of Islamic nationhood)⁹⁰. Moreover, the emergence of an - albeit nowadays largely irrelevant - counter-identity for the discontents of Santrization/Jawization, the so-called *abangan* ("Red/Brown Ones") or Javanists (*Kejawen*)⁹¹, provides an instructive comparative case for the dynamics of Jawization within Indochinese Islam. Strongly reminiscent of the situation just described for 19th century Java, also the

⁸⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu", BKI, CXLVI (1990), p. 237.

⁸⁵ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 283f.

⁸⁶ Especially in the Haramayn the local Javanese, by then already established agents of Santrization/Jawization clearly were part and parcel of the *jawi* ecumene. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood* (ch. 1).

⁸⁷ Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 154. Generally illiteracy was rampant in Javanese society at that time, as the rapid growth of new religious schools (*pesantren*) was only starting to manifest itself. Cases of schools teaching both Javanese and Arabic scripts were very rare. See *ibid.*, p. 49-52, 90.

⁸⁸ M.C. Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java. A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), p. 154.

⁸⁹ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 120. The demand thus generated also precipitated an upsurge in *pegon* publication in Singapore in the 1890s. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 36.

⁹⁰ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*.

⁹¹ Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society* (esp. ch. 3&4). The dissolution of *abangan/kejawen* identities and distinctively Javanese Islamic discursive traditions (courtly as well as rural) is to declining command and usage of Javanese in a society and public space increasingly by Indonesian (i.e. a variant of Malay). *id.*, *Islamisation and Its Opponents*, p. 406f.

Chams of former Panduranga and those of the Mekong Delta are presently – because of an analogous script-barrier - in their majority unable to communicate with each other in their mother-tongue in writing, despite the preservation of written Cham in both areas.

After having thus differentiated Jawization from Melayuization/Malayization, and having elaborated the reasons for selecting this particular term and concept to analyze the processes of religious change in Cambodian Islam from the late 19th to the late 20th century, the foregoing short overview of (near) contemporary comparative cases in South and Southeast Asia was intended for three purposes. Namely, to show that Jawization was, firstly, neither a phenomenon unique to Cambodian Islam nor, secondly, an exclusively Southeast Asian one, pertaining solely to the Jawi ecumene. Indeed, it was rather a regional (that is, Jawi) variant of a larger process sweeping through much of the Muslim World at that particular time, following on the heels of earlier, less subtle, purifying movements unfolding in diverse parts of the Muslim World under yet different historical circumstances and parameters⁹². Thirdly, especially the reference to Java should have in turn served to elucidate the existence of specific sub-sets of Jawization conditioned by particular local contexts and their historical, linguistic and cultural characteristics.

Another well-suited comparative case, which will be necessarily referred to at various instances below, is Sasak Islam on Lombok with its split into products/agents of Jawization (known as *waktu lima*) and its discontents holding on to strongly localized Islamic discourses (known as *waktu telu*) associated with a likewise vanishing literary tradition in *kawi* (Middle Javanese) and Sasak scripts⁹³. One other such sub-set, and, actually, due to its multi-linguistic and multi-ethnic make-up, one smaller local Muslim ecumene undergoing its own form of Jawization were the Muslims of Cambodia, among whom the majority of Chams, were – as a result of their specific elaborate acculturation of Islam and its literary heritage - arguably most strongly affected.

⁹² These were most notably, in order of appearance, Wahhabism in the Najd, Usman dan Fodio's "Fulani Jihad" in the West-African Sahel, and the Padri and *Farā'īdi* movements in Minangkabau (Westsumatra) and Bengal respectively. William R. Roff, "Islamic Movements: One or Many?" in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 52-72.

⁹³ Peter K. Austin, "Reading the Lontars: Endangered Literature Practices of Lombok, Eastern Indonesia", LDD, VIII (2010), p. 27-48; Geoffrey E. Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature of Lombok* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1999). Strikingly, Islam in Lombok, besides Sasak, already had its own supra-language before it became subject to Jawization. This was Javanese, with its own script. The latter (and not Balinese as has been assumed) also served as the role model of the Sasak writing system. The *waktu lima* opponents of more localized Sasak Islamic discursive tradition have - at times through the plain destruction of manuscripts - not only discarded or otherwise muted Sasak but also Javanese (and their scripts) as language of religious transmission and circulation, privileging Malay and, later, modern Indonesian (i.e. a variant of Malay) instead. Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature*, p. 14f.

Laffan has based his usage of the concept of a (Jawi) ecumene in order to “approach a complex and diverse web of societies as a single community of thought, exchange and communication”⁹⁴, on the work of C.A. Bayly on colonial India as well as on Hodgson’s ground-breaking *The Venture of Islam*⁹⁵. The latter represents, as is becoming increasingly evident, not only a major contribution to the study of the history of the Muslim World but likewise to conceptual approaches in research on Muslim history⁹⁶. Whereas a focus on ecumene(s) is still new within Islamic studies or the history of the Muslim World, despite the fast approaching forty-year anniversary of the publication of the *The Venture of Islam* trilogy, important studies centering on networks (be they Muslim trade or Islamic scholarly networks), have been produced in recent years⁹⁷. It is at this point, especially given the relevance attached in this study to present and earlier, less rapid, phases of globalization, that globalization theoretician Ulf Hannerz is supposed to enter the discussion. Speaking of a “global ecumene” rather than of an emerging globalized “world culture” or “world civilization”, he takes the former to be “the network of networks”, made up of numerous subaltern, often asymmetrical, networks, which may serve as either interrelated or parallel channels⁹⁸.

The Muslim World and its increasingly linked religious networks in the global context may be seen as one such constitutive sub-ecumene in a world of progressive formatting of religions and growing separation between religion and culture⁹⁹. In the period of Jawization, however, the large scale formatting of religions, while – in hindsight – already clearly perceptible, was still in its initial stages and the standardization of (soon to be) global Islam¹⁰⁰ was still manifesting itself primarily in regional ecumenes, like the Urdu or Jawi

⁹⁴ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 2f. Focusing on use of Malay as literary language, Braginsky likewise spoke of a Malay “oecumene”. Vladimir Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: a historical survey of genres, writings and literary views* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), p. 775.

⁹⁵ C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information. Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, c. 1780-1870* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996); Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974).

⁹⁶ Cf. Johann P. Arnason, “Marshall Hodgson’s Civilizational Analysis of Islam: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives” in *id.*, Armando Salvatore & Georg Stauth (eds.), *Islam in Process. Historical and Civilizational Perspectives* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2006), p. 23-47.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Roman Loimeier (ed.), *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2000); Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia. Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004).

⁹⁸ Ulf Hannerz, “The Global Ecumene as a Network of Networks” in Adam Kuper (ed.), *Conceptualizing Society* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 34-56.

⁹⁹ Olivier Roy, *Holy Ignorance. When Religion and Culture Part Ways* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁰ As will become evident in the last chapter also present global(ized) Islam is made up of many different networks and discursive traditions as globalization is merely linking and unifying globally dispersed communities by separating them from surrounding communities.

ones, albeit each and all of these served as channels for more generally emerging and circulating hegemonic discourses formulated in central nodes such as the centers of learning in the Ḥaramayn and Cairo, and, significantly, likewise in the less geographically grounded sphere of new extraordinary formats such as *al-Manār*. Through these nodes, and at these nodes, engagement was clearly dialogical and not just a matter of reformers from the so-called heartlands influencing the peripheries. Indeed, the concept of “circulation” applied recently to the connections between Islam on the Indian Coromandel Coast and Southeast Asia by Tschacher appears to be helpful in freeing us from schemes suggesting unidirectional influences and transmission processes, which are, on the face of it, hardly plausible anyway. In Tschacher’s words, “[c]irculation’ does not imply a single diffusion of a ready-made cultural formation, but the movement back and forth of people, goods, and ideas across space and time. [..]he circulated entities may get transformed and become agents of still further transformation, leading to peculiar patterns of convergence and divergence within a ‘circulatory regime’”¹⁰¹.

This said, identifying the specific networks within the Jawi ecumene underpinning Jawization in Cambodia, will be of considerable importance in the following. Interaction of Cambodian Muslims with the Jawi ecumene of the Malay-Indonesian World was primarily focused on a particular one of its more or less clearly identifiable distinctive sub-sets. More precisely it was centered on the area and people of Greater Patani, that is, of the present Malay states of Kelantan and Terengganu as well as the Thai provinces of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat, Satun and Songkhla. Among these, Patani and Kelantan are standing out for their major relevance to Muslim affairs in Southeast Asia in general and the local process of Jawization in Cambodia in particular. Labeling this area and its Islamic tradition as a specific sub-set of the Jawi ecumene is far from an arbitrary choice. Indeed, the area is not only sharing much common (political) history as well as linguistic heritage (i.e. a common dialect of Malay not easily understood in other areas of the Malay Peninsula let alone the archipelago)¹⁰². In addition it is also evident that interactions (including religious) between say, scholars and students from Patani with those from Kelantan and vice versa, were much more frequent than contact with Malay scholars from outside the region. It is therefore also not a surprise that, despite the borders separating British Kelantan from Thai Patani from

¹⁰¹ Torsten Tschacher, “Circulating Islam. Understanding Convergence and Divergence in the Islamic Traditions of Ma’bar and Nusantara” in R. Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea (eds.), *Islamic Connections. Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 49.

¹⁰² The Malay dialect of Satun should be regarded as the exception in this framework as it is closer to those of the Malay states of Perlis and Kedah, whereas particularly those of Patani and Narathiwat are strongly akin to Kelantanese Malay. Hasan Madmarn, *The Pondok and Madrasah in Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit UKM, 1999), p. 14f.

1909 onwards, critical processes such as the emergence of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia, which manifested itself in Indonesia and in British Malaya's Straits Settlements differently and more intensely than in Kelantan and Patani¹⁰³, unfolded very much in tandem between the two areas. Thus, while the dynamics of Singapore had only indirect influence on, and transformative potential in, Cambodia, it will be shown that many major and minor contested issues debated in Kelantan and Patani (as well as the implicated factions, if such existed in a distinguishable manner) were also replicated in Cambodia. Moreover, as will be shown, even the extended networks of Cambodian Muslims to the Ḥaramayn went along Patani-Kelantanese lines, besides the fact, that also in this case relationships were certainly dialogic in nature and representative of circulation rather than merely unidirectional. Yet, especially in its initial stages, the agents and products of Jawization à la Patani-Kelantan had to confront the existence of contending Islamic discourses rooted in orality and a literary heritage nurtured and sustained by non-Jawi script and a *logosphere*, i.e. linguistic and therefore necessarily also cultural mental-space, other than Malay.

Nevertheless, written regimes, their hegemonic discourses and vehicles (languages and scripts) are not all. The transformations preceding, as well as resulting from processes such as Jawization are also, just as initial – probably superficial – conversions to a new faith, resting upon social contact and observation¹⁰⁴. Inbound, outbound and internal (e.g. from rural to urban areas, or from one province to another) migration, changes in the social order as well as, again, the spread of (religious) schooling into rural areas are all contributing factors in this respect. In addition, as much of the process of Jawization in Cambodia unfolded under French rule, also the colonial context has to be of relevance to our enquiry. As the first half of the 19th century progressed and the encounter of Southeast Asian Muslims with colonialism was no longer confined to power politics and economic exchanges (ranging from outright exploitation to close cooperation) alone but began to include repressive and then also benevolent religious policies as such. Needless to say, the designs for these religious policies were informed by and contributed to the existence and on-going production of colonial knowledge, not least concerning local religious and ethnic groups, which likewise gradually came to successfully dominate native ways of defining the

¹⁰³ Eliraz Giora, *Islam in Indonesia: Modernism, Radicalism, and the Middle East Dimension* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004); William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale Uni. Press, 1967), ch. 4.

¹⁰⁴ This component is well brought out in a persuasive study of 20th century conversion to Islam in West Africa. Egodi Uchendu, *Dawn for Islam in Eastern Nigeria. A History of the Arrival of Islam in Igboland* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2011), esp. chs. 4 & 5.

world¹⁰⁵. High colonialism was certainly not alone responsible for the deepening of religious boundaries and an accompanying increasing drive towards religious purity and standardization, as observed in the perceived “cultural” Muslim-Hindu cleavages in South Asia¹⁰⁶ or internal polarisation among the Javanese¹⁰⁷ and, as we shall see, Cambodian Muslims. Yet, it undoubtedly played a major part in strengthening, emphasizing, reformulating, transmitting, and - in certain instances - unequivocally affirming tendencies already felt throughout the Muslim World and embodied *inter alia* by the aforementioned revival movements.

Apart from colonial religious, legal and educational policies, new structural factors were important as well. In Southeast Asia, improvements in local infrastructure and transport, both on a global (e.g. the *hajj*) as well as local (roads, railways etc.) scale, were decisive factors in facilitating the emergence of much less localised networks of religious scholarship constantly engaged with developments in the Holy Cities and, increasingly, also other parts of the Muslim World (particularly South Asia). Another crucial aspect was of course, through the technical novelty of the lithography, which could for the first time approximate the highly-valued appearance of manuscripts, the late wholesale acceptance of book printing. Lithographies not only greatly facilitated access to religious literature but also significantly increased its affordability. In this respect also the distribution of Middle Eastern (*al-Manār*) and regional (*al-Imām* etc.) newspapers, conducive to the emergence of a wider Muslim public sphere among the religiously- and often just as much (meta-) ethnically-minded, must be taken into account. Ideals of Western education influenced the establishment of institutions such as the *Dār al-‘Ulūm* Deoband (1866) and the *Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College* Aligarh (1875) in India, the *Madrasat al-Iqbāl al-Islāmiyya* in Singapore (1908) and the *Muhammadiyah* organization (1912) in Indonesia, all of which strove to combine Islamic education with secular knowledge in order to ensure prosperity in colonial society and combat practices perceived as lacking sufficient scriptural basis and purportedly resulting from centuries of divergence from the pure religion. These concerns and notions were evidently shared by the colonial authorities and their advisors.

Incidentally, colonial authorities also frequently had to (or felt compelled to) function as arbiters in times of major intra-religious change and consequent factionalism. The archival evidence from such instances of colonial arbitration serves as valuable counterpoints to

¹⁰⁵ Shamsul, “History of an Identity”, p. 355-361; *ibid.*, ‘*Ilmu kolonial*’ dalam *pembentukan sejarah intelektual Malaysia: sebuah pandangan* (Bangi: KITA, 2011).

¹⁰⁶ Khan, *Crossing the Threshold*.

¹⁰⁷ Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*.

Muslim historical testimonies of intra-communal strife (*fatāwā*, polemical literature etc.). It thus seems adequate to consider religious change among Cambodian Muslims likewise in its French colonial context, including contemporary developments in Cambodian Buddhism, as well as in the wider context of Islam in the Malay World and the Muslim World at large. Although, the dynamics outlined above have been naturally exacerbated by present-day globalization it seems as if, against the larger backdrop of Jawization and the colonial encounter, and given the non-Muslim character of the local majority population, conflicts over practiced Muslim identity in Cambodia centered already at this stage largely “on the integration of components of differing cultural origin”¹⁰⁸, something presently primarily viewed as a phenomenon of globalization. The process of Jawization and its specific underlying networks clearly shows that even in studying early 20th century Islam in Cambodia and Vietnam, privileging local social relationships over those unfolding over greater distances¹⁰⁹, would be unserviceable and even untenable in seeking to acquire a more complete picture of socio-religious change and local factionalism.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Welsch, “Transculturality: The Changing Form of Cultures Today” in Inge Korneck (ed.), *The Contemporary Study of Culture* (Wien: Turia+Kant, 1999), p. 225.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hannerz, “Global Ecumene”, p. 51.

II. On the eve of Jawization and colonial rule

“Maka serta sampai ke Siantan, didapatinya bini Opu Daeng Parani pun sudah beranak laki-laki. Maka diberinya nama olehnya Daeng Kamboja, karena waktu ayahandanya pergi ke Kamboja mendapat anak itu” (“As they reached Siantan, it was found out that Opu Daeng Parani’s wife had begotten a son. He was given the name Daeng Kamboja, because his father had been to Cambodia at the time he was born”). Raja Ali Haji, Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis (1866).

After introducing the concept of Jawization and delineating its timeframe, this chapter will provide the background against which this crucial process unfolded itself in Cambodia. As decisive constitutive influences were both multi-local and multi-directional, the following foregrounding discussion will naturally not be confined to Cambodia itself. In contrast subsequent sections seek to shed light on the late 18th and early 19th century situation in the last Cham principality of Panduranga, in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta (at that time still contested territory between Khmers and Vietnamese) and in the Malay Sultanates of the Northeastern Peninsula, particularly Patani, Kelantan and Terengganu. Panduranga is of importance for the discussion due to the protracted migration of parts of its population to Cambodia and the Mekong Delta which, at least on an individual or rather familial basis, actually lasted until the 1880s (i.e. way into the era of Jawization). Islam in the Mekong Delta evolved very much in tandem with Cambodia, which further highlights the contrasting distinctiveness of long-term developments in (former) Panduranga. Moreover, it is this marked interconnectedness of Islam in Cambodia and the Delta, owing to a not insignificant degree to population movements – taking the form of immigration, emigration and often also re-immigration - in both directions in the 19th century, which would render an exclusion of the latter region from the enquiry unfeasible. As prime overseas nodes of transmission and circulation, religious developments in the Peninsular East Coast Sultanates are, as has already been suggested, naturally likewise vital to our understanding of transformations and emerging emphases within Cambodian Islam. In order to arrive at the broader picture implied by the characterization of Jawization as a region-wide phenomenon in Southeast Asia, occasional observation of similar trends in the wider Malay World will likewise be made. Finally, it will be shown that changing relationships between the local Cham-Malays and the Cambodian kings, especially during the struggles preceding

and concomitant to the establishment of the French protectorate, obviously yielded long-term effects, including in the sphere of religiously-argued factionalism.

1. Diversity and uniformity in Panduranga

In the 70 years preceding the onset of colonial rule in Cambodia, that is, from the 1790s onwards, the country's Muslim community swelled due to the arrival of new migratory waves from (former) Champa. These probably constituted the first major movements on such scale since the late 17th century. Indeed, it is commonly assumed, that the main phases of Cham migration to Cambodia corresponded to the main military advances of the Dai Viet, the last of which had taken place in the 1690s, effectively marking the beginning of general Cham isolation from the Muslim and Malay Worlds. This presumed isolation was certainly a factor contributing to the emergence and consolidation of Bani Islam as a distinctively local Cham Islamic discursive tradition¹¹⁰. Hereby, the Bani themselves became only one constituent of a larger formalized and nuanced system of interaction of Brahmanist and Muslim Chams in Panduranga. The particular degree of explicit inter-religiosity – in doctrinal as well as ritual spheres – and symbolic dualism involved in this system, besides the prevailing narratives of legendary history which are rationalizing its evolution, makes the Cham Jat and Bani rare cases, for which the application of the term syncretism, in an institutionalized form, might be justifiable¹¹¹. Whereas past and present complexities of religion in Panduranga are unfortunately falling largely beyond the scope of this study, one of its crucial features, which certainly proved to be of particular relevance for the subsequent religious dynamics among Cambodian Muslims, shall be highlighted at this point.

We may assume that, by the late 18th century, the aforementioned framework of Pandurangan Cham culture and society as resting on two mutually validating Brahmanist and Muslim religious communities with a common pantheon (albeit with differing

¹¹⁰ The beginnings of this isolation perhaps even predated the final 1692 Vietnamese sealing-off of the Cham ports. Whereas the Cham king was still in a position to send emissaries to the Dutch in Batavia in 1680, he was already reported two years later to have retreated 20 leagues from the coast “with his Muslim people”. Launey, *Histoire de la mission*, I, p. 244. The fateful 1692 attack on the Vietnamese could well have been the last attempt of the Cham Sultan to regain access to the vital maritime domain.

¹¹¹ Philipp Bruckmayr, “Between Institutionalized Syncretism and Official Particularism: Religion among the Chams of Vietnam and Cambodia” in Andreas H. Pries, Laetitia Martzloff, Robert Langer & Claus Ambos (eds.), *Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt. „Synkretismus“ zwischen Negation und Neudefinition* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), p. 39f.; Yashimoto Yasuko, “A Study of the Almanac of the Cham in South-Central Vietnam” in Tran Ky Phuong & Bruce M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam. History, Society and Art* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), p. 325f.

emphases), a shared tradition of relating to ancestor spirits as well as a common view on Cham history (including mythological), had not yet stabilized to the degree observed by French ethnographers of the latter part of the following century. Nevertheless, this system was certainly already in the process of consolidation, which might well have been then still more turbulent than the scarce Cham literature on the subject and its periodization by present scholarship seem to suggest. Thus, also Bani Islam along with many of its present characteristics marking it out as a most remarkable case of localization of Islam, must have by then already underwent a significant degree of consolidation. Therefore, many if not all Cham Muslim migrants entering Cambodia then and in subsequent decades were undoubtedly representatives and adherents of a local Islamic discursive tradition, which was distinctively (Pandurangan) Cham in content and appearance, or at the very least had certain distinctive imprints of that background. This would imply, that the already ethnically (Cham and *melayu*/Chvea of varying backgrounds) and presumably religiously diverse Muslim community of Cambodia received a new strong influx of Cham Muslims subscribing to a specific doctrinal religious system as well as ritual practice and view of history not necessarily shared by their longer established coreligionists in Khmer domains. Major hallmarks of renewed Cham migration to Cambodia in this period were the flight and settlement of the Cham king Po Ci Bri and his entourage during the Vietnamese civil war of the Tay Son uprising (1771-1802)¹¹² as well as the eventual complete dissolution of Panduranga in 1832, followed by the repressive assimilation policies of Minh Mang (r. 1820-1841)¹¹³. In between these dates a number of thwarted insurrections directed either against one faction of the civil war or, later, the Vietnamese occupiers as such, may have precipitated additional Cham migration to Cambodia.

Interestingly, Cham texts on the introduction of Islam to Champa as well as on these insurrections are also painting a picture of greater diversity within the Muslim community of Panduranga than was encountered by the French ethnographers at the end of the 19th century. It thus seems as if not only Islam in Cambodia has undergone Jawization but also its Pandurangan counterpart a further Banization. Whereas the latter observed a more or less unitary sphere of Bani Islam, only diversified by minor regional variances between the Phan Ri and Phan Rang regions, everything appears to be more complicated in Cham

¹¹² Po Dharma, "À propos de l'exil d'un roi cam au Cambodge", BEFEO, LXXII (1983), p. 253-263.

¹¹³ Po Dharma, "Etat des dernières recherches sur la date de l'absorption du Campa par le Vietnam" in *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa organisé à l'Université de Copenhague, le 23 mai 1987* (Paris: Centre d'histoire et civilisations de la péninsule indochinoise, 1988), p. 66. Although Minh Mang's policies of "cultivation" were most pronounced in Southern Vietnam, including former Panduranga, they were likewise applied to occupied Cambodia. Wook, *Southern Vietnam*, p. 101-159.

literature. Nevertheless, the material in turn likewise confirms the existence of a specific Bani identity along with the recognition of its difference from other forms of being Muslim. We may first direct our attention towards the main Cham texts supposedly concerned with the introduction of Islam to Champa and the subsequent establishment of a system designed to ensure inter-community harmony. These are most notably two texts relating the sojourns of proselytizing Malay princes and of a likewise proselytizing Malay princess in Champa.

The former basically presents the background to the Bani *rija* dancing ritual (akin – particularly in form but perhaps less in content – to Patani and Kelantan’s *mak yung* dance theater¹¹⁴), which is performed in commemoration of the two princes. According to this text, many of the main features of the evolved system of equality and interaction between Panduranga’s religious communities have been instituted top-down by a Cham king after a period of communal strife. These measures included the mutual partaking of priests from both communities in each other’s major festivities, equality in status (including the accordance of the royal and priestly title *po* [sire] also to Bani religious functionaries) as well as, most strikingly, the incorporation of Po Aulah (Allāh) into the Cham Brahmanist pantheon¹¹⁵. All this had allegedly been suggested by the visiting Muslim princes. Whereas the historicity of this account is naturally in doubt, the text represents a remarkable rationalization for the bi-religious character of Cham culture in former Panduranga, characterized by a quasi-symbiotic coexistence despite clearly defined religious boundaries, which evidently in no way obstruct the partaking in a shared ritual world and view of history. We may thus also speak of a common temporality within “heterogeneous time” among Bani and Brahmanist Chams in former Panduranga¹¹⁶. The latter aspect is best illustrated by the *sakawi (cham)* calendar, likewise attributed to Po Rome, which represents a dual calendrical system combining a lunisolar calendar, originating in earlier Cham usage of the Śaka era, and a lunar one, based on Islamic, particularly octaval, calendars¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ Rahimidin Zahari & Sutung Umar, *Makyung: The Msytical Heritage of Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan Malaysia Berhad, 2011), p. 6-18.

¹¹⁵ Po Dharma, “Deux princes malais au Campa. Leur rôle dans la vie socio-politique et religieuse de ce pays” in *Monde Indochinoise et Péninsule Malaise* (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia, 1990), p. 19-27.

¹¹⁶ The existence of heterogeneous time, also as an analytical category was stressed by Asad and defined as “embodied practices rooted in multiple traditions, [...] differences between horizons of expectation and spaces of experience – differences which continuously dislocate the present from the past, the world experienced from the world anticipated, and call for their revision and reconnection”. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular. Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 179.

¹¹⁷ Yasuko, “Study of the Almanac”, p. 326-330. The Indian Hindu Śaka era is either a solar or a luni-solar reckoning running from either of two points in March 78 AD. It was in use throughout India as well as in

Intriguingly, the name *sakawi* is clearly a contraction of *Śaka* and *jawi*. This shared culture and temporality was in the long run not only sustained by practice and the grounded ritual geography of ancestor veneration (*muk kei*) alone, but likewise by the existence of shared cultural icons. Due to their completely unequal distribution between Phan Rang and Phan Ri, architectural vestiges of the past (i.e. major temples) do not appear to have played this role. Rather the unifying cultural icon was Cham script (in which of course also the concerned story was written), incidentally lost, presumably in the process of Jawization, among almost all Chams living outside of former Panduranga.

The second piece of Cham literature to be invoked here, which was given the title *Nai Mai Mang Makah* (The princess who came from Kelantan¹¹⁸), appears to be testifying to intra-Muslim diversity within Champa. Tentatively dated to the late 17th to late 18th century, this text likewise refers to religious strife among the Chams resulting from the spread of Islam. However, as it bemoans the highly fragmented character of Cham society, it mentions not only the Bani (*bini ralaoh* – “Bani, people of Allāh”¹¹⁹) but also the *Cawa* (Jawa) as distinctive groups¹²⁰. Two possible explanations may be put forward regarding this enumeration: Either the Jawa mentioned are not Chams at all, but belonging to the broad category of *melayu* instead, or we are dealing here with two distinctive ways of being Muslim (that is, Bani and Jawa) in Panduranga. Even if the first supposition should be correct, this would imply the recognition of different Muslim communities with their respective Islamic discursive traditions on Cham soil. More examples of such recognition of difference between Bani and other “Islams” is to be found in the Cham reports regarding several cases of anti-Vietnamese insurgence between the 1790s and 1830s, thus coinciding with the very period of renewed major migration of Chams to Cambodia.

In the early 1790s, two decades into the Tay Son wars, which had turned Panduranga into a battleground of intra-Vietnamese conflict, two alleged anti-Vietnamese insurrectionary movements appeared. One of these was led by the Cham prince Po Ci Bri (Tay Son-instated

Cambodia, Java and Ceylon. J.F. Fleet, “Śaka Era” in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, XI (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), p. 96.

¹¹⁸ The editors have taken *Makah* (Mecca) to be a euphemism for Kelantan. While this is understandable due to the aforementioned localisation of this place in the Malay World (*nagar jawa*) in Cham tradition and the strong connection between Kelantan and Champa suggested by (particular readings of) parts of Kelantanese historical tradition, it is, the present author would argue, at the same time not entirely convincing. As a more or less mythological site located somewhere in the Malay World, scanty evidence from Kelantanese sources is insufficient to prove that Cham *Makah* was really synonymous with Kelantan, or denoted any specific place in the Malay World at all for that matter. Tellingly, in the story of the Malay princes, Kelantan (*Kalatan*) and not *Makah* is noted as their place of origin. Po Dharma, “Deux princes malais”, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ Cham *ra* usually serves as an article for the nominalization of base verbs to denote persons associated with important functions. Gérard Moussay, *Grammaire de la langue Cam* (Paris: Les indes savants, 2006), p. 265.

¹²⁰ Po Dharma, Moussay & Abdul Karim (eds. & trans.), *Nai Mai Mang Makah*, p. 71f.

governor/king of Panduranga 1783-6, afterwards briefly allied with the Nguyen) and the other by a certain Tuen Phaow¹²¹, hailing from Malaya. As both are reported to have been based in the same mountainous region in 1793, they might have temporarily constituted just one coalition force rather than two separate movements. Moreover, given the obvious Vietnamese contest for alliance-building with and cooptation of Cham royalty, parts of which were among the initial supporters of the Tay Son¹²², it is far from certain that their goal was actually ridding Cham territories from Vietnamese occupation as such. Whereas this is somehow expectedly what the Cham story of Tuen Phaow relates, a more complex role in the local power struggle would likewise be conceivable¹²³. Introducing himself as coming from *Makah*, Tuen Phaow is reported to have brought in troops from Cambodia, and eventually led (in the end futile) military action against the Vietnamese in 1796-7 (confirmed by Vietnamese sources)¹²⁴. By then, Po Ci Bri and his entourage had probably already withdrawn from the conflict to Cambodian Thbaung Khmum before settling at Tay Ninh near the frontier¹²⁵, where French archaeologists later indeed discovered three graves attributed locally to exiled members of the Cham royal family¹²⁶.

Of interest, however, is what Cham sources report about the make-up of Tuen Phaow's Cambodian contingents, which are said to have consisted, besides a number of Khmers, of resident *cam baruw* and *jawa kur*¹²⁷. The former term is, in addition to the intriguing *cam jawa* ("Malayized Chams") label, currently in use among the Chams of former Panduranga to denote two groups of Chams unified by their association with non-Bani Islam. These are the

¹²¹ Cham version of the Malay title *tuān*. Among Cambodian Muslims the variant *tuon* is used in reference to religious teachers.

¹²² George Dutton, *The Tây Sơn Uprising. Society and Rebellion in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2006), p. 91f., 101f. & 205-208.

¹²³ It shall be noted that despite the seemingly local nature of the conflict, the ranks of stake-holders and those drawn into it came to include, besides the South Vietnamese Nguyen, Tay Son, Chams (different factions supporting different camps in at times shifting alliances) and Khmers (of the Mekong Delta), also the North Vietnamese Trinh (attacked by the Tay Son), Cambodia (attacked by both camps, contesting court factions taking sides) and Siam (supporting the Nguyen). Dutton, *Tây Sơn Uprising*.

¹²⁴ Nicolas Weber, "Ariya Tuen Phaow: Le soulèvement anti-vietnamien d'un seigneur malais au Pāṇḍuraṅga-Campā à la fin du XVIIIe siècle" in Po Dharma, Mak Phoeun & Jacques Ivanoff (eds.), *Péninsule indochinoise et monde malais: Relations historiques et culturelles* (Kuala Lumpur: EFEQ, 2004), p. 127-166.

¹²⁵ Po Dharma, "À propos de l'exil", p. 263. The Tay Ninh region may have served as an area for Vietnamese resettlement of Chams at the expense of the Khmers. At least this seems to be implied by a report in Vietnamese sources relating armed Vietnamese-Khmer conflict resulting from major Vietnamese directed Cham movement in the area in 1755. Trang-hoï-duc, *Gia-dinh-Thung-Chi. Histoire et description de la Basse Cochinchine (Pays du Gia-dinh)*, ed. & trans. Gabriel Aubaret (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969), p. 14 (henceforth GDTG). Some of the Cham manuscripts detailing the exile of Po Ci Bri are mentioning Vietnamese authorization of his move to Tay Ninh. Étienne Aymonier, "Légendes historiques des chames", E&R, XIV (1890), p. 205f.; Po Dharma, "À propos de l'exil", p. 257 n. 4.

¹²⁶ V. Cudenet, "Les Cham de Tayninh", BICAI, I (1910), p. 63f.; H. Parmentier, "Relevé archéologique de la province de Tây-Ninh", BICAI, I (1910), p. 77f.

¹²⁷ Weber, "Ariya Tuen Phaow", p. 133.

Chams of the Mekong Delta (and Cambodia) as well as those local Chams in their midst who have in small numbers chosen to adopt the same brand of Islam from the 1960s onwards¹²⁸. In the course of this process the latter have underwent Jawization and have effectively fallen out of the established system of Bani-Brahmanist interaction¹²⁹. Charged for having adopted “Malay” instead of Cham ways, their greatest digression from the viewpoint of the local Cham majority (both Bani and Brahmanist) is their rejection of the *muk kei* (ancestral spirits).

On the contrary, *jawa kur* (lit. “Malay-Khmers”), is presently used as an equivalent to the Cambodian usage of *chvea*, and as such employed to denote an officially recognized subgroup among the Muslims of the Mekong Delta, who are speaking a variant of Khmer and have allegedly sprung from unions between Malay men and Khmer women¹³⁰. This description could not only point to the fact, that the troops brought from “Cambodia” (and probably also the self-proclaimed “Meccan” leader) were actually largely drawn from the Mekong Delta, which had, despite Khmer non-recognition of this state of affairs, actually been taken over by the Vietnamese and their Chinese agents in the course of the last century¹³¹. What is more, it again confirms the recognition of and exposure to religiously as well as ethnically grounded Muslim diversity in Southern Indochina by the Chams of Panduranga. Moreover, the story also contains a reference to the changes such exposure could yield among the locals. Thus, it reports that all of Tuen Phaow’s partisans, and we may well take this to mean also his Pandurangan followers, came to behave the same way, namely according to the manners of the *jawa* Muslims of Cambodia¹³².

These issues would become even more poignant in the 1830s as any remaining Cham hopes for the recovery of Panduranga were in their last throes. As by now officially abolished

¹²⁸ The first Sunni mosque of Phan Rang was established in 1963. Currently there are four such mosques in the area catering to a group of approximately 1000 Cham *baru*, which are accounting for a mere 1% of the entire Cham population in former Panduranga. Rie Nakamura, “The Cham Muslims in Ninh Thuan Province, Vietnam” in Omar Farouk Bajunid & Hiroyuki Yamamoto (eds.), *Islam at the Margins. The Muslims of Indochina* (Kyoto: CIAS, 2008), p. 20f. In Phan Ri a similar process has started just recently. One member of the local community is currently studying in Medina. Personal communication with Abdul Halim b. Ahmad, nephew of a *Bani* imam and son of one of the first *Cham Jawa* in Phan Rang (Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012).

¹²⁹ Bruckmayr, “Between Institutionalized Syncretism”, p. 21-25.

¹³⁰ The group has its own mosque in Châu Giang, where, contrary to the other village mosque, the *khutba* is delivered in Khmer. Philipp Taylor, *Cham Muslims of the Mekong Delta. Place and Mobility in the Cosmopolitan Periphery* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), p. 46, 49-51, 55f. & 81.

¹³¹ Yumio Sakurai, “Eighteenth Century Chinese Pioneers on the Water Frontier of Indochina” in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 35-52; *ibid.* & Takako Kitagawa, “Ha Tien or Banteay Meas in the Time of the Fall of Ayutthaya” in Kennon Breazeale (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya’s Maritime Relations with Asia* (Bangkok: Foundation for the Promotion of the Social Sciences & Humanities Textbook Project, 1999), p. 150-217; Nguyễn Thế Anh, “L’immigration chinoise et la colonisation du delta du Mékong” in VR, I (1996), p. 154-177.

¹³² Weber, “Ariya Tuen Phaow”, p. 157.

Panduranga was under the grip of Minh Mang (son of Emperor Nguyen Anh, who had emerged victorious out of the Tay Son Wars to reunify Vietnam), it witnessed yet another revolt led by a personage with “Meccan” connections. Thus, Katip (ar. *khaṭīb*, “preacher”) Sumat, a Cambodian *cam baruw* claiming to have just returned after long years of study in *Makah*¹³³, led an insurrection in 1833, which was almost immediately followed by another one under the command of his erstwhile follower Ja Thak Wa (1834-5), a Bani¹³⁴. Strikingly, Cham chronicles are adamant in stressing how Sumat’s rupture with Ja Thak Wa and many other Cham supporters was due to the former’s high-jacking of the liberation struggle to further his own designs of spreading (Jawa) Islam and establishing a decidedly Muslim realm¹³⁵. On the contrary, such plans did not feature at all among the agendas of Ja Thak Wa and his supporters. As the latter’s revolt is receiving a lot more attention in Vietnamese sources than Sumat’s, we may assume that it gained much greater popular support.

What can be gleaned from the foregoing accounts is that the comparable isolation from the Malay and Muslim Worlds in which the Chams of Panduranga persisted (apart from other factors), has not plainly led to a strongly localized Islamic discourse subsisting in a vacuum sustained by Vietnamese tutelage. Indeed, contact with or even intervention of Malay and Cham exponents of a different form of Islam, seems to have been a recurrent feature, at least during the period of the 1790s-1830s, creating an awareness of difference, which would have otherwise been inconceivable. Moreover, these very instances may have influenced the more legendary pieces of Cham literature rationalizing the particularities of Bani and Jat religion and their interaction in (former) Panduranga. Also in this case opposition may have served to sharpen contours. What is more, contrary to what is taken for granted by most recent scholarship on the Chams of former Panduranga, the story of such encounters does not end here (in the 1830s) only to be picked up again by an unprecedented transformation of minor numbers Cham Bani into Cham Jawa in the 1960s. Indeed, a surprisingly largely ignored detail in Étienne Aymonier’s study of Cham religion published in 1891 (and drawing on observations of the preceding decade) is quite striking in this regard. He noted, that “a few years ago”, three Bani villages in Phan Ri (Binh Thuan province) had suddenly refrained from adoring the lesser deities (*po yang*) due to the efforts

¹³³ By then, as will be shown below, Kelantan had indeed embarked on its path to becoming a major centre of religious learning, a role which it did arguably not yet play in earlier centuries.

¹³⁴ Po Dharma, *Le Pānduranga (Campā) 1802-1835: ses rapports avec le Vietnam*, I (Paris: PEFE0, 1987), p. 142-146, 153-164.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 143-144, 153. One Cham manuscript detailing the revolt of Ja Thak Wa that the propagators of Islam, which were repressed by the Vietnamese, came from “Kapot” (probably Kampot). Pierre-Bernard Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits cam des bibliothèques françaises* (Paris: PEFE0, 1977), p. 20.

and condemnation of “a foreign hadji”¹³⁶. This incidence, however, appears to have left no lasting mark in local Cham historical consciousness nor local religious practice. References to such villages are not resurfacing in early 20th century studies of Durand (1903), Cabaton (1907) and Baudesson (1932), when there were apparently hardly any foreign hajjis, Malay preachers or “New Chams” in sight¹³⁷. Very much to the contrary, Cabaton, who had earlier in fact met such hajjis from Chau Doc (typical *cam baruw/jawa*), who had travelled to Binh Thuan to invite their kin-people to their form of Islam, could only report on the frustration of the latter at their fruitless attempts¹³⁸. As certain Bani began to follow the Islam of their kin in the Mekong Delta and Saigon through interaction with the latter, due to city encounters (in Saigon and Can Tho) and resulting preaching missions, this process unfolded incidentally in the distant other Cham enclave of former Panduranga (i.e. Phan Rang, Ninh Thuan province).

Of course there would be the possibility that Aymonier’s report was incorrect, which is however quite unlikely as he was undoubtedly the French administrator-scholar with the deepest and closest contact to the Chams ever in the area. Following his appointment as inspector for indigenous affairs in 1871, he served as French Resident of Binh Thuan from 1886-8. In this position and against the backdrop of the French pacification struggle of the 1880s, he explicitly envisaged to use Chams, Khmers, hill tribes and (Vietnamese) Christians as a counterbalance to the local Annamese, and for that purpose even set up a modest Cham militia. Among the latter, he was highly esteemed and regarded as a staunch supporter, if not even as a father figure opening the door for a revival of Champa. It therefore does not come as a surprise that he even came to marry a Cham “princess”¹³⁹.

It thus seems, as if this episode in Phan Ri represents yet another – if recurrent – anomaly in the religious world of (former) Panduranga, which has subsequently soon switched back to normal. This quick obliteration from memory as well as the negative assessment of Katip Sumat’s role in Cham literature and his purported lack of support among the populace, is naturally intriguing. Moreover, it should be compared with the poetic role of Tuen Phaow and the more legendary accounts of the Malay role in the Islamization of Panduranga,

¹³⁶ Étienne Aymonier, “The Chams and their religions” in H. Parmentier, P. Mus & E. Aymonier, *Cham Sculpture of the Tourane Museum – Religious Ceremonies and Superstitions of Champa*, trans. & ed. W. E. J. Tips (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2001), p. 51.

¹³⁷ E.M. Durand, “Les Chams Bani”, BEFEO, III (1903), p. 54-62; Antoine Cabaton, “Les Chams musulmans de l’Indochine française”, RMM, II (1907), p. 139-162; H. Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1997).

¹³⁸ Antoine Cabaton, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), p. 6.

¹³⁹ Pierre Singaravelou, “De la couverture du Champa à la direction de l’Ecole Coloniale: itinéraire d’Étienne Aymonier d’après ses mémoires inédits” in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, A. Pino & S. Khoury (eds.), *D’un orient à l’autre: Actes des troisièmes journées de l’orient. Bordeaux, 2-4 octobre 2002* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2005), p. 244-246.

which are arguably more concerned with legitimating Bani Islamic tradition and its interaction with local Brahmanism than the spread of Islam as such. All in all this combination seems to corroborate the picture of strengthened Bani consciousness and Islamic discourse as well as fortified Bani-Jat unity in the face of these encounters. Thus, we may attest that, concomitant to gradual Jawization in Cambodia, there was also a religious process underway in former Panduranga, with its limited opportunities and incentives for contact with the Malay and Muslim Worlds. Bani Islam and the Cham religious system in former Panduranga as a whole, as it is known today, was not merely the result of degeneration and cultural decline as was claimed by most French ethnographers, but rather something actively defended and modulated, and this at times not only against Vietnamese influence. This, assumingly, was not only conducive to lasting Bani-Jat rapprochement, but likewise lead to the sharpening of the contours of Bani religious expression within the Muslim component of local Cham culture, or, if you will, to further Banization. It shall be noted in this context, that also the present major revival of interest in Cham script (*akhir trah*) and its literary heritage among Chams in former Panduranga, starting in the early 1970s¹⁴⁰, was propelled by two developments. One was political in nature and related to attempts at arousing Cham “national” consciousness for anti-Vietnamese designs (see below). The other, however, was religious: the emergence of the Cham Jawa community in Phan Rang, once again challenging Bani Islamic discourse and the perceived foundations of Cham culture and inter-religious interaction in the area.

To sum up, Bani Islamic discourse and practice was both strengthened in former Panduranga as well as exported to Khmer lands on the eve of Jawization and colonial rule in Cambodia.

2. Patani, other contemporaneous centers and their relevance in the Patani network

The Sultanate of Patani emerged as a major Malay trading center soon after the fall of Melaka. Whereas initially Sino-Javanese traders had apparently been decisive in this development, the new Melakan Malay trading diaspora has certainly likewise played an important role in the rise of Patani. In this respect, also Malay and Chinese trade between Patani and Cambodia was of significance and has most probably contributed to religious interaction and exchanges between the Muslim communities of the two countries.

¹⁴⁰ Doris E. Blood, “The Script as a Cohesive Factor in Cham Society” in M. Gregersen & D. Thomas (eds.), *Notes from Indochina on Ethnic Minority Cultures* (Dallas: SIL Museum of Anthropology, 1980), p. 39, 42.

Undoubtedly, the 17th century constituted Patani's most prosperous phase. Although the Sultans and Sultanates of Patani had been sending tribute in form of the *bunga emas* (the golden flower) to Siam for centuries by then, the late 18th century marked a turning point in Siamese-Patani relations. The middle of the 1780s witnessed major punitive Siamese military action against Patani and in 1791 it was placed under the authority of the Siamese governor in Songkhla, paving the way for 19th century Siamese policy of splitting up the region and replacing Malay rulers with Thai administrators¹⁴¹.

Despite its evident political decline, Patani, however, developed into a major center of religious education and literary activity in the Malay World at that time¹⁴². A process which was, ironically, boosted by Siamese attempts of cultural colonization as well as by the deprivation of Malay rulers, both of which made the desire for the protection of cultural resources, such as Malay language and Islamic religion, paramount and turned respected religious scholars into natural community leaders as well as instrumental figures in the emergence of a new social and moral order. Most notably the institution of the *pondok* (from Arabic *funduq*) - the traditional Malay Islamic boarding school (with students' huts - *pondoks* - clustered around the teachers house or a school building) and as such the peninsular counterpart to the Javanese *pesantren* and the Minangkabau *surau* - is said to have originated in Patani¹⁴³. Attracting students from far beyond the borders of Patani, the local *pondok* system soon spread to Kelantan, where it began to flourish from the 1820s onwards. Due to their reputation as centers of religious learning both states and their *pondoks* soon began to draw students from Cambodia, where the Patani-Kelantanese system of religious schooling would then likewise be replicated at a later date.

¹⁴¹ Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans & Saints. Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2007), p. 114. Strikingly, Songkhla itself had, in analogy to Vietnamese expansion in the Delta, only been officially taken over for the Siamese in 1775 by the Chinese adventurer Wu Jang. Thus, the Chinese Wus, who were granted eight successive governorships, indeed became the initial rulers of subdued Greater Patani. Chingho A. Chen, "Mac Thien Tu and Phrayataksin: A Survey on their Political Stand, Conflicts and Background" in *Proceedings, Seventh IAHA Conference 22-26 August 1977 Bangkok* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn Univ. Press, 1979), p. 1539.

¹⁴² The most extensive surveys of Jawi literature from Patani and its educational network are respectively: V. Matheson & M.B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of a Tradition", *JMBRAS*, LXI (1988), p. 1-86; Francis R. Bradley, *The Social Dynamics of Islamic Revivalism in Southeast Asia: The Patani School, 1785-1909* (Madison: PhD. Dissertation Univ. of Wisconsin, 2009).

¹⁴³ Whatever the accuracy of this claim, it is striking that, after its rise on the Peninsula, *pondok* signified an educational institution wherever it might have been located (outside of Malaya the name was incidentally also employed by the Javanese *Shattariyya*), which does clearly not apply to the *surau* and *pesantren*. In Malaysia and Cambodia a *surau*, although often also a place of learning, is nowadays primarily a place for prayer, as is, in strong contrast to Java, the case with the *pesantren* in Lombok. Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 27; G.-H. Bousquet, "Recherches sur les deux sectes musulmanes (« Waktou Telous » et « Waktou Lima ») de Lombok", *REI*, XIII (1939), p. 156.

One main pillar of the *pondok* system was the use of *kitab jawi*, that is, Malay books written in *jawi* script and, to a much lesser degree, also Arabic works, for religious instruction in study circles arranged around the teacher (*guru*). As a completely book-centered institution, the *pondok* was clearly above the level of basic religious education imparted by village Qur’anic schools or mosques, in which only basic knowledge of religious precepts as well as the Arabic/*jawi* script and Qur’anic recitation (by the medium of the short surahs) was taught. Incidentally, Patani and its scholars have, from the first half of the 19th century onwards, played a disproportionate part in the production and distribution of *kitab jawi* for the Malay World. After the decline of Aceh, Palembang in South Sumatra¹⁴⁴, like Patani a major post-Melakan trading Sultanate with a long history of Sino-Javanese and Malay contacts, had arguably served as a new center of Malay literary production in the second half of the 18th century. Despite spending most of his life in Arabia and even dying there, its prime representative was Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. 1789)¹⁴⁵, whose main work was his timely and highly influential Malay rendering of al-Ghazālī’s (*Lubāb*) *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* entitled *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ‘ibādat rabb al-‘ālamīn*¹⁴⁶. Despite his physical absence, al-Palimbānī, a disciple of the Medinese Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (d. 1776), was instrumental in the establishment of the new composite *ṭarīqa* (Sammāniyya) founded by the latter, in Palembang, Aceh and beyond. The thorough penetration of Islam into *ulu* (upstream) rural areas in Southern Sumatra, as exemplified by the area-wide emergence of village mosques, also began at that time¹⁴⁷. Also Muslim printing started out from Palembang. In 1854 a local lithographic press embarked on printing the Qur’an, tellingly with an introduction and notes in Malay¹⁴⁸.

Besides Palembang, Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan has to be mentioned as home to major Malay ‘*ulamā*’ of the era, who likewise were to wield strong lasting influence through the on-going wide distribution of their works. Its two most prominent scholars were Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Banjārī (d. 1812), likewise a disciple of al-Sammānī, and his younger contemporary Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs al-Banjārī (d. 1820s)¹⁴⁹. Upon his return to Banjarmasin after 35 years in Mecca and Medina, Muḥammad Arshad (accompanied by a

¹⁴⁴ This role was certainly connected to the new prominence of the Arab element, including religious advisors, in the port city. Andaya, *To live as brothers*, p. 220f., 241.

¹⁴⁵ Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 112-117; Braginsky, *Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, p. 653.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā ‘ibādat rabb al-‘ālamīn*, 2 vols. (Derang, Kedah: al-Khazanah al-Banjariyyah, 2001). The work is still widely used and therefore constantly republished throughout Muslim Southeast Asia.

¹⁴⁷ Andaya, *To live as brothers*, p. 241.

¹⁴⁸ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁹ Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 117-122.

fellow returnee of Bugis extraction) tellingly immediately proceeded with the foundation of a *pondok/pesantren*-style educational institution. His major works are both strongly connected to the heritage of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658), the Gujerati-Acehnese 17th century luminary and famous critic of the monistic Sufism prevailing in the Aceh of his day. His *Sabīl al-muhtadīn* is an exposition on Rānīrī's *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, which is generally considered to have been the first Malay work on *fiqh*¹⁵⁰. His effort in this respect is particularly revealing concerning our notion of Jawization as the long and arduous constitution of an also linguistically (at least in the literary field) unified *jawi* ecumene made up of different local constituent communities. Accordingly, Muḥammad Arshad stresses that his prime reason for revisiting and reworking Rānīrī's opus was the influence of Acehnese language on its Malay, which seriously inhibited its usage among the wider *jawi* ecumene¹⁵¹.

In contrast, his second – less securely attributed – work, *Tuḥfat al-rāghibīn* draws heavily on Rānīrī's *firaq* (sects) work *Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān*¹⁵². On the contrary, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī is best known for a work detailing the seven grades of being (ml. *martabat tujuh*)¹⁵³, in Southeast Asia mainly the domain of Shaṭṭari(-influenced) circles, and thus pertaining to a brand of Islamic mysticism by then already on the wane. Nevertheless, his *al-Durr al-naḥīs*, which – just like those of his Acehnese predecessors of preceding centuries – claims to be written in *bahasa jawi* (and not *melayu*)¹⁵⁴, has remained in circulation and in print until the present day. As will be shown below, the works of Palimbānī, Muḥammad Arshad and, to a lesser degree, of Muḥammad Nafīs came to form standard texts commonly used and distributed within Patani teaching networks, bounded (and soon importantly also printed) vehicles of Jawization in the hands of its agents.

¹⁵⁰ Hereby he explicitly drew on a number of Shāfi'i works, primarily Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *Minḥāj al-Ṭālibīn* and commentaries and glosses to it. In this context he stresses that he did not merely translate material but also protected (*memelihara*) what was true (*ṣaḥīḥ*) from what was weak (*ḍa'īf*) in it. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, on the margin of Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd al-Allāh al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn li tafaqquh fī amr al-dīn* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n.d.), I, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Strikingly, this explanation is given in both Arabic and then Malay. Reference to the lands of the ecumene is phrased as plainly *fī ḥādhihī l-buldān* and *di dalam sekalian negeri jawi* respectively. Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, I, p. 3. Cf. Andaya, "Aceh's Contribution", p. 45.

¹⁵² Braginsky, *Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, p. 653 (with obsolete ascription to Palimbānī, following Drewes); Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 30. The work has been likewise attributed to Daud Patani. Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 230f. Part of the confusion arises probably from Daud also having produced a work by that name, though with a different subtitle. Bradley's assumption that this should be its sequel is rather implausible. *Ibid.*, 234f. For the *Tibyān* see Petrus Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī. In Facsimile uitgegeven met aantegeningen* (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

¹⁵³ Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs al-Banjārī, *al-Durr al-naḥīs* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n.d.). Probably influenced by Palimbānī, whose major works of Sufism are reflective of the same tendency, this book is regarded as an attempt to reconcile the traditions of al-Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabī. Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 136; van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 258.

¹⁵⁴ al-Banjārī, *al-Durr al-naḥīs*, p. 2.

Finally, Patani was the last and in the long run most enduring and most lively centre of Islamic scholarship and accompanying Malay literary activity to emerge at the turn of the 18th/19th century. Its towering figure was clearly Dā'ūd b. 'Abdallāh al-Faṭānī (Daud Patani, d. 1847)¹⁵⁵, whereas his countryman Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (Ahmad Patani, d. 1907) turned out to be its chief purveyor and distributor as well as its representative with the strongest direct influence on Islam in Cambodia. After having completed his early studies in Patani and Aceh, Daud Patani spent most of his adult life in Mecca. There, although starting to write books only late in his life, he turned into the most prolific Malay author of his time. Reputedly leaving at least 57 works (around 40 of which can be firmly substantiated)¹⁵⁶, he was only to be surpassed in that respect by another (later) *jawi* resident of Mecca, Muḥammad Nawawī Banten (d. 1897), to whom at least 99 works are ascribed. As the latter, however, exhibited much less enthusiasm for the use of Malay as a literary scholarly language and therefore produced an entirely Arabic corpus¹⁵⁷, we may indeed list Daud as the most prolific author of (Malay-language) *kitab jawi* of all times.

As such, and added to by the fact that many of his books and treatises were arguably (more often than not assorted) translations of Arabic works, he must naturally be regarded as a major transmitter and modulator of Arabic Islamic scholarly (and by implication social) discourses into the *jawi* ecumene. Hereby, translation was, however, not just a process of cultural transmission and transposition. These efforts, as was also the case with those of earlier, in the long run on the ground less influential, Malay scholars, propelled the emergence of a distinctively *jawi* body of Islamic knowledge¹⁵⁸, which would in turn also nurture Muslim scholarship in Cambodia, among other places. As we will see, this emerging new canon and the changes in religious performance associated with it, in as far as its purveyors were aiming at effectively acting upon it, led to frictions with those denying the validity of these changes and of the new canon as such.

The great affluence of *pondoks* in Patani and surrounding states such as Kelantan undoubtedly received a major impetus from his prestige. Within the emerging system,

¹⁵⁵ Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud Bin Abdullah al-Fatani. Ulama' dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara* (Shah Alam: Hizbi, 1990).

¹⁵⁶ See lists, descriptions and information on prints and manuscript holdings in *Ibid.*, p. 55-99; Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and their Works (Version 2.0)* (Seattle: n.p., 2009), p. 27-31; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 222-262; Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 21-26.

¹⁵⁷ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 63; Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 194f.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. the poignant observations and discussion regarding translation of Arabic and Persian texts into Chinese (as a new Islamic supra-language) from the 1630s onwards in Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad. A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), p. 77f., 129f., 133.

which was to have so profound effects on religious developments in the region as well as in Cambodia, Daud moreover became the single most important author, judging from the number of his works in regular use way into the middle of the 20th century.

It shall be noted, however, that Daud Patani, Palimbānī and the two Banjārīs are bound together by more than the retrospective influence of their works on Islamic education in their home lands and throughout the region. Although coming from far flung places within the Malay World (i.e. the northern Peninsula, South Sumatra and South Kalimantan), they all shared a common belonging in the young Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa*¹⁵⁹. Formally a branch of the Khalwatiyya¹⁶⁰, al-Sammānī's obviously separate path (one of the rare cases in which the “founder” is not merely eponymous) additionally combined the Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya and Shadhiliyya, yet supplied with its own *rātib* and mode of *dhikr*¹⁶¹. Whereas, as was already noted, al-Palimbānī and Muḥammad Arshad had been direct disciples of al-Sammānī, Muḥammad Nafīs (and possibly Daud Patani) took the path from ‘Abdallāh al-Sharqāwī, rector of Cairo’s al-Azhar from 1793-1812¹⁶². Accordingly, these four luminaries are also representative of a general shift away from the Shaṭṭariyya order, with its close connection to the teaching of the *martabat tujuh*, to the Sammāniyya and, in the long run, the eventually even more successful Naqshbandiyya(-Khālidiyya). In Palembang, for example, the whole court is known to have gone over to the Sammāniyya under the influence of Palimbānī and his circle. As aptly observed by Laffan, there was more at stake in these cases than a simple switching of *ṭarīqa* allegiances. Rather, there was a shift underway in regional standards of orthodoxy, particularly as far as Sufism is concerned, symbolized by new *ṭarīqa* networks and affiliation, which is also perceptible in the make-ups of court libraries sequestered by the colonial powers¹⁶³.

This would become more pronounced in the one region which firmly remained in Shaṭṭari hands despite (or because of?) the violent onslaught of the Padri movement, Minangkabau. There, the early Khālidis came to be known and understood themselves as *kaum muda* (“new group” – the term later commonly used to denote the Islamic reformist movement) and

¹⁵⁹ Following the order of the day all of them had multiple *ṭarīqa* affiliations, including Shaṭṭari.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Sammānī himself was a *murid* of the Damascene Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d. 1749), a major Khalwati figure of the 18th century and outstanding Sufi literate as far as his experimentation with a diversity of new or otherwise neglected “profane” genres is concerned. See Ralf Elger, *Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. Zur Selbstdarstellung eines syrischen Gelehrten, Sufis und Dichters des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2004).

¹⁶¹ Martin van Bruinessen, “Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders (*tarikat*) in Indonesia” in SI, I, 1 (1994), p. 8f.

¹⁶² It was under his tenure that al-Azhar was shelled and occupied by Napoleon’s forces in 1798. Bayard Dodge, *Al-Azhar. A Millenium of Muslim Learning* (Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1974), p. 108f. Although Daud had undoubtedly studied with al-Sharqāwī, his *silsila* - as reproduced by Abdullah - has him taking the path from two older Patani scholars in Mecca. Abdullah, *Syeikh Daud*, p. 36f.

¹⁶³ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 27-32.

were pitted against a Shaṭṭari establishment¹⁶⁴, whose remnants still emphasize membership in their *ṭarīqa* as one criteria of orthodoxy (besides, among other things, following the Shāfi'ite law school and endorsing the creed of the *ahl al-sunna wa l-jamā'a*)¹⁶⁵. Clear signs of an afterlife of factionalism, then certainly fuelled by generational conflict, expressed *inter alia* via *ṭarīqa* affiliation.

Regarding the shift associated with the Sammāniyya and the mentioned scholars, and their influence on Jawization, it is noteworthy that neither the texts of the famous Acehnese Shaṭṭaris al-Sinkīlī (except for his *tafsīr*) or of his predecessor Shams al-Dīn al-Fanṣūrī nor those of the great 17th century Shaṭṭari masters of the Ḥaramayn (al-Qushāshī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī) were to gain prominence within the Patani networks or receive the honour of being seen to the printing press, quite contrary to the fate of those written by the four scholars in question (Daud, Palimbani and the two Banjāris). Even though Daud Patani, Palimbānī and particularly Muḥammad Nafis still included the *martabat tujuh* in their teachings, they nevertheless represent the ascendancy of the thought al-Ghazālī and al-Sha'rānī¹⁶⁶ in the *jawi* ecumene. Whereas their works were to contribute to and survive Jawization, the earlier proponents of the *martabat tujuh* became increasingly marginalised in the process¹⁶⁷.

Refocusing on Patani, it shall be noted that Daud, his family and students spawned an outright wave of scholarly, literary and educational activity in and around Patani. Following in Daud's footsteps, a significant number of Patani religious scholars with extensive Meccan connections emerged, which not only produced an outstanding amount of *kitab jawi*, in its density – save for neighbouring Kelantan which developed very much in tandem - hardly matched elsewhere in the Malay World. This process went hand in hand with a major proliferation of *pondoks* from the 1880s onwards. Early centres established already during Daud's lifetime included Kampung Pauh Bok, Kampung Bendang Daya and Kampung Pusing,

¹⁶⁴ Tellingly, they were also denoted as *kaum haji* due to the high percentage of hajjis in its ranks. Werner Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion. Über die Entwicklung des Islams in Minangkabau (Westsumatra) zwischen den beiden Reformbewegungen der Padri (1837) und der Modernisten (1908). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Islamisierung Indonesiens* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984), p. 85, 98-101; Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008), p. 42-50.

¹⁶⁵ This emphasis can be encountered, for example, in *Kitāb al-taqwīm wa al-ṣiyām* (1986) by the prominent Minangkabau Shaṭṭari Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin (d. 2006). *Ibid.*, p. 77, 126.

¹⁶⁶ The Egyptian 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 1565) was not only considered the "last saint of Egypt" but also an early pioneer of the kind of apologetic (including the defense of Ibn 'Arabi) *sharī'a*-conscious Sufi literature, which would become dominant in subsequent centuries. John Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 220-225; M. Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1982).

¹⁶⁷ Again Minangkabau, where the local Shaṭṭariyya persisted despite a history of fierce opposition, is somewhat an exception. Although also here speaking of gradual marginalization is certainly justified, classical manuals of al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī and their classical *jawi* (i.e. al-Sinkīlī's works) as well as local counter-parts remained important, at least in Shaṭṭari circles. Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, p. 101-109.

which served as final educational stop-overs for those envisioning studies in Mecca¹⁶⁸. Moreover, each of these was run by a respected '*ulamā'* family.

The former was founded by 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī and then headed by his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1780s), who was a teacher of both Daud Patani and al-Palimbānī¹⁶⁹. During Daud's heyday, the third generation took over with 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, another returnee from the Ḥaramayn, who had adopted the Sammāniyya there. The second of these, founded by Hj. Wan Muṣṭafā b. Wan Muḥammad Faqīh al-Faṭānī (also Tok Wan Pa or Tok Bendang Daya Tua), and later headed by his son 'Abd al-Qādir (Tok Bendang Daya Muda, d. 1894), would in the long run become the most important centre for Cambodian students in Patani¹⁷⁰. Consequently, this establishment and the scholarly family in its background will be discussed in more detail below. Finally, the *pondok* at Kampung Pusing in Yala was established by a scholar of Terengganu origin. At the same time, Patani Malays, both in Mecca and at home, turned out to be the major forces behind the printing, editing and distribution of *kitab jawi* in Muslim Southeast Asia¹⁷¹, which naturally resulted in a bias towards Patani authors (see below). Needless to say, this intriguing combination of factors and the conspicuous leading role in the expansion of book-based schooling, production of the written materials in question as well as their unprecedented wide distribution through print technology, turned the Patani network and its extensions in Kelantan and elsewhere into main agents of Jawization, particularly in their homelands but likewise in Cambodia and other areas of the Peninsula and Sumatra.

3. Kelantan, Terengganu and changing Malay relationships between ruler and religion

It has been routinely claimed, that Kelantan has been a center for Islamic learning for centuries, an assumption which also lies at the root of its identification with Cham *Makah*. However, there is virtually no evidence for Kelantan actually playing such a role before the 19th century. Whereas Terengganu witnessed the emergence of a major scholarly figure in

¹⁶⁸ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 299-303, 324.

¹⁶⁹ Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar dari Patani* (Bangi: Penerbit UKM, 2002), p. 247-249. Henceforth cited as UBP.

¹⁷⁰ Perayot Rahimulla, *The Patani Fatāwā: A Case Study of the Kitāb al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyyah of Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zain bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī* (Kent: PhD. Dissertation Univ. of Canterbury, 1992), p. 257, 313.

¹⁷¹ Especially the Patani-run Ottoman Malay printing press in Mecca, but apparently also the local publishers were strongly focused on the production of Islamic scholarly literature (*kitab jawi*). This contrasts with Muslim publishing in Singapore, where the output of *hikayat* (tales) and *syair* (poetry) began to overshadow that of *kitab jawi* already in the 1870s. This equation then stayed the same even during the peak period of local *kitab jawi* production in the 1890s. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 29.

the late 17th/early 18th century with ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abdallāh (Tok Pulau Manis, d. 1736), a student of the eminent Acehnese Shaṭṭari al-Sinkīlī and author of the Malay version of the *Ḥikam* (aphorisms)¹⁷² of Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309)¹⁷³, no scholar of comparable standing is known to have emerged from Kelantan until a century later. Likewise, the Malay state was a dependency of its northern neighbor Patani and then of its southern neighbor Terengganu, during the latter’s heyday (under Sultan Mansur, r. 1741-93), for much of its earlier history¹⁷⁴. Under the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin II of Terengganu (1795-1808), Kelantan, only now an emerging power center with its own commercial hub at Kota Bharu, broke away with Siamese aid¹⁷⁵. This of course further complicates a source-based or even context-based narration of long term preeminent Cham-Kelantanese contacts, resting on an alleged status as a political center of the latter. Indeed, the development of the *pondok* system in Kelantan and its rise as a major site for Islamic learning unfolded very much in tandem with closely-linked Patani and Terengganu. Many of its early local exponents had been educated in, or by scholars from, these two areas¹⁷⁶. Reportedly, the first *pondok* in Kelantan was established in the 1820s at Pulau Chondong (approximately 28km from Kota Bharu) by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Hj. Abdullāh (Tok Pulau Chondong, d. 1873)¹⁷⁷. Besides stemming from a Patani family, the latter is intriguingly reported to have been a close associate of Daud Patani when in Mecca¹⁷⁸. Already this famed teacher and his drew students from Cambodia¹⁷⁹.

In the following century Kelantan witnessed a major proliferation of *pondoks* and was also, together with Terengganu, the pioneer of the institutionalization of Islam in the Peninsular

¹⁷² Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 86; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah*, p. 35; Shafie Abu Bakar, “Tok Pulau Manis dan Pengasasan Pendidikan Islam” in *ibid.* (ed.), *Ulama Terengganu. Suatu Sorotan* ([Kuala Lumpur]: Utusan, 1991), p. 53-62.

¹⁷³ Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh was the second successor of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258). His collection of 262 gnomes (*Ḥikam*) represents the main work of Shādhili literature. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam. Die Geschichte des Sufismus* (Köln: Diederichs, 1985), p. 355f.

¹⁷⁴ Arguably, Patani was ruled by a Kelantanese dynasty for roughly four decades (c. 1688-1729). This was, however, a period of great upheaval and of a consequential irreversible disruption of trade, paving the way for Terengganu’s rise. See the analysis and comments to the period in A. Teeuw & D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani. The Story of Patani*, (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1970), II, p. 265-278, 296.

¹⁷⁵ Shaharil Talib, “The Port and Polity of Terengganu during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Realizing its Potential” in J. Kathirithamby-Wells & John Villiers (eds.), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity. Rise and Demise* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 1990), p. 216.

¹⁷⁶ Nik Abdul Aziz b. Hj. Nik Hassan, “Islam dan Masyarakat Kota Bharu di antara Tahun 1900-1933” in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.), *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980), p. 21f.

¹⁷⁷ Abdul Halim Ahmad, “Pendidikan Islam di Kelantan”, WK, I (1982), p. 8f.; Abdullah Alwi Haji Hassan, “The Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan” in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.), *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980), p. 190-192.

¹⁷⁸ Ismail Che Daud (ed.), *Tokoh-tokoh Ulama’ Semenanjung Melayu (1)* (Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 1988), p. 43f. References to the series will henceforth take the abbreviated form TUSM.

¹⁷⁹ Abdul Halim, “Pendidikan Islam”, p. 9.

Malay states. Thus, whereas Patani was kept by the Siamese from establishing such institutions as the *shaykh al-Islām* (of Terengganu) or the Kelantanese grand *qāḍī*, who nominally oversaw all of the state's mosques and *suraus*, British Malaya lagged behind in developing comparable institutions¹⁸⁰. The initial desire of the local ruling and scholarly classes to establish these institutions might as well point to the intensity of contact to Patani as symbol of embattled Muslim identity. Contrary to the situation there, however, where opportunities for royal patronage of religious scholarship and education were already limited and gradually becoming nil, they were abundant in Kelantan, where intervention of the Siamese suzerain was minimal. Although such patronage had been (a more or less pronounced) feature of Malay kingship for centuries, the fact, that (Islamic) religion and (Malay) custom (*agama dan adat*) were largely the only domains left within the authority of the Sultans under the British, their involvement in these spheres of course strongly increased and became a main issue of identity and legitimacy. Yet, even before the firm establishment and delineation of British and Dutch rule on the Peninsula and the Straits area (with the treaty of 1824) important shifts in the perception of Malay kingship and its relationship to religion, as understood by both the rulers themselves as well as by their subjects, had been underway and were subsequently boosted.

These changes were arguably likewise constituent to as well as reflective of the ongoing process of Jawization within the *jawi* ecumene, and should thus be briefly illuminated at this point. Obviously, the Sultan had played a central role in the moral and religious order of the Malay *kerajaan* (kingdom – literally, “the condition of having a *raja*”) ever since¹⁸¹. This is also mirrored in the constant need to present genealogies linking various dynasties to the royal house of Melaka, as epitome of the *melayu* Sultanate or Muslim *kerajaan*¹⁸², as well as by the strong agency attributed to individual *rajās* in the spread and upholding of Islam as evinced in Malay chronicles. Yet, whereas patronage for scholars and the building and maintenance of “royal” mosques was, to varying degrees, an established feature of “rajaship”, “the centrality of the ruler [was] the dominant characteristic of the Muslim

¹⁸⁰ Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans and Saints*, p. 115. Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah and Perak remained Siamese vassals until the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909.

¹⁸¹ A.C. Milner, “Islam and the Muslim State” in M. B. Hooker (ed.), *Islam in South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 31.

¹⁸² Raja Kecil, the first ruler of the Minangkabau Sultanate of Siak, still claimed to be a descendent of the Johor line. As Siak became a main player in the Straits, his successors found other means to construct and defend their *melayu* identity. Barnard, “Texts, Raja Ismail and Violence”, p. 332f.; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, “Siak and its Changing Strategies for Survival, c. 1700-1870” in Anthony Reid (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies. Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 217-243.

South-East Asian state”¹⁸³, irrespective of the degree he may have actually relied upon Islamic policies or norms in his actions. Malay Sultans, just like their counter-parts in other parts of the Muslim World, were thus rarely Muslim scholars in their own right and their historical remembrance was for long hardly conditioned by their piousness or record of religious or moral policies. In the 19th century, however, we suddenly witness Malay princes studying at *pondoks* and embarking on the hajj, a practice largely absent from *raja*-focused Malay historiography, for the first time. Part of this subtle reorientation was presumably also the changing roles of literature. Malay “rajaship” had often been tied to dynastic histories guarded as royal regalia. By the 1860s, however, the *Sejarah Melayu* as former ceremonial and patrimonial manuscript treasure of Riau was suddenly turned into a (printed) text used in government Malay schools¹⁸⁴. It thus perhaps not a mere coincidence that one of the most striking examples of the kind of changes in consciousness just hinted at, is the transformation of the Bugis elite of Riau-Lingga from one based on military prowess into an intellectual one, resting on religious knowledge and purity¹⁸⁵.

As the Bugis dynasty of *yang dipertuan mudas* (“viceroys”), which largely dictated the affairs of the Sultanate of Johor-Riau and then Riau-Lingga from 1722-1899¹⁸⁶, came to regard writing as a suitable occupation for themselves, their representations of the perfect *raja* tellingly showed much greater concern with issues of Islamic morality. Thus, the works of Raja Ali Haji (d. 1870), author of the major history of the Straits area from the late 17th century to 1864 (*Tuhfat al-Nafis*) and the son of the first Riau prince to perform the hajj, clearly reflect his views on Islamically-argued morality¹⁸⁷. The reigns of his exemplary rulers are not only characterized by peace between the contending groups of Malays and Bugis as well as overall economic and religious prosperity, but also by their non-indulgence in or prohibition of gambling (i.e. cock fighting)¹⁸⁸. Besides contributing to the standardization of Malay/Jawi by producing a grammar (*Bustān al-kātibīn*) and an unfinished dictionary (*Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa*), he was actively recruiting religious scholars to the court. All in all, the Bugis are a remarkable case of the Jawization of a non-Malay migrant

¹⁸³ Milner, “Islam and the Muslim State”, p. 31.

¹⁸⁴ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 52f.

¹⁸⁵ Timothy P. Barnard, “The Hajj, Islam, and Power among the Bugis in Early Colonial Riau” in Eric Tagliacozzo (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Islam, Movement and the Longue Durée* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 65-82.

¹⁸⁶ For a brief overview of the Bugis role in Johor-Riau see Raja Ali Haji b. Ahmad, *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, trans. V. Matheson Hooker and B.W. Andaya (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), p. 1-5;

¹⁸⁷ Barbara Watson Andaya & Virginia Matheson, “Islamic Thought and Malay Tradition: The Writings of Raja Ali Haji of Riau” in Anthony Reid & David Marr (eds.), *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), p. 108-128.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115-117, 123.

group, which due to its prolonged contest with the explicitly Malay faction of society, had remained strongly conscious of its Bugis ancestry as *melayu keturunan Bugis* (“Malays of Bugis stock”)¹⁸⁹, despite sharing with their opponents a common language, religion and trading culture, all associated with the *melayu* label. Accordingly, if Reid observes that, due to the competition, “there was no Malay ethnies in the positive sense” for Raja Ali Haji “but rather [...] a glorious tradition of kingship (*raja melayu*) [...] no longer dependent on any one lineage”¹⁹⁰, it is evident that to him this was ideally fused with Islamic scholarship and practiced as well as mandated Muslim morality.

Considered as “a custodian of pure Malay culture”, Raja Ali Haji’s Islamic drive is noteworthy, though his influence on the northeastern Malay states should not be overstated. There, however, similar contemporaneous developments can be observed and clearly linked to Patani influence. In Kelantan, Tuan Syekh Hj. Abdul Halim, the first figure credited with a pioneering role in Islamic education, not yet through the means of the *pondok* but the *surau*, was recruited as a personal advisor by Sultan Muhammad I (r. 1800-1838). Under Abdul Halim’s influence, his reign was not only characterized by significant mosque and *surau* growth throughout the state. Moreover, the Sultan established *waqf* houses (for pilgrims and students) in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah. In turn, Abdul Halim’s son Hj. Yaakub acted as advisor for the long-reigning Sultan Muhammad II (r. 1839-1886), reportedly using his authority to crack down on crime with new laws strengthening the role of the *sharī‘a* as legal basis (at the expense of *adat*)¹⁹¹. As was already mentioned, also the beginnings of the *pondok* system in Kelantan fell into the reign of Muhammad II.

Also in Terengganu, strongly religiously-minded Sultans ascended to the throne in the course of the 19th century¹⁹². After having fled from Patani, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm (d. 1846), a Shaṭṭari, founded a *pondok* at Bukit Bayas. Gaining the attention of Sultan Umar (r. 1839-76), who was already a patron of local as well as invited outside scholars, he

¹⁸⁹ Jan van der Putten, “A Malay of Bugis Ancestry: Haji Ibrahim’s Strategies of Survival”, *JSEAS*, XXXII (2001), p. 345. Strong Malay influences on the Bugis of course predated their large scale ventures into the Western Archipelago. Also in this case the post-1511 Melakan Malay diaspora, for which the Bugis’ native Sulawesi was another important destination, was one determining factor. Ernst Ulrich Kratz, *Peringatan Sejarah Negeri Johor: Eine malaiische Quelle zur Geschichte Johors im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), p. 19. Foreshadowing closer royal Bugis engagement with Islamic scholarship in Riau-Lingga, Sultan Ahmad al-Salih of Bone (South Sulawesi) personally undertook the task to translate several works of the eminent local Sufi scholar and nemesis of the Dutch Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (d. 1699 in exile at the Cape of Good Hope) into Bugis. Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 117f. On Shaykh Yūsuf and his influence see Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, ch. 5.

¹⁹⁰ Reid, “Understanding *Melayu*”, p. 304.

¹⁹¹ Ahmad, “Pendidikan Islam”, p. 1-7.

¹⁹² Haji Buyong bin Adil, *Sejarah Terengganu* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1974), p. 90-93, 138-142; Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *Terengganu Darul Iman: Tradisi Persejarahannya* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1991), p. 104ff.

was appointed as Mufti of Terengganu¹⁹³. Strikingly, both Umar as well as his successors Ahmad Syah II, who married some of his daughters into ‘*ulamā*’ families, and the proverbially pious Zainal Abidin III (r. 1881-1918) were themselves students at the local Duyong Kecil *pondok* founded by a Patani student of ‘Abd al-Qādir Bukit Bayas, namely Tok Syeikh Duyong (Hj. Wan Abdallāh b. Hj. Wan Muḥammad Amīn, d. 1889)¹⁹⁴. As a product of the *pondok* system, Zainal Abidin III naturally continued to patronize it. Moreover, he was presumably also the first Sultan of Terengganu to embark on the hajj, as evinced by his posthumous epithet *marhum haji*.

Strikingly, one of two different versions of the genealogy of his teacher Tok Syeikh Duyong pictures him as a descendent of Nakhoda Wangkang (lit. “Junk captain”), a Chinese-blooded adopted son of a Patani ruler, who allegedly came from Champa¹⁹⁵. Needless to say, this figure is reminiscent of similar accounts of (Chinese) Muslims coming from Champa to coastal towns of Java in narratives about the introduction of Islam to the island in both their Javanese as well as Sino-Javanese versions¹⁹⁶. Despite the doubtful historicity of the characters concerned, this commonality once again points to the historical relationship linking Patani with coastal Java and to the role of Muslim Sino-Javanese or even Sino-Cham captains and traders¹⁹⁷. It is, however, unknown whether Tok Syeikh Duyong himself had subscribed to this version of his genealogy and thus flaunted his lineage’s connection to Champa. In contrast it is certain that royal patronage for and partaking in the *pondok* system reached unprecedented levels in Kelantan and Terengganu in the course of the 19th century. Also scribal skills associated with a flourishing manuscript culture were evidently cultivated in the two states. Thus, the two principal copyists preparing transfer sheets for early lithographic printing in Singapore were natives of Terengganu. Among the next two most frequently acknowledged copyists in these ventures we find a scribe from Kelantan¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹³ UBP, p. 249-251.

¹⁹⁴ Shafie Abu Bakar, “Tok Syeikh Duyong” in *ibid.* (ed.), *Ulama Terengganu. Suatu Sorotan* ([Kuala Lumpur]: Utusan, 1991), p. 154-167.

¹⁹⁵ Abu Bakar, “Tok Syeikh Duyong”, p. 155f. This nakhoda, however, does not appear in major indigenous work of Patani’s history, the *Hikayat Patani*.

¹⁹⁶ H.J. de Graaf & T. G. Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse vorstendommen op Java: Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1974); *ibid.*, *Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15th and 16th Centuries. The Malay Annals of Sēmerang and Cērbon* (Melbourne: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, 1984), p. 14-17, 19-24.

¹⁹⁷ The Patani account may also add weight to the supposition that the suspect (Sino-)Malay annals of Semarang and Cirebon are not a forgery. Interestingly, however, they only contain material on Chinese Muslims in Champa as well as on their coming to and missionizing in Ngampel (Surabaya, East Java). In contrast, in Javanese tradition, where the Chinese factor in the Champa connection is absent, saints (*sunan*) from Champa (actually brothers and cousins of Ngampel’s saint) are credited with the same role in Cirebon and Gresik, which presumably entertained the closest relations with Patani (the name of its oldest mosque, Kru Se, is assumed to derive from Gresik). De Graaf & Pigeaud, *Chinese Muslims*, p. 72f.

¹⁹⁸ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 37.

4. Diversification of Malay influence in 18th century Cambodia

Charting the Islamic landscape in Cambodia in the 18th and early 19th century is largely impossible due to the almost absolute lack of sources. Yet, the Cambodian Muslim community, despite its modest size, is omnipresent in its involvement throughout the period as far as political history is concerned. Largely reduced to a bone of contention between Siam and Vietnam as well as between the respective warring factions of the Tay Son Wars, Cambodia's contemporary political dynamics had always regional implications during this phase. As minor though war-like group, which might as well tip the scale in favour of one contender or the other, the Cham-Malays were taken seriously by all those concerned throughout the period. This applies equally to late 18th century Cambodian warlords as well as to the French, as they were seeking to establish control over its recent acquisition in the second half of the 19th century.

Accordingly, the various colonial and indigenous sources on the political history of Cambodia and the Mekong Delta as well as a number of Malay references from the Straits Area, are therefore providing us with valuable information on a number of relevant issues. Among these, *melayu* involvement in the area as well as reports on Cham-Malay population movements within it, figure prominently. This information, although only tangentially connected to developments in the religious sphere, is nevertheless of direct significance for our enquiry into the process of Jawization, its background and its effects. Intriguingly, the Malay-language sources relied upon in this section are almost exclusively stemming from Bugis and Minangkabau communities of the Straits Area. Thus, apart from the information they contain about the presence and activities of these groups in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta, already their very form and existence must be considered as instructive concerning our problematics. Indeed, full-fledged Bugis appreciation and partaking in the *jawi* ecumene and its literary and cultural forms, including changing assumptions about religious imperatives and ways of expression, has to be labelled as a clear signifier of the social, economic, political and religious dynamics also underpinning the nascent process of Jawization in Cambodia and other seemingly peripheral areas of the Malay World.

Notable Malay (as *melayu*) presence has been a standard feature of Cambodia at least since the late 16th century. Hallmarks of their political, military and economic clout are clearly their role in frustrating Iberian attempts at controlling the Khmer court and its commerce (late 16th century) as well as the aforementioned short-lived transformation of the kingdom

into a Sultanate (1642-1658)¹⁹⁹, which, although eventually easy prey and entry point into Cambodian affairs for the Vietnamese²⁰⁰, was even able to vanquish the Dutch punitive expedition of 1644²⁰¹. During the preparations of the expedition, the Malay leader Maradia Proba and the King's Malay minister for marine affairs (addressed with the Khmer-Malay title *ocnea laxamana sabandar*²⁰²), doubtlessly due to the significance and paramount authority associated with his position, was even the subject of a fabricated letter from the VOC's governor general in Batavia, which had been produced with the aim to sow discord in the "Sultanate of Cambodia"²⁰³. After the Dutch, also the British suffered from the effective monopolization of Cambodian trade by Sultan Ibrahim and his (presumably Malay) main "commercial agent"²⁰⁴. Of course, the local Chams, as the natural allies of the Malays, likewise played decisive parts in these endeavours. Intriguingly, also Ramadhipathi I/Sultan Ibrahim's predecessor had relied on Malays (and presumably Chams) for his risky riverine trading ventures to Laos as did the Dutch during their first trip into Cambodia's landlocked northern neighbour (1641-1642), while encountering Malay traders in all major trading posts along the Mekong up to the Laotian capital²⁰⁵. At that time contact was most probably closest with Patani, then at the height of its power. Even early Dutch involvement in Cambodia was carried out from there²⁰⁶. Nevertheless Ibrahim was also reported to have

¹⁹⁹ Mak Phoeun, "La communauté malaise musulmane au Cambodge (de la fin du XVII^e siècle jusqu'au roi musulman Rāmādhīpathī 1er)" in *Monde Indochinoise et Péninsule Malaise* (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia, 1990), p. 47-68.

²⁰⁰ Mak Phoeun & Po Dharma, "La première intervention militaire vietnamienne au Cambodge (1658-1659)" in *BEFEO*, LXXIII (1984), p. 285-318.

²⁰¹ van der Kraan, *Murder and Mayhem*.

²⁰² "Gouverneur Generael Antonio van Diemen aen Maradia Proba ende Ocnea Laxamana Sabandar gefabriceert", 22.3.1644, Nationaal Archief Den Haag, Inv. 868. Whereas *Oknha* is a traditional Khmer title, *laks(a)mana* (admiral, fleet commander) and *syahbandar* (harbourmaster, from pers. *shāh-bandar*) were Malay titles used throughout the world of Malay trade.

²⁰³ van der Kraan, *Murder and Mayhem*, p. 46. However, not all Muslim supporters and protégés of the ruler were Malay or Cham. A major local Chinese trader, involved in the profitable Japan trade, and short time *syahbandar* was likewise reported to be Muslim. *Ibid.*, p. 13. Moreover, Sultan Ibrahim was strongly supported by local Portuguese (in their great majority so-called "black Portuguese") and Japanese Catholics. Strikingly, also Siam had to struggle with Portuguese-Malay and Japanese-Patani Malay alliances around the same time. Teeuw & Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, p. 17; D. K. Basset, "Changes in the Pattern of Malay Politics, 1629-c. 1655" in *JSEAH*, X, 3 (1969), p. 431. Chinese junk (*tōsen*) trade from Cambodia to Japan, by far outstripping its Patani-Japan leg from 1647-1720, was at its zenith under Ibrahim, when it even surpassed *tōsen* traffic conducted from Siam. Li Tana, *Nguyễn Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1998), p. 68; Yoneo Ishii (ed.), *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: Translations from Tōsen Fusetsu-gaki, 1674-1723* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1998), p. 153. For a brief introduction to the Japanese trading diaspora in Southeast Asia and the *tōsen* trade see *ibid.*, p. 1-3.

²⁰⁴ D.K. Basset, "The Trade of the English East India Company in Cambodia, 1651-1656" in *JRAS*, XCIV (1962), p. 35-61.

²⁰⁵ Jean-Claude Lejosne, *Le Journal de voyage de G. van Wuysthoff et de ses assistants au Laos (1641-1642)* (Metz: Editions du Centre de documentation du Cercle de Culture et de Recherches Laotiennes, 1987); Carool Kersten, *Strange Events in the Kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos (1635-1644)* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2003), p. 6, 25-27, 45.

²⁰⁶ H. Terpstra, *De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani* ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1938), p. 178-182.

“maintained correspondence” with Banten (Westjava)²⁰⁷ and Jepara, the major Javanese *pasisir* port then already under the authority of Sultan Agung of Mataram²⁰⁸.

The origins and ethnic backgrounds of the *melayu* trading, living and fighting in Cambodia across the centuries are, apart from isolated references to people from Johor and Minangkabau and more frequent allusions to Patani, largely hidden from us. As Patani declined during the turbulent years under its Kelantanese dynasty (c. 1688-1729), Terengganu rose, thereby assumingly also supplanting Patani as major peninsular trading partner of Cambodia. Trading links between the two states were noted in 1720. Sultan Mansur (r. 1741-1793) under whose long reign Terengganu reached its zenith, made himself practically into its chief merchant. Among the destinations of his privately owned trading vessels we also find Cambodia²⁰⁹. Additionally, it appears that, by the 18th century, the spectrum of Malays either active or based in Cambodia had been considerably diversified, going far beyond the geographically quite natural connection to the north eastern Malay states. Especially the Bugis and Minangkabau maritime diasporas, by that time main players in the wider Straits area, seem to have had a prominent presence in Cambodia. Strikingly, knowledge of this state of affairs has come down to us mainly through the writings of the aforementioned outstanding Buginese Malay historian Raja Ali Haji. Whereas the notion of a wider Straits area would usually be taken to mean the Peninsula, Northern and Eastern Sumatra as well as Northern and Western Kalimantan, the following will point to the fact, that Western Indochina likewise formed an integral part of this region. Moreover, something which also holds true for the rest of the area but remains mostly hidden by Eurocentric historiography, is most evident here at the fringes: *Melayu* (prominently including Bugis and Minangkabau) and Chinese agency was more often than not more decisive than its European counterpart. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, encounter with the “challenging ‘other’ of cultural interaction” in Cambodia at that time was primarily one with Chinese and (as in other Southeast Asian non-*melayu* contexts) with Malays and not with Europeans²¹⁰. It should therefore not come as a surprise that the period of 1740-1840 has recently been

²⁰⁷ Basset, “Trade of the English”, p. 41.

²⁰⁸ Kersten, *Strange Events*, p. 15.

²⁰⁹ Talib, “Port and Polity”, p. 214f.

²¹⁰ Anthony Reid, “Introduction” in *ibid.* (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), p. 14.

dubbed “a Chinese century” in Southeast Asia²¹¹. Similarly, the 18th century of the wider Straits area has been described as the “Bugis century”²¹².

Even though obviously an arena removed from the main stages of Bugis-Malay and Bugis-Minangkabau conflicts, Cambodia and also particularly the port of Banteay Meas/Ha Tien are appearing in Raja Ali Haji’s two major historiographical works as well as in a number of “courtly” texts associated with the (Minangkabau) Sultan Raja Ismail of Siak (d. 1781, r. 1760-1 & 1779-81). Both Raja Ali Haji’s aforementioned *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (dated 1865, henceforth TN) and - more elaborately - his *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis* (dated 1866, henceforth SMB) feature a noteworthy anecdote explaining the reasons for the peculiar naming of Riau’s most eminent *yang dipertuan muda* of the 18th century, Daeng Kamboja²¹³. It is indeed quite intriguing, that this major figure of 18th century Malay history and one of the main characters of the TN is generally only known by this moniker, consisting solely of the common Bugis honorific *daeng* and the name of a country located outside of the Malay World. Although the plot of the story is a classical trope of Malay dynastic history - already foreshadowing the eventual victory of the Bugis *yang dipertuan muda* dynasty of Riau over their Minangkabau contenders in their historic struggle for dominance over the Straits - rather than a “factual” account²¹⁴, there can be little doubt that events in Cambodia actually stood patron for this particular *daeng*’s name.

A brief summary of the story set in Cambodia and setting the stage for the epic struggle for supremacy in the Straits among its most far-flung trading, raiding and warring diasporas shall suffice at this point. Not long after 1714²¹⁵ are group of Bugis under the leadership of Daeng Rilaga and his five sons set out to Cambodia from the Island of Siantan (located halfway between the Malay Peninsular and Borneo, now part of the Indonesian Riau Islands province)²¹⁶. Two of Daeng Rilaga’s children (Daeng Marewa and Daeng Cellek) would

²¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 11.

²¹² Adrian B. Lopian, “Power Politics in Southeast Asian Waters” in Kennon Breazeale (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia: Ayutthaya’s Maritime Relations with Asia* (Bangkok: Foundation for the Promotion of the Social Sciences & Humanities Textbook Project, 1999), p. 147f.

²¹³ Raja Ali Haji, *Precious Gift*, p. 45f.; Raja Ali Alhaji, *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, ed. Arena Wati (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara, 1973), p. 33-50. Raja Ali’s authorship of the SMB has been a matter of doubt for some scholars. Kratz, *Peringatan Sejarah*, p. 12f.

²¹⁴ “At the very outset [of the TN] the stronger spiritual power of the Buginese [...] is proclaimed in a conventional fashion: the Buginese cock proves victorious over the Minangkabau one”. Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor 1641-1728* (Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 7.

²¹⁵ Raja Ali Haji, *Precious Gift*, p. 324. This date was drawn from contemporary Dutch sources as neither TN nor SMB are supplying dates to the episode.

²¹⁶ By then Cambodia has evidently been a well-established regular trading destination even for Bugis and Makassarese operating directly out of Makassar. Admiral Speelman, the architect of the Dutch-Bugis alliance defeating Makassar in 1666-9 noted down 5-6 departures for Cambodia a year (compared to 30-40 to Java and merely 4-5 to Melaka and Aceh). With an eye on guarding Dutch interests he further advised against

eventually become the first two *yang dipertuan mudas* of Riau. In Cambodia the Bugis are informed by the king about the presence of a Minangkabau prince calling an infamous fighting cock his own, which had remained undefeated in the course of visits to nine different states. Finally, a cock fight with high stakes is set up under the auspices of the Cambodian king and his *syahbandar*²¹⁷. After the victory of their cock, the Bugis return to Siantan where Daeng Parani (another son of Daeng Rilaga) learns that his Makassarese wife had meanwhile given birth to a son. Because of his father's absence in Cambodia at the time of his birth, the boy, later the third *yang dipertuan muda* of Riau (r. 1745-77), was given the name Daeng Kamboja.

Whereas the report of the TN is markedly brief and completely focused on the cock fight, SMB is more instructive in providing side notes elucidating the role of trade in the presence of Bugis and Minangkabaus in Cambodia. In a first encounter Daeng Rilaga informs the king that he had been drawn to Cambodia by the reputation of the king as "taking care of all kinds of trade". That the stakes of the cock fight should consist of a loaded *keci* (a square-rigged ship commonly used for trade) and all its cargo is as telling as the fact that the *syahbandar* is made into the referee²¹⁸. There can therefore be little doubt that for the roving Bugis soon to take over Johor-Riau and - starting with Selangor²¹⁹ - also other Sultanates, Cambodia was a normal field of activity and residence as it also was for Minangkabaus and other *melayu* Muslims. A British report from 1769 testifies to the arrival of ships from Cambodia in Riau during the rule of Daeng Kamboja²²⁰. Strikingly, for Raja Ali Haji, Riau under Daeng Kamboja represented the ideal state, a period of peace between the rival Malay and Bugis groups as well as of economic and religious prosperity. In contrast, he made clear in several of his writings, that an exemplary ruler would never devote himself to cock fighting or would better yet explicitly outlaw such an un-Islamic practice²²¹.

permitting Makassarese activity there. Gerrit Knaap & Heather Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders: Ships, Skippers and Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Makassar* (Leiden: KITLV, 2004), p. 19-21. Intriguingly, one of the protagonists of the mentioned Makassar War, and accordingly also of its testament in poetry (i.e. Ince Amin's *Syair Perang Mengkasar*, c. 1670), was a Cham from Cambodia (Datuk Sri Amar di Raja), thus providing us with a clear indication of the existence of networks linking Cambodian and Makassar Muslims since at least the second half of the 17th century. Sutherland, "The Makassar Malays", p. 419 n. 114. Significantly, Makassar Malays and Muslim Cham princes from Champa also - famously but vainly - conspired in 1686 to kill the Siamese king Narai and have him replaced with a Muslim ruler. Michael Smithies, "Accounts of the Makassar Revolt, 1686", JSS, XC (2003), p. 73-95.

²¹⁷ A British observer has already noted in the 1650s that it is impossible to speak to the king, unless presented to him by the *syahbandar*. Basset, "Trade of the English", p. 56.

²¹⁸ Raja Ali Alhaji, *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis*, p. 34-36.

²¹⁹ Kratz, *Peringatan Sejarah*, p. 26f.

²²⁰ Lapian, "Power Politics", p. 138.

²²¹ Andaya & Matheson, "Islamic Thought", p. 115f., 123.

Moreover, Raja Ali Haji's is not the only Bugis account pointing to Bugis presence and contacts with the rulers in Cambodia. Thus, a Bugis genealogical webpage contains an interesting reference to a certain La Tenri Dolo, who has to flee from Sulawesi after murdering La Mappaiyyo, a grandson of Idris Azimuddin (La Patau Matana Tikka), the Bugis Sultan of Bone (r. 1696-1714)²²². Incidentally, Sultan Idris was reportedly not only a relative (either uncle or cousin) of Daeng Rilaga, but also responsible for his emigration from Bone, and therefore by extension also for his visit to Cambodia²²³. More importantly, La Tenri Dolo's flight, which was undertaken in order to escape the revenge of La Temmasongeq (*Matinroe ri Mallimongeng*), a son of Sultan Idris and future (?) Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin of Bone (r. 1749-75)²²⁴, brought him to Cambodia, where he allegedly married one of the king's daughters. Although the possibility that this is a spurious account cannot be excluded²²⁵, its protagonists are evidently historical personalities²²⁶. Moreover, it would fit the TN's picture of mutual familiarity between Cambodia and the Bugis diaspora quite well. In addition, both affairs would fall more or less into the same period. Even though an exact dating is impossible for both episodes, Daeng Rilaga and Daeng Parani's visit to the kingdom is safely placed into the period between 1714 and 1722. On the other hand, La Tenri Dolo's flight to Cambodia possibly predates Abdul Razak Jalaluddin's rule and thus likewise transpired already in the first half of the 18th century. In fact, there is a great possibility, that the described events took place between 1734 and 1738. It was the turbulences of this period, as the Sultanates of Gowa-Talloq²²⁷ and Bone were threatened by an alliance of the Gowanese noble Karaeng Bentolangkasa, the Wajo freedom fighter Arung ("king") Singkang²²⁸ and Arung Kayu, an ex-husband of Batari Toja of Bone (Sultana Zainab Zakiatuddin, r. intermittently 1714-1748), which eventually brought the (as son of a low-

²²² <http://portalbugis.wordpress.com/more/raja-bone/raja-bone-16/> (accessed January 10, 2013).

²²³ This information stems from Dutch sources, which note that Daeng Rilaga left Bone because Sultan Idris had confiscated a large amount of booty from him. Raja Ali Haji, *Precious Gift*, p. 324.

²²⁴ Reflecting the difficult Bugis and Makassar naming practices, which are actually (save for its possible Arabic elements) akin to those among the Khmers, the three listed names are his Bugis given and posthumous name (in brackets, lit. "he who died in Mallimongeng") as well as his Arabic royal name. Gibson, *Islamic Narrative*, p. xi. The multiplicity of names connected with a single person naturally severely complicates the identification of single actors such as La Tenri Dolo.

²²⁵ Thomas Gibson thinks that "it is quite possible that there is some truth in it" (e-mail January 10, 2013).

²²⁶ There are microfilms of a Bugis manuscript relating the killing of a La Mappaiyyo and his followers as well as of several others reporting the marriage of a La Tenri Dolo to a Buginese wife. "KITLV-inventaris 187" http://www.kitlv.nl/pdf_documents/187_HASSA_Microfilms.pdf (accessed January 10, 2013); Mukhlis PaEni, *Katalog induk naskah-naskah Nusantara: Sulawesi Selatan* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional, 1993), p. 67, 79, 144, 151. Unfortunately the present author is oblivious to the actual details of these texts.

²²⁷ The once regionally dominant Makassarese Sultanate of Gowa-Talloq was reduced to a client of Bugis Bone and its VOC allies from 1669 onwards. Cummings, *Chain of Kings*; Gibson, *Islamic Narrative*, p. 65f.

²²⁸ Wajo was a Bugis realm to the north of Bone, which henceforth could keep Dutch influence at bay until the late 19th century, not least due to the critical efforts of Arung Singkang. J. Noordyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo: Buginese Historiografie* ('s-Gravenhaage: Smits, 1955), p. 125-141.

ranking wife) unlikely Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin on the throne due to his instrumental role in defeating the rebels in defense of his half-sister Batari Toja and her VOC protectors²²⁹.

Cambodia, however, likewise resurfaces once more in the TN, and this time exclusively in the context of Minangkabau affairs and completely devoid of any obviously legendary content. Thus, we learn that Raja Ismail, shortly exiled from Siak after a brief first reign 1760-1, prepared himself for an attack on the port of “Pantai Emas [lit. “golden beach”], near Cambodia”. The 500 people strong Minangkabaus reportedly residing there had earlier invited Raja Ismail to take over the port polity with their aid. After having assembled a hundred vessels in the Tujuh Islands for that purpose, he was, however, drawn into a different task by his ally Sultan Mansur of Terengganu, while still waiting for favorable winds for the attack²³⁰. It is beyond doubt that the name Pantai Emas refers to the Indochinese port of Banteay Meas (lit. “golden fortress”), more commonly known by its Vietnamese name Ha Tien. The latter turned into a major hub for Chinese and Malay trading due to the efforts of the Chinese exile Mac Cuu (d. 1735) and his descendants. Arriving in Cambodia in 1671, he initially served as provincial governor for the Khmer king, but then managed to establish his own realm by allying himself to the Vietnamese. A state of affairs for long not acknowledged by the Khmer rulers. The polity reached its apogee under the founder’s son Mac Thien Tu (d. 1780). It was only in the 1830s that the Vietnamese under Minh Mang did away with the hereditary rule of the Mac dynasty in the Ha Tien area²³¹. As such Ha Tien not only played an instrumental role in the gradual Vietnamese take-over of the Mekong Delta but also, presumably, in the development of Islam in the Mekong Delta and Cambodia. Besides Malays also Chams were reported to have

²²⁹ Gibson, *Islamic Narrative*, p. 94f. Strikingly, both the after 1669 powerless Gowanese rulers as well as the heirs of the conquering Arung Palakka of Bone (r. 1672-1696), whose rule was problematically resting on an alliance with the religious other (e.g. the VOC), drew legitimacy by associating themselves with the eminent (due to Dutch-imposed exile in Sri Lanka and South Africa) “globalized” Sufi scholar Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (d. 1699) and his descendants. Thus, Sultan Abdul Razak Jalaluddin for example married Yūsuf’s grand-daughter Habibah. His successor Ahmad al-Salih (r. 1775-1812) has, as already noted above, produced Bugis translations of several of Shaykh Yūsuf’s works. *Ibid.*, p. 67, 117f.

²³⁰ Raja Ali Haji, *Precious Gift*, p. 126f; R.O. Winstedt (ed.), “Tuhfat al-Nafis” in *JMBRAS*, X, 2 (1932), p. 113f. It is only natural that the episode is not contained in the SMB as its relation ends already in 1737. It shall be noted that, by a slight tinkering with and reinterpretation of his sources, Raja Ali Haji could construct a narrative, which largely blames Sultan Mansur for the decline of Johor-Riau. Andaya & Matheson, “Islamic Thought”, p. 120f.

²³¹ Nicholas Sellers, *The Princes of Ha-Tien (1682-1867)* (Bruxelles: Editions Than-Long, 1983); Émile Gaspardone, “Un chinoise des mers du Sud, le fondateur de Hà-tiên” in *JA*, CCXL, no. 3 (1952), p. 364-385; Chen, “Mac Thien Tu”; Sakurai & Kitagawa, “Ha Tien”. Around the same time anti-Manchu Chinese exiles coming from the pro-Ming Cheng kingdom on Taiwan (surrendered to the Qing in 1683), established other Mekong Delta trading centers, drawing among others, Malay traders at My Tho and Bien Hoa. Sakurai, “Eighteenth Century Chinese”, p. 200; Chen, “Mac Thien Tu”, p. 1535f.; GDTC, p. 5. These Indochinese dynamics were thus obviously inextricable tied to contemporary events of world/global history.

resided in Ha Tien in the second half of the 18th century²³². If Cham and Malay settlement in the Chau Doc area (i.e. the Delta's present Muslim strong-hold) should similarly date back to the 18th century, its establishment was certainly connected to incoming trading goods from Ha Tien.

During the 1760s, the period of the episode of Raja Ismail's planned invasion of Ha Tien, Mac Thien Tu was intriguingly occupied with both lashing out against piracy in his waters as well as repelling joint attacks of pirates and their land-based supporters. Whereas Mac Cuu was known for tolerating and perhaps even profiting from the activities of the pirates, his son opted for vigorous repression²³³. Although this policy came into effect shortly after his ascension, it might have had adverse effects on the local Minangkabau trade in the long run, probably prompting them to call in Raja Ismail. From late 1769 to early January 1770 Ha Tien was confronted with an uprising which involved Khmers, Chinese and Malays²³⁴. The following year the port was subject to an attack by a joint force led by a local deserter, a Malay "pirate" leader (called Vinh Li Malu by Vietnamese sources) and Khmer "bandits"²³⁵. Malays (*melayu*), however, also formed part of the Ha Tien forces and forged alliances with local powers. Yet, by the 1770s the rampant instability in Siam, Cambodia and Vietnam, itself part of a larger crisis of the Southeast Asian mainland in the second half of the 18th century²³⁶, had greatly disrupted trade in Ha Tien, making it a much less inviting price than in the preceding decades²³⁷. Confronted with a Siamese invasion in 1771 one of Mac Thien Tu's last military assets were troops commanded by a Malay general, who eventually managed to secure his master's retreat into Vietnamese protection at Chau Doc²³⁸, nowadays the chief area of settlement of Cham and *Jawa Kur* Muslims in the Delta.

As the polity became fully embroiled in the upheavals and regional violence of the Tay Son wars, the same aforementioned Malay pirate leader joined Nguyen Anh (the later Gia Long emperor and father of Minh Mang) with 10 junks in a frustrated attempt to liberate Ha Tien

²³² Adrien Launey, *Histoire de la mission de Cochinchine 1658-1823, III: 1771-1823* (Paris: Société des Missions-Étrangères, 1925), p. 530.

²³³ Sellers, *Princes of Ha-Tien*, p. 17, 52-4.

²³⁴ Launey, *Histoire de la mission, III*, p. 536-538.

²³⁵ GDTC, p. 30. This figure later resurfaces in the account, despite his reported decapitation at this instance. One possible explanation, though not entirely satisfactory, would be that "Vinh Li Malu" was actually a title rather than a personal name.

²³⁶ At that time the centuries old dynasties ruling Burma, Siam and Vietnam all crumbled. Reid, "Introduction", p. 10f.

²³⁷ GDTC, p. 34; Sakurai & Kitagawa, "Ha Tien", p. 201.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 189-191; Sellers, *Princes of Ha-Tien*, p. 61.

from the Tay Son (1783)²³⁹. French missionary sources are explicitly mentioning a company of Malays from nearby Kampot in Cambodia as fighting for Nguyen Anh²⁴⁰. In 1794-5, when Siak had already regained a certain degree of stability and once more began to expand under the (from his father's side) Arab-descended Sultan Sayyid Ali (r. 1791-1810, d. 1821), a Malay pirate fleet of 17 junks molested the coasts of Ha Tien and the nearby island of Phu-quoc (kh. Koh Trâl), availing themselves of men, 15 junks, cannons and other arms²⁴¹. It is not inconceivable that these raiders were affiliated to the descendants of Raja Mahmud and his son Raja Ismail, which had, despite his at best tenuous connection to the Minangkabau ruling family, first been marginalized in Siak by Sayyid Ali, and then finally also ejected from their new state on Pelalawan in 1791. Incidentally Sayyid Ali felt compelled to appeal for British support exactly in 1795²⁴². Although we are lacking evidence to support this view, such a new sense of insecurity could well have been due to the fact that his opponents had just increased their military assets by successful raiding along the southwestern coast of Indochina. What we know for sure, is that Ha Tien still had a Malay quarter in the 19th century²⁴³, probably resulting from the 1811 efforts of its Mac governor at reestablishing trade, which included the (re-)allocation of town quarters to different "nationalities"²⁴⁴.

Obviously, Raja Ali Haji's account itself stems from Siak sources²⁴⁵. Most important in that respect was certainly the *Hikayat Siak* (Siak Chronicle, henceforth HS) of 1855, which represents the most comprehensive counter narrative to the TNs history of the Straits area, from a Minangkabau point of view²⁴⁶. Indeed, TNs report is evidently drawn from the HS, which only adds that there were many wealthy merchants among the Minangkabaus of Ha

²³⁹ GDTC, p. 52. Strikingly, Mac Thien Tu reportedly planned to go into exile to an unidentified place in the Malay World (probably Palembang) following the advance of the Tay Son. Directed to Siam, however, he committed suicide in king Thaksin's custody. Sakurai & Kitagawa, "Ha Tien", p. 204f.

²⁴⁰ Launey, *Histoire de la mission*, III, p. 80 n. 1. Cham-Malays were likewise employed as shipbuilders by both Nguyen Anh and the Siamese. Li Tana, "Ships and Shipbuilding in the Mekong Delta, c. 1750-1840" in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 125.

²⁴¹ Mak Phoeun, "Note sur les premiers établissements des Cam et des Malais dans les provinces de Châu-dôc et de Tây-ninh (Sud du Vietnam)" in Po Dharma, Mak Phoeun & Jacques Ivanoff (eds.), *Péninsule indochinoise et monde malais: Relations historiques et culturelles* (Kuala Lumpur: EFEU, 2004), p. 84f.

²⁴² Kathirithamby-Wells, "Siak and its Changing Strategies", p. 234.

²⁴³ Sakurai, "Eighteenth Century Chinese", p. 212 n. 13.

²⁴⁴ GDTC, p. 66.

²⁴⁵ It perhaps owes to Raja Ali Haji's unique free usage of Siak sources, that the episode is absent from other Malay/Bugis historical works of the period, for example from the *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (Story of the Johor Kingdom), which otherwise covers this period of Raja Ismail's life. R.O. Winstedt, "Hikayat Negeri Johor" in JMBRAS, X, 1 (1932), p. 20f.

²⁴⁶ Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (ed.), *Hikayat Siak: dirawikan oleh Tengku Said* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1992).

Tien²⁴⁷. Siak historical poems, most prominently *Syair Perang Siak* (Poem of the Siak War) and *Syair Raja Siak* (Poem of the Siak Kings) relating the life and times of Raja Ismail are not mentioning the episode in their narration of his years of exile²⁴⁸. It is, however, revealing to contrast what is related about Raja Ismail's abortive Ha Tien venture with the contents of *Syair Perang Siak*, which was most probably composed (presumably in 1764) at the request of Raja Ismail himself as a means to further his claims to rule, highlight his kingly qualities and legitimate his alliance with Sultan Mansur of Terengganu²⁴⁹. At one instance the poem pictures Raja Ismail as standing before the decision to become either a pirate leader or to continue on as a Sultan (at least temporarily) without a state²⁵⁰. It would thus seem as if the invitation to attack and rule Ha Tien, which he was reportedly determined to pursue, would have provided the young exile with another option. This would have been to establish his authority over Ha Tien as a rival center of the Minangkabau diaspora confronting its counterpart at Siak. It is also not clear whether it was indeed the Minangkabaus of Ha Tien, who first came forward with their proposal. Indeed, Raja Ismail was actively soliciting support not only from the *orang laut* ("sea people") of Siantan, Natuna, Tambelan and other small islands between the Southeastern Peninusula, Eastern Sumatra and Western Borneo, but also from the Minangkabau diaspora on the fringes of Aceh²⁵¹. Both under Raja Alam (r. 1761-1779), Raja Ismail's prime detractor in Siak, as well as under the latter himself, Siak was engaged in regular trade with Cambodia (as noted for the period 1770-1780)²⁵², which adds further credibility to the implicit connection made by TN/SMB between Minangkabau presence in the country and Siak.

Interestingly, Raja Ismail was not only firmly allied to Sultan Mansur of Terengganu, which eventually kept him from attacking Ha Tien, led him to marry one of the Sultan's daughters and also support him in his wars with Kelantan²⁵³. In addition, towards the late 1760s Raja Ismail received cautious support from the Sultan of Palembang, in whose outlying

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156f.

²⁴⁸ Donald J. Goudie (ed.), *Syair Perang Siak* (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 1989); Kosim H.R. (ed.), *Syair Raja Siak* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka – Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1978), p. 85-96; Nindya Noegraha, *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnayn & Syair Raja Siak: dari Naskah W113 & W273* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional, 2002), p. 244-253.

²⁴⁹ Goudie, *Syair Perang Siak*, p. 38f.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 216f.. The VOC plainly regarded him as "a threat to the authority of all Malay states". Barnard, "Texts, Raja Ismail and Violence", p. 340.

²⁵¹ Kathirithamby-Wells, "Siak and its Changing Strategies", p. 224. Strikingly, as will be shown below, there were also (at least indirect) scholarly linkages between these small islands, hardly known for scholarly activities, and Cambodian Muslims.

²⁵² Anthony Reid, "A New Phase of Commercial Expansion in Southeast Asia, 1760-1840" in *ibid.* (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies. Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 64.

²⁵³ Hashim, *Hikayat Siak*, p. 173-180;

territories he eventually established a permanent base for himself after years of plowing the South China Sea, until his final return to Siak in 1779²⁵⁴. Also Palembang had well established trading connections to Ha Tien. VOC sources for the period of 1758-1770, naturally counting only “legal” trade (from the Dutch point of view) and thus certainly representing only part of the actual traffic, note the regular arrival of ships from Cambodia and Ha Tien²⁵⁵. The rise of the latter port polity had prompted Sultan Abdulrahman (r. 1659-1706) to buy a number of junks specifically for the Indochina trade. Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin I (1724-1754), who preferred trading mostly behind Dutch backs, is known to have sent royal junks under Muslim (*peranakan*) Chinese to Ha Tien²⁵⁶.

5. Conclusion

All in all the foregoing is strongly suggestive of two observations. Firstly, despite the existence of an isolated reference to Minangkabau traders coming from Cambodia to Perak in the middle of the 17th century²⁵⁷, it seems as if a significant diversification of Malay influence and presence in Cambodia took place in the course of the 18th century. This was in perfect harmony with the changed overall situation in the Western part of the Malay World, with the onset of the “Bugis century” and the strongly increasing influence of both the Bugis as well as Minangkabau diasporas, which also served to again broaden regional *melayu* identity. Strikingly, Marsden even noted in 1783 that the visiting Bugis and Makassarese were regarded as “superiors in manners” and taken as role-models in many respects by the Sumatran Malays and Minangkabaus²⁵⁸. Consequently, the second observation is that Cambodia and the contested Mekong Delta, and especially Islam in the area, was strongly connected to these wider developments in the region instead of being far removed from or highly peripheral to them. As will be shown below, particularly the Minangkabaus, with

²⁵⁴ Barnard, “Texts, Raja Ismail and Violence”, p. 339f.

²⁵⁵ Barbara Watson Andaya, “Adapting to Political and Economic Change: Palembang in the late Eighteenth and early 19th Centuries” in Anthony Reid (ed.), *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies. Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), p. 205.

²⁵⁶ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 123, 189.

²⁵⁷ Basset, “Changes in the Pattern”, p. 448. Some Khmer chronicles also relate that the Muslim wife of the Khmer Sultan Ibrahim held the obscure title *neak mneang kabas bau*, which would seem to merely mean “Minangkabau person (*neak*). Mak Phoeun, “Communauté malaise”, p. 65f. There is, however, no evidence that this reference to Minangkabau among the chronicular details, usually the elements most commonly associated with late additions, is of a contemporary nature. Other chronicles make no mention of a Muslim wife at all. Kersten, “Cambodia’s Muslim King”, p. 14.

²⁵⁸ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 209. This was of course before the “Islamic turn” of the Bugis elites and the Jawization process in Southeast Asia. Indeed, Marsden stresses that these sea-faring peoples had acquired at least part of their local fame for indulgence in activities the likes of Raja Ali Haji would have strongly disapproved of, namely gambling, cock-fighting and opium-smoking.

their tradition of (male) migration (*rantau*) precipitated by the matrilineal character of their society, were to constitute a long term local influence. The outlined diversification, which likewise resulted most probably in an intensification of Cham-Malay contacts in Cambodia and the Delta²⁵⁹, certainly contributed to a certain degree of Malayization of the local Muslims, thus providing the basis for their large-scale Jawization. Yet, the latter process nevertheless came to directly hinge much more on the outlined religious developments and scholarship in Patani and Kelantan than in Palembang and Minangkabau. Moreover, besides the brief danger of the establishment of a Minangkabau polity on (former) Khmer lands from the outside, the Khmer kings as well as their shortly arriving French “protectors” also had reasons to take their resident Chams and Malays seriously, regardless of their actual origins. Thus, their stakes in Cambodian and Indochinese politics and the early French encounter with them will be briefly outlined in the following.

²⁵⁹ It shall be noted that virtually every seaman arriving at a given destination on board of a trading vessel was one way or another personally involved in trade, and thus, social contact with the wider trading community as well as local populations. There were plainly no salaried positions on Malay ships. Instead seamen were assigned cargo space free of charge to transport their own merchandise. Jennifer Wayne Cushman, *Fields from the Sea: Chinese Junk Trade with Siam during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, 1993), p. 105f.

III. Tipping the scale in times of turbulence: Chams and Malays in late pre-colonial and early colonial Cambodia

“Pour couper court à toute autre tentative de révolte, le roi a fait transporter tous ce Chams, au nombre de cinq à six mille, aux environs de sa capitale”. Mgr. Miche (1858).

“Rang mai parabha bval saung tanah ka drei manang gap rei caik brei ni bih halei kav dauk tabang chuk sauv vatal kei-kauv dauk srai ni prei” (“Land for our people. Some where allowed to settle down in Prey Pih, I settled down in Tabang Chhouk Sar and Mbalat Kei in Sre Prey”). Cham manuscript CM 39(36) (late 19th century).

1. Political and legal issues until the coronation of Ang Duong (1848)

Cham and Malay involvement in Cambodian politics did clearly not come to an end with the first Vietnamese intervention (1658-9), which brought down Sultan Ibrahim. After the installation of Paramarājā VIII (Ang Sur, r. 1659-1672) Ibrahim’s former Muslim allies rose in rebellion together with other local discontents (including members of the royal family), but were eventually forced to take refuge in Siam. Padumarājā II (r. 1672-3), the next king on the throne, was killed by a Cham-Malay squad in the course of a royal intrigue²⁶⁰. The *kram srok* (state laws) of 1692 reflect the importance of the Cham-Malay element within the country. Among the seven military dignitaries entitled to form a council to discuss state affairs, we find the commander of the “enrolled Malays” (§43). Among other “foreigners” (i.e. non-Khmers), Chams could legally be nominated for provincial governorships as long as they were born in the country, truly proficient in the local language and had perfect knowledge of the local laws (§44)²⁶¹. Chams and *Chvea* are additionally also listed among those groups, whose affairs (including shipping) should be overseen by a headman chosen from within their respective communities (§100). Despite the fact that the harbour master explicitly had to be a Sino-Khmer (§103), a choice which was certainly due to Chinese dominance in maritime trade to and from the country, the relevance of Malays in this

²⁶⁰ Mak Phoeun & Po Dharma, “Première intervention”, p. 312; Mak Phoeun, “La communauté cam au Cambodge du XV au XIX siècle” in *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa organisé à l’Université de Copenhague, le 23 mai 1987* (Paris: Centre d’histoire et civilisations de la péninsule indochinoise, 1988), p. 88-90; *ibid.*, *Chroniques royales du Cambodge (de 1594 à 1677)* (Paris: PEFEQ, 1981), p. 207f., 378f. (henceforth CRC).

²⁶¹ Adhémar Leclère, *Les codes cambodgiens*, I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), p. 99f. It seems as if Malay and Cham, as is often the case, are used interchangeably here.

sphere is reflected in another related regulation. Thus, the surveillance of ships of Burmese and *kaling* (South[east] Indian, ml. *keling*) merchants, a group in Southeast Asia often specifically associated with Tamil Muslim traders, was to be entrusted to a Malay in the absence of a community representative fluent in Khmer (§102)²⁶².

Apart from the material on Malay presence in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta presented above, Cham and Malay agency resurfaces again towards the end of the 18th century in Khmer and European sources. In 1775 a French missionary, reporting from Chhlong on the Mekong (in present Kratie province), contrasted the unequivocally positive reception among the locals with the negative attitude of “one or two Muslims”²⁶³. In 1782/3 as Cambodia was again beset by severe turbulence and internecine strife fuelled by Siamese and Vietnamese desires to control the country, Chams and Malays made their re-entry into local power politics. By 1778 the power of King Ang Non II (r. 1775-79), who had successfully used the outbreak of the Tay Son war to circumvent the Vietnamese tributary system, had fallen victim to social unrest. As a consequence, a group of dignitaries, assumed actual power and the king himself was eventually murdered in 1779. This, of course, further exacerbated tensions among feuding dignitaries and external stake-holders in Cambodia, which had now expanded to likewise include the Tay Son. Thus, 1782 witnessed a Siamese invasion, whereas by the following year the country was effectively split up in two parts, with the West (including the capital Oudong) under the control of the pro-Thai/Nguyen mandarin Bèn (ruled 1783-1794) and the East controlled by his pro-Tay Son contender Tèn (ruled 1783-1787). This division clearly reflected the long established pattern of the (in the post-Angkor period) hardly harmonious spheres of influence of Cambodian “Mountain” and “Water kings”²⁶⁴.

Accordingly, as had also earlier been the case with the “Water kings”, the Cham strongholds of Thbaung Khmum (largely coinciding with present Kampong Cham province) and

²⁶² *Ibid.*, I, p. 114f.

²⁶³ Adrien Launey, *Histoire de la mission*, III, p. 62f.

²⁶⁴ There is evidence, though partly shrouded by the unitary narrative of the Cambodian Royal Chronicles, that Cambodian affairs have, perhaps already since the late 14th century but especially in the 16th and 17th century, been characterized by the existence of contending royal lineages with their respective centers lying in the Oudong-Lovek area at the Tonle Sap on one side, and Srey Santhor on the Mekong (and ultimately even Saigon) on the other. In the long run, there was a clear tendency of the Western “mountain kings” towards alliances with the Siamese, whereas the other faction looked to Vietnam for support. This particular arrangement has presumably played a decisive role in the voluntary as well as involuntary (e.g. resettlement by the Vietnamese within their sphere of influence in Cambodia) large-scale settlement of Chams along the Mekong (most prominently in Thbaung Khmum/ Kampong Cham) in the domains of the “Water kings”. O.W. Wolters, “The Khmer King at Basan (1371-3) and the Restoration of the Cambodian Chronology during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries” in *AM*, XII, 1 (1966), p. 44-89; Kitagawa Takako, “‘Water Kings’ and ‘Mountain Kings’” in *AA*, XCII (2007), p. 53-68.

Kratie lay in the domain of Tèn. Indeed, his army reportedly consisted of a great number of Chams, commanded by a certain Tuon Sêt. As the pressure on Oudong exerted by Tèn's troops mounted, Bèn discretely retreated to Battambang, unbeknown to his opponent. The Cham-Malay leader Tuon Sêt, at that time staying with a substantial proportion of the latter's troops at Phnom Penh, immediately seized upon the chance. Bent on establishing himself in the capital, he assigned leadership positions to his fellow Cham-Malays and issued draft orders for local populations in preparation of a march on Oudong. Deserted by many of his Khmer soldiers, he was, however, subdued and executed together with his Cham-Malays lieutenants²⁶⁵. Also local French priests evidently understood the event as a distinctly Cham-Malay affair, expressing gladness at having escaped the "furor of the revolting Malays"²⁶⁶. The latter were also to be found among the groups of captives taken around the capital by a Tay Son invasion of late 1783²⁶⁷.

Further Siamese intervention in Cambodia in the next decade, which *inter alia* consisted in side-lining their client ruler Bèn through re-establishing royal rule in the country with the return from Siam and coronation of Ang Eng (r. 1794-1806, though effectively only until 1796), was later justified in political diplomacy with the Protectorate in a quite peculiar way. Bent on convincing the French of their legacy as benevolent defenders of Cambodian sovereignty, these measures were described in a report specifically prepared for the occasion (in 1863) as the natural consequence of a 1793 revolt of local Cham-Malays and their Vietnamese allies²⁶⁸. Whereas the report was evidently contrived for political purposes, the story of the revolt is far from implausible, especially given the prior case of Tuon Sêt and similar later developments.

In 1810 Cambodia's next king Ang Chan (r. 1806-1811 and 1813-1835) was – perhaps mischievously – informed by his grandfather of an intrigue against his person. After having attained free reins, the aged informant enlisted a Malay by the name of Tuon Phâ to liquidate the two allegedly conspiring mandarins. After completing his mission, Tuon Phâ was in turn rewarded with an important post in the government hierarchy, which he managed to retain, despite the fact, that the killings were badly received by the wider

²⁶⁵ Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge entre le Siam et le Viêtnam (de 1775 à 1860)* (Paris : PESEO, 1991), p. 42f., 50; GDTC, p. 120. The Vietnamese source gives his name as Toan-liet-chiêu-vi-lut. Whereas Khin Sok's reading implies that he was defeated by Tèn-loyalists, GDTC speaks of a joint Khmer-Siamese effort, which clearly points to the other faction.

²⁶⁶ Launey, *Histoire de la mission*, III, p. 81.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁶⁸ Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 62.

populace, which also soon resented his elevated position²⁶⁹. It is startling in this respect, that hardly any scholar has so far been intrigued by the strong resemblance of the name Tuon Phâ to the Malay rebel leader active in Panduranga in the late 1790s, known as Tuen Phaow in Cham sources. It is more than evident that the former is merely the Khmer version of the same name or title. Indeed, much points towards a title as was already suggested by Khin²⁷⁰. Rather than following his assumption that *phâ* is a corruption of the Cham *po*, I would, however, propose a simpler solution. Indeed, the Cham *phaow* has the meaning of “adjunct” or “minister”, and as such has almost identical equivalents in Khmer and Vietnamese²⁷¹. Had he in fact been the same person, this would probably serve to explain the somewhat unclear reasons behind Tuon Phâ’s execution on Vietnamese orders in 1820 or 1821, shortly after having defeated a major rebel force for Ang Chan and the Vietnamese governor with an army primarily consisting of Cham and Chinese²⁷².

Strikingly, this is strongly corroborated by Moura’s 1883 history of Cambodia, although this account was henceforth, except for Mohammad Zain recently²⁷³, unduly ignored by historians working with either Cham or Khmer sources. Indeed, Moura, who convincingly claimed to have been personally acquainted with Tuon Phâ’s son, explicitly noted that the reason for his execution was his earlier leading role in a Cham revolt in Panduranga, which likewise drew on the support of numerous Malays²⁷⁴. It thus seems as if the Tuan, whose name is given as Set Asmit by Moura, did not, as the Cham poem suggests, return to *Makah* after his disappearance in the highland region²⁷⁵, but rather took the well-established route to Eastern Cambodia with his followers to stay there. The latter might have primarily consisted of a segment of Pandurangan population comparatively open to Malay influence and non-Bani Islamic discourses. Besides Asmit also his elder brother Tuon Mat had evidently earned himself the favour of Ang Chan. By 1814 he appears as the provincial governor of Kampong Svay²⁷⁶. Moreover, as will be shown below, Set Asmit’s sons were subsequently likewise to play decisive roles in Cham-Malay affairs in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71f.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71 n. 188.

²⁷¹ Étienne Aymonier & Antoine Cabaton, *Dictionnaire cam-français* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), p. 314.

²⁷² Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 113-115. The reason given for the execution of Tuon Phâ and another mandarin was that the two had supposedly been the actual architects behind the revolt they had just quelled.

²⁷³ Mohamad Zain Musa, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19 Pemberontakan dan Diaspora* (Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2012), p. 101f.

²⁷⁴ Jean Moura, *Le royaume du Cambodge* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1883), I, p. 458f., II, 133.

²⁷⁵ Weber, “Ariya Tuen Phaow”, p. 136.

²⁷⁶ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 104f.

Moura's account is furthermore also of interest as far as our earlier discussion of Malay engagement in Panduranga as well as the recognition of Muslim diversity and the questionable record of Cham liberation movements there during the Tay Son wars is concerned. Undoubtedly influenced by his local Malay informants, he relates that Tuon Set Asmit's movement eventually fell apart because a majority of the local Chams grew weary of the disproportionate influence of the Malays and therefore fatefully transferred their allegiance to the Vietnamese²⁷⁷. We may in this respect remember the implicit emphasis on religious (and ethnic) otherness (i.e. *cam baruw, jawa kur*) conveyed in the respective Cham historical poem as well as its explicit references to the strong Islamic connotations of the Tuan's revolt (including claims to supernatural powers comparable to those of Muhammad and Ali, liberation from Vietnamese domination as an order from Allah etc.)²⁷⁸. As far as Muslim diversity is concerned also the usage of the title *set* (*sayyid*) for those Muslims in Cambodia at that time, who claimed descent from Malay ruling houses appears to be noteworthy²⁷⁹. Even though the *sayyid* title already appears in the *Sejarah Melayu* (c. 1612), it seems as if it only gained wider currency through the growing presence and influence of Hadrami scholars (e.g. in Palembang) and Hadrami-descended Malay Sultans (e.g. in Siak from 1791 onwards) in Southeast Asia from the late 18th century onwards. Just like other, hitherto mostly unduly neglected, developments within the field of Muslim onomastics leading to the gradual Arabization (understood as Islamization by its exponents) of Southeast Asian Muslim names²⁸⁰, this was a sign of the very process of gradual religious and social change, subsumed under the label of Jawization. Moreover, it would not be long until titular practices and the statutory relevance attached to specific titles was to undergo significant change also among Cambodia's Chams.

After the demise of Tuon Set Asmit, Cambodia witnessed a period of firm Vietnamese control of the kingdom from the 1820s to the early 1840s, which was only briefly interrupted by a Siamese intervention in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta in 1834. Indeed,

²⁷⁷ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, I, p. 458.

²⁷⁸ Weber, "Ariya Tuen Phaow", p. 133-5.

²⁷⁹ Subsequently, *set* came to denote *sayyids* proper (i.e. descendants of the prophet) or at least the descendants of caliphs. Bearers of the title are, among other places still to be found in Prey Pih (Kampong Chhnang) and in Kampong Cham, where a *set* of (Vihear) Sambour, tellingly one of the sites of the 1858 rebellion (see below), is now Cambodia's pioneering convert to and propagator of Shiism. Omar Farouk Bajunid, "The Place of *Jawi* in Contemporary Cambodia", *JSAS*, XX (2002), p. 139, 147; Emiko Stock, "From Caliphs to Kings – Some Saeth and Po Couples", *ChamAttic*, blog entry posted February 11th 2013.

<http://chamattic.wordpress.com/2013/02/11/cliches-du-fin-fond-du-grenier-from-caliphs-to-kings-some-saeth-po-couples/> (accessed May 9th 2013); personal communication with O.F. Bajunid, Barcelona, July 22nd 2010; Alberto Pérez-Pereiro, Phnom Penh, May 2nd 2012.

²⁸⁰ William R. Roff, "Onomastics, and Taxonomies of Belonging in the Malay Muslim World" in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 33-51.

the latter episode heaved Vietnamese engagement in Cambodia to a new level, leading to firm military occupation until 1841. In these years the country and its inhabitants were subjected to Minh Mang's (r. 1820-1841) policies of "cultivation" otherwise applied to "barbarous" peoples on Vietnamese soil such as the Chams of former Panduranga and the Khmers of the Mekong Delta²⁸¹. Just as in the two mentioned regions of Southern Vietnam, this also included the state-directed settlement of Vietnamese. This may have also meant the involuntary relocation of Chams to buffer zones such as Thbaung Khmum/Kampong Cham. Oral accounts likewise suggest that Chams were conscripted for service in Cambodia and the Delta after the complete dissolution of Panduranga in 1832²⁸². Concerning the 1834 invasion of Cambodia to oust the Siamese, it was reported that a Cham prince was invested with a leadership position in the field²⁸³. One of his sons, named Po Ta Kay and based in a Cham village at Lovek²⁸⁴ in the mid-1870s, served as informant and supplier of Cham manuscripts for Moura²⁸⁵. The latter also mentions deportations of influential Cham families to Cambodia following their last futile uprisings against the Vietnamese (those of Katip Sumat and Ja Thak Wa) in 1835. This elucidates that greater numbers of Chams arrived in Cambodia at that time for various reasons, not only as a consequence of "voluntary" emigration due to repression and requisition of land, which has generally been put forward. Serious disruption also occurred in the trading world of Phnom Penh as Vietnamese traders came to replace well-established local actors (Chinese, Malays and Sino-Khmers) deliberately carried off by the Siamese the year before or executed by the Vietnamese (especially resident Chinese with connections to Cholon in present-day Saigon were roundly persecuted as alleged former partisans of the Tay Son)²⁸⁶.

It shall further be noted that prolonged Vietnamese control on the ground - probably for the first time since the Sultan Ibrahim intermezzo - led to a noticeable weakening and fragmentation of the classical institutions of post-Angkor Cambodia. Kingship, monkhood and the kind of literacy traditionally provided by the monasteries all began to crumble. This is the very context for the struggle to re-establish Cambodian royal and religious tradition under King Ang Duong (r. 1843-1860). Tellingly, like his contemporary royal counterparts in

²⁸¹ Wook, *Southern Vietnam*, p. 101-159.

²⁸² Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 37f.

²⁸³ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, I, p. 488.

²⁸⁴ As this was certainly a reference to the province (and not the town) of Lovek, there is a high probability that his actual place of residence was the crucial village of Chhouk Sar (see below).

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 465f., 488f. According to Moura this and other *pos* were regarded as kings by the local Chams. This reverence for those belonging to the royal line of Panduranga would soon figure among the casualties of Jawization.

²⁸⁶ David Porter Chandler, *Cambodia before the French. Politics in a Tributary Kingdom, 1794-1848* (unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Univ. of Michigan, 1973), p. 128.

Riau-Lingga, Kelantan or Terengganu, also Ang Duong appears to have had a strong interest and education in his religion and its religious written supra-languages. Whereas the former were knowledgeable in (written) Malay and Arabic, Ang Duong was reportedly in a position to debate issues in Sanskrit and Pali with the bonzes²⁸⁷. In the early phase after his return from long years in Siam, when he persisted as a kind of shadow king (the actual coronation only took place in 1848), Ang Doung was tellingly occupied with symbolic acts towards the remembrance of his royal lineage, restoring and repopulating the *wats* (Buddhist monasteries) and distributing emblems of status to officials, who granted him their support²⁸⁸.

All these measures, clearly aimed at demonstrating his legitimacy as well as re-establishing that of Cambodian kingship as such among the populace of a fragmented country, were also to have an impact on the local Muslim communities and the traditional relationship between the Khmer kings and their Khmer and Cham-Malay subjects. For one part, they were not to be excluded from the distribution of symbols of royal recognition due to their disproportionate influence in political and military matters. Their continued relevance in trade is best exemplified by their contemporary role in Cambodia's last remaining port Kampot. In 1850 a route was constructed at the orders of Ang Duong linking the capital of Oudong to the port, which was then comparably flourishing with brisk trade to Ha Tien and Singapore. Although the chief local traders were again Chinese, a Malay merchant was entrusted as supercargo for royal trade, including the task to build a grand junk specifically for the Singapore trade²⁸⁹. The royal Malay-Khmer translator sent to an arriving British ship in 1851 was most probably also of Malay stock, testifying to the community's additional role in diplomacy. When the British delegation later had an official reception with the Prime Minister, the "chief of the Malays" featured among those dignitaries present at the occasion²⁹⁰. This fits well with a contemporary French report detailing that the Malay traders of Phnom Penh were specialized on external trade²⁹¹, doubtlessly via Kampot. In contrast, the ambiguous relationship of the Cambodian Muslims to the Vietnamese, who naturally resented the revival of Siamese influence in Cambodia, made the discontents

²⁸⁷ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 135.

²⁸⁸ David P. Chandler, "Going through the Motions: Ritual Aspects of the Reign of King Duong of Cambodia (r. 1848-1860)" in Lorraine Gesick (ed.), *Centers, Symbols, and Hierarchies: Essays on the Classical States of Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Southeast Asia Studies, 1983), p. 107-109.

²⁸⁹ "Notes to accompany a map of Cambodia", JIA&EA, V (1851), p. 308f.; G.D. Bonnyman, "Notices of the Port of Kampot with Directions for the Eastern Channel", JIA&EA, V (1851), p. 432f.; Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 142; Sakurai & Kitagawa, "Ha Tien", p. 208 n. 4.

²⁹⁰ L.V. Helms Esq., "II. Overland Journey from Kampot to the Royal Residence. To the Editor of the Singapore Free Press", *Aséanie*, XVI (2005), p. 159f.

²⁹¹ Charles-Emile Bouillevaux, *Voyage dans l'Indochine, 1848-1856* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1858), p. 199f.

among them susceptible to Vietnamese aid and vice-versa. As will be shown in the following, the relationship of Ang Duong and his son Norodom (r. 1860-1904) with the Cham-Malays was both turbulent and highly complex. Moreover, the actions of Ang Duong were to have lasting influence on the pattern of Cham settlement in Cambodia and the Delta, and by implication also on the eventual constitution of two distinct Islamic communities in Cambodia in the face of Jawization and then globalized Islam.

2. Preparing the way for lasting intra-religious divisions: rebellion and resettlement under Ang Duong

In 1858 a Cham-Malay revolt broke out in the community's strong-hold of Thbaung Khmum, more precisely in the villages of Sambour and Rokapo Pram of present-day Kampong Cham province²⁹². The reasons for the upheaval are not entirely clear. The CRC are mute regarding this aspect of the rebellion, whereas different sources have put forward disaffection with the undue exactions of the local provincial governor, resentment of its leaders over having been side-lined in the competition for elevated administrative positions as well as an outright desire to establish an independent realm under Cham-Malay rule in the area, which would have been a repetition of similar attempts in the late 16th/early 17th century. Strikingly, an oral tradition collected by Leclère in the early 20th century, reports that the uprising, and a subsequent epidemic, had been the punishment levelled against Ang Duong by the country spirits in response to his sole disgraceful action as sovereign. This had been his sudden move towards selling high offices, in the course of which office holders were forced to either lose their functions or to pay to have them returned to them. As a result the provincial governors reportedly began to oppress their subjects to make up for their loss of money²⁹³.

Needless to say the above factors would not have been mutually exclusive, and indeed a combination of them seems to be the most likely explanation²⁹⁴. What is evident, however, especially in the aftermath of the initial rebellion, is that the Vietnamese gladly took the chance of weakening a Cambodian kingdom - now once again (save for its Eastern half)

²⁹² If not otherwise noted the discussion of the 1858 rebellion and its aftermath until the death of Ang Duong in 1860 draws on the following: A.B. de Villemereuil (ed.), *Explorations et missions de Doudart de Lagrée. Extraits de ses manuscrits* (Paris: Imprimerie & Libraire de Mde. Veuve Bachard-Huzard, 1883), p. 77f.; Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 133-135; Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 138-141.

²⁹³ Adhémar Leclère, *Cambodge. Fêtes civiles et religieuses* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1916), p. 560-562.

²⁹⁴ Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 138.

under strong Siamese influence – by supporting the rebels²⁹⁵, despite the incriminating family history of its leaders. Indeed, the latter were all sons of Tuon Set Asmit, who had received royal recognition, as outlined above, in the form of positions and honorary titles (though probably not to the desired degree). The three actual instigators among them resided in Thbaung Khmum, whereas their elder brother, Tuon Li (Ali), held a ministerial post in Phnom Penh, and was – by most accounts – probably not directly involved but only guilty by association. Important evidence to the contrary comes, however, from a chronology taken from CRC and produced by king Norodom’s Khmero-Portuguese official translator Col de Monteiro for the French resident de Langrée. This report not only claims that Tuon Li was directly implicated in a conspiracy against the king. It also specifies his official title as “*somdach bartes chang veang*”²⁹⁶. Likewise the – perhaps due to his own exposed position – very keen French missionary observer Mgr. Miche referred to him as “*Chang vang Ly*”²⁹⁷.

Strikingly, the title *changvang* was, at least from approximately the establishment of the protectorate onwards, used to denote the Muslim dignitary in the country – or rather in a particular region/province as there had existed no nation-wide hierarchy then – with the highest level of accorded rank (kh. *huban/houpean*)²⁹⁸. As such, the *changvang* was to a certain degree the direct precursor of the present position of Mufti of Cambodia. Albeit his direct authority was then most probably still limited to Cham-Malays living in the center of the country, it is certainly not insignificant for the subsequent development of intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia that this *changvang* in the late 1850s was clearly of Malay and not Cham stock. Moreover, his brother Tuon Him (Ibrahim) seems to have filled the same position in Thbaung Khmum until his turn towards rebellion (see below).

After an initial attempt to pacify the rebels, who had likewise been joined by discontented local Khmers, ended in the killing of Ang Duong’s envoy, the king decided to personally lead the subsequent punitive expedition. Following the death of one of the rebel leaders in battle (not corroborated by all sources), the remaining two brothers and some of their followers escaped to Vietnamese Chau Doc in the Mekong Delta, which by then already had its own

²⁹⁵ The area of the revolt and thus Cambodia’s major Cham-Malay stronghold appears to have still fallen under the purview of the Vietnamese. In 1851 a British observer noted, that the entire “left bank [whilst facing downriver] of the Mekong from Sambur down to the sea” was either under Vietnamese influence or under its actual authority. “Notes to accompany a map”, p. 309f.

²⁹⁶ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 359.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

²⁹⁸ For a concise description of the *huban* system see Anne Hansen, “Khmer Identity and Theravāda Buddhism” in John Marston & Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2004), p. 45.

Cham-Malay community. Although it is quite likely that the nucleus of Chau Doc's Cham-Malay population actually dates back to the late 18th century, either its initial establishment (if only falling into the subsequent century, which is less likely) or rather its decisive numerical increase was due to two specific events in the area's history of the first half of the 19th century. It has already been noted above, with reference to the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia from the 1820s to 1841, that the occupying forces likewise featured Malays and especially Chams, either as conscripts or volunteers. As the Vietnamese were forced to withdraw their troops from Cambodia, whilst at the same time adamantly refusing to return Chau Doc and other parts of the Mekong Delta subject to Khmer claims for restitution, these Cham-Malay auxiliaries were relocated to the very border zone of Chau Doc. Organized in regiments under leaders chosen from their ranks, they instrumental in the defence of the border, but also occasionally sent down South to repress Khmer revolts in Soc Trang and Tra Vinh²⁹⁹.

Even before that, however, Malays, which had probably belonged to the troops from Kampot fighting for Nguyen Anh, are reported to have participated in the digging of the crucial Vinh Te canal linking Ha Tien with Chau Doc³⁰⁰. Beginning in 1815 this huge venture had rested largely on the shoulders of Khmer workers (Cambodian chronicles are speaking of 20000 men), which king Ang Chan had been pressured to levy³⁰¹, and provided the background to the rise of Chau Doc as a new commercial and political centre in the Upper Delta. Despite the fact that petty cross-border trade between Cambodia and Vietnam (and particularly so the import of goods into Vietnam) rather than maritime trade was the mainstay of commercial activity for Cham-Malay residents around Chau Doc (as is still the case today)³⁰², the existence of the canal clearly made Chau Doc more attractive also to Malay traders. All in all, it seems as if the refugee rebel leaders and their men came to join an already well-established local Cham-Malay community, which was moreover

²⁹⁹ A. Labussière, "Les chams et les malais de l'arrondissement de Chaudoc", E&R, VI (1880), p. 373f.

³⁰⁰ Mak Phoeun, "Note sur les premiers établissements", p. 86-89.

³⁰¹ Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 111-113.

³⁰² Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, ch. 4&5. In the 19th century Cambodia-based Chams and Malays (accordingly labeled as "Khmers"), for example, were important cattle traders in the Delta. It is quite likely that at least parts of the cattle had first entered Cambodia from Siam and were then transported for eventual sale further south. Li Tana, "The Water Frontier: An Introduction" in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 7-9; *ibid.*, "The Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century Mekong Delta in the Regional Trade System" in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 80f. As is still the case today also contraband trade was certainly an important field of occupation for the local Cham-Malays. Indeed the specific type of large boat commonly used for the Cambodia trade (*ghe be*) was heavier taxed than others. Needless to say, such regulations are always providing a prime incentive for smuggling. Tana, "Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century", p. 80.

characterized by its loyalty towards or at least dependency upon their Vietnamese overlords.

In Cambodia, Ang Duong, who was evidently worried about the possibility of future similar rebellions in the area, took drastic measures after the flight of the ring-leaders. Thus, according to the French witness Mgr. Miche, five to six thousand Cham-Malays from the sites of the rebellion and its vicinities were first deported to the area around the capital and then resettled along the Tonle Sap between Phnom Penh and the royal riverine port of Kampong Luong (literally “royal port”). Others had to settle in inland areas to the West of the river, including the village of Chhouk Sar in present Kampong Tralach district of Kampong Chhnang. Intriguingly, this and two other villages in the same district would later first represent the anti-thesis to Jawization in Cambodia and then develop into the spiritual centre of *Kan Imam San* Islam in Cambodia. All the mentioned areas are still important sites of Cham-Chvea settlement. In Thbaung Khmum, however, certain areas of Cham-Malay settlement appear to have been effectively, if only temporarily, completely depopulated as a result of Ang Duong’s deportations, as was observed by Henri Mouhot, the famed French explorer of Angkor, who passed through the area in the course of his travels (1858-61)³⁰³.

Sheltered by the Vietnamese in Chau Doc, the rebel leaders were not done yet. In 1859 one of them travelled upriver with armed followers. After clandestinely establishing a group of fighters at Kampong Luong with the aid of a Cham notable of Lovek province, Cham-Malay forces devastated Kampong Luong and advanced towards Oudong. Another contingent headed to Phnom Penh to burn the house of the local governor and pillage. As the rebels arrived at the city walls of Oudong, the future king Norodom and other Khmer princes fled in disarray. The Cham-Malays, however, retreated and, as is vividly described by Mgr. Miche, used the confusion among the Cambodian authorities to devote themselves to the prime goal of their surprise attack, namely to taking their deported families (and assumingly some booty) with them to Chau Doc. In line with the earlier support provided by Vietnam to the rebels, it was observed that their retreat to the Delta was covered by two official Vietnamese ships as well as ground troops.

Accordingly, the Vietnamese also refused to hand over the rebels when pressured to do so by Ang Duong. As a consequence of this, troops of the Cambodian governor of Treang province (located in the upper Mekong Delta south of Phnom Penh) clashed with Vietnamese forces as they were making their way to the border. Shortly afterwards,

³⁰³ Henri Mouhot, *Voyage dans les royaumes de Siam, de Cambodge, de Laos et autres parties centrales de l'Indochine* (Genève: Éditions Olizane, 1999), p. 167f.

however, the death of Ang Duong brought this conflict to an end and paved the way for renewed internecine strife within the royal family. Expectedly, the struggle for the throne and supremacy in Cambodia again brought the agendas of Siam and Vietnam to the forefront, along with those of a new major regional player, the French. Before continuing with this account, however, a distinctively Cham perspective has to be added to this summary drawn from Khmer and French sources. Indeed, a highly important detailed Cham manuscript report on the community's trials, tribulations and exploits around the crucial period of the middle of the 19th century has come down to us. For the episode in question, differences with the Khmer and French sources are mostly negligible, except, however, for one important aspect. According to the Cham text, there had been right from the beginning of the rebellion in Thbaung Khmum a local group of Chams which decided to side with Ang Duong, and henceforth actively participated in the crushing of the rebellion by providing soldiers, supplies and needed local topographic knowledge³⁰⁴.

This group was led by a certain "Tuanko Po" (a mere Malay-Cham title combination), who had reportedly established the village of Kampong Pring (in Koh Sautin district of present Kampong Cham province) with his followers in 1846-7³⁰⁵. Clearly originating from the ranks of (the descendants of) the concerned community, this account relates, in contrast to the unanimous French and Khmer reports of forcible resettlement of suspect Cham-Malays, that the faction of Tuanko Po voluntarily relocated to new lands granted to them by Ang Duong in the aftermath of the rebellion at Prey Pih, Sre Prey and Chhouk Sar³⁰⁶. The implication is of course that the Cham communities of these very villages, which later turned into lasting bastions against Jawization, are in whole or at least in their majority descended from the faction of Chams led by Tuanko Po, which had deliberately allied themselves with Ang Duong rather than with their rebellious counterparts under Malay leadership. It is noteworthy, that the Cham account, starting with its main protagonist, abounds in leading personalities bearing the epithet *po*. There can thus be no doubt that connection to the Cham royal line (or its priestly "caste") was of importance to its narrator, and thus, most probably, also to the persons involved. This component appears to be conspicuously absent among the contending rebel faction, whose leaders' legitimacy evidently rested on other pillars. Provenance and date of the manuscript in question (CM 39

³⁰⁴ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 108-122.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.68. The author assumes that Tuanko Po and part of his followers were "with great probability" descendants of the exiled Cham prince Po Ci Bri. This seems to be confirmed by information obtained in the late 19th century about a Cham scholar based at Chhouk Sar. Aymonier, "Légendes historiques", p. 184.

³⁰⁶ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 101, 166-176.

of the *Société Asiatique* in Paris), which actually contains forty different texts, of which only four are concerned with the historical trials of the Chams under Cambodian and French rule, are unknown³⁰⁷. This also applies to 43 other Cham manuscripts in the institute's possession³⁰⁸. It would, however, be reasonable to assume that it was originally among the Cham manuscripts acquired by Moura (whose *Le Cambodge* was published by the *Société Asiatique* in 1883) from his informant Po Ta Kay, who, as has been noted above, likewise explicitly claimed royal descent.

Additionally, it seems as if the pattern of forced relocation and exile versus (perhaps similarly not entirely³⁰⁹) voluntary resettlement also yielded other less obvious consequences for the respective groups. On the one hand, the banks of the Tonle Sap between Phnom Penh and Oudong, as destinations for deportation, were certainly already home to Cham-Malay communities, which, however, could – under normal circumstances – naturally be much better policed than far gone Thbaung Khmum. Moreover, Chau Doc (or Moat Chruk in Khmer) was surely not coincidentally chosen as a refuge for the rebel leaders. Apart from the expectation of Vietnamese protection, it was most probably already well-established connections to local Cham-Malay communities, which provided the rationale for this choice. Trade with timber, shipped downriver, was of particular importance. Vietnamese ship-building in the South was dependent on this timber³¹⁰ and so was certainly the construction of boats and canoes among the local Cham-Malays and Khmers. According to local tradition even the specific *sao* (*Hopea Odorat*) wood used (in addition to boatbuilding) for the distinctive stilt-houses of the local Cham-Malay community, but not endemic in the Delta, came from Cambodia³¹¹. There, Kampong Cham/Thbaung Khmum and Kratie incidentally featured among the main logging areas³¹².

³⁰⁷ Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 190-194. Mohammad Zain's exposition rests mainly on its text nr. 36.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁰⁹ Despite the certainly deliberate general thrust of the text which presents the Tuanko Po faction as highly valued loyal supporters of the Khmer king, instances of Khmer mistrust are likewise elaborated in the text. When still in Thbaung Khmum, the local Khmer military commander at one point seized their weapons. Later, during the aftermath of the 1859 attack from Chau Doc, followers of Tuanko Po were arrested and only saved from imminent execution by Tuanko Po's successful pledges of loyalty. Similarly, the hardships endured by and deaths incurred upon women, children and old people during their trail across the country from Thbaung Khmum to the banks of the Tonle Sap are vividly described. Moreover, the 1859 crackdown appears to have been not entirely unwarranted. Indeed, the text admits contacts between Tuanko Po's brother and one of the rebel leaders during the latter's local preparations for the liberation of his kinsmen, which were also known to Tuanko Po himself. Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 116f., 123-131, 161f.

³¹⁰ Tana, "Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century", p. 80.

³¹¹ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 55.

³¹² For Vietnamese dockyards along the Saigon River Tay Ninh was an important source of wood. Tana, "Ships and Shipbuilding", p. 122. For its non-riverine transportation again cattle provided by Cham traders was

In the aftermath of the rebellion linkages between the Chau Doc and Thbaung Khmum/Kampong Cham Muslim communities were destined to become particularly strong on economic, scholarly and familial levels, despite the apparent geographical distance between the two regions. By the 1930s the Cham-Malays of Chau Doc served as practically unavoidable middlemen between the mentioned Cambodian wood exporting areas, which coincided with the regions of strongest Cham-Malay settlement, and consumers in the Lower Delta³¹³. Yet, trade was hardly the only incentive for recurring population movements back and forth between Cambodia and the Mekong Delta. Thus, Labussière observed that, due to common parentage, such migration had unfolded on a considerable scale between 1869 and 1880³¹⁴. French colonial policies inadvertently further contributed to the extension of such family networks in the 1890s. This was due to the fact that “[Cham-]Malays from Cochinchina [i.e. South Vietnam] resettling in Cambodia” were in 1891 (seemingly unintentionally³¹⁵) freed from paying the head-tax, which caused an intervention three years later by the Hanoi-based governor-general of Indochina, M. Chavassieux, who feared “the eventual complete depopulation of [Cham-]Malay villages in Chau Doc and the possible loss of any remaining tax revenues due to periodic resettlement”³¹⁶. Turbulence and deportation were thus ironically less conducive to uprooting than to furthering networking between Muslim communities of Kampong Cham, Chau Doc and the wider Phnom Penh area. Moreover, cross-border riverine trading networks obviously overlapped with those of Islamic scholarship and education, both of which similarly had tentacles reaching towards Patani, Kelantan and Terengganu (see below).

On the contrary, the somewhat atypical - and therefore indeed probably pioneering - inland settlement of the (perhaps entire) Tuanko Po faction along with parts of the other deportees, at a certain distance to the waterways, has at least in the long run circumscribed their outreach to and interaction with other Muslim communities in the country. Already the 1859 revolt along the Tonle Sap, which reunited the now Chau Doc-based rebels with some of their deported kin, appears to have been a decidedly riverine affair. Potential supporters in Kampong Tralach were either too far removed from the action or simply

reportedly instrumental. Adolf Bastian, *A Journey in Cambodia and Cochinchina (1864)* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2005), p. 180.

³¹³ Marcel Ner, “Les musulmans de l’Indochine Française”, BEFEO, XLI (1941), p. 184.

³¹⁴ Labussière, “Chams et malais”, p. 376.

³¹⁵ It seems as if this policy had been actually intended to apply only to Khmer and Cham-Malay returnees to Cambodia from Siamese border provinces (perhaps specifically concerning Battambang, which then still formed part of Siamese territory).

³¹⁶ ANC-RSC 9785 (dated 1892) & 8879 (dated 1894).

rested firmly under the authority of the Ang Duong-loyalist Tuanko Po. In this respect an episode in Cham (Tuanko Po faction) sources about the time immediately following the attack 1859 from Chau Doc is noteworthy. According to this account a number of Cham-Malays had been reduced to the position of royal slaves (*bal robeap*)³¹⁷ after the incident. It was eventually only the members of Tuanko Po's "family" who were freed after their leader had proven his utmost loyalty by refusing to accept the redistribution of weapons, which had been seized earlier³¹⁸.

As there were presumably also more diversified Muslim settlements in the vicinity (as is the case today)³¹⁹, a high concentration of devoted followers, comparable homogeneity and royal recognition of a distinct identity (among others), then probably only perceived in political and not yet also religious terms, must have also played a role. The official title of *oknha khnour*, eventually by the end of the 20th century denoting the head of the break-away *Islamic Community of Imam San* (*Kan Imam San*- KIS) was certainly originally introduced in this very context by Ang Duong or, if not, then at least by his son Norodom. Although we know virtually nothing of probable differing religious emphases or outlooks within the contending factions of rebels and loyalists³²⁰, there is much which suggests that the dynamics arising out of these seemingly purely political cleavages eventually canalized into or at least became constituent elements of the strikingly divergent levels of Jawization within Cambodian Islam in the 20th century's first half as well as in the final intra-religious split occurring towards its end.

³¹⁷ Before the French ban on slavery, Cambodia knew three different types of slaves. One category was formed by the "pol" of French sources, that is, slaves belonging to either bonzes or the king. M. Fourès, "Royaume du Cambodge. Organisation politique", E&R, XIII (1882), p. 207f.

³¹⁸ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 128-131, 144.

³¹⁹ By the first years of 20th century Kampong Tralach village in the same district was one of the country's centers of boatbuilding, an industry controlled by Chinese, Cham-Malays and, to a lesser degree, Vietnamese. Chhouk Sar and surrounding crucial nuclei villages of the *Kan Imam San* appear not to have participated in it directly. Alain Forest, *Le Cambodge et la colonisation française. Histoire d'une colonisation sans heurtés (1897-1920)* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1980), p. 319.

³²⁰ The Cham text in question contains four references to blessings being called upon or requested from the prophet (*salawat*). Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 65f., 188. Even these instances, mostly associated with preparations for battle, are more ambiguous than Mohamad Zain's translation suggests. Aymonier and Cabaton list the additional meaning of sounding the battle cry ("pousser le cri de guerre des Čams"), besides reciting and repeating prayers. Aymonier & Cabaton, *Dictionnaire*, p. 481. Some of the other texts of the same manuscript (CM 39) have a decidedly Pandurangan/*Bani* background, including *inter alia* the highly regarded *Book of Nosiravan*, described by Durand in 1907 as the foremost treatise of Cham (including *Bani*) cosmogony. Strikingly, although likewise described as the "holy book *par excellence*" of the Brahmanist Chams, this work features many figures from Islamic history, its prophets as well as main concepts drawn from Sufi thought also to be found in other Southeast Asian Muslim literatures. E.M. Durand, "Notes sur les Chams", BEFEO, VII (1907), p. 321-339.

3. Shifting alliances and the dawning of a new era: Norodom, the Cham-Malays and the Protectorate

With the ascension of his eldest son Norodom, Ang Duong was succeeded by a markedly unpopular king in 1860. Lack of local support naturally invited shortly manifested claims to the throne by his younger brothers Sivutha and Sisowath and soon also popular rebellions led by various figures proclaiming entirely artificial genealogical links to Cambodian kingship. At the same time, the French, after having intervened in Vietnam in the alleged defence of European trade and persecuted local Christians in 1859, were successfully expanding and tightening their hold on the southern part of the country and thereby also began to set their eyes on Cambodia³²¹. It will become evident in the following that the Cham-Malays of Cambodia and the Delta were quick to realize the relevance of this new player on the Indochinese scene, and so were the French themselves regarding the Cham-Malay communities. During the troubles characterizing the early years of Norodom's reign and the establishment of the French Protectorate defending his rule, Cham-Malay contingents strikingly appear to have been found initially among any and all contending camps. This of course implied a number of shifting alliances as much as it meant that an even remotely politically united Cham-Malay front plainly did not exist at that time. Nevertheless, cooperation with the French would eventually become the main characteristic of Cham-Malay political action between Cambodia, Chau Doc and Tay Ninh. Already in the first year of his reign Norodom had to contend with an alliance of his two brothers aided by the queen-mother. As the embattled king took military action he suddenly found himself deserted by his Cham-Malay troops, which had been most probably recruited along the Tonle Sap and especially in the Kampong Tralach villages of the Tuanko Po faction. As a consequence, he was forced to flee to safety in Bangkok³²². Nevertheless, a deal was evidently soon struck between Norodom, who had also regained the support of the queen-mother, and parts of the Cham-Malay community, which included the restitution of possessions (presumably land titles), titles and positions taken away in 1858. This latter condition was obviously due to constant communication between the exiles in Chau Doc and their relations along the Tonle Sap³²³. The importance of this realignment of Cham-

³²¹ Karl-Heinz Golzio, *Geschichte Kambodschas. Das Land der Khmer von Angkor bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003), p. 116.

³²² de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 63f.; P.-L. Lamant, "Les malais du Cambodge face à l'instauration du protectorat français" in *Monde Indochinoise et Péninsule Malaise* (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Kesenian dan Pelancongan Malaysia, 1990), p. 72f.

³²³ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 142.

Malay loyalties should not be underestimated. As has been noted with respect to Norodom's situation in the 1860s "[t]he Cham-Malay and the Portuguese-Khmer could influence the balance of power decisively, according to their conduct in times of crisis"³²⁴. When the king returned via Kampot to swiftly retake his throne in February 1862, both mentioned communities were in their majority crucially standing by his side³²⁵. Already in the following year, however, problems with the Cham-Malay element in the Eastern part of the country resurfaced on a minor scale. Thus, correspondence with the French reveals that a certain Chharea, who had been a refugee (presumably from Panduranga) in Tay Ninh for a long time, was at that time causing problems in Thbaung Khmum. More precisely, Chharea and his Khmer allies falsely claimed that they had received governorships over the region from the French command at Tay Ninh³²⁶.

On August 11th of 1863 the still not well implanted Norodom finally acquiesced to the signing of the French Protectorate Treaty³²⁷ and the naval officer Ernest Doudard de Lagrée (d. 1868) became its first Resident (1863-1866). Among his successors in this position would later be the illustrious administrator-scholars Jean Moura (1868-70 and 1871-1879) and Étienne Aymonier (1879-1881)³²⁸. Both displayed a keen interest in Cham-Malay affairs in Cambodia. This of course particularly applies to Aymonier, whose strong commitment to the Chams and their history, resulting from his earlier post as Resident in Binh Thuan, has already been highlighted above. Among his major contributions to Cham Studies, his Cham grammar (1889) as well as his major *Dictionnaire Čam-Français*, compiled together with Antoine Cabaton and published in 1906, should be mentioned.

De Langrée, based in Oudong at the very beginning of his incumbency, found himself in unexpectedly diverse surroundings among local Khmers, Chinese, Vietnamese, Thais, Burmese, Laotians and Malay-Chams³²⁹. Already during the preparations for Norodom's official coronation, which was scheduled to take place in Bangkok under French auspices, the new resident received another indicator of Cham-Malay agency in Cambodia's political sphere. This was in the form of a letter by a community leader, which informed the French that they disapproved of the prospect of having Norodom go to Siam for his coronation. In

³²⁴ Gregor Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen': The Rise of French Rule and the Life of Thomas Caraman, 1840-87* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 72.

³²⁵ Lamant, "Malais du Cambodge", p. 73.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³²⁷ It bore this name due to the French promise to protect Norodom from rival claims and the country from Siamese and Vietnamese expansionism. Penny Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2008), p. 21.

³²⁸ The official titles for later incumbents of this post were *Résidents Généraux* (1885-9), *Résidents Supérieurs* (1889-1945) and *Commissaires* (1945-53) respectively. Golzio, *Geschichte Kambodschas*, p. 117, 174.

³²⁹ Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen'*, p. 90.

the field of trade, the resident soon lauded the part played by Malays, who must have evidently quickly returned to their usual economic activities, in the rapid increase in river-borne trade in the first year of the protectorate³³⁰.

Yet, internal stability to further such developments was still lacking for Norodom and the young protectorate. In early 1864, as Norodom, bent on travelling to Bangkok, was in the process of levying Cham-Malay troops (presumably including among the Tuanko Po faction near the capital) to guard his trip³³¹, the news of a new rebellion reached Oudong. Led by a certain Achar Sva (rendered Assoua in French documents), who made concocted claims to membership in the royal family, the rebel forces not only included old partisans of Norodom's brother Sivutha but also Cham-Malays from Chau Doc³³². Indeed, one of Tuon Li's (remaining) brothers had been given the position of *kralahom* (commander of the fleet) by the pretender³³³. Achar Sva, moreover, could obviously count on Vietnamese support. After the rebels had managed to take Kampot, Norodom intriguingly requested fighters from Tuanko Po for the formation of a special contingent under Cham command. This request was duly granted³³⁴. Pressed by the latter and other Cambodian troops loyal to Norodom, Achar Sva simply withdrew, very much to the dismay of de Lagrée, into (only thinly veiled) Vietnamese protection at Chau Doc.

Yet, French pressure soon bore fruits, if not among Assoua and his Vietnamese protectors then at least among the Cham-Malay community of Chau Doc. Indeed, under the prevailing circumstances the local Cham-Malays were confronted with the looming danger of a French maritime intervention via the Vinh Te canal as well as with an imminent serious curtailment of their economic activities by Cambodian-French policies to deliberately "divert navigation away from the Chau Doc branch [of the Mekong] to the My Tho branch"³³⁵. The Resident's afore-mentioned favourable remark concerning Cham-Malay riverine trade (dating to late 1864) was already representative of these endeavours, as it solely concerned commercial transactions via My Tho. Eventually, the Cham-Malay leadership in Chau Doc decided to side with Norodom and particularly with the French, and their leader went to Oudong to offer his submission to Norodom in exchange for the right of

³³⁰ Lamant, "Malais du Cambodge", p. 74f.

³³¹ Cf. also the letter of Mgr. Miche of February 1864 reproduced in de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 410.

³³² Cf. de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 136-150; Lamant, "Malais du Cambodge", p. 75-77; Mohamad Zain bin Musa, "Malay and Cham Relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia during and after the French Protectorate Period (1863-2000), JMBRAS, LXXIV (2001), p. 8f.

³³³ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 411.

³³⁴ Mohamad Zain, "Malay and Cham Relations", p. 8f.

³³⁵ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 140.

the exiles to return to Cambodia. The unnamed “chef des Malais de Chaudoc” behind this new alliance³³⁶ was most probably the former *chang vang* Tuon Li. Besides being among the natural candidates for such a leadership position within the community, his subsequent important role in Cambodian affairs and his (re-) elevation to the rank of provincial governor (*samdech chauphneha*)³³⁷ would at least suggest so. His two brothers, who had come to the Phnom Penh area in the early stages of the rebellion (February 1864) to lobby for support³³⁸, were presumably also instrumental in the preparation of the new alliance. The Cham manuscript CM 39(36) notes that the initial leader of the returning Cham-Malays from Chau Doc was Tuon Sou. Nevertheless, it likewise relates that the new troops drawn from their ranks were commanded by the “*changvang* [Li]”. Testifying to the prevailing separation between the men of the latter and those of Tuanko Po, both subsequently directed their own troops even when fighting jointly against Norodom’s detractors³³⁹. When the German ethnographic pioneer Adolf Bastian visited the Cham-Malay “colony between Kampong Luong and Ponhea Loeu on the Tonle Sap” later that year, he noted that the exiles of Chau Doc had by then mostly returned. Strikingly, the local community leader turned out to be a certain “Domset Ali” (Tuon Set Li), son of a “Domset Ahmed” (Tuon Set Asmit)³⁴⁰.

The king, for his part, immediately sent out his new-found allies, endowed as they were with local knowledge of the Chau Doc area, to fight Achar Sva. Weary of the dangers of disloyalty, the French pressed their leader to sign a declaration “to guard [themselves] from his possible defection”, and further furnished him with clear instructions³⁴¹. On the other hand, the Vietnamese governor of Chau Doc, under French pressure to aid the capture of Achar Sva, was far from pleased by what must have appeared as the loss of some valuable men. Thus, the Malay military leader Tuon Sait, who had been sent down south to pursue Achar Sva, was temporarily held up by the governor, who in turn informed the French that he had previously served as headman of an important Cham-Malay village opposite Chau Doc (probably Chau Giang, the local *jawa kur* strong-hold). He further declared his consent to let Tuon Sait traverse his territory in pursuit of the rebels, under the condition that the Muslim leader would subsequently return to his former domain and

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³³⁷ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 133. Moura does not specify the province in question. Yet, it was certainly Lovek with its major Cham-Malay villages along the Tonle Sap and to its West, which was assigned to Tuon Li. According to the *kram srok* (1692) only the governors of four provinces (Phnom Penh, Banteay Meas, Lovek and Battambang) held the *chauphneha* title. Leclère, *Codes cambodgiens*, I, p. 120.

³³⁸ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 411.

³³⁹ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 134-139.

³⁴⁰ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 144.

³⁴¹ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 146.

functions³⁴². There is a great probability that Tuon Sait was one of the original rebel brothers in Thbaung Khmum, although a mere coincidence in names is of course likewise conceivable. If our suggestion was correct, this would imply that the Vietnamese governor had been quick to install the exiled leader in a local administrative position.

It would, however, take until August 1866 until Achar Sva was captured. In addition, not all Cham-Malays of Chau Doc had gone over to Norodom. Accordingly, two Chams who had been put in control of the Kampot area by Achar Sva were likewise arrested³⁴³. These were probably the same persons reported by Cambodian officials in summer 1864 to be making up two thirds of the tripartite leadership of Achar Sva's forces attacking Treang province, which consisted of 2000 Khmers and Vietnamese as well as 500 Cham-Malays³⁴⁴. This disproportionate distribution of Cham-Malays on the highest levels within the rebel chain of command once more seems to point at their military relevance for both sides of this and other local conflicts.

Tellingly, also de Lagrée exhibited a strong commitment to have the Cham-Malay exiles repatriated not just for military but also economic reasons. Thus, after mentioning their desire to return to Cambodia, he declared in one of his reports, that such repatriation would be a great gain for the country and the French, as the Cham-Malays were known as successful farmers and traders. He was moreover aware of their activities in that latter capacity up to Laos as well as of their monopolization of trade in the Battambang region, in conjunction with the Chinese³⁴⁵. Nevertheless, at one instance in the middle of the Achar Sva insurrection and the diplomatic strains with the Vietnamese which it had generated, besides revealing internal strains within emerging French Indochina, de Langrée on the contrary envisaged a significantly different role for the Cham-Malays of Chau Doc in the local equations of power. Therefore, he put forward the idea of establishing a Cham-Malay realm, paying tribute to Cambodia, in the contested area in October 1865³⁴⁶.

The Vietnamese, on the other hand, must have had similar considerations regarding the Cham-Malays of Chau Doc all along since their establishment there. Apart from serving as part of the colonization venture of the Mekong Delta, as buffer and as a force to be easily

³⁴² Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 156.

³⁴³ Mohamad Zain, "Malay and Cham Relations", p. 9.

³⁴⁴ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 367.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162, 175f. Parts of Battambang's Cham-Malay trading community were actually former Phnom Penh traders deported in the course of the last Siamese invasion in 1833. As Battambang remained under Siamese control until 1907 its trade was consequently much more geared towards Bangkok than Phnom Penh. Puangthong Rungswasdisab, "Siam and the Contest for Control of the Trans-Mekong Trading Networks from the Late Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Centuries" in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 108, 113f.

³⁴⁶ Lamant, "Malais du Cambodge", p. 77.

activated against Cambodia, their trading activities were certainly also valuable to their overlords. After all, it was certainly not just pioneering spirit which brought those Malays and Chams, which were neither fleeing from conflict in Cambodia nor arriving as a result of Vietnamese conscription, to Chau Doc. This especially applies to Peninsular Malays, formerly not or only briefly resident in Cambodia. From the Vietnamese perspective there existed already well-established trade-routes linking Cambodia to the Delta since at least the early 19th century. The route to Bangkok (and from there to the Malay Peninsula) ran through Phnom Penh and Battambang. The so-called “coastal route” linked places like Ha Tien to Cambodia’s Ream (in proximity to the Chvea settlements of present-day Sihanoukville province) to the northern Gulf of Thailand and, after a turn towards the South, to Patani, Kelantan, Terengganu and so forth³⁴⁷. Terengganu, for example, features prominently as place of origin for those nowadays claiming Malay descent around Chau Doc³⁴⁸.

Even before the pacification of southern Cambodia and the capture of Achar Sva, Norodom and his French protectors had to confront yet another internal menace coming from former eastern domains of the country as the former Buddhist monk turned millenarian rebel Pou Kombo regrouped forces in Tay Ninh in 1865. Again, Cham-Malays were to be found in important numbers in both camps³⁴⁹. The rebel forces were initially reported to include around 2000 Cham-Malays, drawn from both Cambodia (and presumably Tay Ninh) as well as from Chau Doc. In the long run, however, a loyalist Cham-Malay leader, referred to by the French plainly as “the *samdech*”, would turn into the instrumental and most prominent Cham-Malay figure in the course of the affair. Although colonial scholars as well as contemporary scholars working with the French original documents have made no effort at either specifying or establishing the identity of this significant character, it is only reasonable to assume that he was most probably no one else but Tuon Li (hence Moura’s – unfortunately not further elaborated – remark on his “important role in Cambodia”³⁵⁰). Initially only commanding a force of 100 Cham-Malays at Kampong Luong, he and his expanding troops were decisive in the defence of Oudong and the residence of the still

³⁴⁷ Tana, “Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century”, p. 72f; Geoff Wade, “A ‘Coastal Route’ from the Lower Mekong Delta to Terengganu” in Nola Cooke & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 175-189. Chinese and Malay shipping had been instrumental in shaping coastal trade in the area. Most islands off the coasts of Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand still had Malay names at that time. Hence the Vietnamese *cu lao* (“island”) from Malay *pulau*.

³⁴⁸ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 55.

³⁴⁹ The following brief account is based on Lamant, “Malais du Cambodge”, p. 77-80 and Mohamad Zain, “Malay and Cham Relations”, p. 9-11.

³⁵⁰ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, II, p. 156.

influential queen-mother. By the outbreak of the rebellion, the former rebel leader Tuon Sou, had already been (re-)instated as governor (*archun*) of Thbaung Khmum. Given his past actions, it is somewhat ironic, that he eventually turned out to be the first important victim of Pou Kombo's insurrection, killed during a nightly surprise attack³⁵¹. Yet, he was evidently not the last Cham-Malay governor of the province, which again testifies to the importance of its Muslim element. At least as also the incumbent of 1881 was a Cham³⁵².

As the rebellion of Pou Kombo gained momentum and proceeded towards the centre of the country, the French had to bring in reinforcements from southern Vietnam, which were joined by approximately a thousand Cham-Malays. By December 1866 the rebels attacked Oudong, which had ceased to function as the capital at the beginning of the year but still housed the queen-mother and other members of the royal family. Despite the fact that a significant part of the other Cambodian troops reportedly abandoned the site, the Cham-Malay leader and his men managed to push back the attackers. As his next exploit he coordinated the desertion of 500 among Pou Kombo's Cham-Malays to his own forces. In December of the following year, Pou Kombo was finally arrested and put to death. The *samdech* and a number of his fighters were later personally rewarded by Norodom and French officers with titles, medals and financial blessings. Needless to say, the positive inclination of de Lagrée and other French administrators towards the Cham-Malays, albeit understandably not entirely devoid of mistrust, was only strengthened through the spirited defence of Oudong. So were consequently efforts at repatriation, which were now actively pursued by the French.

4. Conclusion

Besides the remarkable fact, that there were Cham-Malays fighting for Achar Sva and Pou Kombo as well as for Norodom and the French against both of them (and perhaps equally still for the Vietnamese) at the very same time, which hints at a clearly disproportionate stake of the community in military and political matters, the French sources also serve to highlight one intriguing aspect of apparent Cham-Malay support for Norodom. Indeed, the loyalists among the Cham-Malays appear to have been less than enthusiastic for the

³⁵¹ Also CM 39(36) mentions his "reinstatement". Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 135. As one of the probable reasons which have been put forward for the outbreak of the rebellion were the exactions of a Khmer official (most probably the provincial governor), it is, however, questionable whether Tuon Sou had actually already even held that post before. Khmer sources are connecting his name with a title other than *archun*. Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 138.

³⁵² Mathieu Guérin & Gérald Vogin, "La paroisse des affranchise: Communauté, identité et religion dans le village de Kdol, Cambodge (1898-1979)", *Aséanie*, XX (2010), p. 86.

unpopular king and at least the *samdech* (Tuon Li) likewise explicitly communicated this to the French. It thus seems as if the Cham-Malays in question rather threw in their lot with him because of his association with the French and the realization that it would be the latter, who would dictate Cambodian affairs in the years to come (if not already). Strikingly, this even concerned the Tuanko Po faction as former ardent supporters of Ang Duong. Although the narrative of CM 39(36) is clearly aimed at establishing a coherent picture of unquestioned loyalty towards Cambodian kingship as it were, that is, without particular rupture from Ang Duong to Norodom, things appear not to have been so straightforward. Accordingly, the text notes that Tuanko Po at one instance helped Sivutha, the contender for the throne, with rice and water. After all - the anonymous author rationalizes - both Norodom and Sivutha equally belonged to the royal family³⁵³. On the contrary, the text is entirely mute on any participation of the group in the repression of Pou Kombo and the crucial defence of Oudong against his forces. Intriguingly, the Tuanko Po faction was absent from the very occasion that turned into Tuon Li's biggest triumph. Its relocation to present-day Kampong Tralach district, however, would be fateful and prove a major precondition for the bifurcation of the Cambodian Muslim community today.

³⁵³ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 89.

IV. Under the influences: Observing structural and processual dispositions for Jawization

“What Snouck Hurgronje brought to the study of Islam in Southeast Asia then, besides his own great knowledge of the texts, was an ethnographic insistence on people and place combined with a recognition that all social reality has particular historical roots”. William R. Roff, “Islam Obscured? Some reflections on Studies of Islam and Society in Southeast Asia” (1985).

“[...] und außerdem bei dem zunehmenden Einfluß des Malayischen die Worte dieser Sprache nicht von den eigenen [Cham Wörtern] geschieden werden“. Adolf Bastian, Reise durch Kamboja nach Cochinchina (1868).

1. Cham-Malay/Chvea relations, settlement and economic patterns

So far, the preceding chapters have delineated some of the major contextual factors influencing the postulated emergence and specific development of Jawization in Cambodia. Among these were not only external developments in the wider Malay World as well as specifically in the crucial area of the Malay states of the north eastern Peninsula, such as a changing role of Islam in Malay kingship and new emphases in social and scholarly expression of Islam, the rise of the *pondok* system and the related evolution of a major Patani network of Islamic scholarship. The Patani network and the external texts it came to disseminate, such as those by Palimbānī and Muḥammad Arshad, not to mention their particular choices of Arabic texts selected for publication and distribution, were, as has been indicated, likewise representative of a general shift of emphases in elite literary production. This also especially concerned specific strands of Sufi thought and manuals for religious ceremonies (particularly marriage). Although the actual influence of spiritual manuals and cosmological texts on religious ritual practice is hard to measure, it was certainly not insignificant that much of the Islamic literature, which had evidently greatly impacted on the so-called Javanese *mystic synthesis* (and of course the distinct Islamic discursive tradition on Lombok, whose emergence was evidently closely linked to Javanese developments) as well as on Bani and earlier Malay Islam in general, became gradually marginalized.

Significantly, whereas the further spread of *jawi* based literary culture naturally aided such dynamic region-wide changes, localized scholarly cultures holding on to their own script traditions (Cham in Panduranga and among parts of the Cambodian Chams, Javanese and Sasak among parts of their potential communities of users), though far from frozen in time, appear to have been at a certain point, perhaps deliberately, much less dynamic. In fact, they often ultimately came to act as last bastions, defending – not without re-modulation, and now more than ever necessary efforts at standardization – their Islam against intruding hegemonic Islamic discursive traditions. They were not caught entirely unaware either. Due to the emerging intra-religious divide, which occurred as a common feature of Jawization in many contexts, references to intra-Muslim differences abound in Cham, Javanese and Sasak literature of the period³⁵⁴. It shall, however, be emphasized here that diversity itself, a common feature in most if not all Muslim contexts, was not necessarily contentious. Yet, at a certain point these differences came to be virulently problematized as hitherto marginal groups, or, if not actually marginal, then at least confined to specific niches of their own or forming part of a more or less stringent system of exchanges, came to challenge the status quo by plainly becoming more influential or numerically powerful, thereby stepping (or spilling) out of their niches or religiously moving ever further away from the co-constituents of the system. At these junctures, associated with the violence engendered by social change and often also by that of logosphere³⁵⁵ (if only as far as the preferred language for religious study is concerned), diversity does become a problem and a barrier. Whereas this process unfolded on Java from the 1830s onwards, it can – by recourse to all presently available sources – only be pinpointed in Cambodia by the early 20th century, when it was evidently already in full swing.

Given the remarkable continuous economic and political presence and agency of various Malay groups in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta, many operating out of places further

³⁵⁴ Cham examples have already been noted. As far as Java is concerned, we have mentioned the example of the *Suluk Seh Ngabdulsalam* with its distinction between Arab and Javanese Islam. A similarly explicit differentiation is made in the *Wedhatama* (Superior Knowledge, c. 1870s), ascribed to Prince Mangkunagara IV (r. 1853-81), which charges the local challengers to his form of Islam (i.e. the Javanese agents of Jawization known as *putihan*) as “denying their Javaneseness” by following Arab models. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 43f. Texts from Lombok are contrasting *waktu telu* Islam not only with that of the *waktu lima* (the local agents of Jawization), described both as way of the Arabs as well as, more pronounced, of the Malays. Others highlight the varieties of Islam in Lombok, Java, Kudus (on Java), Arabia, and among the Arabs of neighbouring Sumbawa. Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature*, p. 72f., 90f.

³⁵⁵ Already Barthes, who postulated a constant war of (sub-) languages or discourses, described the shaking up of a given logosphere as a decidedly violent act. Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes*: 2, p. 261; Michael Moriarty, *Roland Barthes* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991), p. 12f.

removed from the area than the states of “Greater Patani”, it should not come as a surprise that major developments in the latter region should have a bearing on Cambodian Islam. Needless to say, the protracted state of turbulence and upheaval through foreign interventions, civil wars and internecine struggles for the throne hardly provided an ideal background for scholarly exchanges and long-distance religious networking, although it may be assumed that, just as in the case of Khmer Buddhists continuing to search for religious knowledge in Siam and Laos, these nevertheless continued to take place, even if only on a limited scale.

Conversely, developments in former Panduranga in the late 18th and early 19th centuries can hardly be viewed as actually external to Muslim affairs in Cambodia. We have seen how long-term comparable isolation was certainly a factor contributing to the emergence of a distinctively Bani Islam, yet similar processes of localisation and vernacularization have likewise taken place in Java, Lombok and many other locations in the Muslim World. Of greater importance is rather the finding that this state of isolation did evidently not bar the people of Panduranga from witnessing and recognizing intra-Muslim diversity. Such encounters and its accompanying impulses have obviously yielded different reactions, presumably ranging from outright rejection to acceptance, which, we may add, was hardly ever – just as is the case with the different rampant impulses of religious change in Cambodia today – wholesale. Both acceptance and rejection involved in each case a significant degree of dialogic modulation and cautious, if at times inadvertent, weighing of emphases³⁵⁶. As people and with them their specific local ethno-religious backgrounds, enriched by the mentioned dynamics, migrated to Cambodia, they met ethnic kin and co-religionists, who had naturally developed differently according to their own specific contexts and individual choices. After all, Cambodia had not witnessed the same state of isolation from the wider Muslim World. Much to the contrary, the foregoing should have served to elucidate the constant engagement of Cambodia and the Mekong Delta with the Malay World and vice-versa. Hereby not everything was economics, politics and war either. Religious contact and scholarship were surely also of importance to those involved, be they Cambodian (resident) Muslims or visitors from the Malay World coming either to sojourn or to stay. Accordingly, it has been mentioned above that Cambodian Muslims were already frequenting Kelantan’s first known *pondok* (at Pulau Chondong), probably founded already in

³⁵⁶ This will become clearer at a later stage of this study, when concrete present-day examples of such dynamics will be discussed. It is, however, certainly reasonable to assume that the mechanisms of mandatory re-modulation underpinning the successful transmission of, or warding off against, impulses of religious change has not been substantially altered with the onset of the present era of globalization.

the 1820s. Needless to say, possibilities for scholarly and educational contacts were greatly enhanced once the turbulent early years of Norodom's rule had passed and peace was restored as the Protectorate era progressed³⁵⁷.

Yet, also Malay/Chvea-Cham relations in Cambodia were also apparently much more complex during the period in question than is conventionally assumed. Of course, our all too frequent usage of the composite term "Cham-Malays", though mostly employed in the context of political and commercial agency, is likewise suggestive of almost complete unity. There can be actually little doubt that, on a certain level, the postulated firm alliance between Chams and Malays/Chvea in Cambodia is a historical fact, despite their frequent confrontation on the battle fields as supporters of one or the other conflicting parties. Obviously, also the Khmers were similarly split among the respective camps in each case. Yet, a number of reports and constellations have been unearthed so far, which should alert us to the existence of less arbitrary lines running through the communities, or rather the community, as ethnic issues certainly played a role, but were surely not the only or even the entirely dominant defining principle for belonging on either side of the arguably hardly visible divide.

The bottom-line is that, in the middle of the 19th century, there were political and/or religious leaders among Cambodia's Muslims who still drew much of their legitimacy and authority from their association with Cham kingship and, presumably, also with the Bani religious hierarchy. Although longer settled Chams in Cambodia, whose different religious outlook and lifestyles is well captured in their common nomenclature as *cam baruw* in Pandurangan texts, were most probably less inclined towards such arrangements, newcomers of the late 18th and 19th century, particularly if related to fleeing Cham princes such as Po Ci Bri, certainly were. This was only natural as Cham kingship and Pandurangan religious culture with its system of Bani-Jat interaction still formed part of their life-worlds and daily experiences before their departure for Cambodia. Accordingly these late migration waves have brought traditions, practices and views on Cham history to Cambodia which would now be classified as distinctively Bani. Apart from any historical inferences, it is precisely the resilience of the *Bani* tradition in former Panduranga, as well as some of the

³⁵⁷ In 1885-6, however, growing French involvement in administrative affairs, unfolding to the detriment of traditional elites, led to an anti-French rebellion. Cham-Malays are not known to have played an active part in it, but villages and towns with Cham-Malay populations (for example Takeo in 1885) were devastated, and at least certain observers were hardly convinced of Cham-Malay benevolence towards the protectorate. Thus, a French soldier is recorded to have bemoaned in the midst of the rebellion that "Khmers, Chinese and Malays are gloating over our impotence". Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen'*, p. 206, 208. In 1887 both the Siamese as well as the French were concerned about Malay piracy in the Siamese-Cambodian border area. ANC-RSC 3588.

characteristics of Islam in Cambodia discussed below, which point in this direction. Accordingly, it was these settlers who drew on the transplanted Pandurangan models of authority and legitimacy. Exponents of this group (commonly carrying the Cham title *po*) and their followers were to be found in Thbaung Khmum and, probably even before Ang Duong's deportations, also in Muslim villages along the Tonle Sap north of Phnom Penh. Among its prime representatives were certainly those making up the Tuanko Po faction, which was eventually relocated to Kampong Tralach district. This, however, was not conducive to the disappearance of this current *in toto* from Thbaung Khmum.

Conversely, other parts of the Cham community there (presumably regarded as *cam baruw* by their counter-parts), perhaps mostly those who had been present in the area longer³⁵⁸, sided with the rebel leaders, whose elevated influence and authority, testified to by its recognition (in form of titles and positions) by Cambodian kingship, evidently derived from other sources. Moreover, these leaders (carrying the local variant of the Malay title *tuan*) were apparently either Malays rather than Chams, though well implanted in the hybrid community, which had developed on Cambodian soil over centuries, or plainly "Malayized Chams" (i.e. *cam jawa/baruw*). Whereas the whole cleavage seems to revolve around issues of power and politics, this was certainly not exclusively the case. It will be remembered that the agendas of Tuen Phaow, after all by most accounts the father of the rebel brothers, and his Cambodian troops, which have exhibited very much the same make-up as described just now (consisting of *cam baruw* and Malays/Chvea), had already proved controversial in Panduranga.

Ethnico-religious capital as valorized by the Cambodian kings may have also played a role. Thus, albeit the Cambodian kings were certainly diligent in their distribution of titles also to leading new-comers from Panduranga, the highest ranks were, by Ang Duong's time, already in the hands of the Tuans/Sayyids and not the Pos. Even though there developed a tendency of prestigious marriages between holders of the matrilineally transmitted *po* and the patrilineally transmitted *set* titles³⁵⁹, it still seems as if these were designed to combine different, perhaps even somewhat conflicting traditions. Indeed, Aymonier and Cabaton's dictionary deals with *sait* (*set*) as a term of Cambodian Cham language and Po Dharma has emphasized in connection with the rebellion of Katip Sumat, that *tuan* "was not a term

³⁵⁸ One of several contradictory Cham princely genealogies of Cambodia notes that already the grand-father of Po Ci Bri had left Panduranga for Thbaung Khmum with his followers. These were distributed over a number of Thbaung Khmum villages, including the alleged main sites of the 1858 rebellion (Roka Po Pram and Sambour). Aymonier, "Légendes historiques", p. 187.

³⁵⁹ Stock, "From Caliphs to Kings".

utilized in Champa [i.e. Panduranga]”³⁶⁰. It is thus evident, that this division was not merely ethnical, though language and ethnicity have undoubtedly played a role, nor solely political, but to a significant degree also religious and cultural, two spheres hardly separable from relations of power anyway.

At least near Phnom Penh, but most probably also elsewhere (for example in centres along the Mekong, in Thbaung Khmum or Chau Doc) the Tuan leaders were evidently characterized by a Muslim cosmopolitanism, which was most probably largely lacking among the Pos and in less well placed locations. This is most visible in Bastian’s report of his stay with Cham-Malay dignitaries and notables in the Kampong Luong-Khleang Sbek area³⁶¹. There, the Cham-Malay leader Domset Ali (the notorious Tuon Li?), whose house was tellingly located right next to the house of the village *hakem* or imam, claimed both Arab as well as Ottoman origins for his father Domset Ahmed (Tuon Set Asmit?), who had allegedly only come to Cambodia after visits to Mecca and Jeddah. Whereas there is reason to doubt the accuracy of this somewhat confusing Arab-Ottoman genealogy, not least due to the fact that no other informed source is mentioning³⁶², let alone confirming it, making such claims is quite far from claiming adherence to the Cham royal line. Moreover, the neighbouring religious official was reportedly coming from Medina, which was, probably, either an accurate reference to a place of study (though an odd one as Mecca was a much more frequent place of study for *jawi* students in the *ḥaramayn*) or merely a claim to the most elevated sphere of Islamic education. One of the other people present on the occasion, during which Bastian was intriguingly also regaled with an “oriental [water] pipe”, had made trading trips between Kampot and the Yemeni Red Sea port of al-Ḥudayda, which was then on the rise due to Ottoman initiative. Bastian’s description of this community flaunting cosmopolitan Muslim credentials, scholarly stature, luxury goods and trading connections on the one hand is markedly different from that of his visit to the villages of Pusik (?) and “Tshukso” (certainly Chhouk Sar, though also spelled Tukso and Tshukro at different instances throughout his work) near Lovek³⁶³. Devoid of any comparable air of cosmopolitanism, villagers there prayed in “a mosque without *kibla* [i.e. *miḥrāb*]”, while, to the bewilderment of the scholar, facing east. Even though local students started their

³⁶⁰ Aymonier & Cabaton, *Dictionnaire*, p. 490; Po Dharma, *Pānduranga (Campā)*, I, p. 148 n. 14.

³⁶¹ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 144f.

³⁶² It will be remembered that it is rather Malay origins which have been put forward in other accounts. The exception is of course the Cham poem of Tuen Phaow, wherein, as will be recalled, claims to coming from *makah* were likewise taken to mean Malaya rather than actual Mecca. In this respect, Bastian’s report could, however, also add further doubts to the equation of *makah* with Kelantan.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

studies by learning the Arabic alphabet (tellingly called *akson chvea* – “Chvea letters”³⁶⁴), Bastian even encountered several books on mundane affairs (i.e. romantic poetry) written in Cham script on palm leaves in this community, which probably represented the antidote to the cosmopolitanism of its counter-parts near Phnom Penh.

This was the local background against which Jawization was to unfold itself, although, arguably, not all individuals or even all Cham-Malay communities were affected to the same degree by these mid-19th century dynamics. Also the make-up of Muslim communities was certainly remarkably varied throughout the country as far as differences in the proportion and influence of, as well as interaction with, the Malay/Chvea component or the inhabitants’ duration of stay in Cambodia is concerned, belying any oversimplifying narratives of uniformity or clearly identifiable group boundaries. This said, and having sketched the complex map of Muslim presence in Cambodia under the French protectorate, it will nevertheless be attempted in the following to identify and elucidate common threads in the – itself diversified – process of Jawization, which would be the dominant one for most Cambodian Muslims in the century following the initial establishment of French rule.

Finally, before delving into the material testifying to a process identified here as Jawization, one more important and obvious question must be addressed. Both Chams and Chvea/Malays are commonly known for exhibiting their strongest concentrations along Cambodia’s two major waterways, the Mekong and the Tonle Sap. But how did Malay settlers even end up in seemingly remote areas of the country such as rural Kampong Cham to begin with? For the Chams, most of which came to their new homes via routes over the highlands, one of which intriguingly passed through a spot between Tay Ninh and Thbaung Khmum known in the 19th century (and probably also earlier) as *spean cham* (Cham bridge) in Khmer (located approximately 40km north of Tay Ninh)³⁶⁵, settlement in this area was more or less natural. This, of course, does not apply to the Malays to the same degree. Whereas their settlement in and near trading and political centres such as Phnom Penh, Kampot and Ha Tien/Banteay Meas is not surprising at all, their presence in locations such as Kampong Cham, Battambang and Takeo is less self-evident. Nevertheless, this is misleading. Firstly, assuming that petty river-borne trade on the Indochinese streams in the 19th century was not significantly different from the way Cham-Malays are carrying it out

³⁶⁴ Bastian’s formulation could be derived from both Khmer (*aksaw*) or Cham (*aksara*), which is less likely.

³⁶⁵ E. Peyrusset et al., “Le chemin de fer de Saigon à Phnom Penh. Section de Tay-Ninh à Phnom Penh” in E&R, II (1880), p. 195; Auguste Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine 1879-1895: Géographie et Voyages I. Exposé des travaux de la mission* (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1901), p. 167-169, pl. XIV. Pou Kombo had regrouped his forces at that strategic spot to hinder the entry of French troops from Cochinchina into the area.

still today, the role of Malays in connecting remote communities, for example of Chams and Khmers in Thbaung Khmum, to markets should definitely not be underestimated. The best local bases for such endeavours, and thus for temporary or permanent settlement, would have been river junctions and ferry-crossings such as Phum Trea, incidentally the spiritual centre of Islam in Cambodia since at least the early 20th century, or Chroy Metrey, likewise an important locus of Cham-Malay presence. Moreover, Cham-Malay settlements on the banks of the Mekong can hardly be described as actually removed anyway as they were evidently located along the main artery of trade and communication of the country, which provided a direct link to Laos (though interrupted by insurmountable waterfalls) and, significantly, the Mekong Delta.

It has already been noted that Malays had been trading up to Laos for long already at the time of the establishment of the protectorate. At the beginning of the 20th century, Cambodia's most important centre of boatbuilding was to the north of Thbaung Khmum, in Stung Trang, where sixty Cham-Malays occupied themselves with the purchase and distribution of boats, particularly canoes produced by the local Montagnards, to central Cambodia and Laos³⁶⁶. In line with, and most probably with connection to, their activities in the Mekong Delta, Cham-Malays in Kampong Cham served as prime intermediaries in the cattle trade. In this regard, it shall be emphasized that many local Cham-Malays involved in this business actually worked for Phnom Penh-based Cham-Malay patrons specialised in the export of cattle to the Philippines³⁶⁷, which does not only shed light on the remarkable scope of Cham-Malay trade in Cambodia but also once more highlights the intra-community linkages between its rural strongholds and its residents in the capital. It is therefore no wonder Malays and Chams also settled at less prominent rivers such as the Bassac branch of the Mekong south of Phnom Penh (e.g. Baren and Takeo³⁶⁸), the Kampot and Pursat Rivers³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁶ Another important site was (as already noted) tellingly Kampong Tralach (at that time part of Lovek province), where Cham-Malays certainly also carried out the production process themselves. Forest, *Cambodge et la colonisation*, p. 319.

³⁶⁷ Carool Kersten (trans.), *Dr. Muller's Asian Journey: Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Yunnan (1907-1909)* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004), p. 94, 112; Forest, *Cambodge et la colonisation*, p. 296. Additionally Cham-Malays were involved in the tobacco trade (*Ibid.*, p. 273f.), which must have again necessitated cooperation between Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham as a preferred growing area. Weaving and the production of bricks and oxen-carts were other Cham-Malay activities. Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen'*, p. 52; John Tully, *France on the Mekong. A History of the Protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953* (Lanham, M.D.: University Press of America, 2002), p. 262.

³⁶⁸ Cham and Malay settlement on the fringes of Takeo and along the river to the southwest was reported in 1882, as was later the depopulation of Takeo, as a result of the 1885-6 rebellion. Nevertheless, Takeo still has a strong Muslim element. E. Prud'homme, "Excursion au Cambodge", *E&R*, XIII (1882), p. 62f.

³⁶⁹ René Morizon, *La Province Cambodgienne de Pursat* (Paris: Les Éditions Internationales, 1936), p. 71f.

The role of Battambang as a trading centre, not only between Siam and Cambodia but also as a main step of Vietnamese trade routes to Bangkok, has already been mentioned.

Besides trade, all the mentioned places were naturally conducive to making fishing, though often combined with petty trade, one's main occupation. This even more so as it seems that this field was underdeveloped among the Khmers or at least at a certain point left almost entirely to others, initially Chams and Malays and then Vietnamese. In colonial times the most important fisheries were at the Tonle Sap Lake and at the confluence of the Tonle Sap and Mekong rivers at Phnom Penh³⁷⁰. It is therefore certainly not coincidental that one of two major places of settlement for Cham-Malays in the Phnom Penh area was the Chroy Changvar Peninsula formed by this confluence. Though clearly outnumbered by the Vietnamese, Cham-Malays were also involved in fisheries at the Tonle Sap Lake, the country's prime repository for a huge amount of exported dried fish³⁷¹. In addition, however, also farming constituted a successful activity not only for Chams but also Malays, among whom moving abroad for agricultural subsistence was certainly most common among the Minangkabaus with their *rantau* system. These ventures left the same apparently neglected areas, such as Thbaung Khmum/Kampong Cham, open to both Chams and Malays seeking new places to make a living³⁷². Accordingly, passing through the district of Krauchmar, which tellingly houses all major centers of Islamic learning in Kampong Cham province (Phum Trea, Svay Khleang, Chumnik), a French observer was struck in the middle of the 1890s by the highly prosperous nature of "Malay" villages in the area in comparison to their Khmer counterparts. Though the Cham element was in fact presumably dominant in these villages, the same report also makes clear that it was not just the common mislabeling of all Chams as Malays, which stood patron for this formulation. Indeed, it notes that Malay families had established themselves there already a number of years ago ("bien des années déjà"), at the time of the "insurrection in the Dutch Indies"³⁷³.

³⁷⁰ Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine*, p. 56f.

³⁷¹ In the 1880s and 1890s up to 12000 tons of dried and salted fish passed through Phnom Penh annually. Pierre Sauvaires Barthélemy, *En Indochine 1894-1895. Cambodge, Cochinchine, Laos, Siam Méridional* (Paris: Plon, 1899), p. 57 n. 1; Nola Cooke, "Water World: Chinese and Vietnamese on the Riverine Water Frontier, from Ca Mau to Tonle Sap" in *ibid.* & Li Tana (eds.), *Water Frontier. Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750-1880* (Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 2004), p. 150-52. In the 1930s the annual quantity was given as 12000 tons of dried and salted fish and 5000 tons of smoked fish with exports directed to Thailand, China, the Dutch East Indies and the Malayan Straits Settlements. Morizon, *Province Cambodgienne de Pursat*, p. 124.

³⁷² Similarly, many of the Vietnamese immigrants settled down in such areas. Alain Forest, "De l'extension ou de la contraction des territoires (Viêt Nam et Cambodge)" in Frédéric Mantine & Keith W. Taylor (eds.), *Monde du Viêt Nam - Vietnam World* (Paris: Les Indes Savants, 2008), p. 320.

³⁷³ Barthélemy, *En Indochine*, p. 84.

2. The Minangkabau and Cham factors, and glimpses on their lore

Now, uprisings against the Dutch were of course numerous in the 19th century. The date of the report would of course favor the long-drawn Aceh War (1873-1903). Yet, references to Acehnese settlers in Cambodia are almost entirely absent³⁷⁴. Similarly, it does not seem particularly likely that larger numbers of people displaced by the Java War (1825-39) would have found their way to Cambodia³⁷⁵. Thus, Minangkabau seems to be the most probable region of origin for these settlers in Krauchhmar. This would then bring us back to the very beginning of this part of our study, namely to the Padri Wars. After fighting had resumed in Minangkabau again in 1831 (the first Padri War lasted from 1822-1825), it took the Dutch until 1837 to eventually defeat the Padri movement, which also marked the end of Minangkabau independence. This may well have produced emigration exceeding the usual *rantau* patterns. Of course, this would mean that the local Malays had been residing in the area for half a century already, which seems, however, not to be borne out by Barthélemy's statement. The extension of Dutch rule over Siak and its dependencies between 1857 and 1865 could also have prompted the departure of local populations.

Whenever and from wherever (Minangkabau proper, Northeastern Sumatra or the Peninsula) they came, the Minangkabau element was, besides its dominant counterpart from the Northeastern Malay Peninsula, pronounced among Cambodian Muslims. Especially among Chams the shared matrilineal form of social organization (nowadays a thing of the past as far as Chams outside of former Panduranga are concerned) or at least its remnant of post-marital matrilocal residence among the Chams³⁷⁶, would have facilitated intermarriage between the two groups. As far as Krauchhmar is concerned, it is startling, that two remaining particularly old (i.e. dating to the middle of the 19th century) and elegant houses in Svay Khleang (Krauchhmar), are displaying a significantly different architecture than the traditional stilt-houses of local prevalence. Indeed, the houses in question are strongly akin to Minangkabau long houses (*rumah gadang*)³⁷⁷. Reportedly, more such houses were still to

³⁷⁴ The only exception encountered so far is in a note by Leclère on the different names for local Malays as employed by those of Kampot. Here it is explained that the label *chvea krabey* (kh., lit. "Buffalo Malays"), as applied to Malays from Sumatra, was primarily used for migrants from Aceh. It is, however, unclear whether this statement derived from the author himself or his informants. Adhémard Leclère, *Cambodge. Contes et légendes* (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1895), p. 306.

³⁷⁵ Leclère met a few individual *chvea iava* ("Java Malays") in Kampot. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³⁷⁶ Pierre-Bernard Lafont, "Contribution à l'étude des structures sociales des Chams du Viêt-Nam", BEFEO, LII (1964), p. 157-171; Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 218f.

³⁷⁷ Jaspan, a specialist in the languages and peoples of South Sumatra noted in the 1960s that the mosque/surau of Phum Pa in Krauchhmar was almost identical to the style of Southwest Sumatran (stilted) *rejang* houses, which may point to an even more complex shape of Sumatran presence among the Cambodian

be found in the village in earlier times. In 2004 a 75-year-old interviewee reported to Ysa Osman, that her grandparents had been living in a spacious wooden longhouse with a tile roof in Svay Khleang. Later, due to riverbank erosion, “those houses were demolished”³⁷⁸. Despite the fact, that the mentioned account is inconsistent regarding the birth place of her grandparents (stating at one instance that all of them were born in Svay Khleang and referring to the time they came here at another), a likely arrival date for her, certainly non-Cham, ancestors in the village would be the period of the 1870s-1890s. Further downriver, on the opposite bank of the Mekong, Ner noted mixed Cham-Minangkabau villages in Kampong Siem district in the 1930s³⁷⁹. Taylor, during his research in the Mekong Delta, encountered Muslims in the villages of Châu Phong and Châu Giang, who claimed that their ancestors had been born in Minangkabau and then came to their new places of residence via Cambodia, which they then continued to visit for trading trips³⁸⁰. The grandfather of the *hakem* of Norea (Battambang) in the 1930s had reportedly been an immigrant from Minangkabau and had even risen to the position of *chauvay srok* (district governor) in his new home³⁸¹. Apart from these examples from the East and Northwest of the country, Minangkabau settlement was apparently particularly frequent in the coastal or near-coastal areas of present-day Kampot and Sihanoukville provinces, where a colonial scholar encountered several Muslim villages housing Chams, Minangkabaus and Malays from Terengganu, Kelantan and Patani³⁸².

Needless to say, the eclectic mixture in the make-up of such villages was a far cry from the much greater homogeneity in many Thbaung Khmum villages, let alone the new villages of the Tuanko Po faction in Kampong Tralach. There, it would have been much easier for an ostensibly authentic Cham culture and Islam to assert itself, which, however, was evidently not constituting an insurmountable barrier for initial outsiders to wield symbolic religious or ethnic capital, including a kind of linguisticism associated with the usage of, if not actual proficiency in, written Malay and Arabic³⁸³. The Chams leaving their homelands brought

Chams. Tellingly, by then the peculiar architecture of the mosque constituted a cause for embarrassment to the villagers, who were already making preparations for a new structure. *Jaspan Papers*, Hull History Centre (henceforth JP), DJA (2)/1/2.

³⁷⁸ Ysa Osman, *The Cham Rebellion. Survivors' Stories from the Villages* (Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2006), p. 50.

³⁷⁹ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 176.

³⁸⁰ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 47, 52, 188.

³⁸¹ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 171.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 173f.

³⁸³ Linguicism refers to the “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language”, in our usage meaning access to particular (often but not necessarily foreign) logospheres. Kramsch, *Language and Culture*, p. 76 (quoting Phillipson).

oral traditions and manuscripts with them, and so did Malay settlers. As far as manuscripts (especially with historical or legendary content) are concerned, this occurred presumably on a smaller scale among the Malays, as they had no “national” treasures to save from enemy hands. Adding to this the small proportion of Malays among Cambodia’s Muslims it should not come as a surprise that no physical evidence of these has been preserved in the country, whereas numerous Cham manuscripts have survived, despite the fact, that large parts of the community are neither able to read them nor have been taking any interest in them for the past century. In contrast to those Chams holding on to manuscripts written in Cham script, for which an alternative medium in form printed books was out of question, the Chvea and most educated Chams were of course also bound to become consumers of printed *jawi* materials. Yet, it shall be noted, that Leclère was indeed able to record part of Chvea lore in Kampot in 1889, which, of course, was markedly different from its Cham counterparts.

The first of two Chvea oral traditions collected by the French scholar in Kampot, which he actually translated from written versions produced at his request (certainly in Khmer language and script), relates the legendary tale behind the name Minangkabau³⁸⁴. Allegedly deriving from the combination of *menang* (“winning”) and *kerbau* (“buffalo”), the legend details how the feared giant buffalo of a Javanese (i.e. Majapahit) king is defeated by the young bull of the Malabari (i.e. Chola) ruler of Sumatra. This of course resonates with the usage of the term *Chvea Krabey* (Buffalo Malays) for Sumatran Malays in Cambodia. Unbeknown to Leclère, this is a quite familiar story for those knowledgeable in traditional Malay literature and Minangkabau oral traditions. Indeed, the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, the earliest surviving piece of Malay historical writing, which has been tentatively dated to the final years of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century³⁸⁵, ends with this account³⁸⁶. In 1822 the British colonial administrator-scholar Thomas Stamford Raffles (d. 1826) presented a variant of the story taken from a manuscript belonging to sultan of Indrapura (a *rantau* fringe area directly bordering Minangkabau proper [*darè*]). In the 1940s an ethnographer noted that everybody in Minangkabau knows it, even though with specific varying details³⁸⁷. Apart from perhaps being derived from a work detailing the history of the early Sultans of North Sumatra, which is of course less probable than derivation from oral traditions, there

³⁸⁴ Leclère, *Contes et légendes*, p. 295-300.

³⁸⁵ Braginsky, *Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, p. 111, 183-186.

³⁸⁶ A.H. Hill, “Hikayat raja-raja Pasai: A revised romanisation and English translation”, *JMBRAS*, XXXII, no. 2 (1960), p. 103-106.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170f.

is evidently no linkage to Islam in this story. Yet, its prevalence in the Chvea community of Kampot as well as the fact that it was selected for transmission to a French scholar seems to betray the transmitters' Sumatran, most probably Minangkabau, origins.

More informative, however, is the second presented oral Chvea tradition, which likewise has an explicit connection to Sumatra and serves as founding narrative to the Chvea presence in Kampot. It relates how a prince of the island takes to the seas in search of the woman he was – according to the palace diviner – predestined to marry. After arriving exasperated from his hitherto futile endeavors in coastal Cambodia's Kampong Som (present Sihanoukville province), he finds her in the form of a household slave belonging to a rich Chinese, where she ended up due to her Khmer father's incapacity to payback a major debt. Once the prince has secured her family's approval in the course of a home visit for the attendance of the *pchum ben* (or *don ta* – “ancestors”) festival, he takes her onto his ship to marry her the Malay (i.e. Muslim) way. As he had promised her parents to stay with their daughter in Cambodia, he first settled down as a trader in a Kampong Som village. Yet, the following year he hears of a compatriot residing in the village of Chroy (Changvar?) in Treang³⁸⁸, whom he decides to visit. When making a stop-over in Kampot, he immediately recognizes the fertile nature of the area and accordingly seeks permission from the provincial governor to establish himself there. After a mere two years in his new home, he identifies yet an even more suited location for settlement in the area, namely “Trey Cha” (Trey Koh), the village where the story was ultimately gathered. Yet, this time his wish for opening up the vacant plot is denied until he presents the mandarin with the customary presents to receive his favors for petitioning the king on his part during the mandarin's obligatory visit to the king for his pledge of loyalty (euphemistically known as “drinking the water of the oath”)³⁸⁹. Following this episode he briefly pays a visit to his parents, during which he purchases superior guns and cloth for presentation to the king, who in turn frees

³⁸⁸ As Treang province had extended up to Phnom Penh in earlier times, Chroy Changvar, with its important Cham-Malay villages, may indeed be meant. This is supported by the fact, that it is explicitly noted that he embarked on this visit in a sea-going vessel and passed along the coast of Kampot, which would intriguingly imply a journey through Ha Tien's Vinh Te canal to Chau Doc and then upriver. Local traditions among Muslim residents of Malay descent in Chroy Changvar preserved the memory of entering the country via Kampot. Ner, “Musulmans de l'Indochine”, p. 165.

³⁸⁹ For a brief description of the ceremony see Leclère, *Fêtes civiles et religieuses*, p. 220f; Hansen, “Khmer Identity”, p. 45f. Chapter six of Leclère's work is entirely dedicated to this and related ceremonies. Here, he also speculates that the ritual had Malay origins but gained stronger religious connotations (*moins guerrière et plus religieuse*) through its appropriation and modification by Buddhism. Leclère, *Fêtes civiles et religieuses*, p. 647.

him from taxes³⁹⁰ and pledges to protect his properties. According to the story, it is since that time, approximately 500 years before its narration, that Malays are living in Kampot³⁹¹. Naturally we can identify a number of obvious legendary features in this report, such as the princely background of its main protagonist or the initial prediction, which, however, sheds light on the natural role accorded to astrologers in Southeast Asian Muslim societies, way into the era of Jawization.

A few remarks on this topic are in order at this point. Divination practices have been, despite Islamic elements and connotations, often categorically identified as remnants of Southeast Asia's pre-Islamic past. Part of the distinct form and flavor of such local practices indeed derives from patterns followed already before the era of Islamization. Yet, it has been commonly overlooked that specific local practices of divination and magic could in very similar shape also be detected in the presumed Islamic heartlands as well as in other seemingly peripheral areas of the Muslim World (such as Sub-Saharan Africa or South Asia). Thus, as van Bruinessen has aptly remarked, "many apparently local beliefs and practices", presented as examples of syncretism or remnants of Animism due to their categorization as foreign to Islam (and thus necessarily belonging to other religious traditions), "appear to be part of a global cultural complex that one can hardly call anything but Muslim". This holds true notwithstanding their obvious divergence from other, likewise globally distributed, currents within this cultural complex³⁹². The potential clash between these different features of Muslim cultural and religious practices has been and still is consequently part and parcel of Islamic reform in the Muslim World, including Southeast Asia.

The new Islamic normativity spreading throughout the region with Jawization gradually came equally at odds with Cham and Malay Muslim divination, something which would naturally only be compounded and intensified by the sub-discourse of Islamic reformism soon following on its heels. Muslim divination of Southeast Asia, resting on the notion of circular time and consisting of obvious Muslim as well pre-Islamic elements, prominently includes the usage of the Muslim octaval calendar with numerical values attached to specific letters of the Arabic alphabet (ar./mal. *abjad*), the system of five periods (each under its proper "ruler" such as Mesuara/Shiva and Bisnu/Vishnu) succeeding each other in the course of a day over a cycle of five days (ml. *kutika lima*) and the four phases of a year

³⁹⁰ The tax question would, however, become virulent for the local Chvea within only three years after the French scholar's visit. Thus, already in 1892 the French, who exhibited little propensity to prolong tax-exemptions granted by Cambodian kings, came to collect them among the "Cambodians, Malays, Annamese and Chinese" of Trey Koh. ANC-RSC 9786.

³⁹¹ Leclère, *Contes et légendes*, p. 301-305.

³⁹² van Bruinessen, "Global and Local", p. 47f. (quotation from p. 48).

marked by the rotational movement of a dragon (ml. *naga kerling*)³⁹³. A Cham manuscript, probably dating to the 18th or 19th century, written in Cham script (with a few lines of Arabic) and obtained by Jaspan in Phum Trea in 1967, features both the *abjad* computations together with their numerical dots (ar. *nuqṭa*, ml. *noktah*), intriguingly including the additional *jawi* letters (cā', ngā', pā', gā', nyā' and zā' 'ajamī'³⁹⁴) and a drawing of the rotating dragon³⁹⁵. While he was (due to Jawization) expectedly unable to find evidence for contemporary usage of this kind of divination in Cambodia, his Cham assistant Nara Vija (hailing from former Panduranga) asserted that such was intriguingly still the case among *Bani* and Brahmanist Chams in his homeland³⁹⁶. More representative of Jawization in a positive sense (i.e. not defined by the rejection but instead adoption of specific texts or practices) is a prefabricated table of weekdays from an octaval Cham calendar found by Cabaton in some unidentified place in Cambodia. Apparently not specifically designed for divination purposes, though of course also featuring the *noktahs* (which facilitate calculations without any necessary arithmetical knowledge), weekdays and months of the Islamic calendar are here exclusively given in Arabic, with only Cham numerals added³⁹⁷. Returning to Kampot's Chvea lore, the dating of the episode is surely arbitrary. Nevertheless, even if an arrival date for the narrator's forefathers in Kampot around the year 1400 seems untenable, we may assume that the settlement had already existed for several generations and that at least his grandparents were already born in Kampot. Moreover, this founding narrative contains a few additional features worth illuminating here. Indeed, it is highly instructive as far as the transformation of Malay settlers into Cambodian Chvea is concerned. Firstly it implicitly sketches a fairly accurate map of Chvea settlement in southern Cambodia from Kampong Som and Kampot to outlying areas of Phnom Penh (Chroy Changvar). More pertinent, however, is its account of intermarriage with Khmer women, performed the Malay way, which clearly indicates the adoption of

³⁹³ Ian Proudfoot, *Old Muslim Calendars of Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 17-25, 99-104.

³⁹⁴ This triple-dotted rā' serves as an *abjad* but is otherwise not used in Malay writing.

³⁹⁵ Hull History Centre, SEA 8, fols. 1v., 30v.-31r. The text also provides instructions for sooth-saying according to involuntary movements of the body. A partial translation of this section was done by Nara Vija. JP, DJA (2)/1/8. Strikingly, a comparison with a list provided by Proudfoot (*Old Muslim Calendars*, p. 93f.), based on the collation of five Leiden manuscripts, shows that most of the *abjad* values given in the text (from tā' onwards) are differing from those most commonly assigned in Malay and Javanese counterparts.

³⁹⁶ M.A. Jaspan, "The Kabuon: A Particular Genre of Cham Literature", typescript (first draft of unpublished article), p. 6. JP, DJA (2)/1/1.

³⁹⁷ Cabaton, "Chams musulmans", p. 175. The make-up of this table is intriguingly identical to the one preserved in a court text from Palembang of 1773 (i.e. during al-Palimbānī's lifetime), which, however, is not based on a Friday (as in the Cham text) but a Wednesday reckoning (*ḥisāb al-arba'* - only explicitly noted in the Palembang table). See the reproduction of, and notes to, the Palembang table in Proudfoot, *Old Muslim Calendars*, p. 97-99.

Islam by the female spouse. Such intermarriage obviously guarded against the loss of religious identity but equally contributed to further gradual language loss³⁹⁸. Thirdly, the depicted role of Muslim settlers is once again one of opening up vacant land, besides a propensity for trade. Of great interest are also the references to the *pchum ben* festival, arguably then and now the most important event in the Khmer Buddhist calendar³⁹⁹, and the cautious dealings with Khmer officials, which are both highly reflective of intercultural knowledge and competence, if not cultural integration as such. The accordance of royal protection to the community is not only reminiscent of the historical representation of the descendants of the Tuanko Po faction (as found in CM 39), but also serves to establish Kampot's Chvea as indigenous people of Cambodia with full rights. Mention of the royal ceremony of "drinking the water of the oath" moreover testifies to thorough knowledge of the workings of the country's patron-client system. That local Chams and Malays were indeed considered to be so is also borne out by laws on intermarriage with foreigners, thus legislature of direct relevance to our story, as promulgated by in the second half of the 1870s. Accordingly, it is noted that all local "Khmer, Chinese, Annamese, Cham, Chvea and *mom* [a Tai people]" are committing a severely punishable crime by giving away their daughters in marriage to rich foreigners (the prime groups listed are English, Dutch and Indians). It is further elucidated that the law and its penalties (including decapitation) have been decreed "in order to keep people from abandoning their religion for another"⁴⁰⁰. Although it is questionable whether Khmer marriage to Cham-Malay men was appreciated by the Cambodian state, it is obvious that these two groups were standing on the same side of this legal divide separating indigenous from foreign people. Moreover, following its wording, Islam was to be counted among those Cambodian religions to be protected from mischievous abandonment.

On the contrary, the greatest among the few remaining repositories of Cham historical lore and traditions was evidently Kampong Tralach's Chhouk Sar, the very village were Tuanko

³⁹⁸ The gradual nature of the process is well reflected in a comparative list of Cham and Chvea words compiled by Bastian in 1864 (apparently in Battambang). Whereas he noted earlier that the Chvea of Battambang had discarded their language for Khmer, the great majority of listed Chvea words, which are - due to the presumably much higher amount of Khmer words in their usage - significantly fewer than their Cham counter-parts, is still clearly recognizable as Malay in origin. Many of these have meanwhile been obliterated from Chvea usage. Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 108-110.

³⁹⁹ Adhémard Leclère, *Le Bouddhisme au Cambodge* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), p. 374. Recent research in a village of Kandal province showed that 95 per cent of the households reported to be participating in the rotation system used to feed the monks of the local pagoda during the festival. Judy Ledgerwood, "Buddhist Practice in Rural Kandal Province, 1960 and 2003: An essay in honor of May M. Ebihara" in Alexandra Kent & David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue. Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), p. 156.

⁴⁰⁰ Leclère, *Codes cambodgiens*, II, p. 256f.

Po himself chose to settle down⁴⁰¹. Indeed, there is a great possibility that Moura's informant and supplier of manuscripts (most probably including CM39) was based there. More tellingly, the three different listes of Pandurangan rulers obtained by Aymonier around the same time, all came from Chhouk Sar. Two of them were provided by "an indigenous scholar" named Po Kù, a descendent of Po Ci Bri (called Po Choeng by the author⁴⁰²) and resident of the village. Finally, the third list was acquired through a person referred to as Snêha Norês, "an old Muslim priest", who split his time between Chhouk Sar and his hermitage on a hill near Oudong⁴⁰³. This latter figure, from whom Aymonier intriguingly withheld the label "indigenous" applied to his other document supplier, will thoroughly concern us further below. For the moment it shall suffice to emphasize that its role of repository of Pandurangan Cham historical tradition and consciousness as embodied in the preservation of texts elsewhere already lost or inaccessible through script change (or at least inability to read Cham script) as well as by the existence of a body of scholars still willing and able to access them, made Chhouk Sar and surrounding villages naturally the most likely site for the survival of related religious discursive traditions and practices⁴⁰⁴.

In this respect, two striking observations resulting from an illustrative, though certainly not conclusive, comparison of Chvea and Cham lore collected during the period shall be highlighted. Firstly, the Chvea lore presented is much less specific. Despite its princely actors, it has little to no genealogical content, is not about lost kingdoms, their chains of rulers or any traditions of kingship transplanted to Cambodia, as is the case with Cham lore collected by Aymonier and even earlier (1864) by the German pioneer of ethnology Adolf Bastian. Of course, the annexation of their homeland, their probably more recent arrival date and the particular make-up of the community (i.e. including persons actually claiming or recognized as being of royal descent) certainly played a role in the specific emphases found in Cham historical legends from Chhouk Sar.

Secondly, Islamic references are mostly absent from the two pieces of Chvea lore. Whereas the first one is basically the reworking of a story of pre-Islamic provenance which was taken over into an early Islamic chronicle, the second takes the Muslim-ness of its

⁴⁰¹ Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 174.

⁴⁰² Cf. Po Dharma, "À propos de l'exil".

⁴⁰³ Aymonier, "Légendes historiques", p. 184.

⁴⁰⁴ The same Kampong Tralach villages are still functioning as main repositories of texts in Cham script today. Thus, for a 2011 edition of fifteen texts published by the *Kan Imam San* with aid from the US embassy, all but one of the original manuscripts were drawn from collections in the *khum* of Au Russey and Chhouk Sar (*phum* Andong Tramoung). Manuscript collections were likewise shown to me in Svay Pakao (Ta Ches, Kampong Tralach). *Proachum Gigoap Neang Giaghai Phanaow* (Sre Brey: Islamic Community Kan Imam-San of Cambodia, 2011), p. i; personal observation and communication with Imam Kai Tam at Svay Pakao and *Oknha Khnour/Ong G'nur* Kai Tam and Yousos Tum at Sre Brey (Au Russey), July 9th 2009 & May 13th 2012.

protagonist for granted, for example by only casually referring to marriage a la mode Malay. The only other mentioned religious occasion is actually one of the Buddhist other. On the contrary, Cham genealogical history (as found in Cambodia) is, for its beginnings, deeply imbued with prevalent characters of pan-Southeast Asian Muslim lore of the pre-Jawization era. And this despite the fact, that, according to the Chams in former Panduranga, none of their kings had been Muslim⁴⁰⁵. Most tellingly, according to some chronicles encountered in Cambodia by Aymonier and Bastian, the Cham royal line is noted to have begun with Po Nosiravan, among whose companions we find *Baginda* (“Prince”) Ali, allegedly responsible for the conversion of the Chams to Islam, and the other three legitimate caliphs (with deformed names)⁴⁰⁶. Nosiravan, a son of the creator Po Aulah (Allah), is actually the legendary reflection of a decidedly non-Muslim historical character, Khusraw II (pers. Nūshīrvān, r. 591-628), the last great Sassanid king before the Muslim conquest of Persia. The major Iranian contribution to Muslim culture from the 10th century onwards⁴⁰⁷, provided *inter alia* for the transformation of Nūshīrvān, an antidote to the prophet in Arab lore, into a Muslim and Persian cultural hero of romantic tales.

This new image of the Sassanid then spread to Anatolia, Central Asia, South Asia and likewise Southeast Asia. Most probably, he entered the cultural and religious world of the Chams through the vehicle of the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, just as he did among the Malays, Javanese, Sasaks and others⁴⁰⁸. In this major Muslim romance, besides the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* one of the most widely distributed texts in classical Malay with

⁴⁰⁵ Aymonier, “Légendes historiques”, p. 182. Of course there exists sufficient documentary evidence to the contrary. Yet, such evident selective historical amnesia only goes to show, that the prominence of the Muslim element indeed began to decline in Panduranga after the 1690s, probably through a greater propensity towards emigration among Muslims, which may have only gained full momentum in the early 19th century.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 183f.; Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 145; E.M. Durand, “Notes sur les Chams”, BEFEO, V (1905), p. 369f. As can be inferred from my wording I am supportive of the proposition that “legitimate” is here a more adequate translation of *rāshidūn* than “rightly-guided”. Andrzej Zaborski, “Etymology, Etymological Fallacy and the Pitfalls of Literal Translation of Some Arabic and Islamic Terms” in R. Arnzen & J. Thielmann (eds.), *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea. Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilisation and Arabic Philosophy and Science* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), p. 144f.

⁴⁰⁷ From the 10th century onwards the re-legitimation of Persian and the incorporation and full acceptance of pre-Islamic Iranian motifs into local Muslim culture is perceptible. With its function as cultural and courtly supra-language of Iran, Anatolia, Central and much of Muslim South Asia the distinct Iranian expression of Muslim (so-called Persianate) culture and its literature spread far and wide. Likewise, the emergence and initial expansion of the madrasa system of Islamic education, the commonly accepted schools of Sunni theology (Ash‘arism and Māturīdism) and the pioneering forms of organized Sufism, all leaving a major imprint on the Muslim world as a whole, were, from the 12th century onwards, resting to a large measure on the activities of Iranian or otherwise Persianate scholarly elites. Bulliet, *Islam*, p. 113, ch. 9.

⁴⁰⁸ The first already greatly embellished Malay version of the originally Persian *Qisṣa-yi Amīr Hamzah*, which even stood patron for the Arabic *Sīrat Hamza*, was produced in Pasai around the same time as the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. Adaptations to other Southeast Asian languages presumably sprang initially from its Malay version. Among the Sasaks, episodes from the Javanese version of the epic constituted the basis for the popular shadow plays (*wayang kulit*). P.S. van Ronkel, *De roman van Amir Hamzah* (Leiden: Brill, 1895); Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature*, p. 15, 30-38, 44, 47f.

adaptations in numerous other languages, and at the same time a major literary tool of Islamization in Southeast Asia helping to “solve harmoniously the problem of the relation between the Islamic and the pre-Islamic tradition”⁴⁰⁹, Nūshīrvān is playing a prominent role, culminating in his eventual conversion to Islam⁴¹⁰. Apart from Nosiravan’s position in genealogical Cham lore⁴¹¹, he is also the eponym of a sacred Cham book, which is replete with Qur’anic prophets, figures from Muslim history and lore, as well as with main concepts drawn from Sufi thought⁴¹². As was already noted above, also this text was carried over to Cambodia and, albeit apparently losing some of its sanctity, remained in the possession of Chhouk Sar Chams⁴¹³.

All in all, we may assume that the link between historical perspective, accompanying heterogeneous time and religious practices and discourses shaped by both of them, had a much stronger bearing on Cambodian Chams than on Chvea at that time. Whereas this observation may no longer have been pertinent regarding large parts of the local Cham community, among whom the link had been for various reasons been gradually weakened, it certainly still was regarding the Chams of Chhouk Sar and other communities or at least segments thereof. This also accounts for the fact, that even at the end of the 20th century, scornful Muslim leaders still had to persuade some of their co-religionist to refrain from venerating the graves of, not ordinary Muslim saints, which would have been reprehensible enough in their eyes, but of Cham princes at Roka Po Pram deep in Kampong Cham⁴¹⁴.

⁴⁰⁹ Braginsky, *Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, p. 180.

⁴¹⁰ Apart from this popular tale, also the major high Malay literary work *Tāj al-Salaṭīn*, completed in Aceh in 1603 by the obviously Persian-speaking or at least thoroughly Persian-educated Bukhārī al-Jawharī, contains exemplary tales about the king. Here he is, however, presented as an unbelieving but just king (*yang kafir dan adil*). P.P. Rooda van Eysinga (ed. & trans.), *Tadj oes-salatin. De kroon aller koningen* (Batavia: Lands Drukkerij, 1827), p. 95-99, 121-124, 204. In the same vein he is briefly mentioned in al-Rānīrī’s similar but arguably more influential *Bustān al-Salaṭīn*. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Kitāb Bustān al-Salaṭīn*, 2 vols. (Singapore: R.J. Wilkinson, 1899-1900), II, p. 24.

⁴¹¹ He also appears, as “Raja Nushirvan Adil, Raja of East and West”, in the *Sejarah Melayu* and thus in the genealogy of the Sultans of Melaka and Johor. Compared to the mentioned Cham genealogies his role here is, however, comparably modest. It is only noted that one of his daughters was wed to a descendant of Raja Kida Hindi. The latter’s relevance for the story stems from the fact, that he had once given his daughter in marriage to Raja Iskandar (i.e. Alexander the Great), the proclaimed progenitor of the Melaka royal line, after he had been converted to Islam by him. C.C. Brown, “Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals, a translation of Raffles Ms. 18”, *JMBRAS*, XXV, no. 2&3 (February 1953 for October 1952), p. 16.

⁴¹² Durand, “Notes sur les Chams” (1907), p. 321-339.

⁴¹³ Among the Sasak *waktu telu*, another paradigmatic example for resistance to Jawization in Southeast Asia, the stories from the *Amir Hamzah* cycle also held a prominent place (and probably still do). Thus, Bousquet (“Recherches sur les deux sectes”, p. 165f.) noted that, “albeit not being sacred scriptures, these texts are highly revered”.

⁴¹⁴ William Collins, *The Chams of Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study, 1996), p. 65f.

3. Diversity, circulation and the scope and channels of Jawization

Reports of Malay settlers from places in the Malay World other than Minangkabau/Sumatra or Greater Patani are far and between. Near Battambang, an 1864 visitor mentioned a settlement of Malays from Melaka and Patani going back to the late 18th century, which had recently received a few Cham newcomers⁴¹⁵. Oral tradition in Tuol Ngok (Kandal province) relates that a religious teacher named Hj. Abdullah, the alleged brother of a former Sultan Abdul Rahman of Kedah, had settled with his followers in the village⁴¹⁶. In the 1930s local tradition in nearby Khleang Sbek still preserved the memory of Malay traders from Borneo settling in the area⁴¹⁷. In addition, just as was the case in Saigon from the 1880s onwards, the French also employed Malays Muslim workers from the island of Bawean (north of Madura)⁴¹⁸. In Saigon the Baweans kept their distinct identity into the 21st century, but, due its non-recognition by the state, are nowadays at times opting to pass through as Chams⁴¹⁹. In Cambodia, however, where unlike in early 19th century Saigon the Muslim community was not primarily made up of South Asians, it may be assumed that the small numbers of Baweans fully integrated into Cham-Chvea communities at an early date. It shall moreover be noted that Bawean presence in Indochina was at least partly related to the hajj, as some of them found their way to French dominions only after stop-overs in Singapore in the course of their pilgrimages⁴²⁰. Conversely, settlement and teaching activity by Malays from Greater Patani, particularly Patani and Kelantan, was so decisive that it will be discussed in greater detail below.

In addition to Malays of various origins, also co-religionists stemming from outside Southeast Asia were present in Cambodia in colonial times, most notably South Asians, but also occasional Arabs and Turks. Particularly in the Phnom Penh area all these groups came to mingle in a single Muslim community, which, of course, influenced the face of Islam in Cambodia. Among South Asian Muslims residing in Phnom Penh in colonial times we find

⁴¹⁵ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 100.

⁴¹⁶ Farina So, "Cambodia, Muslim Women's Issues and Groups in" (sic), OISO, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t343/e0003> (acc. March 1st 2012). Unbeknown to the author as well as to her informant, there never was a Sultan of Kedah by that name. Apart from this presumably concocted dynastic connection, the report about settlers from Kedah is most probably accurate.

⁴¹⁷ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 166. Evidence presented below points to Banjarmasin and Pontianak as specific points of origin of these Borneo Malays.

⁴¹⁸ Kersten, *Dr. Muller's Asian Journey*, p. 100.

⁴¹⁹ Malte Stokhof, "The Baweans of Ho Chi Minh City" in Omar Farouk Bajunid & Hiroyuki Yamamoto (eds.), *Islam at the Margins. The Muslims of Indochina* (Kyoto: CIAS, 2008), p. 45, 55.

⁴²⁰ Stokhof, "The Baweans of Ho Chi Minh City", p. 36. Many *jawi* pilgrims had to spend some time at Singapore to acquire part of the capital needed for the journey to or from Mecca. Cf. Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree. A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c. 1910s-2010*, 2nd Enlarged Edition (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), p. 87.

Tamils, Pashtuns as well as people hailing from Bombay, and thus French as well as British subjects. Its most illustrious exponents were not only involved in trade but likewise ran their own boat services along Cambodia's two major rivers as well as to Bangkok, Ha Tien, My Tho and other major ports in Southern Vietnam⁴²¹. As we will see, South Asian Muslims were at times directly involved in the emerging factionalism in early 20th century Cambodian Islam. Moreover, despite the fact that early colonial observers expressed disgust at the abject promiscuity prevailing between different peoples in Cambodia's most cosmopolitan area (i.e. that around the central market), Islam as a religion was certainly, apart from business patterns, one of the most stable elements of hybridization. Thus, intermarriage certainly occurred mostly between exclusively Muslim parties (e.g. Muslim Tamils and Cham-Malays) or engendered the conversion of the non-Muslim spouse⁴²².

The foregoing information about Cham-Malay settlements, as opposed to apparently more homogenous villages with a strong or absolute Cham majority, and its consideration in conjunction with economic activities and communication channels, is relevant for several reasons. Just as the main vectors of large scale conversion to Islam in Iran were certainly not the Arab tribesmen in their garrisons but rather non-Arab Muslims with little or no experience of life in the Arab Peninsula or contact with Arab culture, and their counterparts in Southeast Asia were likewise *melayus* and not Arabs, Persians or South Asians, also the main agents of Jawization in Cambodia were certainly local Chams and Chvea (i.e. localized Malays) themselves rather than foreigners. Yet, for the initial as well as protracted transmission and circulation of new ideas and modes of Muslim religiosity and religious practice, both among Chams and Chvea, influx of new settlers from different Muslim backgrounds as well as growing interaction with traders and travelling religious teachers was certainly decisive. The colonial encounter as well as the dynamics of Buddhist reform in Cambodia, which were certainly not entirely hidden to local Muslims of the wider Phnom Penh area, has to be added to this. Thus, a broadening of horizons was inevitable.

It must be noted, however, that "horizon" is in this case not just used as a neat metaphor. On the contrary, following Jung's apt criticism of concepts such as social imaginaries or

⁴²¹ Most probably also Gujaratis, Punjabis and Sindhis were likewise present. Muller, *Colonial Cambodia's 'Bad Frenchmen'*, p. 52f., 117-119; J.B.P. More, "Pathan and Tamil Muslim Migrants in French Indochina", *JSSH*, I (2000), p. 113-128.

⁴²² Labussière, "Les chams et les malais", p. 375; Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 191; Ysa Osman, *Navigating the Rift: Muslim-Buddhist Intermarriage in Cambodia* (n.p.: n.p., 2010). Illegal intercourse between foreigners and Khmer women was, upon second offence chargeable with expulsion and enslavement respectively, according to the new laws on marriage administration promulgated by Ang Duong in 1853. The more nuanced approach taken by Norodom, which labeled both Khmers and Cham-Malays as indigenous people, has already been noted above. Leclère, *Codes cambodgiens*, I, p. 286; II, p. 256f.

Bourdieu's social habitus, which "tend to conceptualize the implicit background knowledge of human beings, their particular culture, rather as a property of clearly demarcated social entities", it is here employed as a methodological device⁴²³. According to the definition of Gadamer, the cultural horizon, as a tool for historical understanding, is the "range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point"⁴²⁴. Social contact and changing structural, political and technological environments affected, though to varying degrees, the horizons of all Cambodian Muslims. As will be shown below, this not only applies to those more or less susceptible to Jawization but equally to the ostensible keepers of pure Cham culture and Islam. Needless to say, the existence of distinct Cham and Chvea identities, evidently undergoing a significant degree of flux throughout the last century and with respect to differing self-ascriptions (or endo-definitions) depending on the nature of the interlocutor or the frame of reference for any particular question regarding identity, complicates our attempt at identifying patterns applying to Cambodian Islam equally as a whole.

Yet, also these differences should not be overestimated. Linguistically, Chams and Chvea have in certain areas together lost their mother-tongues to form Khmer-speaking, ostensibly typical, Chvea communities (e.g. Kampot, Battambang, Tonle Sap villages north of Phnom Penh such as Kampong Luong and Tuol Ngok)⁴²⁵. Just as much, Malay-speakers have over time completely adopted Cham language in regions where the latter language was clearly dominant such as in Kampong Cham and Chau Doc, thereby fully becoming Cham. Similarly, also the more homogeneously Cham villages of comparably recent arrivals from Panduranga were not immune to embracing non-Bani or otherwise not distinctively (Pandurangan) Cham standards of belief and practice observable in interaction with co-religionists and ethnic kin. Naturally, besides physical displacement, the loss of Cham script among Chams in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta played a decisive role in the growing dislocation and alienation from their past and some of their distinctive religious and cultural practices.

⁴²³ Dietrich Jung, *Orientalists, Islamists and the Global Public Sphere. A Genealogy of the Modern Essentialist Image of Islam* (Sheffield: Equinox Publ., 2011), p. 90.

⁴²⁴ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1993), p. 302 (cited in *ibid.*, p. 91).

⁴²⁵ It is perhaps not coincidental that the mentioned places have very specific backgrounds. In the mentioned Tonle Sap villages, the percentage of Malays was (at least before the deportations of Ang Duong) presumably particularly high and, due to the proximity to the country's urban and administrative centers, interaction with Khmers especially pervasive. In Battambang, a high proportion of Malays and Minangkabaus, relative distance to Cham strong-holds and Siamese overlord-ship, which has most probably fostered association with the Khmers, had been likewise presumably important. In Kampot, Malays and Minangkabaus were reportedly similarly well-represented. Moreover, relations between local Khmers and Cham-Malays were probably nowhere as amicable and intense as in this area, which likewise was the one part of rural Cambodia where Chinese influence was most pervasive and enduring. Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine*, p. 28-34.

Therefore the foregoing delineation of contact zones and lines of communication and thereby also observation was crucial. It is certainly not coincidental that by the 1930s *waktu telu* Islam on Lombok had become mostly an affair of more remote communities, whereas the only remaining explicitly *waktu telu* village located at a main overland route exhibited a markedly different pattern of religious practice already more in tune with *waktu lima* standards⁴²⁶. What is more, it has also been noted, that *waktu lima* have been and still are acting as intermediaries between remote villages and the market⁴²⁷. Therefore, for petty traders engaging in business there may well have been more lucrative than in market centres, due to the relative absence of any serious competition. We may thus assume that these dynamics have accordingly in the long run affected, to varying degrees, also the most remote Muslim communities. Yet, the establishment of particular networks and its nodes, either in the absence or presence of a strong exposure to wider circulatory regimes, is surely important as it is a main mechanism for the emergence and sustenance of trans-local and at times even trans-regional religious group identities and occasional accompanying factionalism. It is these formations that we will turn to in the subsequent sections.

Finally, it must be emphasized once more, for the sake of clarity, that Jawization in Cambodia was not a process merely affecting late-coming Cham migrant populations, which were strongly influenced by Pandurangan Bani Islam and therefore at odds with a Cambodian Islam with – through constant interaction with local Malays and the wider Muslim World – much less salient, historically and contextually moulded, distinctively Pandurangan Cham imprints. On the contrary, Jawization was not just a contest between transplanted Banis and a contending community of Chvea and (Malayized) *cam baruw*, although such a reading may lend itself to explain the present existence of two separate officially recognized Islamic communities in Cambodia. Yet, whereas Jawization was indeed a major factor in the emergence of this peculiar institutionalized split within Cambodian Islam, its workings were more complex. Indeed, the factionalism it engendered, which was not merely doctrinal in the religious sense but also about different forms of Muslim social organization, was ultimately more strongly felt among the second group. Conversely, at

⁴²⁶ Bousquet, “Recherches sur les deux sectes”, p. 152f., 161, 171. Should the term *waktu telu* stem from three accepted prayer-times, then religious practice at Narmada, the comparably easily accessible village in question where morning, sunset and evening prayers were routinely performed in the 1930s (when the *waktu lima/telu* labels were still young), and not that of some *waktu telu* spiritual centers such as Sembalun, certainly stood patron for the moniker. Although it has been noted that the ritual world of the *waktu telu* is made up of sets of threes, their commonalities regarding prayer are, in striking harmony with *Kan Imam San* practice in Cambodia, total neglect among the ordinary believers and priestly worship exclusively on Fridays. *Ibid.*, p. 160f.; David D. Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors. Music, Myth, and Cultural Politics at an Indonesian Festival* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 2006), p. 30.

⁴²⁷ Cederroth, *Spell of the Ancestors*, p. 71.

least the allegedly “pure Cham” (*cam sot*) communities in Kampong Tralach district were, due to their relatively peripheral status vis-à-vis region- and country-wide Islamic developments and discussions, less directly concerned. Nevertheless, it was only Jawization and its accompanying intra-community strife, which provided the unlikely basis for the descendants of the Tuanko Po faction to in the long run assert its authority over a much more far-flung and diverse community in the making, which eventually - after an arduous process of formation, delineation and compromise – came to be known as the *Kan Imam San*.

4. From unity to diversity: Cambodia’s “good” Muslims in the eyes of colonial scholars

It has already been noted in passing that apart from interaction with an ever broadening array of other *melayu* Muslims, Islamic scholarly networks and the linked unprecedented expansion of religious education as well as major socio-economic changes in Cambodia, also French religious policies and scholarly discourses contributed to the particular shape and scope of Jawization in Cambodia. Both were equally based to a significant degree on pervasive colonial assumptions about the nature of “true” Islam. Ironically, major French administrator-scholars such as Aymonier and Cabaton had - either by virtue of their colonial assignments or of the major interest in the ostensibly degenerated remnants of ancient Indochinese civilizations - first intensively studied the Chams, and therefore also Islam, in the original Cham lands of Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan, before turning their attention towards the Chams in Cambodia. This goes some way to explain why the French ethnographers, particularly Aymonier, Cabaton and Ner, writing between the 1880s and 1940s, are unanimous in their presentation of the Chams of Cambodia and the Mekong Delta as completely different from their compatriots in former Panduranga. The basic criteria for this view were, in harsh words, that the former were neither regarded as degenerate nor unproductive (as the latter were habitually labeled), but instead as industrious, modestly prosperous, and, in stark contrast to the *Bani*, as “good” and non-ignorant Muslims⁴²⁸. The following quotations from Cabaton will suffice to get a taste of the prevailing discourse. After his section devoted to the “Chams of Annam”, he opens the ensuing discussion immediately with a pronounced contradistinction: “Completely different are the Chams

⁴²⁸Aymonier, “Chams and their Religions”, p. 58-65; Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 162-180. Their condescending tone is not reproduced by Ner, who nevertheless shares his predecessors’ assumptions regarding complete difference. Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 154-155.

called Chams of Cambodia”, whose “Islam is much more enlightened and conscious than that of the Bani”⁴²⁹. In a concluding comparison one finds, among others, the attributes “apathetic” and “miserable” applied to the Bani⁴³⁰. Tellingly, he attributed these differences in religious practice to the constant interaction of Cambodian Chams with resident Malays⁴³¹.

Apart from the negative attribution of the Chams of Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan, the markedly positive disposition towards an Islam recognized as orthodox, standing in stark contrast to the denigrating assessment of the allegedly degenerated and, by implication, syncretistic character of *Bani* and *Jat* religions, is intriguing. Moreover, it should have become evident from the foregoing and become even more so in the following, that such a view of a religiously unified and homogenous Cham-Malay community in late 19th-early 20th century Cambodia was clearly erroneous. Accordingly, the conclusions of Aymonier and Cabaton were also not accepted wholesale by their successor Marcel Ner, who worked several decades to half a century later. It has to be conceded that things certainly developed at a faster pace between the first (i.e. the time of Cabaton’s research) and the third decade of 20th century (Ner’s time) than they did in the period between Aymonier’s work in the 1880s and the 1900s. Yet, the unitary presentation of the two pioneers of Cham Studies in Cambodia surely resulted, at least to a certain degree, from oversimplification. Additionally, perhaps actually fairly limited contacts with the geographically widely dispersed Cham-Malays in the country may have contributed to their views⁴³². Indeed, the much more thorough study conducted by Ner in the late 1930s⁴³³ provides ample evidence both for a fragmented community and a gradual, yet not uncontested, process of Jawisation, which must have been under way already for quite some time and naturally led to a receding into the background of distinctively Cham elements within local Islam. Ner’s contribution is a major one, as it not only documents full-fledged factional divisions within Cambodian Islam but also charts the geographic dimensions of factionalism and accompanying group identities in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta, though admittedly not in a comprehensive

⁴²⁹ Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 162, 166.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 6.

⁴³² Aymonier, known for his propensity to intervene on the locals’ behalf during his tenure as French Resident (1879-1881), received and collected 750 Khmer written complaints from local Khmers, Chinese and Cham-Malays (mostly concerned with legal disputes and conflicts with other Cambodians), which have certainly sharpened his understanding of local conditions. Muller, *Cambodia’s “Bad Frenchmen”*, p. 119f. Unfortunately, these archival materials could not be consulted for this study. It can nevertheless be assumed that the vast majority of letters were again stemming from places with comparably strong exposure to French colonial authorities.

⁴³³ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 165-197.

fashion. The following will therefore summarize the most relevant of his observations and conclusions and then measure them against what has been discussed in this study so far. What is more, the particular dynamics undergirding the factionalism described by Ner as well as their aftermath will subsequently be identified and scrutinized through recourse to documentary evidence from Cambodian and Malay sources. Yet, before delving deeper into Ner's account, a discussion of two additional foregrounding issues is required.

5. Into a new logosphere: Curricular Jawization, script and language change, and the hajj

One of the first casualties in the process of Jawization-induced standardization and marginalization of distinctively Cham elements (and to a lesser degree ones of specific Malay and Chvea local imprints) within Cambodian Islam was Cham script (*akhar trah*) and its literature. Accordingly, a major hallmark of Jawization was the large-scale adoption of Malay *jawi* literature for religious instruction (and to a much lesser degree as language of religious literary production) among the great majority of Cambodian Cham Muslims, which crucially coincided with a switch from Cham to *jawi* script in written Cham language. Due to the salience of the first aspect, the usage of Cham *jawi* has remained mostly restricted to informal non-literary purposes such as letters and business communication to this day⁴³⁴. Translations of Malay texts, concepts and literary motifs into Cham, once presumably a major part of Cham (particularly religious) scholarship, as can be inferred from Cham literary heritage and preserved manuscripts, largely came to an end. To the limited degree that it still did occur, it was now done in Cham *jawi*. Malay written materials were certainly expounded in spoken Cham, but the need for translation into a native language now apparently regarded as inferior to prestigious written Malay was hardly felt anymore. Such are the workings of an Islamic supra-language.

A watershed affecting most of Cambodia and the Delta must have occurred over in the second half of the 19th century. From 1864 there is still an isolated reference to Cham *akhar trah* books being brought by Vietnamese traders to Battambang⁴³⁵. The oldest Cham script manuscripts still found in private collection in KIS or former KIS villages are also commonly dated to this period as are the only three specimens collected by Western scholars outside

⁴³⁴ Omar Farouk Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*", p. 124-47.

⁴³⁵ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 100. It will be remembered that Battambang lay on a well established Vietnamese trade route to Bangkok.

of the few remaining (now KIS-affiliated) manuscript repositories in Central and Northwestern Cambodia. Conversely, it was already noted in 1883 that Chams in Cambodia possessed no religious texts in their own language anymore, but relied on Malay ones instead⁴³⁶. This generalization was, of course, not entirely accurate, but nevertheless most probably already well reflective of majority practices.

Actually, Aymonier and most probably also Moura himself have obtained not only princely genealogies and historical chronicles in Cham from the community, but also numerous texts, which were fully or at least partially of religious content. The same is true for the aforementioned manuscript CM 39, which was evidently compiled in colonial times as it includes a text about the political situation of the community under the French. Among its religious and religio-mythical texts, we find the legend of *po rasulak* (i.e. the prophet), two sets of verses from the Qur'an as well as the Book of Nosiravan⁴³⁷. Most of the texts were certainly not used in religious education. If any of them were actually employed, their relevance for teaching in the majority of village schools must have by then been negligible, not least due to the fact that ability to read Cham script was already in sharp decline and had probably been at low levels even before. Access to the historical and religio-mythical texts was – in harmony with the situation prevailing in the wider Malay World until the advent of Malay book printing – restrictively bound to specific social contexts (e.g. courtiers, *pos*, religious specialist and professional reciters)⁴³⁸.

Cabaton made no reference to Cham script materials in Cambodia at all. Instead he provided more specific information on the use of Malay language books in religious instruction. Thus, he noted the use of Malay *tafsīr* and catechism in Cambodia⁴³⁹. These included a Malay rendering of the *'Aqīdat al-Uṣūl* of Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), which is striking due its Ḥanafī character⁴⁴⁰, and the well-known *Umm al-Barāhīn* of Abū Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486 or 895/1490), which was and still is widely distributed throughout Southeast Asia. Other materials encountered by Cabaton were, besides numerous lithographed Qur'ans from India, Egypt and Istanbul, *ḥadīth* collections, treatises and biographically-oriented texts on Islamic morality generically called *Kitab Agama Islam* (Book

⁴³⁶ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, I, p. 495.

⁴³⁷ Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 190-194.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 51-53.

⁴³⁹ Antoine Cabaton, "Notes sur l'Islam dans l'Indo-Chine Française", RMM, I (1907), p. 43f.

⁴⁴⁰ A.W.T. Juynboll, "Een moslimsche Catechismus in het Arabisch met eene Javaansche interlineaire vertaling in pegon-schrift uitgegeven en in het Nederlandsch vertaald" & "Samarqandi's Catechismus opnieuw besproken", BKI, V (1881), p. 215-231 & 267-284.

of Islamic Religion) and *Cerita Nabi Muhammad* (Story of the Prophet Muḥammad) respectively⁴⁴¹.

Works of the last three categories also exist as Cham manuscripts and are not necessarily part of the curricula standardization resulting from print-driven Jawization. Usage of a printed Malay *tafsīr*, however, certainly was. At that time the only such available work was ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkili’s *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* (a Malay rendering of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* enriched with additional material from the classical Arabic commentaries of al-Bayḍāwī and al-Khāzin⁴⁴²), which was already the second work ever printed by the Malay Ottoman printing press in Mecca, a Patani-run institution established in 1884⁴⁴³. Most strikingly, Cabaton also came upon an original piece of Indochinese Cham-Malay scholarship of the period, tellingly composed in Malay language. This was a manuscript copy of the Arabic text of *Umm al-Barāhīn* with an interlinear Malay translation produced in 1893 by Al-Ḥājj Ismā’īl, an imam of a village in the Chau Doc region, with the striking aim of drawing the Chams of former Panduranga towards a “more enlightened Islam”⁴⁴⁴. Whereas *Umm al-Barāhīn* was undoubtedly the most influential catechism of all in Southeast Asia, both before as well as after the onset of Jawization, the situation is different with Samarqandī’s work⁴⁴⁵. Evidently once widespread, it has vanished from *jawi* curricula. As it is a Ḥanafi work, particularly differing from the Shāfi’i-Ash’ari *Umm al-Barāhīn* in what is arguably the latter’s most influential section (i.e. its expositions on the twenty divine attributes), the growing awareness and quasi-doctrine of the *jawi* ecumene as an exclusively Shāfi’i one has presumably led to its gradual removal from curricula in the region in the course of Jawization⁴⁴⁶. This would then indicate that the hegemonic standardizing discourses of Jawization were not only instrumental in purging Southeast Asian Islam from ostensible

⁴⁴¹ Antoine Cabaton, “Une traduction interlinéaire malaise de la ‘Aqīda d’al-Senūsī”, JA, X (1904), p. 116.

⁴⁴² Peter G. Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: ‘Abd al-Ra’uf al-Singkili’s Rendering into Malay of the Jalalayn Commentary* (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, 1990).

⁴⁴³ Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 323-325.

⁴⁴⁴ Cabaton, “Une traduction interlinéaire”, p. 115-145 (quotation from p. 115). It is, however, not entirely clear if the translation was indeed an original work by Ismā’īl. By then several contributions of *jawi* scholars to the text had been seen to the printing press. These were the Malay gloss *Sirāj al-hudā pada menyatakan ‘Aqīdat ahl a-taqwā* of Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn al-Sumbāwī (the only *jawi* scholar teaching directly inside the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* in the 1880s) and Malay commentated translations by M. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī (Muhammad Zain Patani, d. 1908) and and Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī (a teacher of Daud Patani flourishing in the middle of 18th century), who wrote the pioneering *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. An Arabic commentary of Muḥammad al-Nawāwī al-Bantanī (*Dharī’at al-yaqīn*) was first printed in 1313/1895. GAL, S II, p. 353-355. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 202, 306f.; Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Al ‘Allamah Syekh Ahmad al-Fathani Ahli Fikir Islam dan Dunia Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992), p. 50f.

⁴⁴⁵ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 33f.

⁴⁴⁶ Likewise a few Ḥanafi-Māturīdi texts preserved in early *jawi* manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries had largely fallen into disuse at an even earlier date. Philipp Bruckmayr, “The Spread of and Persistence of Māturīdi Kalām and Underlying Dynamics”, I&C, XIII (2009), p. 74-77.

Shiite influences (e.g. *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* and other popular stories), which evidently likewise left their mark on Cham Islam, but also in strengthening *madhhab* consciousness and exclusiveness.

Despite this apparent strong tendency towards a complete focus on Malay literature in Cambodian Islam, French scholars could nevertheless still enlist the services of Cham script copyists in 1920. As the usage of the *po* title was soon to be another prominent casualty of Jawization, it is worth noting that one of the scribes producing a copy of a Cham princely genealogy in that year bore this title⁴⁴⁷. Yet, whereas the prestige of the *po* title was by then in the process of being less and less widely recognized, that associated with another title increasingly was. Being part of the *jawi* ecumene, the number of hajjis such as Al-Ḥājj Ismā'īl was as much on the rise in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta as it was in Malaya and the Dutch East Indies, boosted not only by an increased relevance attached to the performance of the pilgrimage among certain segments of the population but also particularly by the opening of the Suez canal⁴⁴⁸. Already in 1880 Labussière noted the many hajjis in Chau Doc, which appeared to wield “great influence among their coreligionists”⁴⁴⁹. In 1899 Cabaton witnessed the embarkation of many local Cham, Malay and Indian Muslims for the hajj in Phnom Penh⁴⁵⁰. Besides the pilgrimage, also religious study abroad, in Kelantan and Patani, and the activities of roving Malay Islamic teachers and preachers left their mark on Cambodian Islam. Thus, not only hajjis now contended for the prestige once associated with the *pos*, which was less pertinently linked to religion. Instead also people carrying Malay titles such as *wan*, which were of more specifically greater Patani import than the aforementioned *tuan* eventually came to the forefront as new potential rallying points.

⁴⁴⁷ Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 21.

⁴⁴⁸ In Javanese-speaking residences on Java hajj departures rose from 48 in 1850 to 7,614 in 1911 (the last number includes Madura). Between 1884 and 1900 the number of *jawi* pilgrims (i.e. Malaya and the Dutch East Indies combined) amounted annually to approximately 5,000-14,000, never falling beneath 7,000 after 1889. Between 1900 and 1914 pilgrims from Malaya alone approximately accounted for over 4,000 to almost 12,000 people. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 59, 65; William R. Roff, “Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Hajj in the 19th century” in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 292; Amran Kasimin, *Religion and Social Change among the Indigenous People of the Malay Peninsula* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991), p. 266 n. 1. As will be shown below estimates for the number of hajjis among Cambodian Muslims before WWII were disproportionately high.

⁴⁴⁹ Labussière, “Chams et Malais”, p. 375.

⁴⁵⁰ Cabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 6.

6. Conclusion

It is unanimously acknowledged that growing numbers of *jawi* hajjis and students in the Ḥaramayn greatly contributed to the religious changes known as *santrization* (or referred to here as Jawization) as well as to the emergence of Southeast Asian Islamic reformism for which Jawization prepared the ground. Yet, an observation of crucial importance for our understanding of Jawization was made by Ricklefs, while sifting through statistics of Javanese-speaking religious teachers (sg. *kyai*) and hajjis in the second half of the 19th century. Strikingly, the increase in numbers in both categories was apparently “not a single religious phenomenon – simply [...] pious people enhancing the observance of their faith across Javanese society – for this growth in religious life seems to have fed diverging trends”⁴⁵¹. Accordingly, the expected correlation between the number of hajjis and *kyais* was absent in most localities. The only exceptions to this pattern were comparably cosmopolitan areas such as the central *pasisir* and Yogyakarta, which are also those best comparable to Cambodian Muslim centers in and around Phnom Penh, the major conveniently located Muslim villages of Krauchhmar (such as Phum Trea) and of Chau Doc (such as Chau Giang). Elsewhere high numbers of *kyais* were not reproduced in similarly high numbers of hajjis, suggesting – in necessarily simplified terms as there was certainly a whole category of hajji *kyais* – “that there were at least two statistically evident categories of religious leaders in Java in this time and that they were tending to stay out of each other’s way”⁴⁵². As we will see, also Cambodia had its own imams, *gurus* (religious teachers) and their followers, who sought to stay clear of, or were even fervently opposed to the local agents of Jawization with their hajji or other credentials. This despite the fact, that some of them were for various reasons detached from the world of the *pos*, their princely genealogies and their split reverence between the Qur’an and the Book of Nosiravan, or were even Chvea with little to no relation to the latter cultural heritage to begin with.

⁴⁵¹ Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 67-69 (quotation from p. 67).

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

V. “Trimeu”, “kobuol” and “hyper-traditionalists”: Cambodia’s Muslim landscape in the 1930s

*“Maka adakah lafaz ini betul dengan yang ghalib dipakaikan dia orang melayu atau tidak betul”. (“Is this pronouncement correct according to the common practice of the Malays or not?”). Cambodian questioner writing to Meccan mufti. Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya* (before 1907).*

Ner’s study of the Muslim communities of Cambodia, the Mekong Delta and Tay Ninh, is markedly different from his precursors’ work. Contrary to their writings, Ner leaves us with a useful, though certainly neither complete nor conclusive, map of Muslim presence in the areas in question. His information and observations are in each instance explicitly connected to specific village or suburban communities, besides a concluding discussion in which he wrapped up his overall findings. This stands in stark contrast to earlier work on Cambodian Islam, which is more often than not characterized by generic references to Cambodian Muslims rarely specifying the actual locations of contact and observation. The only exceptions to this rule are certain anecdotal references, which are indeed explicitly connected to specific places⁴⁵³. Examples of the latter include Bastian’s reports from Chhouk Sar, Kampong Luong and Battambang, Moura’s contacts in (then) Lovek province and Pavie’s more detailed relation about his encounters in Kampot villages. Particularly Cabaton is unfortunately quite silent in this regard. The fact, however, that he includes images of Chroy Changvar Muslims as well as of Muslim dignitaries at an official reception at the royal palace⁴⁵⁴, combined with his observation of what was presumably high-level Islamic education (including studies of *tafsīr* and the like), clearly points to the fact that he obtained much of his information from affluent Cham-Chvea communities around Phnom Penh. In addition, as evinced by his acquisition of Hajji Ismā’īl’s *Umm al-Barāhīn* manuscript, scholarly centres of the Mekong Delta must have also featured among his research sites in the field. Although Cabaton had certainly also visited rural communities, this particular

⁴⁵³ Among the Cham manuscripts of the *Société Asiatique*, there is quite a number described as “journal de marche d’Aymonier”. Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 197-201. Unfortunately these have been inaccessible to me.

⁴⁵⁴ Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 163-165.

selection of localities might go some way to explain his misleading presentation of Muslim uniformity in Cambodia and the Delta.

Conversely, Ner surveyed Muslim settlements in most provinces known for housing Cham-Chvea populations. Even though surely far from exhaustive no major Cham-Chvea village was excluded from this survey. In addition, Ner duly noted down the dominant languages in the respective communities and provided valuable information on state of religious education in and networking between these and centres abroad. Accordingly, his study is not only much more informative than those of his predecessors but also resting on a much broader geographical observational basis. It is a testimony to the gradual process of Jawization and the factionalism it had engendered by Ner's time. Consequently, despite the homogenizing nature of process described, it is rather a tale of Muslim diversity than of uniformity. It is thus only reasonable to take his work as a starting point for our documentation and analysis of the dynamics of Jawization. While generally following Ner's mapping of Cambodian and South Vietnamese Muslim communities, more encompassing discussions of issues of direct relevance to the concept of Jawization - either consciously emphasized by Ner or only noted in passing - will be undertaken at the appropriate points. As Ner's work was entirely based on personal observation in the field, archival sources of the period will be freely consulted to either add weight to or question his conclusions, as well as to open new perspectives for enquiry. Indeed, the comparable abundance of documentary sources in the Cambodian National Archives for the study of Cambodian Islam in the 1930s, as opposed to both earlier and later periods, has been a prime impetus for the following focus on this phase, and has thus also commended closer examination of Ner's contemporary ethnographic work.

1. Mapping Jawization in the Mekong Delta and Tay Ninh, and the receding of "Alid" lore

In contrast to other areas, Ner did not document factional strife in the Mekong Delta region. Yet, his report clearly testifies to the degree of Jawization prevailing among its Muslim inhabitants, reflected *inter alia* in the by then almost complete disuse of Cham script, a significant role of Malay language and literature in religious education also among Cham speakers and the numbers of locals seeking religious knowledge in Kelantan and Mecca. With Chau Giang, the region was home to one of the spiritual centres of Islam in the whole

of Indochina⁴⁵⁵. Even though a few old Cham manuscripts were still preserved in the village and the Cham-speaking majority of the community freely employed Cham language in ceremonies such as marriages, most male villagers were more or less knowledgeable in Malay. Keeping in mind that, in accordance with the present state of affairs, the group of non-Cham villagers designated as “Malays” by Ner, were by then already mostly Khmer-speaking Chveas (*jawa kur*), Malay might well have functioned also as a *lingua franca* in daily affairs. As there is no mention of any doctrinal strife in Ner’s account, we may assume that the two mosques existing by then were, as is the case today, allocated along Cham-Chvea language lines.

It fits Ner’s description of Chau Giang as spiritual centre well, that in the 1880s it was the only village in the Delta with a mosque made of bricks (instead of the customary wood, thatch and bamboo structures)⁴⁵⁶. It must be emphasized at this point, that this seemingly inconsequential choice of building materials actually implies not just a certain degree of prosperity but likewise a significant espousal of certain aspects of modernity among the community. Indeed, Resident Moura and the French authorities had to invest a lot of energy in order to persuade Norodom as well as Cambodian dignitaries and commoners to build brick houses instead of the traditional wooden ones. Before the opening of the new royal palace in Phnom Penh in 1870 even the Cambodian kings had always resided in walled wooden compounds⁴⁵⁷. Of course, masonry had always been used for Buddhist wats and stupas, which were also distributed throughout Khmer settlements in the Mekong Delta, yet, brick mosque were then evidently still a rare occurrence in the region.

Naturally, however, Chau Giang’s reputation did not rest on this architectural feature alone. More decisive was its prestige as a centre of religious learning. According to Ner, who rightly identified the most eminent religious teachers (*guru, tuon*) and not the elevated members of the official hierarchy as the most influential figures in the Cambodian Muslim community and its satellites⁴⁵⁸, Hj. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the director of the local Islamic school, was one of the two most respected Islamic scholars in all Indochina. As he was noted to have been frequently absent, we may assume that he likewise engaged in teaching missions throughout the region. Unfortunately nothing is known of his educational background. Yet, it can be assumed that part of his prestige derived from studies abroad, probably pursued in Mecca in conjunction with his hajj after an initial stay in Kelantan or Patani.

⁴⁵⁵ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 157f.

⁴⁵⁶ Labussière, “Chams et Malais”, p. 375.

⁴⁵⁷ Edwards, *Cambodge*, p. 41-44.

⁴⁵⁸ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 187.

More is known about his young protégée Hj. Mahli (‘Umar ‘Alī?, i.e. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar⁴⁵⁹), who was also put in charge of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s school during his absences. Hj. Mahli had studied in Mecca for twelve years, and was, accordingly, the person most proficient in Arabic and Malay in the area. Their school was not the average Qur’anic village school either, but evidently a *pondok* catering to the needs of advanced students. At Ner’s time it had forty students, aged between fifteen and twenty. Only one quarter of these came from the village, whereas the rest was drawn from other locations in the province as well as from Cambodia. Indeed, the number of Cambodian students was substantial, with seven originating from the Phnom Penh area (especially Chroy Changvar), three from Kampong Cham and three more from other provinces. Expectedly, apart from the Qur’an, mostly Malay books were used for religious instruction at the school. The same situation prevailed in the other village schools of the area⁴⁶⁰.

In the late 1930s Hj. Mahli’s influence was still circumscribed by his youth. Yet, there is much that points to the fact that he rose to considerable prominence in subsequent decades and he even became *hakem* of the Khmer-speaking village cluster around Chau Giang’s *al-Mubārak* mosque (built in 1967). Although this identification is not beyond doubt, there is reason to believe that he was the person variously described as “Hj. Omar Ali” or “Mufti Omal Aly” from Chau Doc, who was a main force behind the conversion process of parts of Phan Rang’s Bani community to *jawi* Islam in the early 1960s⁴⁶¹. It is clear from reports obtained from descendants of pioneering Phang Rang *Cam Baruw* that the teachings of visiting Chau Doc preachers at that time were evidently not of a reformist bent⁴⁶². Thus, it

⁴⁵⁹ In the customary form of Cambodian Muslim names the *nasab* (i.e. the father’s or mother’s name, which in usual Arab-influenced Muslim naming practices follows the given name after the link *ibn/bin* or *bint*) often precedes the actual *ism* (i.e. given name). This in analogy to Khmer, where the family name also precedes the given name. Although the abbreviation of Arabic *isms* (for example of Muḥammad to Mat) was also a traditional feature of naming practice in Greater Patani, it is especially developed in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta. This process is of course also linked to prevailing Khmer practice, in which names with more than one or two syllables are extremely rare. Throughout Muslim Southeast Asia, standard Arabic *ism-nasab* combinations had been, outside of scholarly circles, rarely used in a rigorous way until the late 19th- early 20th century. Its popularization way beyond the narrow confines of the ‘*ulamā*’ can be identified as another feature of Jawization. Ysa Osman, *Oukoubah. Justice for the Cham Muslims under the Democratic Kampuchea Regime* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2002), p. 130; M.A. Jaspan, “Cham Proper Names”, typescript, 15.1.1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; Roff, “Onomastics, and Taxonomies”, p. 45f.

⁴⁶⁰ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 163.

⁴⁶¹ Nakamura, “Cham Muslims in Ninh Thuan”, p. 20; Mohamad Zain bin Musa, “Dynamics of Faith: Imam Musa in the Revival of Islamic Teachings in Cambodia” in in Omar Farouk Bajunid & Hiroyuki Yamamoto (eds.), *Islam at the Margins. The Muslims of Indochina* (Kyoto: CIAS, 2008), p. 63.

⁴⁶² According to Abdul Halim b. Ahmad (personal communication, Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012), he was as a child (in the 1960s) also introduced to “Islamic magic”, which he estimates to have been then still practiced by 90 per cent of the imams of the Chau Doc region. As these practices featured among those elements newly introduced from Cham *jawa* of Chau Doc and Saigon, they must have differed in certain aspects from prevailing *Bani* divination. This also shows that Jawization, while most probably also entailing a standardization of *jawi* Islamic magic, was, before the (for Southeast Asian standards somewhat delayed)

would fit the picture of his activities quite well that the Chau Doc leader of the opposition to the Cambodian expression of *jawi* Islamic reformism (whose carriers became known throughout the ecumene as the *kaum muda* or “new group”) was a certain Tuon Hj. Ali⁴⁶³.

Yet, ‘Abd al-Rahmān and Mahli were not the only religious teachers in Chau Giang. Several other local scholars had studied in Kelantan and Mecca. Five villagers were just then studying in Mecca, one of them already for ten years, whereas another had just returned and yet another had recently deceased in the holy city. The most illustrious of those still in Mecca at the time of Ner’s stay in 1937 was Muhammad Idris, the son of the village *hakem* Sulaiman, who returned upon the latter’s death in 1938. Having gone through all the stages of the highest echelons of *jawi* education for Indochinese Muslims he had first studied with a local teacher and then subsequently with Hj. Osman in Phum Trea and Hj. Wan Muhammad b. Idris in Jambu (Patani) before continuing his studies in Kota Bharu and finally Mecca. In 1951 it was his turn to be appointed as village *hakem*, a position which he held until his death at over 90 years of age in the early 2000s⁴⁶⁴. A couple of years later, he was still, *inter alia* due to his education in Mecca and his remarkable language proficiency, remembered as the most erudite local scholar of all⁴⁶⁵.

Other Muslim villages in the area could not rival Chau Giang’s trans-Indochinese prestige. Yet, near-by Phum Soai also had a strong Islamic profile. Approximately 2 per cent of the population were hajjis (male and female) and a dozen males had studied for several years in Kelantan, including the head of the local Islamic school. One youth was currently on study in Mecca. In the less affluent Muslim village on the island of Kotabong, probably one of the oldest such settlement in the area⁴⁶⁶, numbers for all these categories were lower and even more so in Da Phuoc (Habao in Ner’s diction), where the teacher of the village school had been educated in the Chau Giang *pondok*. Nevertheless, Ner duly noted that even in these villages with a more homogeneous population of Cham-speakers, where knowledge of Malay was much more restricted, *jawi* script had replaced Cham script in written Cham communication⁴⁶⁷. Within a few decades, however, also Kotabong would boast a notable Islamic school. Thus, even Chams from Phan Rang were from the 1960s onwards sent to

advent of Islamic reformism as a significant movement in Patani, Kelantan, Cambodia and Vietnam, not yet necessarily conducive to the eradication of this kind of magic, traditional *jawi* funerary practices and the like. Needless to say, Jawization was a precondition for the emergence of various *kaum muda* movements.

⁴⁶³ Mohamad Zain Musa, “History of Education among the Cambodian Muslims”, *Jebat*, XXXVIII (2011), p. 93.

⁴⁶⁴ LPD, “Haji Muhammad Idris: ‘Ulama terbilang Vietnam”.

⁴⁶⁵ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 87f., 123.

⁴⁶⁶ Labussière (“Chams et malais”, p. 373) noted that it was founded by Cham-Malay soldiers in Vietnamese service (retreating with their masters from Cambodia) already in 1840.

⁴⁶⁷ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 159-161.

study at the local *Mubārak al-Azhar* madrasa⁴⁶⁸. One of Jaspan's Cham informants in Kelantan in the 1960s, Chi Hasan b. Nordin, was originally a native of Kotabong who went in 1937 to study at the school run by Kelantan's Council of Islamic Affairs (*Majlis Ugama Islam – MUI*)⁴⁶⁹, the *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah* (est. 1917) in Kota Bharu, and then decided to stay on. At the time of his encounter with Jaspan he had achieved local prominence (and epitomized Jawization) as the director of the *Malay Arts and Crafts Association of Kelantan*, while still remaining in close contact with Chams in Cambodia and Vietnam⁴⁷⁰.

In contrast, the influence of Jawization had been less decisive in the northern group of Muslim villages located directly at the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, although also these were in the orbit of Chau Giang's scholarly culture. It was in this village group, that Ner encountered the last five individuals in the region able to read Cham script. Two of these are explicitly described as old men, whereas the other three (presumably also neither young studs) tellingly resided in Co Ki, where reportedly only a handful of people knew Malay. Yet, apart from Co Ki, all the villages in question could by then at least boast individual scholars educated abroad. This included a man with 12-year study experience in Kelantan in Sbau. Knowledge of at least the Arabic and *jawi* script (if not of Malay language as such) was already widespread in all of these (i.e. Sbau, Koh Khoi and Thanh Hoi). In this respect Koh Khoi was evidently the most developed. Several boys from the village were studying at the Chau Giang *pondok* and the local teacher Hj. Ismā'īl had studied in Mecca for a year⁴⁷¹. It is not inconceivable that he was the aforementioned author of the Malay *Umm al-Barāhīn* translation obtained by Cabaton. Yet, there is greater probability that this was the work of another Hj. Ismā'īl of Koh Khoi, who died in Kelantan in the early 1920s, where he had been locally known as Hj. Ismail Kemboja⁴⁷². According to some accounts he was the first Vietnamese Cham to study in Kota Bharu in the 20th century⁴⁷³, which is, however, subject to doubt. Nevertheless, this attribution, even if probably inaccurate, points to the

⁴⁶⁸ Abdul Halim b. Ahmad, personal communication, Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012. After the communist take-over in 1975 it was transformed into a state school. Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 234f.

⁴⁶⁹ It has already been mentioned that Kelantan and Terengganu were pioneers in the institutionalization of religion in the Malay states. In this regard, the MUI (est. 1915) as the first centralized body for the administration of Islam in any Malayan state is a most instructive example. As such it was to prove influential also for Islam and Jawization in Cambodia. William R. Roff, "The Origin and the Early Years of the Majlis Agama Kelantan" in *ibid.* (ed.), *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State* (Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 101-152.

⁴⁷⁰ JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

⁴⁷¹ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 161.

⁴⁷² He was one of a whole group of Muslims from or active in Vietnam, who have received this epithet in Kelantan. This clearly shows, that neither Vietnam nor Cham were categories of any relevance in Kelantan at that time. Thus, Cham and Chvea Muslims from either country were until recently indiscriminately labeled as *orang (muslim) kemboja* (and not *orang cam* or *orang cam-melayu*) in Kelantan.

⁴⁷³ JP, DJA (2)/1/2. The source of this information was presumably the aforementioned Chi Hasan.

relevance attached to the figure of Hj. Ismail. As this latter scholar can be directly linked to all of the most emblematic figures of the genealogy of Patani/Kelantan-influenced Jawization in Cambodia and Vietnam, he will be discussed in more detail below after this summary of Ner's findings.

The latter's survey of Muslim life in the Chau Doc area undoubtedly presents a picture of steady process of Jawization. Knowledge of Cham script, and with it its manuscript culture, had all but disappeared. At an intermediary stage, presumably spanning from the 1870s to the 1920s, a number of texts of Cham literature were transposed into Cham *jawi* script⁴⁷⁴. Among these two specific texts should be mentioned. One is *muk sruh palei* ("The lady who guards the village"), a treatise of moral guidance to girls and young women, still kept in *akhar trah* versions and highly regarded among KIS. The second is *Sep Sah Sakai* ("The curse of Sah Sakai"), a romantic tale, which has underwent a notable degree of Islamization, and indeed Jawization of its setting, in its *jawi* version. Thus, the main character is here no longer a Brahmanist but a Muslim Cham and his peregrinations not only take him through the Cham lands of Panduranga and Kauthara but likewise to Kelantan and Terengganu⁴⁷⁵. As a result of these ventures and the passing of time, and in the absence of an element within the community still preserving traditional Cham script (as still exists in Cambodia), Jawization as mirrored in the realm of script choice has apparently reached the level of obliteration of memory of its precursor among the local Chams. Thereby, the symbolic question of script has acquired quasi-doctrinal overtones and a prominent role in identity formation, which is well reflective of developments in former Panduranga, where similar considerations have been obstructing any efforts at discarding *akhar trah* for a Romanized version of Cham⁴⁷⁶. Thus, it has been recently remarked that "[n]owadays C[h]am from Châu

⁴⁷⁴ Phu Van Han, "The Development of the Jawi-Cam Script in South-West Vietnam Cam Communities" in *Kertaskerja Seminar Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu-Campa yang berlangsung pada 6-7 Disember 2004 di Kuala Lumpur*, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ Po Dharma, "Les relations entre la littérature cam et la littérature malaise" in in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, A. Pino & S. Khoury (eds.), *D'un orient à l'autre: Actes des troisièmes journées de l'orient. Bordeaux, 2-4 octobre 2002* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2005), p. 391f. The author raises the question whether the story was Islamized or was actually de-Islamized in the course of a Malay tale becoming Cham cultural property. As the second option seems to be rather unlikely, I would suggest the crucial question to be whether the Islamization had occurred, for example among Cham Bani, before its transposition into *jawi* or rather with transposition. Even though there are, for example, distinct Jat and Bani versions of the Cham *Akayet Um Mrup*, clearly distinguishable on the basis of its diverging emphases on either Islamic motifs or Brahmanist Cham culture, the case of the *jawi* version of *Sep Sah Sakai*, with its reference to centers of *jawi* learning on the Malay Peninsula, seems to point to the other direction. Accordingly, it seems more plausible that at least a certain measure of modulation has taken place in the process of a transposition, which we may call literary Jawization. Gérard Moussay, "Um Mrup dans la littérature cam" in in *Actes de la Conférence Internationale sur le Campā et le Monde Malais organisée à l'Université de Californie, Berkeley 30-31 août 1990* (Paris: Publications du Centre d'histoire et civilisations de la péninsule indochinoise, 1991), p. 95-107.

⁴⁷⁶ Bruckmayr, "Between Institutionalized Syncretism", p. 20.

Đốc and Tây Ninh province still refuse to recognize *akhar srah* [*trah*], and claim that the jawi-c[h]am script is the real script of the C[h]am language⁴⁷⁷.

The foundations for these important transformations, and the accompanying obliteration of memory, were laid before and during the time of Ner's research, when there existed a vibrant jawi scholarly community with Chau Giang as its centre, whose reputation far exceeded its immediate surroundings, drawing students from as far as Kampong Cham. This again strengthens our view of an important network of economic and religious communication linking Chau Doc with Cham centres in Cambodia. The degree of circulation of ideas and people is exemplified by the fact, that also Kampong Cham and Chroy Changvar could boast major centres of Islamic learning. Nevertheless students seemingly circulated between all these places, whose teachers were in turn firmly linked to jawi learning in Patani, Kelantan and Mecca. Again the absence of any conflicts and factional strife must be noted, which contrasts with the state of affairs in much of Cambodia at that time. It is certainly also not irrelevant, that the spiritual centre of the region was located in the single place, where more or less clearly differentiated Cham and Jawa-Kur communities existed side by side. It was consequently right there that the unifying potential of less localized jawi Islam, and the practices it either mandated or condemned, could manifest itself most visibly.

What Ner did not mention, however, was that the Chau Doc region also housed two notable shrines of local Muslim saints⁴⁷⁸, which are nowadays certainly in more impressive shape than they were then. These are the graves of Tuon Ku Umar in Koh Khoi and of Tuon Kosem in Vinh Truong, both presently covered by concrete structures, which are located in the local mosque's cemetery and directly beside the village mosque respectively. Both saints are said to have flourished at least two hundred (Tuon Kosem) to over four hundred years ago (Tuon Ku Umar), and to have been of Arab, more precisely Sayyid origin. It is reasonable to assume that the two persons in question were either Sufi saints or else sanctified leaders of pioneering settlers in the villages in question, as is the case with venerated graves of alleged Cham princes in other places (e.g. in Roka Po Pram in Kampong Cham until the present⁴⁷⁹, in Tay Ninh in the most probably not too distant past). Unfortunately we do not know how their origins and connections to their region of burial were framed in the period under

⁴⁷⁷ Phu, "Development of the Jawi-Cam Script", p. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ Ner was not generally oblivious to venerated graves. Thus, he noted the *maqām* of Tuon Doos in Can Tho (located much further downriver from Chau Doc in the southern Delta), where, however, merely three Cham families were greatly outnumbered by "foreign Muslims" (presumably South Asians). Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 164.

⁴⁷⁹ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 77, 130-139.

immediate consideration, yet detectable recent shifts in their representation are intriguing. Thus, an older tradition, most probably deriving from Vietnamese Chams having fled to Kelantan in the 1970s, pictured Tuon Ku Umar as a Sayyid originating from Kelantan, who had been sent by a Cham king of the 16th century to teach Islam among the Chams living in Khmer territories⁴⁸⁰. At the turn of the century, however, locals informing Taylor about the life of the saint mentioned neither his alleged connections to Kelantan nor to Champa⁴⁸¹.

Due to the restricted accessibility of Vinh Truong (located on an island) and Koh Khoi's location close to the border, Taylor likewise aptly observed that both shrines are to be found "in the cultural and ecological margins of Cham settlement [in the Mekong Delta]"⁴⁸², somewhat removed from Chau Giang as the central node of Jawization and near-by villages later becoming doctrinal battlegrounds with the arrival of Islamic reformism, which is certainly not coincidental. Whereas Jawization was, unlike Islamic reformism, initially certainly not detrimental to the veneration of Muslim (particularly Sufi) saints, it would have most probably been to comparable practices at the graves of Cham princes locally regarded as spiritually responsive. Even though actual ritual practices may have experienced only minimal changes, the narrative framework regarding the responsive site and its "possessor" definitely has. The settlement (even if only semi-permanent as is often the case with traders) of incoming Malays or of Chams from other regions, bringing with them other Islamic discursive traditions or only emphases, might have played a role in this process. Indeed it is commonly accepted that "the presence of others can introduce new dynamics into old rituals"⁴⁸³. We may therefore speculate, that the connection of the shrines to a distinctively Cham past was perhaps formerly much greater than it is now. This is supported by the intriguing fact, that Taylor was informed that Tuon Ku Umar, in the contending tradition claimed to have been sent by a Cham king, belonged unlike Tuon Kosem not to the lineage of the prophet but to that of Ali⁴⁸⁴.

Intriguingly, it is a popular *topos* in Cham tradition (especially outside of former Panduranga⁴⁸⁵), that they, as a people, had been converted to Islam by 'Alī (or by his son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya on 'Alī's orders). Although this imagined narrative of the

⁴⁸⁰ Abdullah bin Mohamed (Nakula), "Keturunan Melayu di Kemboja dan Vietnam: Hubungannya dengan Semenanjung dengan Tumpuan Khas kepada Negeri Kelantan", WK, VIII (1989), p. 27.

⁴⁸¹ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 131f.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁸³ Charles Stewart, "Creolization, Ritual and Syncretism. From Mixture to Crystallization" in Andreas H. Pries, Laetitia Martzloff, Robert Langer & Claus Ambos (eds.), *Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt. „Synkretismus“ zwischen Negation und Neudefinition* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), p. 8.

⁴⁸⁴ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 132.

⁴⁸⁵ In Panduranga it was apparently rather the above-mentioned conversion narratives about the Malay princes and the Malay princess which have prevailed.

origins of Islam among the Chams, was clearly conditioned by the important place of ‘Alī and his son in Malay (and thus also Cham) *hikayat* literature, it was apparently of special importance to the Chams still in the 19th and 20th centuries. As far as Malay *hikayat* are concerned, besides the most widely distributed *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* and *Amir Hamzah*, also other minor texts of the genre - some of them likewise in all probability derived from Persian originals - are characterized by a prominent role accorded to ‘Alī and guest appearances by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Among these *Hikayat Nabi wafat* (“Tale of the Prophet’s Death”), *Hikayat Nabi* (“Tale of the Prophet”, including stories about ‘Alī and his sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya), *Hikayat Nabi bercukur* (“Tale of the Prophet’s Shaving”), *Hikayat Nabi mengajar Ali* (“The Tale of the Prophet instructing ‘Alī”), *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Anaknya Fatimah* (“Tale of the Prophet instructing his daughter Fāṭima”) and *Hikayat Fatimah berkata-kata dengan pedang Ali* (“Tale of Fāṭima talking to ‘Alī’s sword”, which is about Fāṭima’s faithfulness towards her husband) should be mentioned⁴⁸⁶. Although further research is necessary to verify this, it seems as if Cham versions of several of these stories have come down to us. These are the respective tales of “Po Rasulak”, “Po Ali”, “Po Phwatima” and another one described as being “a legend about her faithfulness to Ali”⁴⁸⁷. Only the first of these (i.e. the tale of Po Rasulak) is also preserved (in French collections) as a Cambodian Cham manuscript, whereas of the remaining only Vietnamese Cham manuscripts have been collected, which probably points to the fact, that these stories retained wider currency only in former Panduranga.

Nevertheless, the legendary role of ‘Alī as the one responsible for the introduction of Islam into Champa was also implanted into Cham chronicles and thereby inscribed into Cham historical consciousness also outside of their ancestral lands (though evidently with an expiry date). Thus, the aforementioned Cham chronicles encountered by scholars in Cambodia in the second half of the 19th century (with Po Nosiravan as starting point of the

⁴⁸⁶ Braginsky, *Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, p. 117, 605-610; Wendy Mukherjee, “In Search of Fatimah” in Jan van der Putten & Mary Kilcline Cody (eds.), *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 129-138.

⁴⁸⁷ Lafont, Po Dharma & Nara Vija, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 22f., 78, 87, 134, 156f., 189f., 193. Many of these stories are also to be found in Javanese recensions on Lombok, further testifying to their status as standard texts of Southeast Asian Muslim lore. Marrison, *Sasak and Javanese Literature*, p. 52-55. The great impact of these stories on the Chams is most evident in the intriguing fact, that the ceremonial names for bride and bridegroom during *Bani* wedding ceremonies are the Cham renderings of ‘Alī and Fāṭima. In Cambodia this practice has, tellingly, apparently only survived among some of the meanwhile formally organized historic opponents of Jawization, the *Kan Imam San* (KIS). Aymonier, “Chams and their Religions”, p. 53f.; Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 158. Recent years have witnessed important studies on the legacy (mythological and other) of Fāṭima in different Islamic discursive traditions. Mukherjee, “In Search”; Verena Klemm, “Die frühe islamische Erzählung von Fāṭima bint Muḥammad: Vom *ḥabar* zur Legende“, DI, LXXIX (2002), p. 47-85; Bärbel Beinhauer-Köhler, *Fatima bint Muhammad: Metamorphosen einer frühislamischen Frauengestalt* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

Cham royal line) also contain this tradition⁴⁸⁸. Accordingly, Bastian was likewise told, that “the prophet sent to the Cham was Patentā [prince, lord] Alī”⁴⁸⁹. Even more intriguing with respect to the above biography of Tuon Ku Umar is the genealogical information, which a Cham informant born in Roka Po Pram (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham) in 1885 and claiming descent from the Cham royal line, gave to Jaspan in the 1960s. Thus, he related that his ancestor Sayyid Mustafa, a descendant of ‘Alī, had come from Arabia to Champa to preach Islam and search for the informant’s royal ancestor Po Brahim, because also the latter was related to ‘Alī. Eventually both were forced by Vietnamese pressure to go into Cambodian exile⁴⁹⁰. The shrine of Po Brahim in Roka Po Pram has remained a pilgrimage site until recent years (see below). Still in the 1990s, when knowledge of Cham script had as far as we know long completely disappeared in Kampong Cham, Collins was just there able to record an oral tradition according to which Muḥammad ‘Alī Ḥanafiyya (*sic*) had been sent to Champa by Lord ‘Alī in order to teach Islam⁴⁹¹.

It thus seems reasonable to assume that the shrines of An Giang province (i.e. near Chau Doc) were also initially associated with specific Cham ancestors or Cham mythical history than with Sufi saints as such. Indeed, the story about Po Brahim and Sayyid Mustafa recorded by Jaspan in Kampong Cham was, with the addition of a distinctively local facet, also encountered in An Giang. Accordingly, it was related locally, that a Sayyid Mustafa had traversed the Mekong Delta on his way to Cambodia after spreading Islam in Champa⁴⁹². Nevertheless, recent decades have almost completely obliterated these remaining references to legendary Cham history, clearing the space for the best of Muslim saints after the times of the Companions: pure Arab Sayyids. On a general basis, the whole body of lore consisting of Malay epics and tales drawing on Persianate Muslim literature exhibiting a synthesis of Islamic consciousness and pre-Islamic Iranian motifs (epitomized in the

⁴⁸⁸ Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 137f.

⁴⁸⁹ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 145. Also the obscure “(Shi’ite) Tshwea (Java or Khek) in Bangkok”, who, according to him (p. 144), “worshipped Patentā Alī”, were probably – if not actually Persian or Indian Shiites, which seems implausible, as Bastian would have most probably recognized them as non-Southeast Asians – the Chams of Ban Khrua. On the latter community see Raymond Scupin, “Cham Muslims of Thailand: A Haven of Security in Mainland Southeast Asia” in *JIMMA*, X (1989), p. 486-491 & “The Socio-Economic Status of Muslims in Central and North Thailand” in *JIMMA*, III (1981), p. 168-170; Jean Baffie, “La Lutte de Ban Khrua, village des Chams/Malais de Bangkok, contre la construction de l’autoroute” in Po Dharma, Mak Phoeun & Jacques Ivanoff (eds.), *Péninsule indochinoise et monde malais: Relations historiques et culturelles* (Kuala Lumpur: EFEO, 2004), p. 15-74. Baffie (“La Lutte de Ban Khrua”, p. 32 n. 18) found reason to speculate about past Shiite influence on the community.

⁴⁹⁰ “Cambodian Cham History. Informant: Wan Abdul Hamid, born in Roka Bopram in 1885”, typescript, January 17th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2. Additional information was drawn from hand-written materials in the same folder.

⁴⁹¹ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 62f.

⁴⁹² Michael Lidauer, *Cham in Vietnam* (unpubl. M.A. thesis Univ. of Vienna, 2002), p. 99.

shāhnāme)⁴⁹³, once apparently overwhelmingly popular in Southeast Asian Muslim societies, gradually receded into the background with Jawization and particularly with *jawi* Islamic reformism. Attacking them as either polluted by Shiism or by remains of a Hindu past, late 19th – early 20th century scholars and contributors to reformist periodicals frequently lashed out against them⁴⁹⁴.

Indeed, listening to *hikayat* was, for example, still the favourite pastime of the Acehnese at the turn of the 20th century⁴⁹⁵, and the genres of *hikayat* and *syair*, with *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* featuring among its top-ten bestsellers, dominated Malay book publishing in its peak period of the 1890s⁴⁹⁶. It was intriguingly then the later internationalization of Malay printing which contributed to reducing circulation and weakening the appeal of *hikayat*. As high-quality Malay books printed in Mecca, Cairo, Istanbul and Bombay flooded the market, local Muslim presses fell into decline. Unsurprisingly, among the books printed in India and the Middle East, *kitab jawi* were particularly well represented⁴⁹⁷. Accordingly, internationalization worked to the advantage of Islamic scholarly literature but to the detriment of the recreational text practices of local Muslim cultures. This should once more strengthen our awareness of Jawization as inextricably linked to global dynamics and technological shifts, and as part of a broader phenomenon within the Muslim World. Similarly also for the many minor *hikayat*, which had so long transmitted Islamic ethics to Malays, Chams, Sundanese and other Southeast Asian Muslim peoples by revolving around the legendary exemplars of ‘Alī and Fāṭima, the contemporary end of the manuscript era marked their eventual irreversible decline in popularity⁴⁹⁸. The *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, which had most probably brought the figure of Nosiravan into Cham culture, likewise disappeared

⁴⁹³ Bulliet, *Islam*, p. 113f.

⁴⁹⁴ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 57, 230. This kind of criticism had earlier been reserved for only thinly Islamized (e.g. through motifs drawn from *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*) Malay versions of Indian epics such as *Hikayat Inderaputra* and *Hikayat Seri Rama* (based on the *Ramayana*). Al-Rānīrī, for example, directed harsh polemics against these two epics, noting that their pages may be legally used for cleaning the private parts after relieving oneself (ar. *istinjā*). al-Rānīrī, *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, p. 39. With the canonization of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* and al-Banjārī’s *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* as standard *pondok/pesantren* texts and specifically their inclusion into the Patani network’s curricula and printing ventures such views were naturally further strengthened and gained even wider circulation. A most instructive testimony to the scholarly wrath eventually drawn by some of the mentioned *hikayat* is the crossing out of the whole text of *Hikayat Nabi Bercukur*, accompanied by the blackening of several passages and an urge to readers not to believe this Rafidite story, in a Leiden manuscript collected in 1871 (Cod.Or. 1953). Edwin Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, I (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 1998), p. 179.

⁴⁹⁵ Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *The Acehnese* (Leiden: Brill, 1906), I, p. 268.

⁴⁹⁶ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 29f.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43-45.

⁴⁹⁸ Mukherjee, “In Search”, p. 131.

from the book market in the 20th century, despite a promising start with four editions published between 1883 and 1896⁴⁹⁹.

Returning to Ner's observations in *Islam in Indochina*, it must be noted, that his information provided on Tay Ninh, Vietnam's second enclave of Chams outside of former Panduranga, is comparably meagre⁵⁰⁰. What we do learn is that, expectedly, the local Chams had preserved their language but lost knowledge of its script. The abovementioned graves of Cham princes were still visible and therefore certainly kept in order as they otherwise would have already been devoured by vegetation. Yet, there is no mention of veneration or any ritual practices associated with them. The obviously less affluent community boasted a single a Hajji, presumably wielding considerable prestige, who had married a Kelantanese and an Arab wife in Mecca, in addition to his Cham wife. This clearly suggests that he was not merely a brief visitor to Mecca but rather a scholar, a trader or both with notable local contacts. Moreover, he was most probably not the first of his kind as Bastian had been told by a French trader in the early days of French colonialism in Indochina, that individual Tay Ninh Chams were able to communicate with Arab conscripts among the French soldiers⁵⁰¹. Within the orbit of Islam in Indochina, the Muslims of Tay Ninh were certainly – for geographical reasons – more oriented towards Kampong Cham than the Mekong Delta. Strikingly, French Resident Aymonier received a letter from the governor in Saigon in 1880, which relayed the complaint of a local French timber trader about Chams from Tay Ninh which were seeking to settle down clandestinely in Cambodia. It was ominously remarked in this regard, that they were allegedly aided in this venture by a person entrusted (probably by Aymonier himself) with the task of acquiring manuscripts⁵⁰².

2. Concealed divergence: Jawization in the Cham heartland of Kampong Cham and Kratie

As was the case in the Mekong Delta region, Ner neither discovered pronounced intra-community strife or factionalism in the Cambodian Cham heartland of Kampong Cham and Kratie, which was, we may recall, despite the considerable geographical distance closely connected to the Delta. The term “Cham heartland in Cambodia” for this area is well deserved, not only because it doubtlessly constituted one of their first (if not the very first)

⁴⁹⁹ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 125f.

⁵⁰⁰ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 163f.

⁵⁰¹ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 145.

⁵⁰² ANC-RSC 17684.

areas of Cham settlement in the country. According to a recent survey, 42% of the country's entire Muslim population are residing in Kampong Cham⁵⁰³. In addition, it is also the only province in which they have been and still are representing the majority population of individual sub-districts/communes (*khum*). In the 1960s they were still numerically dominant in Krauchhmar district⁵⁰⁴. In 1908 the district of Thbaung Khmum, which then comprised most Kampong Cham areas with notable Muslim communities on the left bank of the Mekong (e.g. Krauchhmar, Peam Chileang, Roka Po Pram), was listed to have 85.349 inhabitants, including 10.411 Cham-Malays. In Chhlong, the Cham-Malay stronghold of present-day Kratie province, they constituted almost 15 per cent of the district population⁵⁰⁵. Cham-Malays in the region also evidently enjoyed the respect and trust of the authorities, which frequently selected them for administrative positions. At the turn of the 20th century members of the community served as district governors of Kratie (1894-1898), Kanchor (1892-1898) in Kratie province's *srok* Chhlong⁵⁰⁶, and in Thbaung Khmum (1894-1900) and Kampong Siem (? the incumbent had deceased by 1904) in Kampong Cham province⁵⁰⁷.

Presently, approximately 40 per cent of Cambodia's Cham-Malay population are living in Kampong Cham province, where Krauchhmar district, home to important centres of Muslim life in Cambodia such as Phum Trea, Svay Khleang and Chumnik, represents the strongest concentration. Ner gave the number of 14.272 Cham-Malays among an overall population of 41.110 for Krauchhmar district⁵⁰⁸. Most Cham villages in the two provinces are located along the left bank of the Mekong, with smaller numbers of villages on the right bank upriver and downriver from Kampong Cham city (e.g. Angkor Ban, Anlong Sar,

⁵⁰³ Kok-Thay, *From the Khmer Rouge*, p. 36f.

⁵⁰⁴ Jean Delvert, *Le paysan cambodgien* (Paris: Mouton, 1961), p. 22, 605. In 2004 Chams were making up 35% and 20% respectively of the populations of Krauchhmar and Dambae districts. The largest number of Chams was then to be found in Thbaung Khmum (39.885 amounting to 18% of the district's population). Kurt Bredenberg, "Educational Marginalization of Cham Muslim Populations: A Report from Cambodia", JEID, III, no. 3 (2009), p. 9f. The author gives the number of 138.000 Chams for the whole province.

⁵⁰⁵ *Monographie de la province de Kratié* (Saigon: F.H. Schneider, 1908), p. 16, 26.

⁵⁰⁶ Kanchor commune, close to the administrative border to Kampong Cham is Kratie's Muslim stronghold, and probably has been so since the late 18th century. Indeed, the Cham story of Tuen Phaow has him staying in a place in Cambodia called Kenjaow. Mak Phoeun has suggested this to mean Kanchor. Weber, "Ariya Tuen Phaow", p. 155; Mak Phoeun, *Histoire du Cambodge*, p. 219.

⁵⁰⁷ "Note sur la situation des Chams et des Malais", ANC-RSC 12722. This hand-written note is undated. Accompanying documentation, however, allows for its dating to 1904 (also the last date mentioned in the document). Unfortunately similar documentation was not available for either earlier or later periods. Yet, Muslim participation in the local administration during the period under consideration (1890-1904) seems to have declined somewhat after the 1890s. Ner thereafter only mentions Muslim *mephum* (village chief) and *mekhum* (sub-district/commune chief). This decline could be attributed to a growing increase in competent local Khmer personell in the area at the beginning of the 20th century, which would support our previous assumption that Cham-Malays were filling important economic, military and, apparently also, administrative niches in eastern Cambodia.

⁵⁰⁸ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 177.

Kampong Siem), inland south of the river until close to the Vietnamese border (e.g. Roka Po Pram, Memot) and on river islands (e.g. Koh Sautin).

Generally, the picture presented by Ner is quite similar to the situation in the Mekong Delta. Also this regional orbit had its spiritual centre (Phum Trea), which also drew students from well beyond the region, as well as smaller subsidiary ones (most notably Chumnik and Svay Khleang). Hajjis and religious teachers having undergone religious schooling abroad were in prominent and influential positions. Knowledge of the Cham script was apparently then already even less common than in the Mekong Delta as even individual cases are lacking in Ner's description⁵⁰⁹. This is in line with a 1908 report, which noted that Cham language in the area was written in "Arabic" script and that individual Chams also tended to sign documents with Arabic characters⁵¹⁰.

Angkor Ban (*srok* Kang Meas, approximately 25km from the *krong* [city] of Kampong Cham), a village of 80 Cham houses was inhabited by seven hajjis of whom one had studied in Mecca for three years and functioned as imam and teacher of the local Qur'anic school. Near-by Anlong Sar, almost double the size of the former, likewise had such a school where presumably Qur'an recitation along with the Arabic (and possibly *jawi*) letters was taught. In the village of Ksach Sour in Peam Chikang commune (also in Kang Meas district) no religious school had been established so far. This is of interest as even the position of *mekhum* (commune/sub-district chief) was held by a Cham. Thus, here political power and representation did not go hand in hand with advancement in *jawi* education. Nevertheless the Muslim villages of Kang Meas district were clearly within the sphere of influence of the *jawi* scholars of the regional (and Indochina-wide) centre of Phum Trea. Consequently, a small number of children from the *srok* studied in Phum Trea. Moreover its most eminent teacher, Hj. Osman, was known to visit the villages, inspect their mosques and schools, and to serve as arbiter in religious and civil affairs. This not only throws some light on the actual power of the Cham *mekhum* among his own people, but might likewise indicate that Hj. Osman saw a need for religious education and supervision among the Chams of Kang Meas. It would not be long, however, until two Trea-educated scholars would themselves become renowned teachers in Kang Meas⁵¹¹.

The situation was different in Koh Sautin district, where Jawization was evidently already more developed and the connection to Phum Trea accordingly significantly stronger. There,

⁵⁰⁹ Admittedly, Ner did not visit all relevant areas. Nevertheless, the general trend is clear.

⁵¹⁰ *Monographie de la province de Kratié*, p. 49.

⁵¹¹ Cf. VI.1.2.

two Cham villages could boast three mosques and two Islamic schools⁵¹². Of the three teachers one had first studied for four years in Phum Trea and had then proceeded to Kelantan for another three years of study. Another had spent three years in Mecca, whereas the last had been a student of Hj. Osman⁵¹³. It should thus not come as a surprise that Koh Sautin was also particularly well linked to the Mekong trading circuit. Indeed, it was known as Cambodia's most important center of cotton production already in the 1880s⁵¹⁴. Today, Koh Sautin is one of the last areas in Cambodia where, as among the Chams of the Mekong Delta⁵¹⁵, traditional Cham (silk and mixed cotton-silk) weaving is performed⁵¹⁶.

Ner's report on Kampong Siem district, which has already been cited because of its reference to Minangkabau settlers, is too meagre to be of use here as he did not visit the majority of its Muslim villages. At least the existence of one larger (because officially authorized by the French⁵¹⁷) Islamic school is noted. With hindsight, the village of Koh Roka would have been a most interesting place to visit in the district. There, the local *hakem* of the period, Li Les (Saleh b. Ali, d. 1963), had still been born in former Panduranga and only arrived in the area as a child around 1884. He was even known to have carried the *po* title as Po Kay Leh⁵¹⁸. Even though his descendants did not inherit his authority over mosque and village, both of which ultimately developed along the lines of Jawization, Les Kosem (d. 1976), one of his grandsons later served as an extraordinary link to the Pandurangan past of most Cambodian Muslim families in the turbulent second half of the 1960s, in his capacity as military and political leader⁵¹⁹. Albeit also consciously championing the Islamic cause

⁵¹² The existence of two mosques and schools in the modestly populated village (*phum*) of Koh Sautin was unexpectedly not the result of religious conflict but rather of one over land. This had presumably occurred because of recurrent flooding in the area which regularly necessitated the relocation of the whole or parts of the village. This situation still persists today. Personal communication with old and young villagers at Koh Sautin (July 18th 2005). Elsewhere in Koh Sautin, the 1930s also witnessed contestations of land carried before the French. ANC-RSC 36991.

⁵¹³ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 175f.

⁵¹⁴ Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine* (Paris: Hachette, 1885), p. 68.

⁵¹⁵ Taylor, *Cham Muslims*, p. 151f.

⁵¹⁶ Personal observation at Koh Sautin (July 18th 2005). There is also a practical religious aspect to this trade, as sarongs and headscarves are – and most probably have long been – clearly the most commonly produced items.

⁵¹⁷ On French policies regarding religious education for Muslims see below.

⁵¹⁸ Personal communication with Les Sary, born in Koh Roka, grandson of Li Les and brother of Les Kosem, Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012; notes by Jaspan in JP, DJA (2)/1/8; "Koh Rokaa Village, in Srok Kompong Siem", typescript dated December 19th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

⁵¹⁹ Until 1970 he was the leader of the anti-Vietnamese irredentist movement *Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées* (FULRO), which he had established in 1963 with support from the Cambodian state. One of its main objectives was ostensibly the liberation of Champa. Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO. Une lutte des minorités du sud indochinoise 1955-1975* (Paris: Les Indes Savants, 2006); *ibid.*, "Notes sur les Caṃ du Cambodge", SK, III-IV (1981), p. 176-180.

(including the donation of a *minbar* for the Koh Roka mosque⁵²⁰), it would have been highly improbable for such a leader appealing to diasporic consciousness and sentiments of the Chams in Cambodia to arise out of a milieu fully absorbed by Jawization already in the first decades of the 20th century. Indeed, Les Kosem claimed direct descent from Cham kings (i.e. from Po Nagar and/or Po Rome), just as surviving members of his family still do. On the other hand, Jawization appears to have been a hindrance to the attempted arousal of diasporic fervor for his designs of a political Cham revival (see below).

Also for the district of Thbaung Khmum, Ner's information is too fragmentary. This is particularly unfortunate because crucial places of 19th century Muslim history in Cambodia such as Pring (*khum* Moung Riev)⁵²¹, home to Tuanku Po and his group before displacement, and Roka Po Pram, site of the fateful rebellion, are located in this district, whose villages are located inland at some distance to the Mekong, where all the regional centres of (*jawi*) Islam are to be found. However, the description of the one commune visited by the French scholar (Boeng Pruol, described as the largest agglomeration of Chams) is intriguing. Among almost two thousand inhabitants there were only eight hajjis and their religious teacher is said to have "hardly merited [*mérite mal*] the title *guru*"⁵²². This probably meant that he had neither any command of Arabic or Malay to speak of, let alone the ability to read Cham script, which would have certainly been noted. Although being mere conjecture, it would not seem improbable that Ner's negative assessment was representative of wider trends in the district, that is, yet little partaking in the religious developments in the Mekong villages combined with a disjuncture from much of distinctively Cham heritage. The latter was certainly more pronounced in the sphere of the written word, which would have been important to Ner, than in actual practices. Such may well have persisted without being visible to him or attracting his attention. After all, it was "purely" Islamic practices and traits around which his interest mostly centred. As will be shown in greater detail below, the essentialist view of Islam shared by the French and other colonizers in Southeast Asia

⁵²⁰ This mosque, which was adjoined by a surao also used as school, was described as "large and most impressive" by Jaspán ("Koh Rokaa Village", JP, DJA (2)/1/3). Later destroyed under DK, Les Sary and other members of the family tried in vain to halt the sale of the plot of land where it once stood. Personal communication with Les Sary, Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012.

⁵²¹ Presently, Pring constitutes, as a result of the exodus led by Tuanku Po, which was evidently more encompassing than the deportations from other Thbaung Khmum Cham-Malay villages, an all-Khmer village. Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 177.

⁵²² Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 176.

made them supportive of a strengthening of Jawization, indeed, conditioned them to see local Muslims almost through “*jawi*” or even reformist eyes⁵²³.

Nevertheless Ner’s information on Kang Meas and Thbaung Khmum, albeit concerning the latter meagre and superficial, shows that scholarly culture and religious leadership, and thus surely also religious practice was far from unitary in Kampong Cham. Whereas some areas such as Kang Meas were, due to their proximity and better accessibility subject to preaching and supervision by religious “authorities” (in an informal sense) from Phum Trea, Thbaung Khmum was then probably still much less exposed to this direct influence of Jawization. If this should have indeed been the case, a figure such as Hj. Osman would accordingly also have wielded much less influence here than elsewhere. The slow pace of Jawization and the existence of physical reminders of a long gone Cham past in Thbaung Khmum also resulted in the prolonged preservation of specific practices and cultural traits. Thus, it is certainly not coincidental that Roka Po Pram was in the 1990s the only known case of pilgrimages to a venerated shrine of a Cham prince⁵²⁴. Although by then already strongly discouraged by religious functionaries and many common believers, the same devotional practices at the shrine of Po Behim/Po Prahim, already testified to by Jaspan in the late 1960s⁵²⁵, have evidently been easily revived after *Khmers Rouges* rule. In contrast, other important gravesites of persons connected to Po Behim/Po Prahim pointed out by Wan Abdul Hamid, an informant of Jaspan born in 1885, located in Prey Totoeng (Chrey Vien commune in Prey Chhor district to the northwest of Kampong Cham city) and at “Kien Khleang near Phnom Penh” (i.e. Chroy Changvar), have evidently been erased from local memory⁵²⁶. Again, in similarity to the mentioned shrines in the Delta, a comparably constrained accessibility of the site is noteworthy.

Due to Jawization, a general decline in popular practices at venerated graves seems to have occurred over the first decades of the 20th century. This was probably related to the fact, that many of these graves were associated rather with ancestors and local spirits than with Muslim saints proper. A bit more than three decades before Ner’s research, Cabaton had

⁵²³ As an extreme case the initial positive assessment of the Wahhabi movement by French and Dutch orientalist wielding influence in colonial circles should be mentioned. A similar view was held by the German Islamic studies pioneer Theodor Nöldeke (d. 1930). Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 97f., 139; Jung, *Orientalists, Islamists and the Global*, p. 169.

⁵²⁴ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 65f.

⁵²⁵ “Cambodian Cham History. Informant: Wan Abdul Hamid, born in Rokaa Bopram in 1885”, typescript, January 17th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

⁵²⁶ Of course, in all such processes in Cambodia the effects of decades of civil war and *Khmers Rouges* rule cannot be disregarded. However, especially ritual practices have shown themselves remarkably resistant against the deprecations of recent Cambodian history. Thus, these can never alone account for their survival in certain places and among specific communities and their disappearance among others.

still reported on Cham and Malay veneration at “numerous tombs of saints or *Ta Lak*”⁵²⁷. The prevalence and receding of rituals of this kind should also not be discussed without reference to similar practices among the Khmer Buddhist majority population. Local genies intriguingly referred to as *neak ta* (lit. “ancestors”) have been traditionally playing an important role in Cambodian village Buddhism. Indeed, the close interaction between mediums (including those receiving from *neak ta*) and Cambodian Buddhist monkhood is a feature distinguishing the local expression of Theravada from its counterparts in Thailand, Burma and Sri Lanka. Yet, *neak ta* cults and rituals have been declining, either falling into disuse or becoming transformed by more pronounced “Buddhization”. Accordingly, many *neak ta* are now “dead people who were famous for their practice of the Buddhist virtues during their lives”⁵²⁸. This fits neatly into our pattern proposed above, which had speculated that shrines of Cham ancestors had gradually been transformed into those of Muslim saints instead.

Of course, the Islamization of objects and places traditionally regarded as spiritually potent on the one hand, and of potentially blameworthy practices on the other, for example through recourse to definitions and terminologies more appropriate to new contexts, is well attested throughout the Muslim World⁵²⁹. Thus, against the background of parallel Cambodian trends of gradual disappearance of shrine/tomb-based ritual practices and the Islamization of the remaining ancestor graves considered spiritually responsive, the preservation of ritual at the grave of Po Behim/Po Brahim in Roka Po Pram becomes even more intriguing and extraordinary⁵³⁰. In addition, Roka Po Pram was also the only place in Kampong Cham and Kratie where at least fragments of an ancient Cham manuscript have recently come to light (i.e. in the 21st century). Otherwise there is no evidence for any old Cham manuscripts in the region apart from three specimen collected by Jaspán in Phum Trea in the 1960s and another one shown to him in Phum Roka (on the outskirts of

⁵²⁷ Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 171.

⁵²⁸ Didier Bertrand, “A Medium Possession Practice and its Relationship with Cambodian Buddhism” in John Marston & Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004), p. 158f. (quotation from p. 159).

⁵²⁹ For a contemporary case study of such dynamics in the process of the Javanese facet of Jawization (i.e. Santrization) in the second half of the 20th century see Eldar Bråten, “To Colour, Not Oppose: Spreading Islam in Rural Java” in Leif Manger (ed.), *Muslim Diversity. Local Islam in Global Contexts* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999), p. 150-172.

⁵³⁰ In the 1960s also the graves of two *laksmana* (commander of the fleet) from Kelantan, both associated by tradition with Po Behim/Po Brahim, which are located in Kampong Cham’s Prek Bak (Stung Trang district) by the Mekong, were still honoured by the local population. Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 27f. In combination with the report of Jaspán’s informant Wan Abdul Hamid, the connection established by tradition between these sites and the grave of the Cham king in Roka Po Pram again points us to the existence of a now lost Muslim spiritual geography in Kampong Cham (and beyond), of which only the Roka Po Pram shrine has been preserved.

Kampong Cham city) around the same time⁵³¹. It shall be noted that the owner of the latter not only explicitly claimed Cham royal descent, but likewise – to Jaspan’s bewilderment – “denied any relationship between Cham[s] and Malay[s]”. In addition he held the intriguing name Nur Savan (a variant of Nosiravan⁵³²), instead of a “Muslim” one⁵³³.

Whereas Thbaung Khmum district, or at least certain of its villages, represented arguably one end of the Muslim spectrum of Kampong Cham province (i.e. its facet with already weakened but still resilient linkages to distinctively Cham traditions), Krauchhmar district represented the other. Housing the strongest proportion of Cham-Malays in Kampong Cham and Kratie provinces, it served undoubtedly as the centre of Muslim life in the Cham heartland of eastern Cambodia with its important agglomerations such as Trea, Svay Khleang and Chumnik. The scholarly culture of the Islamic schools in these major as well as in a number of minor villages influences Muslim communities throughout most of Cambodia and the Mekong Delta to this day. From Ner’s account we can infer that it has been this way since at least the 1930s. As such the area was also a main motor of Jawization. The spiritual centre of eastern Cambodia and, indeed, in the view of many, of the whole country was and – despite various counter-claims made at different points in time – still is Phum Trea. During my first fieldtrip to Cambodia in 2005 it constituted received common knowledge among urban Phnom Penh Chams with no specific ties to Kampong Cham, that Phum Trea has already been the Cambodian centre of Islam for approximately a century⁵³⁴. The status these and other important villages enjoy is, of course, also connected to numerical aspects. A bit more than a century before the mentioned conversations the *khum* of Trea had an overwhelmingly Cham-Malay population. Thus, in 1903 the latter group accounted for 2.213 of its 2.880 inhabitants⁵³⁵. By Ner’s time the number of resident Cham-Malays had rose to 3.548, whereas that of local Khmers and Vietnamese had slightly decreased and the all time small Chinese community had virtually disappeared⁵³⁶. Economically and socially the commune was flourishing, not least due to the fishing

⁵³¹ Hull History Centre, SEA 8, SEA 39 & SEA 42. Merle C. Ricklefs & Petrus Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), p. 41; *ibid.*, “Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: Addenda et Corrigenda”, BSOAS, XLV (1982), p. 306.

⁵³² Cabaton, “Chams musulmans”, p. 137 n. 2.

⁵³³ “Cambodian Cham: Rokaa – General Evaluation (2) & (3)”, typescript, December 19th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

⁵³⁴ Personal communication with Set Muhammadsis (then vice-secretary of the *Cambodian Muslim Student Association*, now employed in the Cambodian Ministry of Education), Phnom Penh, July 13th 2005; Dr. Sos Mousine (then Under-secretary of State, Ministry of Rural Development), Phnom Penh, July 14th 2005.

⁵³⁵ Guérin & Vogin, “Paroisse des affranchis”, p. 88.

⁵³⁶ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 176.

ventures of the Cham-Malays, for which they took Vietnamese and Khmers as aides⁵³⁷. Located at an important ferry-crossing, it certainly also profited from the rubber boom unfolding in Kampong Cham and Kratie provinces in the mid-1920s and 1930s, despite its relative distance to plantation areas⁵³⁸.

Of greater relevance for our study, however, is Phum Trea's role as spiritual centre. It was obviously the only village in Indochina, which could boast two major Islamic schools. One of these was run by the aforementioned Hj. Osman, who, as was shown, also wielded significant influence in downriver districts such as Kang Meas. Born in the 1870s he had by Ner's time already educated generations of students. The 35 pupils enrolled during the French scholar's visit came from all over Kampong Cham and Kratie as well as from distant Muslim communities in Phnom Penh, Kandal and Kampong Chhnang. Needless to say, particularly Cham-Malays of the Phnom Penh area would have had prestigious Islamic schools and teachers also in their vicinity. Again, part of Hj. Osman's credentials and reputation derived from his education abroad. He had been to Mecca three times and had spent five consecutive years there. Indeed, it seems as if he had studied there under one of the most eminent Malay scholars of his day: Ahmad Patani (Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, d. 1907), who was also the pivotal figure of the Patani network at that time and the founding director of the Ottoman Malay printing press in Mecca⁵³⁹. According to Ner, nobody could match his authority and he was accordingly "called in from throughout the country to visit religious communities, maintain orthodoxy and to decide disputes"⁵⁴⁰. His instruction evidently followed typical *jawi* patterns ("Il fait lire le Coran en arabe et divers livres de commentaires en malaise")⁵⁴¹. Also at least two of his sons, Yahya and Muhammad Amin, became religious teachers in Phum Trea⁵⁴².

The other local Islamic school was similarly prestigious, drew even more students (66) and moreover had a unique character for Cambodian standards. Thus, it was the only Islamic

⁵³⁷ Guérin & Vogin, "Paroisse des affranchis", p. 89.

⁵³⁸ Margaret Slocomb, *Colons and Coolies. The Development of Cambodia's Rubber Plantations* (Chiang Mai: White Lotus, 2007), p. 45-56.

⁵³⁹ At least one of Ahmad Patani's students has been identified as a Hj. Osman from Cambodia. H.W.M. Shaghīr Abdullah, *Fatwa tentang Binatang Hidup Dua Alam. Syeikh Ahmad al-Fatani* (Shah Alam: Penerbitan Hizbi, 1990), p. 70. Even though this arguably fragmentary information does not provide for an unequivocal identification, it would – given the small number of Cambodian Muslims with longer study experience in Mecca at that time – seem improbable that the person in question could have been any other than the famed scholar from Phum Trea.

⁵⁴⁰ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 177.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178. The reference to "commentaries in Malay" should not be taken to literally mean works of *tafsīr*. Ner was evidently not as well-versed in Islamic literature as Cabaton and exhibited a tendency to describe different kinds of non-Qur'anic Islamic literature generically as commentaries.

⁵⁴² Personal communication with Muhammad Nour, b. 1929 in Phum Trea, *tuon* and former student of Hj. Yahya b. Hj. Osman and Muhammad Amin b. Hj. Osman, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012.

school in the country relying on an integrated curriculum combining religious with general education⁵⁴³. It was therefore a truly pioneering modern institution, and it is intriguing that the first of its kind was not established in any of the Muslim communities around Phnom Penh, but here deep in Kampong Cham. Run by the revered Hj. Roun (Hārūn) and his son Mat Sales (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ), whose scholarly achievements, as will be shown below, even commanded considerable respect on the Malay Peninsula. Accordingly, Mat Sales was characterized by Ner as the most learned in the whole region. Yet, he was of course still too young to wield as much prestige as his father or Hj. Osman. Despite representing a younger generation than the latter, also Hj. Roun and his son were deeply steeped in *jawi* scholarship. Mat Sales, who was to exert a major influence on Cambodian Islam in subsequent decades, had even spent ten years in Kelantan. It is unknown whether the eminent Hj. Osman disapproved of the contending new type of school, which assumingly likewise drew students from far and wide, or not. There is, however, no mention of any kind of conflict between the two. Both Osman and Roun are still remembered as local luminaries in Phum Trea today. Yet, it is only the unadorned grave of the latter which serves as a reminder of his past glory on the *serambi* (porch, balcony) of the huge village mosque. The selection of this particular burial place, right beside the beautifully engraved tombstone of a Kelantanese religious teacher who had died in Trea at an earlier date, points to the high status he must have held by the time of his death. In any case, both schools and their teachers were undoubtedly instrumental in steering the course of Cambodian Islam both within and outside of the region.

Unfortunately, Ner provides no details on religious schooling and the like in the neighbouring commune of Svay Khleang, which also had a strong proportion of Cham-Malays (2.115 out of 4.159 inhabitants)⁵⁴⁴. Yet, to this day Svay Khleang is known for its unique minaret (ch. *se'ung/medagha*, ml. *menara*), which most probably dates to the period around the year 1900⁵⁴⁵. Although the architecture of the mosque itself was – in line with the wider Cambodian pattern – rather modest, this major additional architectural feature was of course a far cry from most Muslim places of worship in the country and particularly in Panduranga, which were commonly lacking minarets. Thus, its very existence and

⁵⁴³ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 178.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵⁴⁵ It has been suggested that it was already built in the early 19th century. Apart from the fact, that this would be a surprisingly early date, the same account confusingly also claims that it had been commissioned by a local leader connected to King Monivong (b. 1875, r. 1927-1941). This is supported by H., a granddaughter of the notable in question, who asserted that it was him that had been responsible for its construction. Ser Sayana, So Farina & Eng Kok-Thay, *Cambodia: The Cham Identities* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2011), p. 7f.; personal communication with H., Herndon (Virginia), October 6th 2013.

building at an early date already betray that this has not been an enclosed or isolated but rather an outward-looking community. It will be remembered from the above section on local Cham-*melayu* interaction, that remaining local specimens of similarly extraordinary house architecture are clearly pointing to either a strong presence of *melayu* (most probably Sumatran) elements among the village elite or otherwise intense interchanges between the latter and the Malay World, which left their mark on *inter alia* architectural aesthetics in religious and mundane spheres. Ner also remarked that the village counted numerous hajjis. Related to these aspects is the traditional role of Svay Khleang as the seat for the highest ranking Cham-Malay official in Thbaung Khmum/Kampong Cham.

Apart from the fact, that the greatest informal religious authority was usually wielded by the most respected religious teachers (*gru, tuon*), it will become evident in this and further cases below that political and religious leadership among the Cambodian Muslims, as officially validated by the king, were at least until independence usually conveniently combined in one person. According to the royal chronicles, the provincial governor of Thbaung Khmum had in earlier centuries resided south of Krauchhmar in Peam Chileang. Since the first ascendancy to political relevance in the late 16th century, this position was seemingly quite often held or else violently asserted by Cham-Malays leaders⁵⁴⁶, who in turn were likewise responsible for directing the affairs of their community. At an unknown but perhaps early date the title and position of *oknha (/) samdech borates* (also variously reproduced as *brates, botes* or *boutes*⁵⁴⁷), as director of Cham-Malay (lit. foreigners') affairs, had been introduced. It is already listed among the "dignitaries of the interior" in the *kram srok* of 1693⁵⁴⁸. One of the rebel leaders in Thbaung Khmum during the reign of Ang Duong held that title, which was then again returned to him by Norodom⁵⁴⁹. In addition, his brother was, presumably in an attempt to ensure the loyalty of the remaining and returning Cham-Malays in the area, given the governorship of Thbaung Khmum province⁵⁵⁰. According to Doudard de Langrée, first French Resident of Cambodia (1863-1866), the "Oknha Sâmdach Bautês" was by his time overseeing Cham and Malay affairs⁵⁵¹, though most probably only in Thbaung Khmum and neighbouring areas densely populated with

⁵⁴⁶ CRC, p. 75f.; Mak Phoeun, *Histoire du Cambodge de la fin du XVIe siècle au début du XVIIIe* (Paris: PESEO, 1995), p. 89-94.

⁵⁴⁷ This is in harmony with alternative pronunciations still current today. Allen P.K. Keese, *An English-Spoken Khmer Dictionary. With Romanized Writing System, Usage, and Idioms, and Notes on Khmer Speech and Grammar* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996), p. 116.

⁵⁴⁸ Leclère, *Codes cambodgiens*, I, p. 115.

⁵⁴⁹ Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 138; Mohamad Zain, *Cam-Melayu Abad Ke-19*, p. 135.

⁵⁵⁰ As noted above also the governors of the early 1880s and 1894-1900 were Chams.

⁵⁵¹ de Villemereuil, *Explorations et missions*, p. 69.

Cham-Malays. It seems quite likely that the incumbent was then already residing at Svay Khleang. That the *oknha borates* was more of a regional authority seems to be supported by the absence of the title from the ten *krom montrey chvea* (lit. “Malay mandarins/ministers”) in the 1880s⁵⁵². By the 1930s at the latest, the title was already primarily defined in religious terms as it now referred specifically to the head of the mosque of Svay Khleang, who featured among the three highest ranking Muslim dignitaries in the country⁵⁵³, but nevertheless likewise continued to function as “chefs des [Cham-]Malais” of Kampong Cham province⁵⁵⁴. As most of the titles for Cham-Malay dignitaries still in use in Ner’s time were evidently either introduced or rather reasserted through royal ordinances passed between 1913 and 1921, it may be assumed that also the connection between the latter title and the Svay Khleang mosque went back at least to that date⁵⁵⁵.

The even higher ranking counter-part to the *oknha borates* at the centre was the *changvang* in Phnom Penh⁵⁵⁶. This post, earlier held by Tuon Li, evidently underwent a similar process of evolution. Formerly probably also more of a political or even military leadership position, the *changvang* of colonial times was, partly due to French influence, likewise primarily religiously defined. Thus, he served (at least from 1921 onwards) as the highest religious authority of all Cambodian Muslims and was at the same time attached to a specific mosque (initially always in Chroy Changvar, later in Chrang Chamres), which was also headed by him. Accordingly, the official in Svay Khleang likewise eventually came to be known as *borates changvang* (a term earlier likewise attested with reference to Tuon Li) and was both

⁵⁵² Fourès, “Royaume du Cambodge”, p. 186.

⁵⁵³ “Liste des dignitaires cham nommés par Ordonnance Royale et par Arrêté Ministériel” (1936), ANC-RSC 28319. This list features 17 dignitaries. All of these are heads of specific mosques, except for one, who is classified as an “honorary dignitary”, but nevertheless explicitly connected to a specific mosque. Apart from the *oknha borates* and another Kampong Cham dignitary, all of them were residing in Cham-Malay settlements close to the political centre of the country (i.e. in Phnom Penh and Kendal province, in addition to one person in Kampong Chhnang province). Titles were thus evidently far from evenly or proportionally distributed.

⁵⁵⁴ This can be inferred *inter alia* from a certificate drawn up by the incumbent in 1933. ANC-RSC 8772.

⁵⁵⁵ In their majority they were already in use in the 1880s. Cabaton’s 1907 report on the Muslim religious hierarchy in Cambodia notes the existence of an official four person leadership nominated by the king. Their titles are, apart from the highest ranking (mufti - kh. *masphty*, ml. *mufti*, ch. *moephati*), already to be found on the 1882 list. All of them resided near the capital. Fourès, “Royaume du Cambodge”, p. 186; Cabaton, “Notes sur l’islam”, p. 45.

⁵⁵⁶ It is clear from the collation of the lists of dignitaries of 1882, 1907 and 1936 as well as from French and Khmer documents of the first decades of the 20th century, the CRC and present informal usage that *changvang*, even though a long established term, was not itself a stable title or position. Conversely, it was either used informally to refer to the position of the highest ranking Muslim dignitary in the country (or rather of a specific part thereof) or as an additional unchanging epithet applied to the incumbents of a leadership position denoted with varying Khmer titles at different points in time. Thus, in 1882 the person referred to as *changvang* held the title of *oknha tokaley* (clearly derived from [tok] *kali*, itself a Malay and Cham rendering of ar. *qāḍī*), that of *oknha musphty* in 1907 and that of *oknha reachea thipadey* in 1936 (and onwards until the onset of *Khmers Rouges* rule in 1975). The present head of the hierarchy is again officially designated as mufti, but is still called *changvang* by older people. It is moreover evident from archival sources that such inconsistencies were compounded by seemingly interchangeable usage and varying translations into Malay.

the officially recognized leader of his mosque congregation as well as of all Cham-Malays in the province, whose name was eventually changed from Thbaung Khmum to Kampong Cham. It is of course quite intriguing that both these positions were at the same time held by members of one family, which, as was discussed, had a quite different religious orientation, more conducive to Jawization, than say, the representatives of the Tuanko Po faction with their evidently strong connection to distinctively Pandurangan Islamic traditions. Moreover, it will be recalled that this same orientation had already caused friction during the struggle for the liberation of Panduranga under the direction of their father (i.e. Tuon Set Asmit). Given these cleavages, it was only natural for Norodom, who was in desperate need of stable alliances, to likewise distribute a title to the leader of the Tuanko Po group. Hence the title of *oknha khmour* (ch. *ong g'nur*), whose religious connotations likewise gradually grew in subsequent decades⁵⁵⁷.

It is surely remarkable that the Khmer kings – under the direction of the French colonial authorities, who have been noted to have generally “recast tributary relations with small groups [such the Tuanko Po and Tuon Li factions] as relations with ethnic groups”⁵⁵⁸ – valorized Cham-Malay/Chvea ethnic capital primarily as a religious one⁵⁵⁹. This was, of course, a convenient way to deal with an ethnically composite religious community. On the other hand it had the inadvertent effect of further strengthening the role of strictly religious functionaries (*tuon, hakem*), many of whom had through their scholarly activities formed part of the *jawi* ecumene, vis-à-vis other traditional authorities such as the *pos*. The last *oknha borates* before Ner’s visit to the village, and probably the last to reside there for decades, was Phong Yismann (‘Uthmān)⁵⁶⁰, who had even received a personal visit to the village by King Monivong (r. 1927-1941)⁵⁶¹. One of Svay Khleang’s preserved remarkable old houses was built for him around 1900, just as also the construction of the minaret of the

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. V.4.1.

⁵⁵⁸ Shawn McHale, “Ethnicity, Violence, and Khmer-Vietnamese Relations: the Significance of the Lower Mekong Delta, 1757-1954”, *JAS*, LXXII (2013), p. 369.

⁵⁵⁹ States recognizing (and not attempting to negate) ethnic and/or religious diversity within society are likely to install leadership figures from the respective ethnic and/or religious communities as mediators between them and state authorities. For those selected for such positions, their belonging to a specific ethnic and/or religious community serves as symbolic capital vis-à-vis the appointing authorities, even in cases in which the community he represents is clearly a subordinate one, as is the case with Cambodia’s Chams/Muslims. Whereas Bourdieu had confined his notion of “symbolic capital” to dominant groups, Tabar et al. have thoughtfully demanded usage of the concept also in reference to subaltern ones. Paul Tabar, Greg Noble & Scott Poynting, *On Being Lebanese in Australia. Identity, Racism and the Ethnic Field* (Beirut: Lebanese American University Press, 2010), p. 15.

⁵⁶⁰ He is undoubtedly the same person erroneously called Sulaiman by one of Ysa Osman’s informants. Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 77, 87.

⁵⁶¹ With Phong Yismann the connection of the position of provincial director of Cham-Malay affairs to a specific place (i.e. Svay Khleang) apparently came to an end.

village is attributed to his person⁵⁶². Yismann must have died not long after October 6th 1933, the date given on the last document bearing his signature (in Arabic script), which I was able to locate⁵⁶³. Ner noted that he had died a few years prior to his visit and that there were now two claimants for the position. Both of these were evidently major local merchants and are serving as perfect examples for the strong trading links connecting parts of the Cham-Malay Muslim community of Kampong Cham with their counterparts in Phnom Penh and the Mekong Delta. Thus, one of the claimants was a prosperous timber trader, whereas the other was engaged in the trade with livestock. It will be recalled that both fields of activity were characterized by their intense networking between Kampong Cham and the Mekong Delta, as well as between these two and the Phnom Penh area respectively. Moreover, it was not only goods but also life styles and religious orientations which flowed through these channels and networks. A third major Svay Khleang trader of the period is still remembered locally for his joint role (together with Phong Yismann) in the reception of King Monivong in the village. He was a rich timber merchant, who stowed wood shipped down from logging areas in Kratie and Stung Trang in the village, before it was (perhaps after some minor processing) sent to its final destination in the Mekong Delta⁵⁶⁴.

The fact that it was merchants rather than religious scholars who struggled for the influential royally and colonially validated position suggests, that it must have likewise been a mixture of economic clout and local prestige, as much due to wealth as to exemplary behaviour as a Muslim, and not religious scholarship, which had brought Phong Yismann into his position. Contrary to Trea, where large merchants were apparently absent and networks of religious scholarship prevailed, Svay Khleang therefore represented a different scenario, which, however, was just as conducive to the spread of a Muslim discursive expression and mode of living attuned to localized *jawi* models rather than distinctively Cham ones. However, regarding the post of “provincial *changvang*”, the situation in Kampong Cham soon fell in line with a general mainstreaming privileging religious scholars over traditional representatives of communities historically deemed crucial for the sustenance of loyalty according to the Cambodian system of *clientele*, which seems to have been the rationale for the distribution of *oknha* (and *preas hakem*) titles not just to particular individuals but by that implicitly also to specific villages. Thus, on the one hand a number of “positions” affiliated with dignitary titles in the Cham and Chvea villages north of Phnom Penh (e.g. Khleang Sbek, Tuol Ngok, Kampong Luong) simply disappeared in the long run.

⁵⁶² Cf. n. 545.

⁵⁶³ ANC-RSC 8772.

⁵⁶⁴ Ser, So & Eng, *Cambodia: Cham Identities*, p. 8.

This also concerned the second contemporary Cham dignitary post in Kampong Cham, namely that of *preas reachea hakem phakdey*, filled in 1936 by a certain Hj. Toman (‘Abd al-Raḥmān) in Koh Sautin⁵⁶⁵, an area of historical relevance to the central authorities in the spheres of commerce and human capital⁵⁶⁶.

On the other hand, the prime association of officially recognized and distributed community leadership to religious scholarship, in the early 1930s already strongly apparent in the centre of the country, evidently also came to prevail in Kampong Cham, thereby weakening the traditional link between titles and specific villages or mosques. As the two Svay Khleang traders were still vying for royal favour in their quest to become Yismann’s successors, a certain *hakem* (i.e. head of a village/mosque community) Sles was already acting as *oknha borates changvang* (of Kampong Cham)⁵⁶⁷. It is not clear whether he functioned only as an interim, which were usually soon confirmed in their positions after deliberations with the representatives of major mosque communities, or if the two Svay Khleang traders were clinging to the false hope of an eventual restitution of a position to their village, which had already moved elsewhere. When the post eventually did return to Svay Khleang decades later, it came to be filled by the notorious reformist Wan Musa (d. 1975), a *jawi* religious scholar not a merchant.

There can be no doubt either that Svay Khleang, which would emerge as the first stronghold of Islamic reformism in Cambodia in the late 1950s, was firmly embedded in the regional sphere of *jawi* scholarship and clearly lying within the orbit of its centre, Phum Trea. The same was evident in nearby Peus commune, where Cham-Malays constituted around 58 per cent of the population. Thus, Ner met a high number of hajjis and local scholars educated in Kelantan and Mecca in the villages of Peus, Amphil and Kampong/Phum Soai⁵⁶⁸. He was further told that one Kampong Soai villager was then already staying in Kelantan for ten years. One of the two village teachers had spent the same amount of time there, and was now applying together with a number of villagers to go on the hajj. As Mecca and Kelantan remained only accessible to the few, a “very high number” of locals studied in Trea. For the whole Muslim community of the commune, Ner

⁵⁶⁵ ANC-RSC 28319.

⁵⁶⁶ The cotton production at Koh Sautin was noted as an important source of revenue for the king already in the 1880s. Local commercial cotton production still continued in the 1960s. In contrast to Krauchhmar and many other areas settled by Cham-Malays, Koh Sautin was not a thinly populated and undeveloped area waiting to be opened up by newcomers. Indeed, it was the region of the country with the highest population density in the whole country in the middle of the 19th century. Garnier, *Voyage d’exploration*, p. 68; Delvert, *Paysan cambodgien*, p. 605f.

⁵⁶⁷ His name already appears on a certificate appended to a letter dated December 31st 1934. ANC-RSC 8771.

⁵⁶⁸ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 178.

attested an “extraordinary propensity for scholarship [“gout de l’étude”]. Obviously, this thorough engagement with *jawi* scholarly networks soon bore fruits. By the late 1950s far from illustrious villages such as Phum Soai and Amphil had developed into minor centres of religious studies, which, while clearly overshadowed by Phum Trea’s importance, likewise drew scholars from the region as well as from distant places as far as Kampot⁵⁶⁹. The same applies to Chumnik (also the name of its *khum*), which, by the 1960s, even came to explicitly rival Trea’s status as “unofficial capital of Champa in Cambodia”⁵⁷⁰, a claim resting on (actually already contested) Islamic (*jawi*) purity rather than on affirmed linkages to Pandurangan heritage.

Chumnik is also a special place as it had probably actually preceded Trea as prime node of Jawization in the region. Indeed, local tradition attributes the beginnings of pondok education to the activities of Hj. Muslim b. Ong Mau in Chumnik in the 1880s. Three later scholars from the village (Hj. Abdul Malik b. Hj. Shamsuddin, Hj. Abdul Malik b. Ong Brom & Hj. Husin b. Ong Gat) are known to have each spent between eleven and twenty years in Mecca⁵⁷¹. With respect to the role of names as surface symbols of Jawization, those of this group of scholars warrant closer attention. All individuals, except the son of Hj. Shamsuddin, were most likely the first hajjis in their nuclear family. Moreover, all the non-hajji fathers were evidently bearing Cham and not “Muslim” names, in each case preceded with the Cham appellation for aged men, *ong* (lit. “grandfather”)⁵⁷². Clearly, these scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century are representative of the gradual local shift in orientation from Cham to *jawi* models in religious and social practice.

It is more than evident from Ner’s report on Krauchhmar, that this district was one of the main sites of Jawization in Cambodia. Apart from the wider Phnom Penh area (including Chrang Chamres, Chroy Changvar, Khleang Sbek and Kampong Luong), it was clearly its main locus. Moreover, impulses from the main center of Phum Trea indeed radiated throughout the country. The students of the hajjis Osman, Roun and, as will be shown, particularly Saleh Haroun were all prime agents in a growth of pondoks, madrasas and minor religious schools, well akin to earlier developments in Patani and Kelantan and therefore also of Jawization as such. This was most pronounced and most evident in other Krauchhmar villages such as Chumnik, Phum Suai and Amphil, incidentally all three at

⁵⁶⁹ Interviews with Tuon Ismail, age 80, born in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Imam Muhammad Hasan, born in Koh Phal (Peus, Krauchhmar), at Phnom Penh, April 30th 2012.

⁵⁷⁰ “Ideals and barriers in education”, undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

⁵⁷¹ “Institusi Pengajian Pondok di Kemboja”, PGMK, blog entry dated January 25th 2012 (accessed June 22nd 2012).

⁵⁷² On the usage of this and other Cham forms of address see Lafont, “Contribution à l’étude”, p. 170f.

some point place of residence for immigrant religious teachers from Kelantan between the late 19th and mid-20th century⁵⁷³, but nevertheless also came to affect many other Muslim communities in the country. Another case in point in Kampong Cham is Speu in Chamkar Loeu district, which at the same time profited from the presence of renowned former students of Saleh Haroun and of a teacher from Patani (Abbas Patani) and his son (Hj. Li b. Hj. Abbas Patani), and thus even drew scholars from all over Cambodia⁵⁷⁴. Ner, however, was witness only to an initial, though highly important, stage of this latter process. Even though his information is again meagre altogether for Chumnik, Speu and the Cham communities in Kratie province⁵⁷⁵, we may infer from the subsequent development in the two former that at least the major community at Chhlong in Kratie likewise fell safely within the orbit of Phum Trea.

Yet, as was shown by his report on Thbaung Khmum district, not all agglomerations of Chams were exposed to these influences to the same degree. Indeed, Kampong Cham as the heartland of the Cambodian Chams was both a main locus of Jawization as well as a site for the resilience and transformation of distinctively Pandurangan traditions and practices. What Ner has perceived as only a minimal level of Islamic scholarship prevailing among religious teachers in Thbaung Khmum may very well plainly have been rather the reflection of a different religious orientation, a Islamic discursive tradition yet only marginally touched by the contemporary wave of Jawization in Cambodia and the wider Malay World. This as well as the processual and gradual nature of religious change in Kampong Cham also accounted for the survival of distinctively Cham Islamic traditions into the 1960s and 1970s in the face of a major expansion of *jawi* schooling and also of even comparably uncompromising Islamic reformism. Thus, it seems as if Cambodia's Cham heartland, despite befittingly being a main arena of Jawization, exhibited more internal

⁵⁷³ Tok Berbulu from Pasir Mas settled in Chumnik around 1870, thereby probably providing an initial impetus for the village's development into an early center of pondok education, whereas Tok Kemboja Tua stayed in Phum Soai from approximately 1912-1932 (see below). The Kelantanese Tuon Said taught in Amphil in the mid-20th century.

⁵⁷⁴ Interviews with Tuon Him. b. 1942 in Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), in Chrang Chamres, May 8th & 13th 2012; Imam Muhammad Abdullah, in his native Norea Kraom (Battambang), May 11th 2012; Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman, Deputy Province Imam of Battambang), b. 1953 in Chroy Metrey (Kendal), in Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012; Asyari b. Saleh, in his native Chroy Metrey (Kendal), May 17th 2012. Even Cambodia's present mufti Sos Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusof) hails from Speu and has acquired his religious education almost exclusively from teachers there (including Hj. Li Patani and Saleh Haroun's student Ismail b. Adam Flahi). <http://mufticambodia.blogspot.co.at/2010/08/personal-background.html> (accessed May 21st 2013). Also the "kodi" (i.e. *hakem*) of Koh Roka in the 1960s, then one of only two Malay speakers (as opposed to mere reading capacity) in the village, had studied in Speu. "Koh Rokaa Village", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

⁵⁷⁵ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 179.

Muslim diversity than the Mekong Delta, thereby clearly contradicting simple unitary narratives.

That such greater internal diversity did, as opposed to other regions, not entail any intra-community strife at that time was assumingly mainly due to two factors. Firstly, the wide geographical distribution of Muslim villages must be noted, as it also entailed the existence of markedly different social and economic patterns within the region. Cham-Malay settlements in the area included typical fishing villages, trading centres at ferry crossings, bases for Mekong traders as well as inland farming and forestry communities. This complex economic situation likewise both brought about and facilitated the sustenance of a certain level of social and religious differentiation, rendering local transformation processes more gradual and subtle rather than erratic and conflictual.

Secondly, and closely tied to notion of gradual change, it must be remembered that the renewed interaction of Cambodian Muslim tradition with its fully developed Pandurangan counterpart, precipitated by the discussed migratory movements of the late 18th and 19th century necessarily unfolded itself primarily in this very region. Needless to say, despite the seeming canalization of *inter alia* religious cleavages into political ones such as those between the respective groups associated with Tuanko Po and the sons of Tuon Set Asmit, not to forget the even earlier precedents in Panduranga, such encounter was certainly not necessarily confrontational. Intriguingly, the only Islamic manuscript from Cambodia discovered so far, which features not only Cham language in *akhar trah* script and Arabic but also Malay in *jawi*, is HHC's SEA 39, obtained by Jaspan in Phum Trea in 1967. Bearing a protection symbol used in Islamic magic (i.e. the so-called seal of Sulaymān) on one of its initial pages⁵⁷⁶, the main part of this remarkably elegantly executed manuscript, tentatively dated to the 19th century, is evidently the Cham translation of a Malay Sufi treatise⁵⁷⁷. Despite being a Cham language text in *akhar trah*, the translations and explanations of regularly inserted more or less substantial portions in Arabic are commonly introduced by Malay conjunctions (given in *jawi* and violet ink) such as (*karena*) *katanya* (“[because] it is

⁵⁷⁶ SEA 39, fol. 3r. The seal, which consists of an eight pointed star with the name Sulaymān inscribed four times (in Arabic/*jawi*), differs from its seven pointed counterpart known as *sawāqit* (seven seals). The Malay World also knows a version with a six pointed star. Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practiced among the Malays* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), p. 44. In the shape found on the manuscript it was still in use as a protective charm among Cambodian Muslim Republican soldiers in the civil war of 1970-75. To be carried into battle on the body, a piece of paper with the diagram was put into a small pocket suspended from a necklace. Personal communication with Ysa Meth, Ismail & Syafii, all born around 1950 in Chrang Chamres, in Reston (Virginia), April 14th 2013. It can actually still be seen in the form of graffiti on the walls of certain Cham and Chvea houses. As the practice has become rare, even young Cambodian Muslims often no longer know what to make of it.

⁵⁷⁷ SEA 39, fols. 3v-93r. See fig. 3.

said”) or *artinya* (“which means”). Likewise the particles *dan* (“and”) and *maka* (employed to introduce a new sentence) are frequently encountered. An appendix, probably not written by the same hand, consists of Malay notes on the *fatīḥa* and the question of *farḍ al-‘ayn/al-kifāya*⁵⁷⁸.

Finally, in the margin to this appendix we find a Cham note, evidently of more recent date, which happens to be written in *jawi*⁵⁷⁹. There can be little doubt, that the original author, and - given its flawless style - also the copyist (unless it was an autograph), of the main part of the manuscript was literate at least in Cham *akhar trah* and Malay *jawi*, if not also in Arabic. At the present date, the main text itself is completely unknown in Kampong Cham, but still widely used (under the name *Bayan sharik*) in KIS villages of Kampong Chhnang⁵⁸⁰, thus among the sole representatives of prolonged successful antagonism to Jawization. Yet, SEA 39 clearly shows that such antagonism did not initially prevail in Phum Trea, where - reflective of wider patterns in Cambodia - Islamic scholarship in *akhar trah* was eventually submerged by Jawization, something which is again highlighted by the mentioned marginal Cham *jawi* note by a later reader/possessor of the manuscript.

In order to conclude this section on evidence for both Jawization and persistent diversity in Kampong Cham and Kratie in the 1930s, it must again be reiterated, despite the important clues drawn from textual sources and glimpses upon Islamic scholarly networking, that two different, though certainly related, trajectories for Jawization were discernible in the foregoing. Accordingly, an expansion of and transformation within religious schooling was not all, as *jawi*-related Muslim forms of life with their accompanying outlooks, practices, ritual emphases and aesthetic features (from mosque architecture to styles of dress) were likewise conveyed by merchants with horizons broadened by interactions with Muslims far beyond the confines of the village or the district. Form of life is in this context not used as catchy term but rather with relation to the Wittgensteinian concept, in which “the form of life consists in the community’s concordance of natural and *linguistic* responses, which issue an agreement in definitions and judgments and therefore behavior”⁵⁸¹. This notion appears to be particularly suitable due to the relevance it attaches to the role of language. It thus has to be emphasized once more that Jawization entailed a specific form of change of logosphere, in the sense that it manifested the contested overall switch to Malay and not

⁵⁷⁸ *ibid.*, fols. 93v-94r. See fig. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 93v.

⁵⁸⁰ Personal communication with Imam Kai Tam at Svay Pakao and Ong Khnour Kai Tam at Sre Brey (Au Russey), May 13th 2012.

⁵⁸¹ A.C. Grayling, *Wittgenstein* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), p. 83. Emphasis mine.

Cham as written language of religious discourse, which, of course, spilled over to a certain degree into oral and behavioral contexts.

3. More divergence: prolonged ethnic and religious complexities in the Chvea South

The Muslim communities in the southern provinces of Takeo, Kampong Som (Sihanoukville), Kampot and, through recent migration, also Koh Kong are characterized by the dominance of Khmer-speaking Chvea within their ranks. Although it has been claimed that a loss of Cham language occurred as a result of *Khmers Rouges* repression⁵⁸², Ner's report (as well as the existence of Chau Giang's Jawa-Kur community, which most probably moved into the area from Kampot) already documents the restricted usage of Cham in the whole region. Among the approximately 1.100 Muslims of Takeo he came across Cham-speaking villages such as Tuol Amphil. Yet, in many others, including the largest Muslim village (Kampong Yuol), only Khmer was spoken. The imam of Tuol Amphil, the (presumably already aged) son of a Javanese father and a Cham mother is the only person mentioned as still having been acquainted with the Cham characters. On the contrary, even the smallest Muslim hamlets had a kind of religious organisation and a mosque or at least a surau and were among the recipients of regular visits of religious teachers from Chau Doc⁵⁸³. This again testifies to the fact, that Chau Giang and other smaller centres of religious study in Chau Doc had, at least since (and probably only because of) the eventual French pacification of the region in the 1880s, an unrestrained outreach to their co-religionists in southern Cambodia.

More substantial Muslim communities than in Takeo are to be found in Kampong Som (Sihanoukville), Kep and particularly Kampot provinces. During Ner's research all three still formed part of a single administrative unit, then called Kampot province, home to 8.902 Chams and Chvea. Contrary to the situation in Kampong Cham, Kratie and in the Muslim villages around Phnom Penh, no centrally recognized Cham or Chvea dignitaries or holders of elevated positions in the local administration were to be found in the province, with the exception of the security forces. Whereas local Cham and Chvea mostly engaged in fishing and farming (including the production of palm sugar [kh. *seaw thnaut*, ch. *sata*]), they also, certainly due to their settlement in a border province, played an important role in the

⁵⁸² Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 5.

⁵⁸³ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 172.

military. Thus, the indigenous militia of Kampot counted twelve “Malay” soldiers, including officers, in 1904 and 53 in the late 1930s⁵⁸⁴.

In religious terms, Ner regarded the Muslims of Kampot as lacking (“peu instruits”) in Islamic knowledge in comparison to those of the Mekong Delta and Kampong Cham. Yet, the known overall pattern of Jawization is, with certain intriguing restrictions, likewise clearly discernible here. Accordingly, Kampot Chams and Chvea were on the one hand also the subjects of preaching and teaching missions carried out by visitors and, less frequently, settlers from Chau Doc and, to a much lesser degree, the Malay World. As Ner observed, “*gurus* from Chau Doc sometimes come to the province and stay for a few days or weeks to instruct them on religious matters⁵⁸⁵”. On the other hand, the local Muslims were then also – on their own initiative – in the process of strengthening their contacts to centres of religious education in Chau Doc, Chroy Changvar and particularly Kampong Cham, which came into full fruition in the late 1950s. Accordingly, certain agglomerations such as Kbal Romeas saw a particularly lively development of religious schools already in the 1930s.

Nevertheless, especially present-day Kampot province has shown, shows and will continue to show a great degree of diversity in religious practice, organization and orientation, which, due to the significant proportion of consciously non-Cham Chvea communities, can hardly be exclusively attributed to opposing residual Cham and Malay Islamic discursive traditions. Although these have certainly played a role, and even presently continue to do so (on a very limited scale), more complex formations, only discernible with difficulty, were under way. These were, and still are, directly related to the trans-Cambodian connections of Kampot’s Muslim communities, which were not only, as would be expected, conducive to Jawization. Indeed, some of the apparently oldest linkages to Muslim communities in the centre of the country, have bound parts of the province’s Muslims together with the most resilient tradition of opposition to Jawization with its spiritual and organizational bases at Chhouk Sar/Au Russei (Kampong Tralach) and Oudong. Moreover, a specific Islamic tradition, completely overlooked by Ner but documented already decades earlier by Pavie, had likewise developed in Kampot. My own fieldwork in the area has testified to the fact, that the specific practices associated with it had definitely not ceased by Ner’s time, but instead continued into comparably recent times, adding to the dynamics of religious practice and change among the local Muslims.

⁵⁸⁴ ANC-RSC 12722; Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 175.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

The greatest number of Chvea and Chams in Kampot resided in the commune of Kampot (i.e. around *krong* Kampot), where close to 2.000 of them lived in five villages, which made a materially poor impression on Ner. While mosques with their associated basic form of religious organization existed, he considered the villagers fairly ignorant in religious matters. As an example he mentions the village of Kampong Kendal, where the deceased Phum Trea-educated teacher could only be replaced by a villager with merely minimal knowledge of Arabic. Even the former teacher had, unbeknown to Ner, not been a native of the village, but had been born in Kbal Romeas (see below), where religious education was evidently more developed. Nevertheless, his school, which had received an official license for the education of up to 25 pupils in 1934⁵⁸⁶, seems to have sown the seeds for an enhanced involvement in Jawization in subsequent decades. In Trey Koh (lit. “Island of fish”) of the same *khum*⁵⁸⁷, however, even two Arab teachers had reportedly resided. One of them had already died by Ner’s time, whereas the other had departed⁵⁸⁸. Approximately 2km from the village of Kbal Romeas, there is still today the *maqām* of a Yemeni (most probably Hadrami) *‘ālim*, intriguingly known by the Malay-Arabic composite epithet Datuk Zahid (lit. “Grandfather Ascetic”)⁵⁸⁹, which clearly points to a Sufi background. Apart from the fact, that evidence for other champions of *zuhd* (renunciation, ascetism)⁵⁹⁰ active in the area is pervasive, it must also be emphasized that *jahed* (undoubtedly derived from Malay or Cham pronunciations of Arabic *zahīd*) is also one of the labels currently applied to the KIS group within Cambodian Islam by other local Muslims. As will be shown below, intriguing historical and contemporary links exist between the ascetics of Kampot and the KIS communities in the center and northwest of the country.

⁵⁸⁶ ANC-RSC 31714.

⁵⁸⁷ Written “Troy Kas” by Ner, this is also the place where Leclère collected the Chvea traditions discussed above. Nowadays, this island formed by the estuary of the Kampot River houses three Muslim villages (Trapeang Smach, Trapeang Pring and Don Tauk).

⁵⁸⁸ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 173.

⁵⁸⁹ Personal communication with two generations of a family of local religious teachers, Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 6th 2012. He may well have been one of the Arabs of Trey Koh.

⁵⁹⁰ The category of *zuhhād* gains visibility with the third generation of Islam and becomes a significant current by the middle of the 9th century. This new prominence at the same time also brought it into conflict with different strands of Islamic mysticism (a category broader than the narrowed historically molded definition of *taṣawwuf*, which tends to leave out eastern currents such as the *Karrāmiyya* or *Malāmatiyya*, among whom the designations *malāmatī* or *ḥakīm* had initially served as equivalent to the *ṣūfī* of the Baghdad school). Reconciliation was partly achieved by the famous mystic Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910), whose memory is also cherished in Muslim Southeast Asia, where the *zahīd* label is equally applied to famed religious teachers with modestly ascetic life styles as well as to extreme exponents actually largely withdrawing from society into caves and the like. Bulliet, *Islam*, p. 89; Christopher Melchert, “The Transition from Ascetism to Mysticism at the Middle of the 9th Century C. E.”, *IS*, LXXXIII (1996), p. 51-70; Toby Mayer, “Theology and Sufism” in Tim Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), p. 264f., 269.

Kampong Kendal seems to have been a mixed Cham-Chvea community once. At least, Ner was informed that both Cham and Malay languages were spoken in the village. Contrary to these claims, he, however, rarely overheard communication in these languages as Khmer had actually come to dominate. In Trey Koh only Khmer was spoken, and villagers asserted that this had been the case at least since their grandparents' time. It may be recalled in this respect that the Chvea lore with its Sumatran imprint, which was collected by Leclère in the 1890s was also in Khmer language. Even though Kampot villages such as Kampong Kendal seem to have been still comparably detached from, or at least only passively involved in, the trans-Cambodian educational networks of Jawization, this would change within the next two decades. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the renowned Hakem Tayyeb of Amphil (Kampong Cham), champion of the cause of the (ml.) *kaum tua* / (ch.) *phong klau*' (lit. "old group") during the intra-community strife sparked by Islamic reformism, reportedly had approximately forty students from Kampot alone (including from Kampong Kendal)⁵⁹¹.

Other villages of the province, however, were already deeply involved in such educational networks in the 1930s. Such was the case in the "twin"-villages of Kbal Romeas and Kampong Keh, where 1.371 Muslims lived and shared a common mosque and, accordingly, also the authority of the same *hakem*. Highly unusual for local standards, all the villagers spoke Cham. At the same time religious education must have been greatly valued. Thus, Ner counted three "Qur'anic schools" and ten "*écoles familiales*"⁵⁹². The latter commonly provided religious education in private homes, mosques or suraus to limited numbers of pupils, and were therefore considered small enough by the French to be exempt from the obligation to acquire an official license⁵⁹³. Conversely, the former can be described as colonially accredited agents of Jawization. As will be shown in greater detail below, Protectorate authorities had made proficiency in (written, i.e. *jawi*) Malay a major precondition for the issuance of such a license. Accordingly, the 1934 *Acte de notoriété* (i.e. a certified document used in the absence of a birth certificate) of Wan Moth (Muhammad) of Kbal Romeas, lists "professor in Malay schools" as his profession⁵⁹⁴.

Accompanying RSC documents are, moreover allowing us a closer look at the field of Islamic education above the "familial" level in Kbal Romeas. As Wan Moth's request for the establishment of an Islamic school was still being processed, those of Moth Doeur

⁵⁹¹ Interview with Tuon Ismail, age 80, born in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

⁵⁹² Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 173.

⁵⁹³ "Proces-verbal de la reunion du conseil local de l'enseignement au Cambodge", October 2nd 1832, ANC-RSC 27006.

⁵⁹⁴ ANC-RSC 31709.

(Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadir, who signed his application in Arabic letters), Tes-Ny and Tes-Mek received official permits in 1934. The building for a fifth intended institution to be directed by a certain Moth Sen (Muhammad Zayn) had not yet been constructed. Anyhow, the demand for local elevated religious schooling seems to have been saturated by this sudden madrasa growth. By early 1937, Moth Doeur requested the closing of his establishment. As Ner only counted three such schools also one of the others must have ceased to function by then, unless the projects of either Wan Moth or Moth Sen never actually came to fruition, which could then again have been related to a lack of demand. Similarly, we cannot be entirely sure that Kbal Romeas indeed witnessed a sudden growth in the sphere of religious education, as many pre-existent schools were merely forced by new legislature to acquire official permits. Nevertheless, the young age of the only two persons among those involved, for whom such data could be retrieved, seems to support the assumption that it was a comparably new development. Thus, Wan Moth was born in 1900 and Moth Doeur, despite being “a professor for a long time”, was also only age 36 in 1937⁵⁹⁵. Part of the initial demand had most probably been fostered by earlier visits of teachers from Kelantan, who had, however, ceased their activities in the area exactly with the years of depression in the early 1930s⁵⁹⁶. Due to its full integration into the Cambodian network of *jawi* schooling some villagers also went to study in Chroy Changvar and, unsurprisingly, Phum Trea⁵⁹⁷.

In contrast to the (then still) strong Cham imprint of Kbal Romeas, Veal Sbau (today Phum Sbau in Kep province) and Mak Prang (*srok* Kampot) were again typical Chvea villages. In the former only Khmer and a little Malay were spoken. The village had a mosque and its own school, many of whose graduates continued their studies in Phum Trea. Even though only a few individuals took the same route in Mak Prang, Hj. Osman was considered the greatest teacher of all even there, which once again testifies to his nation-wide prestige. The villagers referred to themselves as Chvea and, while claiming to have been living in the region for many generations, traced their origins to Minangkabau, Kelantan and Patani. Even though Khmer was already the prevailing language, most villagers also still spoke Malay⁵⁹⁸. Besides the comparably limited interest in pursuing religious education outside of

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁶ The almost complete break in involvement in transnational religious activities of Kelantanese Muslims in these years is most visible in hajj statistics. From 190 pilgrims in 1930, the numbers dropped to three, five and eight in 1932-1934 respectively. William Roff, “The Conduct of the *Hajj* from Malaya, and the First Malay Pilgrimage Officer” in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 343.

⁵⁹⁷ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 173.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

the village, there is likewise no mention of any (full-fledged) religious school in Mak Prang. It is therefore presumably not coincidental, but nevertheless quite revealing, that the village, despite its pronounced Chvea background, would eventually, in an era of renewed factional strife, become affiliated with the “pure Chams” (*cham sot*) of KIS at the turn of the 21st century⁵⁹⁹.

In present-day Prey Nup district of Preah Sihanouk (Sihanoukville) province, Ner recorded 2.676 Muslims dispersed over two communes⁶⁰⁰. Also here Chams were clearly outnumbered by Chvea. An exception was Tuol Totueng, which had been settled by migrants from Kbal Romeas around the 1870s. Just as was the case in its mother village, religious education occupied a prominent place in the community, as can be inferred from the existence of three local Qur’anic schools⁶⁰¹. The information Ner provides on the agglomerations of Muslims in the present communes of Au Chrov and Boeng Ta Prom (then tellingly forming a single *khum* by the name of Sre Cham – “Cham field”) seems to indicate that Khmer language functioned in the area not only as a bridge to Khmers but also as a *lingua franca* within a diverse Muslim community made up of native Cham, Malay and Khmer speakers.

In line with our contention that many Cambodian Muslims came to settle in hitherto underdeveloped or unexploited areas, an ethnically diverse yet homogeneously Muslim community held sway over the area until it was gradually turned into a minority population in the course of three decades of Khmer immigration beginning in 1905. According to local sources Cham refugees from Panduranga had settled down in the area around the time of the eventual fall of Panduranga (1830s), whereas Malay settlers came from Minangkabau and Terengganu. Finally, this already diverse community was joined in the first decade of the 20th century (and perhaps in minor numbers even earlier) by - most probably Khmer-speaking - newcomers from Kampot. Khmer had become the prevalent language, leaving only individual cases of Cham and Malay speakers. The rivet point of this assembly of close-by Muslim villages was then evidently Daun Loy, which also housed the only mosque in the area. Yet, also the surrounding villages had their suraus. Moreover, Qur’anic schools were numerous.

⁵⁹⁹ Personal communication with Tuon Muhammad Hassan, b. 1979, at Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Tourman (‘Abd al-Rahman), b. 1937, at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

⁶⁰⁰ In 2008 the district had at least 9.824 inhabitants counted as “Khmer Islamic”. Their number could be even higher, as it is not entirely clear whether the relevant data of all villages was recorded. National Committee for Sub-National Democratic Development (NCDD), *Prey Nob District Data Book 2009*, p. 49. <http://library.ncdd.gov.kh/Download/487343> (accessed September 19th 2012)

⁶⁰¹ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 174. It is not clear from the passage whether these schools were all located in the village or rather merely within the commune, which would seem more probable.

Nevertheless, Ner considered the local Muslims, in line with his general assessment of those of the whole (then) Kampot province, as hardly educated in religious matters and possessing only the ability to read the Qur'an without any understanding. No mention is made of any traces of Cham script materials. He further highlighted that local Muslims were commonly neither undertaking the hajj (he met a single hajji, whom he assumed to have been the province's only one) nor travelling outside to country for religious studies⁶⁰². Thus, were it not for occasional visiting teachers from Malay (Kelantan, Patani) and Cham-Malay religious centers (Chau Doc, Chroy Changvar and Trea), and the case of Kbal Romeas, where, however, the level of education even in some of the officially accredited schools could then still have been comparably low, Muslim life in historical Kampot province could be regarded as more or less self-contained. Yet, the comparably low level of formal religious education, coupled with the absence of anything coming close to a regional spiritual centre such as Chau Giang for the Mekong Delta or Phum Trea for Kampong Cham and Kratie, certainly played its part in barring the community from the kind of factional strife arising elsewhere in the country.

Moreover, under such little direct influence of standardizing "institutions", the eclectic make-up of the community was, especially in present Kampot, both to a remarkable degree preserved as well as at the same time canalized into distinct amalgamations. The gradual loss of respective mother-tongues to the benefit of Khmer, which has continued unabated since Ner's time, seems to be symptomatic for these processes. Unbeknown to Ner, and probably in part plainly obscured by his search for religiously well-educated (that is, along the *jawi* lines of Chau Giang, Trea, Chroy Changvar etc.) believers, a specific resilient Islamic tradition of *zuhd* had developed in Kampot. Counterintuitively, this tradition indeed linked Kampot to Islam in Greater Patani as well as to pre-Jawization and Jawization-sceptic Muslim spiritual centers in Central Cambodia. Thus, we will depart from Ner's trail at this instance to have a closer look at the available material to elucidate the past and present manifestations of this particular tradition.

3.1. The *zuhhād* of Kampot and the Kelantan and Oudong connections

The figure of Datuk Zahid, purportedly of Yemeni origins has already been mentioned. Yet, he was not the only *zahīd* or Sufi figure leaving a mark in Kampot. Around the year 1850 HJ.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

Hasan bin Abdullah, a Sufi from Bukit Panau in Kelantan, arrived in Kampot. Born in Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat) in southern Thailand, he had moved to Kelantan with his parents early in his life. It is claimed that he became a student of the eminent Sufi scholar Daud Patani in Mecca and then travelled to Cambodia shortly after the latter's death in 1847. Around 1860 HJ. Hasan was joined by a second mystic from Kelantan, Syeikh Ismail b. Syeikh Hussin, from Kampong Bunut (in Pasir Putih). After a few years of teaching Islam in Kampot, both eventually moved to Kampong Luong north of Phnom Penh. Syeikh Ismail would be remembered among local Muslims as "Tok Ngok" for the way he shook his head during *dhikr* and allegedly founded the Chvea village of Tuol Ngok (neighbouring Khleang Sbek and Kampong Luong). Conversely, HJ. Hasan even gained royal favour (of Ang Duong) and left behind a larger-than-life image as the saint "Grandfather" (ch. *ong*, kh. *ta*) San, the eponym of Cambodia's *Kan Imam San* (KIS) Islamic community, whose shrine is located on Phnom Preah Reach Trap at Oudong.

This is at least what oral traditions collected by the Kampong Cham scholar Encik Hussin bin Yunus in the late 1960s relate⁶⁰³. As will be discussed in greater detail below, contemporary KIS representations of Imam San are quite different. In line with their role as (seemingly late-coming) leading historic opponents to Jawization, the Imam San claimed by them is devoid of any Malay connection. Thus, Cambodia's most eminent Muslim saint is a contentious figure with conflicting prevailing images of his legacy. The validity of the KIS narrative is called into question by a contemporary French source. Thus, Moura who had met "Ta-San" on the "hill of Oudong" in 1874 (and noted his continued presence there in 1877), likewise reported that he was "a Malay saint" who had long been living among Chams⁶⁰⁴. Also the fact that Tuol Ngok is a Chvea and not a Cham village may be regarded as instructive. In line with the pattern of ancestral graves being discursively turned into those of Muslim saints, it is also remarkable that a tombstone in Chumnik (Krauchhmar, Kampong Cham), which has long ceased to be the subject of devotion, is claimed to mark the grave of Tok Ngok. According to this tradition both the latter and Imam San actually originated from Chumnik, which they intriguingly only left due to a dispute over religious issues with a returnee from Mecca⁶⁰⁵. Thus, these two figures were evidently claimed by many. Needless to say, this clearly points to their eminence and its wide acknowledgment at a time

⁶⁰³ Nakula, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 28.

⁶⁰⁴ Moura, *Royaume du Cambodge*, I, p. 462f.

⁶⁰⁵ Emiko Stock, "From Tuolngok to Ta Ngok – A Journey of Islam across Cambodia", *ChamAttic*, blog entry posted February 11th 2012. <http://chamattic.wordpress.com/2013/02/11/cliches-du-fin-fond-du-grenier-from-toulnok-to-ta-ngok-a-journey-of-islam-across-cambodia/> (accessed May 9th 2013).

seemingly immediately preceding a phase of religious change and intra-community strife, which accounts for the conflicting ways of appropriation and the accompanying narratives. They may also point us to a past Muslim spiritual geography in Cambodia, which became ultimately submerged under Jawization. We will necessarily return to the KIS traditions about Imam San at a later stage when the formation of the community as an antidote to Jawization will be discussed in chapter eight.

In present-day Kampot past local traditions about Imam San are apparently largely forgotten. Even a local 75-year-old devotee of Imam San and his wife, who travel to the saint's *mawlid* virtually every year, had only heard his story (according to KIS tradition) in Oudong⁶⁰⁶. Thus, selective amnesia on KIS' part combined with vanishing memories in Kampot have served to obscure the important historical links between the latter area and Imam San's shrine in Oudong, and his fateful activities in Chhouk Sar, home to the (erstwhile) Tuanko Po faction. Indeed, taking these links and the lasting existence of a distinct local *zuhhād* tradition into account may help us to unriddle one of the most puzzling aspects of recent factionalism and institutionalized difference within Cambodian Islam: the seemingly sudden (qualified) affiliation of twelve Muslim villages in Kampot with KIS since the first years of the 21st century. Although the accuracy of the claim that Imam San had been a student of Daud Patani⁶⁰⁷ - albeit not entirely implausible - may be subject to doubt, the inherent irony of this assumption and what it would imply for the historic process of Jawization in Cambodia must be emphasized. Essentially, it would mean that the eponymous figure of historically-molded and institutionalized opposition to Jawization had actually been a student of one of the main exponents of the process.

It is therefore quite striking, that William Collins was told in the 1990s in Kampot by local Muslims that they felt to have a particularly strong connection to a Shaykh Daud from Patani. Even though the anthropologist was unfamiliar with this name, there can be no doubt which Daud had been meant. However, the great prestige and local influence credited to Daud were apparently a mere consequence of Jawization. Indeed, he clearly came to function as the most prominent author in any *jawi* curriculum of religious education in Cambodia, as was also the case in Patani and Kelantan. Accordingly, also students of religion from Kampot studying in Kampong Cham or elsewhere were thoroughly exposed to his thought, something which was certainly likewise ultimately reflected in local advanced

⁶⁰⁶ Personal communication with Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman) and his wife, at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

⁶⁰⁷ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 296. The author bases himself on a new article by Nakula contained in the most recent edition of TUSM, which has unfortunately been inaccessible to me.

Islamic schools. Therefore it should not come as a surprise that also Collins' informant associated Shaykh Daud primarily with texts, which had allegedly been brought in by 'ulamā' fleeing Thai oppression. In this context, another informant made an assertion which perfectly fits our understanding of Jawization (including the role of language and script) and our contention that Islamic religious practices were, firstly, far from unitary in Kampot and, secondly, in specific cases and ways akin and related to those prevailing in certain distant areas in central and northwestern Cambodia. Thus, he claimed that "the Cham already had a Qur'an in the Cham script, and only prayed once a week [a practice nowadays commonly, though inaccurately, seen as being peculiar to KIS]. But the Patani teachers brought a new writing and authoritative Islamic texts which successfully overcame *jalil* [sic!, ch./ml. *jahil* - "ignorant"]"⁶⁰⁸.

Praying only once a week, the major distinguishing feature of KIS (hence the name *kaum juma'at* ["Friday Group"] applied to them) and a practice therefore nowadays commonly though inaccurately, seen as being peculiar to it, constitutes another link between certain Muslim communities in Kampot and others in the central/northwestern region. Unsurprisingly, the alleged Kampot affiliate villages of KIS are drawn from among those where this practice has been largely preserved until quite recently or even today⁶⁰⁹. Yet, even the Au Russey-based leader of the community assumed that, whereas the believers in the villages in question had either preserved or revived many ancient traditions, they nevertheless were at least in part - contrary to the bulk of KIS - performing prayers five times a day⁶¹⁰. Tellingly, this set of villages also includes places visited by Ner such as Tadap and the self-declared Chvea village of Mak Prang with its population of Minangkabau and Greater Patani ancestry. Thus distinctly Pandurangan Cham traditions cannot be exclusively held responsible, once more indicating that Jawization was a process likewise affecting non-Chams in Cambodia.

Surprisingly, Ner had failed to take note of a quite specific local Islamic tradition, which exhibited not only the mentioned features linking it to other Muslim communities in the country but also very peculiar ones, strongly connected to particular locales and to the ritual life of surrounding non-Muslim Khmer (Theravada Buddhist) and Chinese (Mahayana

⁶⁰⁸ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 68.

⁶⁰⁹ Personal communication with Tuon Muhammad Hassan, at Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman), at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Sos Kriya (Zakariyya b. Yusof), at Prey Thnorng Cheung (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Sam Sou, at Thvi (Kampot), May 6th 2012.

⁶¹⁰ Three years later he asserted that belonging to KIS, which, according to him applied to twelve villages in Kampot, depended on practicing Islam as in Au Russey, which would clearly imply praying only once a week, and visiting Imam San's shrine for his annual mawlid. Personal communication with *Ong Khnour Kai Tam* at Sre Brey (Au Russey), July 9th 2009 & May 13th 2012.

Buddhist) communities in the same localities. Knowledge about shared sacred spaces in Kampot, with all this implies for processes of religious amalgamation and interaction, only serves to strengthen and concretize our assumptions about the existence of a local *zuhhād* tradition associated, among others, with the names of Imam San, Ta Ngok and Datuk Zahid. Auguste Pavie's field notes of his time in Kampot in the 1870s⁶¹¹ represent the first and only Western account of these dynamics. On a general note, the French explorer related that Khmers, Cham/Chvea ("Kiams") and, to a lesser degree, the local Chinese of Kampot habitually used religious and periodic festivities as occasions for amicable reunions, in the course of which separation was only observed as far as religious ceremonies proper and communal meals were concerned. Dietary taboos were thus evidently well respected, whereas sportive competitions (from boat and elephant races to wrestling), frequently engaging contenders drawn from both ethnic groups ("chacun se posait en champion de sa race"), served as shared fields of activity⁶¹².

While most of these encounters arose around Buddhist festivities such as the *pchum ben* (ancestor) festival, which is - as will be recalled - even referred to in local Chvea lore, Pavie was aware of the fact that the local Muslims also had a number of distinctively local festivities and practices. One of these was taking place at a limestone hill near Kbal Romeas (Phnom Sla Taon, nowadays also called Phnom Kbal Romeas), and he was invited to attend it every year. On such occasions, numerous Muslim families assembled in a large cavern which apparently contained the tomb of a saint or venerated ancestor. In harmony with reports about practices until recently conducted in Roka Po Pram, the latter was decorated with little devotional flags. Religious functionaries prayed at it and sprinkled scented water in the presence of the believers. It must be stressed in this context that it was only the religious functionaries and not the common believers who prayed during the ritual. Following the ceremony proper, plates with provisions, sweets and fruits were laid out for a feast which was also joined by Pavie and similarly invited Khmers⁶¹³.

It is quite possible that the religious festival described by the French explorer was not (yet) directly connected to the mentioned *zuhhād* figures, albeit at least Imam San and Ta Ngok's activities must have preceded his visits to the cavern. Strikingly though, the aforementioned report attributing Kelantanese origins to Syeikh Ismail (Ta Ngok) relates

⁶¹¹ Even though contained in his books detailing the series of expeditions in Indochina known as the *Mission Pavie* (1879-1895), his observations in Kampot were obviously made during his posting there as telegraphist in the 1870s. Milton Osbourne, "Pavie, Auguste (1847-1925) - French Explorer-Diplomat" in Ooi Keat Gin (ed.), *Southeast Asia. A Historical Encyclopedia, From Angkor Wat to East Timor* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), p. 1038.

⁶¹² Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine*, p. 28-34.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39f.

that, when still in Kampot, he used to meditate in seclusion in a hole in the ground covered from atop⁶¹⁴. Yet, Pavie was told that the festival at the cave had been convened annually ever since the arrival of the local Chams, which he estimated as comparably recent. Whereas he mentions ancestors, there is no mention of an Islamic saint being the subject of the ceremony. Of course, these two categories are far from mutually exclusive. Yet, differing framing processes and discursive manifestations must be considered as relevant to the topic of religious and cultural change. Thus, what was taking place then could well have been the adoration of an (perhaps princely) ancestor as was the case with Po Behim and probably also originally at the discussed shrines in the Mekong Delta. It is, however, the long afterlife of these practices observed around 140 years ago, in this particular and similar other localities that sheds light on the interaction between them and local traditions of renunciation. Still in their present form they are again alerting us to the linkages between Kampot and Imam San's shrine at Oudong. Links, it must be noted, which have been completely hidden from scholarly view or scrutiny as was also the case with Pavie's intriguing report.

Fieldwork in the area has shown that devotional practices (with an increasingly pronounced relationship to *zuhhād* traditions) at Phnom Sal Taon, have continued until the present and that such as carried out in the cavern at its foot must have still been widespread or at least current among certain local Muslims until the advent of *Khmers Rouges* rule (that is, a hundred years after Pavie's observations), with some remnants even surviving into the post-DK era. Indeed, two local hills with limestone caverns are still associated with *inter alia* Muslim worship today. Apart from the afore-mentioned one, this likewise concerns Phnom Chhnork, which also houses a (Khmer) Buddhist shrine and the remains of a pre-Angkorian Shivaite monument in an even larger limestone cavern. Several local sources asserted that old men would in the past retreat into the caves in order to engage in *dhikr*⁶¹⁵. According to one informant "there were many people in Kampot in the old days that only prayed and practiced *dhikr*"⁶¹⁶. One of these recluses (at Phnom Sal Taon), Tok Amad, allegedly gained particular prominence as a holy man. He only came to Kbal Romeas from his hill/cave for major religious festivities (assumably the two *'īds* and *mawlid*). After his death his tomb in the cavern turned into a pilgrimage site, which people

⁶¹⁴ Nakula, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 28.

⁶¹⁵ Personal communication with Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman) and his wife, at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Sos Kriya (Zakariyya b. Yusof), at Prey Thnorng Cheung (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Radiah, at Kampot, May 6th 2012; and with two generations of a family of local religious teachers, Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 6th 2012.

⁶¹⁶ Personal communication with Tourman, at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

would visit for supplicatory group prayers (ar. sg. *du'ā'*, ml./ch. *doa*), usually to call for rain⁶¹⁷. Whereas some informants were assuming that these practices had ceased since DK era, others, including a Khmer “cavern guide”, claimed that some old people had revived it thereafter⁶¹⁸. One noted that the last such occasion had been observed only around 2005/6⁶¹⁹.

In addition, *mawlid* ceremonies were performed at the hill. As a result local Muslims are still today commonly referring to it as Phnom Mawlad. Residents of the local group of villages (voluntarily or involuntarily) associated with KIS are still known to hold *mawlid* ceremonies there, intriguingly both on the occasion of the prophet’s birthday as well as on the day of the *mawlid* of Imam San at Oudong⁶²⁰. As most of the villages in question are located at a greater distance to the site than Kbal Romeas, it is obvious that these ceremonies were and still are indeed connected to a pilgrimage, which is akin to or perhaps even partly substituting for the one at Oudong. As such even the version of the festival not associated with Imam San cannot be simply compared with normal village *mawlids*. As far as Kbal Romeas - with its locally outstanding legacy of formal religious education - is concerned, the figure of Tok Amad seems to have submerged spiritual linkages to Imam San and Oudong. Whereas the younger generation (i.e. now in their twenties or thirties) of a family mostly made up of religious teachers had heard about the former from their parents, they were until recently completely unaware of any local connections to Oudong, let alone of the figure of Imam San⁶²¹. This certainly tells us something about the postulated existence of diverging religious orientations and different Islamic horizons among the Muslims of Kampot.

Albeit less pronounced than in the case of its counterpart near Kbal Romeas, also Phnom Chhnork shares a similar history of Muslim worship. Home to a pre-Angkorian 7th century Shiva cave temple (*prasat*⁶²²) and a Buddhist shrine, local *zuhhād* were also known to have withdrawn there. The purported existence of an Arabic grafitto somewhere in the cavern

⁶¹⁷ One informant (Tuorman) attributed the effectiveness of supplications to “the special powers of the ancestors there”.

⁶¹⁸ This range of opinions came from the informants listed in n. 614.

⁶¹⁹ Personal communication with Sam Sou, at Thvi (Kampot), May 6th 2012.

⁶²⁰ Personal communication with Tuon Muhammad Hassan, at Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 5th 2012; Tourman (‘Abd al-Rahman), at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012

⁶²¹ Personal communication with two generations of a family of local religious teachers, Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 6th 2012.

⁶²² In Cambodia this term can refer either to ancient Cambodian temples or modern religious structures built to resemble or evoke them. On the other hand a *prasat* may be found within a *wat* in form of a religious shrine “not specifically Buddhist in function”. John Marston, “Wat Preah Thammalanka and the Legend of Lok Ta Nen” in Alexandra Kent & David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue. Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), p. 107 n. 1.

could, however, not be verified. Whereas Phnom Chhnork is clearly dominated by Buddhist imagery and is slowly gaining currency as a tourist attraction, Islamic references are pervasive at the so-called Phnom Mawlad. Nevertheless, both are equally representing a culture of shared ritual spaces in the area. Indeed, upon closer inspection of the cavern at Phnom Mawlad it became evident that the inner sanctuary, which proved surprisingly difficult to reach, had served the purposes of all three local religious communities (Muslims, Khmer Theravada and Chinese Mahayana Buddhists)⁶²³. A central limestone pillar, broad enough for one or two officiants to stand on, has been reportedly used by all three groups of believers. It still showed remains of already crumbling cement, which had obviously been used to create a flat surface, facilitating standing, sitting and particularly kneeling on its top. Besides the pillar a few ceramic tiles had remained of a low structure, built and exclusively used by Chinese Buddhist visitors⁶²⁴. Clearly, as far as the cave as a shared ritual space between three religious communities is concerned, it would be wrong to speak of an instance of syncretism. Especially when viewed in the context of Pavie's report about the frequent engagement of Khmers and local Muslims as contenders in sportive competitions held as customary profane side events to Buddhist festivals, it is rather the concept of "competitive sharing", as applied by Jackie Assyag to shared shrines in his *At the Confluence of Two Rivers: Muslims and Hindus in South India* (2004)⁶²⁵, which seems appropriate.

Additionally, the seemingly peculiar instance of a cave as a former hermitage (rather than an actual *maqām*) associated with a Muslim saint as a ritual space shared by different religions, whereby rituals are specifically centered on a pedestal, is far from unique. Caves and other underground spaces are, of course, among the traditional sites for the Sufi practice of seclusion (*khalwa* or *chilla*), the retreat from public life for spiritual purposes, which was standardized to conform to forty day periods already in the early phases of the development of Sufism⁶²⁶, hence the Persian term *chilla* (from *chihil* – "forty"). Even though in contrast still flourishing and organizationally functioning on a completely different (far more elaborate) stage, the Bababudhan Darga in Karnataka (Southwest India) may be invoked as a comparative case. A ritual space for both Muslims and Hindus, also this *darga*

⁶²³ There is also a small Buddhist shrine at the entrance of the cave.

⁶²⁴ Personal observations at Phnom Sal Taon and Phnom Chhnork, May 6th 2012.

⁶²⁵ Sudha Sitharaman, "Limits of Syncretism: Bababudhan Dargah in South India as a Paradigm for Overlapping Religious Affiliations and Co-existence" in Andreas H. Pries, Laetitia Martzloff, Robert Langer & Claus Ambos (eds.), *Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt. „Synkretismus“ zwischen Negation und Neudefinition* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), p. 92f.

⁶²⁶ 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Hujwīrī (d. 1071) connected this practice directly to the prophet Mūsā's forty days of fasting as related by the Qur'ān (Q 7, 142) and elaborated upon by some of the Companions. Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen*, p. 155f.; Muhammad Asad, *Die Botschaft des Koran. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2009), p. 293 n. 104.

(Islamic shrine complex) with its central cave is not a mortuary shrine proper but a (former) hermitage. In striking similarity to the pillar-like rock pedestal in the Phnom Mawlad cavern, we learn that at Bababudhan “[t]he cave houses an altar or seat which is believed to be the [place of] *chilla* of [the Muslim saint] Dada Hayath Meer Qalandar, while many see it as a *peetha* of Swamy Dattatreya – a protean figure appropriated by a wide variety of traditions from Tantrism to Sufism”⁶²⁷. It must also be noted in this regard that the figure of the Muslim *zahīd* closely resembles that of the “forest monks” in Cambodian Buddhism, who were more commonly attached to a master rather than a monastery. Their ambiguous role and highly respected position among village folks are known to have at times caused tensions in the monastic order⁶²⁸.

In sum, the emergence of the distinctive *zuhhād* tradition and shrine culture in Kampot, which appears to be strikingly absent in neighbouring Preah Sihanouk province⁶²⁹, has been influenced by a variety of factors. These include the existence of sacred spaces shared by all local religious communities, distinctively Cham practices of ancestor worship with increasingly strong Islamic references, the influence of foreign and local Sufis and an almost forgotten old connection to Oudong, the only trans-Cambodian Muslim pilgrimage site. It is most probably this diverse array of influences which provided for the prolonged diversification of Islamic practice in the province as specific legacies received emphasis or gradual devaluation among different communities during periods of subtle as well as accelerated religious change. It has to be stressed once more in this respect, that the local configurations and their historical evolution have been and are extremely complex. Whereas, contrary to the standard view which regards KIS as the last preservers of true Cham Islamic tradition, ethnic background or endo-definition (i.e. Cham vs. Chvea) was not the decisive element, the degree of exposure to Jawization probably was. Despite all complexity, it also provides the common thread running through religious change,

⁶²⁷ Sitharaman, “Limits of Syncretism”, p. 97.

⁶²⁸ Alain Forest, “Buddhism and Reform: Imposed reforms and popular aspirations. Some historical notes to aid reflection” in Alexandra Kent & David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue. Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), p. 23f.

⁶²⁹ O Trav (*khum* Andong Thmar) in Prey Nup district could probably be regarded as an exception. The village had been founded at some point in the (assumably late) 19th century by Chvea settlers from Kampot. The local grave of a village elder named Noh, possibly the leader of the migration into the area, could have been regarded as a spiritually responsive place in the past. At least it has its place in local memory and is currently considered as an “important historical artifact” by the *Documentation Center of Cambodian* (DC-Cam), which plans to “renovate” the grave as part of its scheme to turn the village (with its 1963 mosque, a former *Khmers Rouges* dining hall and the grave) into the site of a memorial, a museum and an education center. Ser, So & Eng, *Cambodia: Cham Identities*, p. 14-17. Observation on the spot has, however, shown that a bit more than “renovation” is needed regarding the burial place of Noh. Indeed, virtually nothing has been preserved as it had been reportedly marked only by (meanwhile decayed) wooden posts instead of headstones. Personal observation and communication with villagers at O Trav (Preah Sihanouk), May 4th 2012.

preservation and modulation of traditions, and recent instances of factionalism or at least the formation of different intra-Muslim group identities.

Thus, Kbal Romeas and neighboring Kampong Keh, as far as can be inferred from Ner's report as well as from several pieces of archival evidence, both consciously Cham and at the forefront of Jawization in the 1930s, have travelled the route of Jawization. This is also quite obvious in the present religious make-up of the twin villages. Kbal Romeas now houses one of the three largest centers (*markaz*) of the Tablīghī Jamā'at (TJ) in the country, including madrasa and mosque (*Nūr al-Hidāya*). This institution draws students from as far as Pursat and Kampong Cham and enjoys strong links to Malaysia. Many of its teachers have completed their studies at the Tablighi *Dār al-'Ulūm* in Sri Petaling (Kuala Lumpur)⁶³⁰. Their students are advised to do the same⁶³¹. In Kampong Keh one finds two large madrasas. The *Madrasa an-Nikmah* belongs to a group of integral Islamic schools (all known by the same name), which have been established by the *Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation* since 1999 and are relying on the Malaysian syllabus for secondary religious schools (see below)⁶³². The thoroughly *jawi* educated Mufti of Cambodia (i.e. the official counterpart to KIS' *ong khnour*) functions as advisor and patron of the latter organization. Conversely, the *Maahad Imam Syafie* was built and is run by the Malaysian NGO *Akademi Imam Syafie* (est. 2008)⁶³³. On the contrary, Chvea villages such as Mak Prang, only marginally connected to the networks of Jawization in the 1930s, have recently, in the face of the sudden arrival of global Islamic flows, which have posed the major religious challenge to local Islamic practice since the high times of Jawization, become (more or less wholeheartedly) affiliated to the "pure Chams" of KIS. In other words, they have sided with the historic forces of anti-Jawization.

⁶³⁰ Founded in 1995 by graduates of Deoband, this institution serves as the TJ's national headquarter. The school's curriculum is based on the Deobandi one. Dietrich Reetz, "The Deoband Universe: What Makes a Transcultural and Transnational Educational Movement of Islam", *CSSAAME*, XXVII (2007), p. 156.

⁶³¹ Personal communication with Muhammad Ali, founder of *Nūr al-Hidāya*, born in Khleang Sbek (Kendal), at Bunga Emas (Kampung Penambang, Kota Bharu, Kelantan), July 20th 2012; Math Ali b. Ismail, teacher at *Nūr al-Hidāya*, born in Tuol Ngok (Kendal), at Kbal Romeas, May 6th 2012; Tuon Muhammad Hassan, Kbal Romeas, May 5th 2012; and with two generations of a family of local religious teachers, Kbal Romeas, May 6th 2012.

⁶³² Philipp Bruckmayr, "The Cham Muslims of Cambodia: From Forgotten Minority to Focal Point of Islamic Internationalism", *AJISS*, XXIII, no. 3 (2006), p. 11; *ibid.*, "Phnom Penh's Fethullah Gülen School as an Alternative To Prevalent Forms of Education for Cambodia's Muslim Minority" in John L. Esposito & Ihsan Yilmaz (eds.), *Islam and Peacebuilding. Gülen Movement Initiatives* (New York: Blue Dome Press, 2010), p. 233; Omar Farouk Bajunid, "Islamic Education in Mainland Southeast Asia: The Dilemmas of Muslim Minorities" in Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad & Patrick Jory (eds.), *Islamic Studies and Islamic Education in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Ilmuwan, 2011), p. 177 n. 35.

⁶³³ Personal observation in Kampong Keh, May 6th 2012. The organization's official Cambodian representative Ustaz Ly Ysaeu (Isa b. Ali) was born in Prei Thnornng (Kampot) and tellingly received his (integral) high school education in a Malay school in Yala (Thailand). <http://www.utem.edu.my/myweb/riduan/2012/AIS.html> (accessed May 12th 2013).

4. Factionalism observed: “trimeu”, “kobuol” and “hyper-traditionalists”

It is only among the Muslims of Central and Northwestern Cambodia, that is, in Phnom Penh and the provinces of Kendal, Kampong Chhnang, Pursat and Battambang, that Ner directly observed intra-Muslim strife and factionalism. There he was witness to a community split into two diverging trends which had canalized into clearly identifiable group identities. As is the case today with the present instances of intra-Muslim religious factionalism in Cambodia, and has often been so since the earliest times of Muslim history, either had control over their own mosques or at least claimed individual ones for themselves in cases of dispute⁶³⁴. Nowhere is the process of Jawization and the strain it brought about more evident than in the formation of the two contending groups, dubbed *trimeu* and *kobuol* by Ner. Even though these labels are not attested anywhere else and evidently locally enjoyed only a very brief life span, becoming obsolete within only two decades after the publication of his article, they have proven all the more influential in academic works on Islam in Cambodia.

Basically, Ner’s terminology was to scholarship on Cambodian Islam what Geertz’ tripartite scheme of *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi* was to Java, even though the former became much faster empirically irrelevant than the latter⁶³⁵. Indeed, also Ner’s scheme involved three different groups, as he additionally identified a minor community of “hyper-traditionalists” (*attaché à une tradition plus ancienne encore*) at Au Russey (Kampong Tralach)⁶³⁶. As is the case with other more well-known dichotomies within Southeast Asian Islam such *santri/putihan-abangan* (Java) or *waktu lima-waktu telu* (Lombok), it has to be cautioned that individual pure-types of these categories are naturally rare, and thus representing only the most extreme cases of the spectrum, if not at all inexistent⁶³⁷. Nevertheless, even before the stage of formal organization, rarely achieved in pre-colonial times and still often not even envisaged in post-colonial ones, the formation of factions with specific group identities,

⁶³⁴ For an instructive case of early Muslim history see Najam Haider, “Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage: Mapping Shī‘ī Sectarian Identity in 2nd/8th Century Kūfa”, *IL&S*, XVI (2009), p. 151-174.

⁶³⁵ Already by the 1960s a French anthropologist noted that this distinction did not exist anymore at that time. Juliette Baccot, *On G’nur et Cay à O Russey. Syncretisme religieux dans un village cham du Cambodge* (Paris: PhD. Dissertation, Université de Paris, 1968), 22. It was presumably with the emergence of local Islamic reformism in the late 1950s that it became obsolete. What is more, this latter challenge evidently not only precipitated new dissensions but also new (re-)alignments and a closing of certain otherwise disparate ranks.

⁶³⁶ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 187f.

⁶³⁷ Compare the revealing observations on Islam and factional identities in Lombok in the 1930s, 1970s and the 21st century. Bousquet, “Recherches sur les deux sectes”, p. 153; Cederroth, *Spell of the Ancestors*, p. 87; Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors*, p. 31-33.

core values and symbols of belonging, subscribed to in their entirety or partially to varying degrees, is a truly significant, and as such also perceptible, phenomenon. Thus, keeping these qualifications and the questionable actual currency of the *trimeu/kobuol* labels in mind, there can be no doubt that the factionalism and group formation described by the French scholar really did take place and was empirically recognizable. This even more so, as present Cambodian Islam still reverberates from its long-term consequences. In addition, as will be shown below, an important historical source (a fatwa emanating directly out of a main node of Jawization) clearly testifies to the centrality of the contentious issue standing patron for the labels *trimeu* and *kobuol*, which were strikingly drawn from disputes about the proper performance of Islamic marriage ceremonies (*nikāḥ*).

According to Ner, the division of the community merely dated back less than half a century (i.e. to the turn of the 20th century) and the by then dominant group of *trimeu* was “characterized by the place accorded to Malay in religious instruction, the explication of the Qur’an and in Muslim rites themselves”. Indeed, in Ner’s description the *trimeu* are epitomizing our concept of Jawization. He further noted that the term itself, like its counterpart *kobuol*, derived from formulaic expressions used in the Muslim marriage ritual. Thus, he noted that the representatives of the former “had substituted the Malay formula *Akou trimeu* [*aku terima*], “I accept”, for the Arabic *Kobuol hambeu* [*qabūl/kabul hamba*], carrying the same meaning”. He then volunteered the opinion that the underlying reason had been a desire to invigorate Qur’anic education by employing a language related to Cham, which would allow greater numbers of believers to actually understand its contents, as otherwise (and traditionally) Arabic formulas were mostly recited by heart without comprehension. Whereas there was certainly more to the process of Jawization than this latter reasoning, the overwhelming role played in it by Malay was well captured by Ner.

Of course, the expression *kabul hamba* is hardly Arabic. Strikingly, this crucial aspect has been completely overlooked by scholars basing themselves on Ner. Although indeed deriving from Arabic *qabūl*, *kabul* is a loan-word in Malay, Javanese and assumingly also in other languages of the *jawi* ecumene. It is further already attested in old Malay-Cham word lists from Panduranga, written in Cham script and tentatively dated to the 17th century. Among the different renderings presented therein, the closest is *kabuol*⁶³⁸. Conversely, *hamba* is a (nowadays outdated) Malay first person pronoun more formal in character than

⁶³⁸ Po Dharma, *Quatre lexiques*, p. 368.

aku and literally meaning “your humble servant”⁶³⁹. Two points must be stressed in this regard. Firstly, the self-proclaimed *kobuol* defenders of Arabic vis-à-vis Malay must have evidently had little actual command or understanding of the language. What seems to have been guarded instead was an oral tradition - or one probably once recorded in writing in a meanwhile forgotten script (*akhar trah*) or ancestral language - which had unsurprisingly been influenced by Malay models. This thus appears to be the first documented case of the conscious or unconscious negation of an historical Malay imprint on Cambodian Islam, or in other words, of an antagonism between the supporters of *jawi*-oriented religious change and an opposition that reacts to their challenge by denying the validity of their general approach *inter alia* in historical terms. Accordingly, the present KIS claim to represent pure Cham Islam is necessarily connected to the assertion of being unpolluted by Malay influence⁶⁴⁰. Secondly, evidence to be presented below, seems to indicate that the new hegemonic discourse of Jawization precipitating the commotion and the reaction of the constituents of the *kobuol* group, was indeed closely tied to the written regimes of religious transmission identified as a core feature of Jawization.

For Ner the complete triumph of the *trimeu* was already imminent in the late 1930s. Indeed, he considered them to make up almost 80 per cent of Cambodia’s Muslim population. This statement is a crucial one as far as the foregoing discussions on “concealed divergence” are concerned. As he documented factional strife and the accompanying existence of specific group identities only in Central and Northwestern Cambodia, he must have plainly counted all Cambodian Muslims not pertaining to either the *kobuol* or the “hyper-traditionalists” in these parts as *trimeu*, thereby implying an implausible degree of homogeneity hardly borne out by his own observations. Whereas divergence was obviously also to be found in Kampot and Kampong Cham, things there did not come to a head and Ner apparently saw nothing substantial (except some religious teachers and believers who were *peu instruits* – also an attribute he gives to the *kobuol*) that would have contradicted the general trend of what we have decided to describe as Jawization. Local Muslims who would - because of many shared characteristics - have most probably been labeled as *kobuol* or passed themselves as such, did not acquire or subscribe to such a quasi-sectarian identity. Whatever different orientations and, indeed, Islamic discursive traditions may have existed among the Cambodian Muslims of these regions, its respective representatives were evidently lacking what Charles Stewart has defined as (always merely temporary) “entitivity”, “the quality of forming a discrete

⁶³⁹ R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary (Romanised)*, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1959), I, p. 391. Modern Malay-English dictionaries are commonly no longer listing the usage of *hamba* as a pronoun at all.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. VIII.3.

entity”⁶⁴¹. Whereas there was undoubtedly an entity of Cambodian Muslims (vis-à-vis their Khmer Buddhist neighbors), *koboul* and *trimeu* constituted oppositional factional entities under pressure. Theirs was entitvity arising out of a conflict situation dependent on particular circumstances. This is also the reason why a *trimeu* entity and identity rapidly became obsolete with the fading out of the conflict. More than that, as was also the case elsewhere in regions which had witnessed factional strife (for example among successively emerging Sufi *ṭarīqas* or lineages within them), the challenge posed by Islamic reformism, precipitated a re-alignment of the hitherto competing groups. Needless to say, under such circumstances self-ascriptions burdened with a legacy of conflict were quick to be discretely discarded.

One possible explanation for the emergence of a local factionalism, which was elsewhere absent, would be that the process of Jawization was more gradual and subtle in the latter areas. Structural issues related to the deportations under Ang Duong may have also played a role. At least Ner’s “hyper-traditionalists”, then seemingly rather detached from the main conflict, are obviously the descendants of the Tuanko Po group at Chhouk Sar and Au Russey. While these explanations are certainly not entirely satisfactory as to why divergence was canalized into outright intra-Muslim factionalism in some parts of Cambodia but not in others, the recognition of such divergence and of its respective characteristics is crucial to an understanding and appreciation of the later reactions and coping strategies of local Muslims to the new challenges of Islamic reformism and then of different facets of Islamic internationalism. Conversely, as can be inferred from the historical trajectory leading to the constitution of KIS as an officially recognized Islamic community in the 1990s, concealed divergence (and therefore potential entitvity among counter-currents to hegemonic Jawization) not captured by Ner’s observations on the *trimeu/koboul* split also existed in Central and Northwestern Cambodia. Neither did the eventual victory of the *trimeu* establish Jawization as the only option for Muslims in the area.

In line with our emphasis on the roles of the hajj and of scholarly links to the Malay World, Ner remarked that it was only the *trimeu* who sent their sons to study abroad, and that they likewise made up the majority of hajjis. In this respect it must also be noted that he estimated the total number of hajjis in the country at approximately 500 people and thus

⁶⁴¹ Stewart, “Creolization, Ritual and Syncretism”, p. 10.

almost one per cent of the local Muslim population⁶⁴². Whereas he characterized the *kobuol* as traditionalists, heralding their attachment to prophetic formulas, as opposed to flaunting *jawi* credentials, he identified the group at Kampong Tralach as even more traditional, somewhat peripheral to the conflict (*s'entendent avec tous*) and fully enmeshed in their own world of distinctly Cham traditions, even relying on Cham in their ritual formulas. They were the only ones to have preserved the Cham manuscript culture and with it also knowledge of their ancestral history. The notion of them being “more traditional” than the *kobuol* is, however, misleading at least in the way it is framed by Ner. Whereas the “hyper-traditionalists” may have been justifiably regarded as exclusively Cham, this does not seem to apply to the *kobuol*, thus prompting the question whose tradition was older (i.e. more primordial), or was being defended here for that matter.

One further intriguing aspect of Jawization and anti-Jawization, as epitomized by the eventual prevalence of *trimeu*-style Islam on the one hand, and by the formation of KIS on the other, must be taken into account. This concerns the apparent ability of the “hyper-traditionalists” to draw villages of opponents to Jawization - no matter if they were being labeled, or regarded themselves, as *kobuol* or not - gradually into its fold. While there is much to support such a view, the assertion that those remaining *kobuol* villages marked out by Ner plainly became KIS villages in the long run is inaccurate. This will become clearer in the following section, which will follow the already familiar pattern of checking and discussing Ner's findings in conjunction with other contemporary sources, subsequent related developments and available background information on specific issues of relevance to the overall discussion.

One relevant characteristic is the special relationship entertained by the Cham and Chvea in the center of the country with the Khmer court. As has been discussed in detail above, this relationship was neither an easy nor a stable or one-sided one. Yet, despite the twist and turns of rebellion, acrimony, deportations, shifting alliances and the spirited defence of Khmer kingship (or rather of particular claimants), the court and the Protectorate were

⁶⁴² Ner, “Musulmans de l'Indochine”, p. 186. Even though his estimate was perhaps too optimistic, it would nevertheless seem that the Cambodian Muslim community contained a disproportionately high percentage of hajjis when compared with Malaya or the Dutch East Indies during the period. This development seems to have continued unabated into the mid-1960s, when the annual pilgrimage quota supervised by the *changvang* was set at 80 pilgrims a year and the latter estimated the number of hajjis living in the country - with some degree of hyperbole - at around 2 percent or 3000 people. Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 21f. Guérin, basing himself - with reservations - on Ner's estimate, suggest a rate of 5-6% for the 1930s, which would be more or less on par with Malaya (6%), where Kelantan (as prime point of reference for Cambodian Muslims) accounted for the greatest number of pilgrims for three successive years during the decade (1936-1938), but significantly above those of Indonesia or Egypt (both 1%). Mathieu Guérin, “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque’. L'influence des Malais de Patani et du Kelantan sur l'islam des Cam du Cambodge”, *Aséanie*, XIV (2004), p. 49. I have drawn the Malayan statistics from Roff (“Conduct of the Hajj”, p. 343).

able to eventually align themselves with all the different groups of Chams and Chvea and their leaders, who at times acted very much like mere war-lords. Thus, even if the narrative of unquestioned Cham-Chvea loyalty to the throne, cherished by many present day Cambodian Muslims and politicians, does not stand up to the investigation of historical complexities, there can be no doubt that those Muslims residing near the centers of power experienced a completely different kind of interaction with the court and the French authorities than others. This had, of course, also been the foremost rationale for Ang Duong's deportations. Moreover, this particular relationship and disproportionate exposure to Khmer and French authorities and their policies seems to have made the local Muslims more prone to open intra-community conflicts, which could and would here be directly referred, among others, also to the central powers. Such referral would have seemed less inviting in the more enclosed worlds of Trea or Thbaung Khmum⁶⁴³. Yet, it was a particularity of Jawization in Cambodia in a colonial framework that, at least in the center of political life of the country, the list of regularly consulted referees did not only include *jawi* scholars in Mecca, Kelantan and Patani, but also Khmer and French officials.

4.1. Oknhas, oarsmen, and royal festivals: Cambodian Muslims of the central reaches and the court

In the suburbs of Phnom Penh Ner encountered a strong Muslim community of 3.363 inhabitants dispersed over Chrang Chamres in the North, Chroy Changvar in the East and Prek Pra in the Southeast. Kendal province, home to (also historically) important Cham and Chvea villages such as Khleang Sbek, Kampong Luong and Tuol Ngok, had a Muslim population of 8.929. Whereas the great scholarly and spiritual center of the area was clearly Chroy Changvar, a position it could - contrary to Trea - not maintain into the present, also Chrang Chamres boasted important mosques and religious scholars. The centre of the country also had the highest number of Muslim dignitaries, which indicates that valorizing ethnic/religious capital within the Cambodian system of clientele was felt to be much more important here than in comparably remote regions such as Kampong Cham, let alone Kampot. Accordingly, also the connection to Khmer kingship, including in military and even ritual spheres, was closest in these central (kh. *kendal*) regions around the old capital of Oudong and the new one at Phnom Penh. Likewise the presence as well as the to and fro

⁶⁴³ The 1924 annual report on Kampong Cham submitted by a colonial doctor explicitly viewed the local Cham community as "a world somewhat apart from the indigenous world". Sokhieng Au, "Indigenous politics, public health and the Cambodian colonial state", SEAR, XIV (2006), p. 73. This was certainly less pronounced in places such as Chroy Changvar or Kampong Luong.

of Malay and South Asian Muslim settlers and visitors was duly felt. Also religious teachers from Kampong Cham often chose to settle and teach in places such as Chroy Changvar, thereby strengthening the scholarly and often also economic linkages between the two regions.

As far as the distribution of dignitary titles to Chams and Chvea is concerned, it has already been noted that these all became tied to the heads of specific mosques. This therefore also applies to the great number of dignitaries in Phnom Penh and Kendal. In 1936, coinciding with Ner's time of research, fourteen out of a total of seventeen dignitaries had been affiliated to specific mosques in the area. These included most prominently the *oknha reachea thipadey (changvang)* as "supreme chief of the Muslims of Cambodia" and head of the Ek (Raingsei) mosque in Chroy Changvar. Apart from two additional dignitaries associated with other Chroy Changvar mosques, the remaining ones resided in Chrang Chamres (4) as well as in the Kendal villages of Khleang Sbek (2), Tuol Ngok (1), Sambour Meas (Kampong Luong, 1), Baren (2) and Svay Chrum (1)⁶⁴⁴. It shall be noted, that with Baren (*srok Saang*), located south of Phnom Penh at the Tonle Bassac (i.e. the Bassac branch of the Mekong), and Svay Chrum (*srok Khsach Kendal*), situated at a ferry crossing at the left bank of the Mekong across from Chroy Changvar, also less illustrious Muslim settlements of Kendal far from the string of villages north of the capital along the Tonle Sap had their dignitaries (though with lower ranks⁶⁴⁵). As the *oknha khnour* of Au Russey in Kampong Tralach, the direct precursor of the present KIS leader, is for obvious historical reasons also best included into the list of dignitaries residing at the center of the country, there only remain the two aforementioned title holders in Kampong Cham as representatives of Muslim communities in other parts of the country.

It has already been suggested above, that the appointment of Cham, Malay and Chvea dignitaries seems to have undergone a gradual transformation from primarily political leaders or ethnic war-lords to religious ones, which is not meant to imply that religious connotations were alien to these earlier functions. At the same time we have hypothesized that the state's official valorization of ethnic or religious capital, or of a combination of both, may have contributed to a weakening of the authority of bearers of the Cham *po* title. As far as the first aspect is concerned, it is intriguing that Tuon Li (and his counterpart in Kampong Cham) had been known as *oknha/samdech borates changvang* ("chief of the foreigners") in the days of Ang Duong. Although it was probably taken as self-evident that

⁶⁴⁴ ANC-RSC 28319.

⁶⁴⁵ These three dignitaries as well as the one based at Koh Sautin (Kampong Cham) were the only ones not holding the *oknha* but minor titles.

these “foreigners” likewise adhered to a different religion, the latter nevertheless apparently did not feature as prominent in considerations about community leadership as it would do later under the auspices of the French. This is also indicated by the fact, that the *oknha reachea thipadey*, later characterized as the “supreme chief of the Muslims of Cambodia”, was then (probably until some time into Norodom’s reign) also directing the affairs of the 280 (mostly Chroy Changvar-based) Cham and Chvea oarsmen of the royal junks⁶⁴⁶. Needless to say, this had been a duty, which the French and King Sisowath, who proved to be much more cooperative in and responsive to the Protectorate’s reform initiatives in religious and educational spheres than Norodom⁶⁴⁷, would have hardly associated with religious leadership. Intriguingly, also the commander of the infamous Cham volunteer corps in the Siamese army was designated as Phraya Jawang or Chang-Wang⁶⁴⁸.

Concerning the second aspect, it must be noted that by Ner’s time the court had indeed come to retrospectively rationalize the privileging of religious over ethnic/political capital with the local lack of any legitimate or widely accepted claimant to political leadership of the community. Thus, a 1936 letter from the Minister of the Interior and Cults to the Protectorate’s delegate to the Cambodian government, providing “necessary information on the general situation of the Cham-Malay clerical hierarchy of Cambodia”, claimed that even before the arrival of the French there had “not been a single authentic descendant of the Cham-Malay [*sic*] royal or princely family called Po-Thiay” in the country⁶⁴⁹. As a result of this absence of natural leadership, the dispersed population was living under the Khmer civil law, whilst preserving its Islamic religion. Subsequently, the same report provides with an interesting concise sketch of the evolution of the system of Muslim dignitaries, which had, by the time it was drafted, indeed eventually developed into a hierarchy proper. Thus, we learn that “for many years the population had been placed, for each determined region, under the spiritual authority of the head of a mosque”. It is of course evident from the foregoing that many areas with more or less numerically significant Cham or Chvea populations actually did not figure among these “determined regions”.

⁶⁴⁶ The document in question belongs to 1915. It speaks of the *oknha*’s role in this sphere in the past tense, and notes that the “deceased king” (i.e. Norodom, d. 1904) had invested two other functionaries (one Cham, one Chvea) with authority over the oarsmen. This seems to suggest, that the arrangement stemmed at least from Ang Duong’s time and was then later changed under Norodom. Strikingly only the king had such a Cham-Chvea company, whereas princes, princesses and palace dames had Khmer oarsmen, which certainly tells us something about the reputation of the Cham-Chvea as men of the seas and waterways. ANC-RSC 23269.

⁶⁴⁷ Forest, “Buddhism and Reform”, p. 26-28; John Tully, *Cambodia under the Tricolor. King Sisowath and the “Mission Civilisatrice” 1904-1927* (Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1996).

⁶⁴⁸ Raymond Scupin, “Islam in Thailand before the Bangkok Period”, JSS, LXVIII, 1 (1980), p. 68f.

⁶⁴⁹ ANC-RSC 28319.

More intriguing, however, is the information as to who was responsible for the nomination of the leaders in question. Strikingly, it is stated that this duty fell (until his death) to the Venerable Tieng, the patriarch of the Mahanikay order of Cambodian Buddhism. The latter had been instated as the supreme patriarch (*sanghareach*) of Cambodian Buddhism by Norodom in 1880, when the king, following Mongkut's example in Siam, created a (not yet thoroughly structured) national *sangha* (community of Buddhist monkhood) to replace the established system of more or less autonomous pagodas with their respective monks. With this reform, Norodom also gave official (though secondary as can be inferred from the distribution of the supreme patriarch title) recognition and legitimacy to the competing emergent second Buddhist order in the country, the Thommayuth, which was henceforth to be headed by its own patriarch⁶⁵⁰. It is quite plausible in this respect that the lasting establishment of this dual structure in Cambodian Buddhism presaged, or provided the blue print for, the official recognition of two separate Islamic communities over a century later. What is more, the role of the supreme patriarch evidently extended even into the domain of the country's second largest religion, Islam. As there was no established system for the whole of the country yet, it should also not come as a surprise that most of the nominated dignitaries were to be found in areas not too distant from the capital, where Tieng, in his capacity as head of the famous Wat Ounaloum⁶⁵¹, had already resided before his ascension to the post. Given this close association to the position of supreme patriarch, it should also not come as a surprise that the stamps of Muslim dignitaries would soon be closely modeled after those of the Buddhist patriarchs (i.e. bearing the contours of respective, actually quite similar looking, pagodas/mosques)⁶⁵².

When Tieng died in 1913, the process was changed again and divorced from the administration of Buddhism. Henceforth mosque leaders were nominated by way of royal ordinances issued directly by the palace. Finally, in 1921, thus already in the final years of Sisowath's long reign (1904-1927), a new royal decree put an end to this practice and the office of the *oknha reachea thipadey changvang* as Muslim counterpart to the Buddhist supreme patriarch was established. This new position, in line with the similar (compared to Norodom's system more thorough) pyramidal, hierarchical structure of the *sangha* introduced under Sisowath⁶⁵³, was defined as follows: "All the heads of mosques are subject to the spiritual authority of a supreme chief residing at Chroy Changvar, who is himself

⁶⁵⁰ Edwards, *Cambodge*, p. 109f.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁶⁵² See fig. 8.

⁶⁵³ Forest, "Buddhism and Reform", p. 27.

leader of a mosque. This supreme and spiritual leader is placed under direct control of the Ministry of Cults and has to serve as intermediary between the administration and the diverse heads of mosques in matters of the Muslim religion [*religion musulmane-mahométane*]⁶⁵⁴. Actually, as will be shown below, the same person (apparently appointed by Tieng) had been playing a comparable role already since at least 1906, yet his national authority and his relationship to governing bodies as well as subordinates had never been concretized and clarified to such an extent. As the peculiar formulation “supreme and spiritual leader” appears several times in the document, we may take it, despite the reference to religious issues, as an echo of earlier political notions of leadership among the Cham-Malays, which consciously implies that the *changvang* was meant to be the community’s representative not only in strictly religious terms.

Assumingly, this development went hand in hand with the nomination of provincial leaders, such as the *oknha borates* of Svay Khleang in Kampong Cham, also in other provinces, which would then have been the precursors of today’s province imams (*imam khaet*)⁶⁵⁵. Yet, despite all attempts at reforming and systematizing the hierarchy of Muslim dignitaries in the country, it is evident that the pre-reform *oknhas* and other minor dignitaries kept their titles way into Ner’s time. This is also reflected in the selection process for a successor to the deceased *changvang* Hj. Tuorman (‘Abd al-Raḥmān, d. 1935), who had served as head of the Chroy Changvar mosque of Ek and as national Muslim spiritual leader since at least 1906⁶⁵⁶, although until 1921 evidently still with only restricted nation-wide authority. Thus, before the nomination of a new *changvang* the Ministry of Cults felt compelled to “proceed with essential consultations with various mosque leaders, who are advanced in years and holding the *oknha* title with 7-9 *huban* [*pâns de dignité*]⁶⁵⁷. Holding on to the old pattern of title distribution was also a way to ward off the potentially controversial ascension of comparably young upstarts to the post. By 1936 the conflict engaging *trimeu* and *kobuol* had been well underway and, as will be shown below, the same was true for intra-*trimeu* strife in crucial Chroy Changvar. It was presumably against this background that King Monivong had declared in December 1935 on the occasion of the *tang*

⁶⁵⁴ ANC-RSC 28319.

⁶⁵⁵ I have, however, only encountered unequivocal documentary evidence for such a position in Kampong Cham.

⁶⁵⁶ “Commissaire Central Boucly à Résident Maire”, dated May 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825. This source mentions a royal ordinance of 1906 specifying his intended role as religious leader. It was most likely issued upon his nomination to the position.

⁶⁵⁷ Under Ang Duong “foreigners” were only entitled to reach a level of up to 7 *huban*. Khin Sok, *Le Cambodge*, p. 132. Their position was evidently then enhanced again, presumably already under Norodom, who was desperate to assure himself of the loyalty of Cham-Malays and others.

tok festival, a festivity traditionally involving Muslim dignitaries that “young Chams and Malays were no longer to be directly accorded the *oknha* titles without having passed through lower dignitary ranks”⁶⁵⁸. Yet, royal recognition and the distribution of titles did obviously not necessarily coincide with the degrees of prestige and authority accorded by the believers. Hence the status of the most widely revered Islamic teachers (be they in Trea, Chroy Changvar or Chau Giang) as wielding actual supreme authority within the community.

The above reference to the *tang tok* festival finally brings us to another specific aspect of the special relationship between the court and its Muslim dignitaries predominantly residing in the vicinity of the former and present capitals. Thus, these dignitaries (as well as Cham-Chvea orchestras) were, besides the naturally more prominent representatives of the Buddhist hierarchy, among the standard official participants in all kinds of royal festivities. While this was certainly a long established practice, it is only through French reports of the the early 20th century, that a clearer picture of Muslim participation in court ritual emerges. Accordingly, the presence of “Malay” representatives was observed during the incineration of Norodom in 1904⁶⁵⁹. Chams and Chvea were also known for their legendary role as competitors in the boat-races held during the Cambodian water festival. Under Norodom, the royal port of Kampong Luong with its strong Muslim population (including two *oknhas*), had additionally been the site of a special “*cérémonie antique de l’ondoiment*” (assumably a kind of christening of ships)⁶⁶⁰. Another royal festivity associated with the water festival (i.e. the “Greeting of the Moon”), discontinued since Norodom’s ascension, had allegedly been instituted under Ramadhipathi I/Sultan Ibrahim⁶⁶¹. On the 6th day of the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of his successor Sisowath in 1906, a procession featuring twenty Muslim mandarins and a “Malay” orchestra was carried out. Cham-Chvea musicians were also performing during the so-called festival of the “Three-day-king”. The same musicians marched in front of two hundred Chams and Chvea in full dress in the processions forming part of the celebrations related to the ritual “cutting of hair” of members of the royal family⁶⁶².

⁶⁵⁸ ANC-RSC 28319. This declaration is first mentioned in a letter dated January 9th 1936. As *tang tok* (lit. “the laying out of the tables”) forms part of the celebration of the king’s birthday (running over several days) and Monivong was born on December 27th 1875, we may safely date it to December 1935.

⁶⁵⁹ Henri Marchal, “Souvenir d’un ancien conservateur d’Angkor. Chapitre II: Cérémonie d’incinération du Roi Norodom”, *Aséanie*, XVIII (2006), p. 174.

⁶⁶⁰ Leclère, *Fêtes civiles et religieuses*, p. 276.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 280f.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 49, 313, 470. Cabaton had erroneously assumed that the Muslim ‘*aqīqa*’ ceremony (consisting of the cutting of a child’s hair, an animal sacrifice and the eventual naming of the child with a Muslim name), at the

In 1904 Leclère already observed a practice still continued today, namely the performance of prayers (or rather, as is the case today, recitation from the Qur'an) by Muslim dignitaries (*prêtres mahométans des Malais et des Chams*) during the aforementioned *tang tok* festival on the second day of the celebrations of the king's birthday. Tellingly, the Muslim religious functionaries made their appearance after the Buddhist Mahanikay and then the Dhammakay orders had performed their hours-long prayers⁶⁶³. Still in 2012 one hundred Muslim dignitaries and officials were invited to the celebration during which, analogous to the dual performance of Buddhist ritual, the Mufti of Cambodia and the *Ong Khmour* both recited from the Qur'an⁶⁶⁴. Most probably both their predecessors had likewise participated in the 1904 ceremony, albeit – as opposed to the Buddhist context – not yet as the two representatives of an officially bifurcated religious community.

It should be clear from the foregoing that the Cham-Chvea community in the center of the country was indeed much more exposed and interacting with the Cambodian and French authorities than their counterparts in other regions of the country. As far as Chroy Changvar as seat of the *changvang* and home to a major Muslim community was concerned, its transformation into Phnom Penh's sixth quarter greatly strengthened this exposure. Thus, the local Muslims now found themselves subject to colonial intrusions into their lives such as the application of French sanitary law, including the examination of corpses for epidemiological tracking, a practice which 300 local signatories of a petition opposed on religious grounds⁶⁶⁵. Similarly, the maintenance of order in cases of intra-religious conflict, which would soon become rampant in the 1930s, now also fell under the purview of the metropolitan police. Clearly, with the widening spectre of colonial administration Islamic issues were no longer exclusively or almost exclusively confined to Muslim circles. This latter aspect is, however, less visible in Ner's report on contemporary intra-Muslim strife in the area, which will be revisited and analyzed in the following.

4.2. Mapping Muslim factionalism in Central and Northwestern Cambodia

Upon his fieldwork in Chroy Changvar in 1931 and 1937, Ner noted that many of its Muslim villagers (making up for over 300 houses) or their ancestors had only come down to the area

time of his research evidently only performed in Cambodia on boys between the age of three and thirteen, had been inspired by the latter Khmer ceremony. Cabaton, "Chams musulmans", p. 170.

⁶⁶³ Leclère, *Fêtes civiles et religieuses*, p. 332.

⁶⁶⁴ Personal communication with Mon Kriya, invited Muslim representative of the Ministry of Religion, Phnom Penh, April 30th 2012.

⁶⁶⁵ ANC-RSC 1347; Sokhieng, "Indigenous politics", p. 73f.

from Khleang Sbek in 1867 after Norodom had left Oudong for Phnom Penh⁶⁶⁶. This concerned Chams as well as Chvea, allegedly primarily descendants of migrants from Borneo. Both groups tellingly agreed that the coming of Malay Muslims to the area had been instrumental in bringing the local Chams into the fold of orthodox belief and practice, or into the fold of Islam altogether⁶⁶⁷. With Norodom also the position of highest Muslim dignitary moved from Khleang Sbek downriver to the new capital. Accordingly, Bastian had still been informed by Cambodian Muslims in 1864, that “[t]he most senior member of their clergy was the Achea Kalei [i.e. *reachea kaley*], who lived in Kransabek [Khleang Sbek]”⁶⁶⁸. On the other hand Ner also remarked that the strong local orientation towards trade, fishing and river transport resulted from being sidelined by the Protectorate as far as administrative and military positions were concerned. Thus, adverse French policies could have strengthened contact to Muslim traders and communities along the main rivers. Indeed, although Ner is silent about Chroy Changvar’s connections to the Muslim villages and centers of learning along the Mekong in Kampong Cham, archival sources of the period show that many of the local religious teachers had roots in Krauchhmar.

He also duly noted the residence of the *changvang* Hj. Ismail, the successor of the aforementioned Hj. Tuorman, and other high Muslim dignitaries there. In contrast he failed to recognize the existence of three mosques in the village, as he only mentions those of Ek and Muk Dach, but not the Kolaloum mosque, which was also connected to a high dignitary (i.e. the *oknha masphy* [mufti])⁶⁶⁹. Conversely, the number of two authorized Islamic schools allowed to function in the village (in 1937) appears to be accurate. It was undoubtedly due to these schools (and to the even much more lively state of Islamic education in the village just a few years earlier) that Chroy Changvar and not some other Muslim village in Central Cambodia served as the regional spiritual center of Islam.

The more prestigious of the two was directed by Hj. Mat Sales (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ), “one of the most famous teachers in Cambodia, only rivalled by [Trea’s] Hj. Osman and Mat Sales”⁶⁷⁰. Indeed, Chroy Changvar’s Mat Sales was an important but also controversial figure within Cambodian Islam. As will be shown in greater detail below he very much epitomized the

⁶⁶⁶ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 165f.

⁶⁶⁷ Being a quite isolated reference to the possibility that also non-Muslim Chams could have arrived in Cambodia, this assertion is probably reflective of the prevailing struggle over proper Islamic belief and practice.

⁶⁶⁸ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 126.

⁶⁶⁹ ANC-RSC 28319. Only the Ek mosque dates back to the 19th century. It was built during the reign of Norodom. ANC-RSC 35825 (anonymous and undated “Rapport d’emissaire” in the file). Just like most of its surrounding Muslim community, this historic mosque, which even survived the civil war and DK, eventually fell victim to an ambitious urban development program in 2011.

⁶⁷⁰ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 166.

process of Jawization. Born in the 1860s in Svay Khleang, he had spent fifteen years of study abroad⁶⁷¹, including eleven years in Mecca, which he again visited for a purported second pilgrimage in 1934⁶⁷² (or rather 1933). It seems, however, as if he actually undertook the journey together with the *changvang* to *inter alia* consult with Meccan scholars concerning an intra-religious (and even intra-*trimeu*) conflict involving the two scholars⁶⁷³. Mat Sales was also the presumably most prominent Cambodian student of the eminent Meccan mufti Ahmad Patani (Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, d. 1907). Moreover, he evidently maintained contact with him also after his return to Cambodia, as can be inferred from a joint request for a legal opinion (*fatwa*) sent to Mecca by Mat Sales and two other Cham scholars from Chrang Chamres (*daripada ahli Kemboja bangsa Cam yaitu yaitu [sic] Tuan Hajji Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Qāḍī Kemboja Teungku Sulaymān dan Tuan Hajji ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd kampung Cangcamriyah [sic]*), which were most probably likewise former students of Ahmad Patani⁶⁷⁴. As a protégé of the *changvang* Hj. Tuorman and formerly also of another high ranking Muslim dignitary in Chroy Changvar (i.e. the *oknha prakes* Lep [Abu Talib]), he likewise became one of the two main actors in the severe intra-*trimeu* strife, which befell the village in the first half of the 1930s (see below). As such he could also count on the support of the French.

Ner provides no information on the second licensed local Islamic school and its director. Yet, we learn from archival sources that a certain Moth Hj. Taos/Touos (Hj. Taos [?] b. Muhammad), born in 1884, passed the necessary examination for the teacher certificate in 1934 (after having already received a provisional certificate by decree in 1933). By that time he was evidently already also a well established scholar. Indeed, following a longer period of study in Thailand (most probably at *Pondok Bendang Daya* in Patani, founded by Ahmad Patani’s grandfather Hj. Wan Mustafa Patani), he had spent a year in Mecca. He was credited by the authorities with great language proficiency (of course in Malay) and noted to have provided religious instruction to numerous Cham and Malay adults since 1923. Moreover,

⁶⁷¹ ANC-RSC 35825.

⁶⁷² Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 166. Cf. VII.2.

⁶⁷³ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres – Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, dated March 11th 1935, ANC 35825.

⁶⁷⁴ Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya* (Patani: Patani Press, 1377/1957), p. 4. As there is no “and” (*dan*) between the first and the second name it is unclear who of the two men served as *qāḍī*, i.e. either as *oknha tokaley* or *oknha reachea kaley* of the Cambodian hierarchy, titles which were at least a later date (i.e. the 1930s) both associated with mosques in Chrang Chamres. While it would seem reasonable that the holder of such a title would be listed first in the letter, present Malay convention would rather favor the form in which mention of the office precedes the name of its holder (just as the present mufti of Kelantan is referred to as Mufti Kelantan Datuk Mohamad Shukri Mohamad and not the other way around). There is also no mention in the documentation on Math Sales that he ever held such a high title. Conversely, the same archival sources make clear that he had indeed been involved in Chrang Chamres’ affairs before coming to Chroy Changvar. As he had also created controversy there, it would, however, not be inconceivable that he had surrendered his (place bound) title before moving to his new place of residence.

he had run an unregistered school in his house (assumably catering to the needs of young students) from 1914-1934. The authorities likewise stressed that there was a tradition of Islamic scholarship in his family, which had settled in Chroy Changvar a long time ago⁶⁷⁵.

Both Math Sales, who could have only opened his school in Chroy Changvar after his return from Mecca in 1934 or 1935, and Hj. Taos appear as paradigmatic *trimeu* scholars, local main agents of Jawization, with their strong connections to *jawi* scholarly networks of the day stretching from Cambodia via Patani and Kelantan to Mecca. What is more, they (and Math Sales' high-ranking patrons) were clearly not the only ones. Indeed, unbeknown to Ner, the French had just moved in to close down seven unauthorized local schools in 1934. Each of these had been in (from the French point of view illegal) operation for at least three up to seventeen years by then⁶⁷⁶. Most probably all of these would have been labelled as *trimeu* by Ner, thus making Chroy Changvar into the stronghold of this faction as which he perceived it. Moreover, as will be shown in greater detail below, *kobuol*, with their detachment from *jawi* scholarship and narrow focus on Qur'anic recitation, rudimentary Arabic and oral expositions in Cham or Khmer, were *a priori* virtually barred from passing the mandatory examination to acquire certificates. Thus, the French crackdown possibly not only narrowed down the *trimeu* sphere, but might have also strengthened the already prevailing process of Jawization at the expense of the last remaining *kobuol* (-style) schools⁶⁷⁷.

In contrast to seemingly totally *trimeu* Chroy Changvar, the even larger suburb of Chrang Chamres (Ner counted 340 houses of Muslim families) presented itself to the French scholar as split along factional lines⁶⁷⁸. This split was certainly not a very recent occurrence. Indeed, the afore-mentioned request for a *fatwa* from Ahmad Patani, made most probably some time in the 1900s before the Meccan mufti's death in 1907, was perhaps already related to it. Unfortunately, Ner is silent about the location of the respective mosques. Yet, the information contained in the *istiftā'* appears to be helpful in this regard as it specifies the inquirers' location as the area of the Luang mosque (*daerah masjid luang*)⁶⁷⁹, a name which nobody in present Chrang Chamres has ever heard of. Therefore it seems more reasonable to look for the answer in local naming conventions of the period. Indeed, the two mosques of the village were (at least in the 1930s) referred to as the lower (*kraom*) and upper (*loeu*)

⁶⁷⁵ ANC-RSC 8465; 26919; 8592.

⁶⁷⁶ ANC-RSC 8465.

⁶⁷⁷ Only two local schools were spared closure. These were the establishments of Hj. Taos and of Hj. Sop (Yusuf), the only one among the listed teachers already past sixty. The latter's school was allowed to continue as the number of pupils had fallen to merely two. Probably his mode of instruction was considered out of date by the locals.

⁶⁷⁸ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 166f.

⁶⁷⁹ Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 4.

mosques in Khmer⁶⁸⁰ (and rendered as Southern and Northern mosques in French). The Cham equivalent to *loeu* would most probably have been *langiw* (“outer”)⁶⁸¹. It would thus seem reasonable to assume that either Khmer *loeu* or Cham *langiw* (or *lingiw*, nowadays spelled l-ng-y-w in Cham *jawi*⁶⁸²) stood patron for the l-w-ng rendering of the mosque’s name into *jawi* script. Moreover, the dignitary affiliated with the Chrang Chamres Loeu mosque was the *oknha tokaley*, which would favour its direct Malay translation as *kadi* (as given in the *istiftā*), whereas the leader of the Kraom mosque held the title of *oknha reachea kaley*. Accordingly, two later *istiftā*’ (sent to Kelantan and dating to 1927 and 1930) show just such a faithful transposition of these Khmer titles into Malay by the enquirers, who are introducing themselves as *raja kadi* (i.e. *reachea* or *raya kaley*) of Phnom Penh and *tok kadi* (i.e. *tokaley*) of Chrang Chamres respectively⁶⁸³. In conclusion, Chrang Chamres’ *trimeu* mosque was most probably the one referred to as Northern mosque by the French. The substantial number of 29 hajjis in the village was also assumingly mostly drawn from among the *trimeu*.

The *kobuol* counterpart to their place of worship must then have been the older Southern (*kraom*) mosque, now known as the km7 or *Nūr al-Iḥsān* mosque, which had allegedly been built in 1831⁶⁸⁴, thus well before Cham resettlement under Ang Duong. Whereas the latter was then presumably of modest appearance, the *trimeu* mosque was – according to Ner – juxtaposed to a beautiful minaret and a surao. Well reflective of this mosque’s assumingly more diversified congregation, this surao had been the gift of a Phnom Penh-based Indian cloth merchant⁶⁸⁵. A few remarks about this unnamed person and the role of Indian, particularly Tamil, Muslims are in order at this juncture.

More has plausibly argued that the donor in question might have been the Tamil Janab S. Abdul Karim (d. 1973), who was known as a successful cloth and general merchant, local landholder and person of influence at court and in the administration well into the 1940s⁶⁸⁶.

⁶⁸⁰ This way of identification was officially retained into the 1970s. Cf. *Le martyre des musulmans khmers* (Phnom Penh: La Direction des Affaires Religieuses et Islamiques, Association Islamique Centre de la Republique Khmère, Association de la Jeunesse Islamique, [1974]), p. 43. Nowadays the mosques of Chrang Chamres are conventionally named after their distance to the city centre, i.e. km7, km8 and km9 mosques respectively.

⁶⁸¹ Moussay, *Grammaire de la langue*, p. 185, 194, 247.

⁶⁸² Muḥammad Zayn, Yūsuf, Aḥmad & ‘Ārifīn, *Qāmūs Melāyū-Ĉam*, p. 241.

⁶⁸³ Cf. VI.2.2. *Raya kaley* was a title evidently held in the past by a Chrang Chamres mosque leader, but noted as vacant by the French in 1936. It probably dated to the period when Chrang Chamres still had only one mosque (and was therefore not yet visibly separated along factional lines). ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, the *mustaftī* in question, may well have been the last local holder of this title.

⁶⁸⁴ Ben Kiernan, “Orphans of Genocide: The Cham Muslims of Kampuchea under Pol Pot”, BCAS, XX, no. 4 (1988), p. 6.

⁶⁸⁵ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 166.

⁶⁸⁶ More, “Pathan and Tamil”, p. 121f., 126 n. 6. Coming from French colonial territory in India was certainly no disadvantage in this respect.

This seems to be supported by the fact, that Abdul Karim not only contributed to mosques in his native Karaikal (in the present-day Union Territory of Puducherry, India) and in Saigon (i.e. the present Central Mosque at Dong Du Street, the Rue Amiral Dupré of colonial times), but was evidently also involved in financing the controversial rebuilding of a Chroy Changvar mosque in the early 1930s⁶⁸⁷ (see below). Whereas local Tamil Muslims may seem to be less likely agents of Jawization in Cambodia, their contribution to a less localized Islam should not be underestimated. Apart from the long established interchanges between Muslim communities of South India and Southeast Asia, apparently even instrumental in shaping the present forms of *jawi* as well as of the Tamil adaptation of Arabic script⁶⁸⁸, Tamil Muslims such as Abdul Karim, with their trading and community connections to Saigon, the Malay Straits Settlements⁶⁸⁹ and their homeland, were naturally (as can be inferred from their contribution to local mosque building) prone to engage themselves with the local Muslim community, and especially so with its more outward looking segments, which were in the case of Phnom Penh clearly the *trimeu*. Whereas they would have had little chance to mingle with indigenous Muslims in Saigon, let alone Hanoi, the situation was entirely different in Phnom Penh. Likewise, a large proportion of South India's Muslims shared a common school of law with those of the *jawi* ecumene, and both have received important and steadily growing input from similarly Shāfi'i Hadrami migrants since the 18th century. Thus, especially those Tamil Muslims coming from French dominions certainly had more in common with urbanized indigenous Phnom Penh Muslims than with fellow (Ḥanafī) immigrants from Northern India⁶⁹⁰. Indeed, as far as Shāfi'i *fiqh* texts are concerned, South Indian and *jawi* Muslims had much common repertoire. The most direct link within this repertoire was, of course, the *Fatḥ al-Mu'īn* of the South Indian Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī (d. 1567), which also exists in Malay and Javanese translations. Additionally, a number of Arabic commentaries and glosses to it (including one by the eminent *jawi* scholar

⁶⁸⁷ ANC-RSC 35825.

⁶⁸⁸ Both have tellingly adopted a common letter (based on 'ayn) for ngā', and a letter based on fā' for pā'. This is, of course, in contrast to pā' derived from the bā', which has been the prevailing pattern in all adaptations of the Arabic script in the Persianate World (e.g. Persian, Urdu, Ottoman Turkish), and even for South Indian Malayalam. Tschacher, "Circulating Islam", p. 53-55.

⁶⁸⁹ Such links between Muslim Tamils in Indochina and the Straits are testified to by the fact that their Singapore-based community newspaper *Cinkai Necan* had subscribers in Saigon in the 1880s. *ibid.*, p. 60.

⁶⁹⁰ Even in Tamilnadu itself, "the social relationship of [migrant] Pathans with the Tamil Muslims seems to have been minimal. A similar sort of situation prevailed in Indochina too". More, "Pathan and Tamil", p. 119. According to Vidy, Saigon's Central Mosque, then almost exclusively frequented by South Asian Muslims, had separate "muftis" (i.e. imams) for its Shāfi'i and Ḥanafī worshippers in colonial times. G. Vidy, "La communauté indienne en Indochine", SE, VI, p. 5f.

Muḥammad Nawawī Banten, d. 1897), all produced in the critical period of Jawization, have remained influential in *jawi* Islam until today⁶⁹¹.

In Prek Pra, the remaining Muslim suburb of Phnom Penh located at the Tonle Bassac, Ner in turn became acquainted with a scholarly family, which encapsulated the major shifts associated with Jawization within merely two generations⁶⁹². The 800 Chams of Prek Pra, a Muslim village unusually devoid of any Malay element, were specialized in the trade in livestock, which, as has been already discussed above, required extensive networks. Cattle was bought all over Cambodia (presumably also particularly in Kampong Cham) and then resold to butchers in Phnom Penh and other Cambodian towns, and especially also in Saigon. In this respect, it must be noted that butchers of Pathan origin were a regular feature of Cambodian cities such as the capital, Pursat and Battambang⁶⁹³. Thus, whereas the Muslim community of the village was unusually homogeneously Cham, its main economic activity was primarily dependent on constant contact with other Muslim communities (Cham and Malay cattle traders and butchers, Pathan butchers) in and outside of the country, as Khmer Buddhists were reluctant to take up occupations associated with the killing of animals.

Beside the village mosque Ner encountered a newly established Islamic school, built only in 1936. Its founder-teacher was an obviously well educated man, who, having studied for seven years in Kelantan, was able to speak and write in Khmer, Arabic, Malay and English, apart from knowing a little French. As instruction in English was naturally not part of *pondok* education, the *tuon* must have (after an initial stay at a local *pondok*) undoubtedly attended the MUI's integrated *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah* (est. 1917) in Kota Bharu. Assuming that he also acquired his written Arabic there, he must have begun his studies there before 1921, as Arabic instruction came to an early halt at the school in that year⁶⁹⁴. The fact that this prestigious madrasa - due to a lack of available teachers and funds - soon

⁶⁹¹ van Bruinessen, , “Kitab Kuning”, p. 247. Nawawī Banten’s *Nihāyat al-Zayn* is actually a commentary on al-Malībārī’s *Qurrat al-‘Ayn* from which *Fath al-Mu’īn* was derived. As an example of the resilience of the most prominent of these works built on *Fath al-Mu’īn*, namely Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā’ al-Dimyāṭī’s (d. 1893) *I’ānat al-Ṭālibīn*, in the lives of *jawi*, including Cambodian Muslims, mention should be made of a legal ruling passed in 2003 by the Sharia court of Terengganu regarding the questioned validity of the marriage between a Cambodia-born Muslim woman and a local man. Out of seven cited *fiqh* works and hadith collections, *I’ānat al-Ṭālibīn* is the only one quoted three times. “PENGHAKIMAN DALAM PERKARA PERMOHONAN KHORI BT. AHMAD & SATU LAGI”, Mahkamah Tinggi Syariah, Kuala Terengganu, Ismail Yahya H, Kes Mal Non: 11100-010-4-2003, April 24th 2003.

⁶⁹² Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 167.

⁶⁹³ More, “Pathan and Tamil”, p. 117; Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 170; Nasir Abdoul-Carime, “Note introductive sur la réimpression de l’article d’G. Vidy ‘La communauté indienne en Indochine’”, p. 5. http://aefek.free.fr/iso_album/vidy.pdf (accessed May 9th 2013).

⁶⁹⁴ Abdullah Alwi, “Development of Islamic Education”, p. 196-198.

had to do without its Arabic division, can be regarded as instructive concerning the character of Jawization in the self-proclaimed heartland of *jawi* Islamic education. This is not to suggest that Kelantan was entirely devoid of suitable Arabic teachers. Perhaps the limited numbers locally available were just not willing to leave their *pondoks* and *suraos* for employment with the MUI and its modern-style school. Yet, it should draw our attention to the dominant role of, and major institutional emphasis on, *jawi* in religious education, which likewise had direct effects on foreign students from Cambodia or Vietnam.

Actually, it would take the MUI until 1937 to establish Kelantan's first Arabic school, *al-Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah al-'Arabiah*⁶⁹⁵, which would likewise draw students from Cambodia and Vietnam. Thus, whereas Prek Pra's *tuon* had graduated, with some extra qualifications, from a well established tradition of *jawi* education, undisputed even if dressed in new institutional clothing (i.e. in the form of a new integrated madrasa), another tradition was just upon the threshold of extinction in Prek Pra and the whole Phnom Penh area. Indeed, the teacher's 80-year-old father Males Muhammad, notably himself a hajji (most probably the first in his family), was noted by Ner to have been the last local Cham possessing knowledge of *akhar trah*. Unsurprisingly, no other persons with such proficiency are mentioned throughout the Frenchman's account of Muslim life in and around the Cambodian capital. Evidently, Males Muhammad must have been the last (or in any case one of the last few) scholars of *akhar trah* and its manuscript culture in this whole major area of Cambodian Muslim life. In contrast, his son became fully socialized in *jawi* traditions of learning without inheriting his father's ability to access ancient Cham script, despite his versatility in language and script learning.

In addition, Ner had the opportunity to witness the outward-looking nature of the Prek Pra community in connection with the return of a family of pilgrims. Thus, he found out that no less than twenty villagers had embarked on a journey to Saigon in order to receive a couple of hajjis, which had left their two sons behind in Mecca, where they had taken up studies. Of course, given the well established business ties linking their village with Saigon, also less celebratory incentives could have been at play in the decision of the villagers to undertake the trip. Nevertheless, the reception of the pilgrims in Prek Pra was indeed a very festive occasion, including a long procession to their house and a following feast, testifying to the centrality of the hajj and the prestige associated with hajjis in local imagination.

A bit further downriver, the French scholar visited the Muslim community of Prek Tapeou (which he calls Prek Thnot) in Takhmau, located at the opposite bank of the river and then

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

consisting of 80 Cham houses. The teacher of its local Qur'anic school originated from Chau Doc, where he had also pursued his studies, most probably in Chau Giang, the regional spiritual center and node of Jawization. Both Prek Pra and Takhmau are noteworthy cases as they constituted villages apparently lacking Malay elements. Arguably, the information provided by Ner on the religious make-up of these two villages is slender, yet they were obviously not labelled or labelling themselves as *kobuol*. In the standard scholarly view, which regards the latter as (comparably unsuccessful but nevertheless) preservers of Cham Islamic traditions, such communities would have been predisposed to join this faction. Yet, Jawization seems to have functioned rather smoothly there, even within two or three generations of the same family.

More complex cases were the Kendal villages of Svay Chrum (*srok Khsach Kendal*) and Chroy Metrey (*srok Muk Kampoul*) situated on the banks of the Mekong. The Muslim village of Svay Chrum, which is located directly opposite from Chroy Changvar, was still a fairly recent settlement at the time of Ner's visit⁶⁹⁶. Indeed, he reported that the inhabitants (all Chams) of the one hundred local houses had only moved to the site around a decade ago (i.e. sometime in the 1920s) from Chroy Changvar, due to contestations over land, whereby he remained silent concerning the other involved party or parties. Nevertheless, we know from an archival record that it was the administration of the village of Chroy Changvar (i.e. of Phnom Penh's sixth quarter), which had them deported⁶⁹⁷. Compared with what we know of the religious and social spheres of Chroy Changvar, with its strong exposure to and imprint of Jawization, Ner's description of the Svay Chrum community is, as will be evident, quite striking. As it is known that the mosque communities and surrounding hamlets of Chroy Changvar, which are still today spread over both flanks of the Peninsula (i.e. along the banks of the Tonle Sap and the Mekong), were not forming a contiguous zone of settlement until shortly before the 1930s⁶⁹⁸, the Svay Chrum Chams may well have lived in their own community more or less separate from the others before their exodus.

Accordingly, the ethnic and religious orientation of the village appeared to be markedly different from that in Chroy Changvar. Whereas the village *hakem*, certainly not a young man anymore, strikingly even had some rudimentary knowledge of *akhar trah*, very few people in the village knew Malay. What is more, Ner even witnessed a certain amount of explicit animosity towards Malays, in this case most probably not to be conflated with local Chvea but rather referring to visiting foreigners. Indeed, Ner was told that Malays had

⁶⁹⁶ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 168.

⁶⁹⁷ ANC-RSC 30385.

⁶⁹⁸ ANC-RSC 35825.

sojourned in the village and collected donations for the alleged construction of mosques, but had subsequently departed without any proof that the donated money had actually been spent for the intended purpose. Of course, also this ruse says something about the prestige Malay Muslims commanded among their Cambodian co-religionists. The same, by the way, of course applied to Arabs and to Ottoman Turks, identified with the famed caliphate, some of whom evidently also did not shy away from using similar methods.

Thus, already in 1914 the French had deported a certain Muhammad Effendi, who claimed to be an Ottoman officer and veteran of the Balkan War, and paraded in front of mosques in Phnom Penh and Kendal. The latter was found guilty of fraud for soliciting money from the believers under the pretext of having been commanded to do so by the Sultan, who allegedly intended to build a large steamship to take the local Muslims on free pilgrimages⁶⁹⁹. It shall be noted in this regard that a rather peculiar image of the Ottomans was generated within the *jawi* ecumene through the distribution of heroic tales and poems in manuscript and lithographic form, detailing the Crimean War of 1853-6 and/or Sultan Abdülhamid's (r. 1876-1909) later wars against the Russians (under titles such as *Hikayat/Syair Setambul*)⁷⁰⁰.

In Svay Chrum, however, this negative experience with Malays, intriguingly taking place in a religious framework, could have reinforced pre-existent tendencies related to the intra-religious strife, which had elsewhere in the area canalized into the *trimeu-kobuol* conflict. The reason why Ner did not label the village as *kobuol*, despite the obvious local reticence against things Malay and the low level (or virtual non-existence) of *jawi* education, could be that it was somewhat removed from the conflict zone, which then stretched north from Chrang Chamres up to Battambang, with all involved communities lying to the West of the Tonle Sap. In addition, Ner was left unaware that there had actually occurred serious religious controversy in the community just a few years before his arrival. It was seemingly this conflict, unfolding in 1933-4, through which the local mosque leader Kim Man (Hakem Sulaiman) received his dignitary title and the honor of being among those selected Muslim

⁶⁹⁹ Tully, *Cambodia under the Tricolor*, p. 165f. As will be shown below, also this incident was not quickly forgotten among the local Muslims and would later be deliberately brought up again (though this time in the form of unsubstantiated allegations) in the course of intra-religious disputes in the 1930s.

⁷⁰⁰ Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, p. 113; Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 405f. The nascent popularity of such accounts after the Crimean War could have influenced Tuon Li in his claims of Arab-Ottoman descent. Intriguingly, he emphasized to Bastian that his native land of *rum* was in constant war with Russia. Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 144.

dignitaries consulted by the authorities regarding the contingent nomination of the new *changvang* Hj. Ismail in 1936⁷⁰¹.

Although some important details about the conflict remain obscure, it would seem as if it primarily resulted from public discontent with a new claimant to local religious authority, most probably with *trimeu* credentials. Thus, whereas religious life in the village had initially been untroubled, a certain Mot Hoeu had in 1933 reportedly all of a sudden demanded from the villagers to be elected as leader of the mosque. Until then this function had been fulfilled by Kim Man. Evidently the villagers must have initially yielded to this demand, which was most probably also related to the fact that Mot Hoeu had founded a religious school in the village (assumably its first one)⁷⁰². Due to these two factors, I would suggest that the latter was perhaps a returnee to the village after studies in some Cambodian or Malay centre of learning, which provided him with a certain amount of local prestige in advance. Yet, the villagers soon became impatient with him and the seeds of a controversy, eventually carried before the French, were sown.

What was to evolve subsequently, however, does hardly warrant the term factionalism, as Mot Hoeu apparently became increasingly isolated and does therefore not qualify as the leader of anything coming close a faction. In early 1934 he submitted three complaints to the authorities regarding a certain Moeu Leas and his company, whom he accused of “causing troubles among the believers in order to divide the [followers of the] Muslim religion into two parties during the religious ceremony [i.e. the congregational prayer]”⁷⁰³. Notwithstanding this claim to a division within the community, the latter soon presented itself as remarkably unified. Thus, 97 villagers - which must have constituted the great majority of male adults and, presumably, almost all the heads of the one hundred households noted by Ner a few years later - requested the deposition of Mot Hoeu and the reinstatement of his predecessor Kim Man. Even though one of the reasons given for this demand was the incumbent’s “ignorance of the Qur’an”, a common-place denunciation in instances of intra-Islamic dispute, the others rather seem to support our picture of Mot Hoeu as a disruptive force due to the tactless promulgation of new teachings. Accordingly, he is also charged for his lack of respect and obvious contempt towards the old and

⁷⁰¹ ANC-RSC 28319.

⁷⁰² “Deliberation de la commission permanente du conseil des ministres”, dated August 17th 1934, ANC-RSC 30385.

⁷⁰³ “Mot Hoeu à Monsieur le Délégué du Protectorate auprès du Gouvernement Cambodgien à Phnom Penh”, dated May 28th 1934. Tellingly, the typed letter is signed in *jawi*, spelled *mīm, ṭā’, hā’* [or *ʿayn*], *rā’*. Even though *-œu* appears to be the standard Cham/Khmer rendering for a final *rā’* (as evident in the short form *katoeu* for ‘Abd al-Qādir), I’ve been unable to determine the specific Cham or Arabic roots for this name.

educated. In any case, the *changvang* at Chroy Changvar eventually ruled in favour of Kim Man and the villagers⁷⁰⁴.

This is of interest as the *changvang* was - because of his own orientation - certainly more prone to support the expansion of the *trimeu*. Nevertheless, restoring calm in a case involving an overwhelming majority of villagers pitted against an apparently isolated individual scholar seems to have clearly been the overriding consideration. Indeed, proposals for the nomination of village *hakems* and *imams* were customarily first put forward by the villagers themselves, namely in the form of signed or fingerprinted collective petitions⁷⁰⁵. As will be shown in more detail below, clear majorities of supporters for a specific candidate within a given village were rarely overruled by the leadership in such cases. In addition, as patently first recognized and emphasized by Guérin, although - less conceptually refined - alluding merely to Malay influence, these petitions can also serve as important documentary indicators for the local process of Jawization, as they are not only enlightening us regarding the number of hajjis in a given village, but also as to individual villagers' proficiency in writing the Arabic/*jawi* script⁷⁰⁶. The 97 petitioners of Svay Chrum, albeit still more oriented towards the *kobuol*, all signed in the latter script. In any case, the position of Kim Man (surely also the unnamed *hakem* met by Ner) was even strengthened as a result of the conflict. From being an informally recognized village *hakem* he turned into the holder of the dignitary title *khun hakem* (with four *huban*) in October 1934⁷⁰⁷.

This again shows that, even after French attempts at hierarchization and reform, distribution of such titles was often bound to specific singular instances, which necessitated mediation by the court or the administration. Needless to say, such occasions were certainly much less frequent in outlying provinces where remote mediators were rarely sought out to solve conflicts. Intriguingly, the presence of others, e.g. in the form of potentially mediating administrative bodies in a position to valorize religious or ethnic capital, can propel conflicts, factionalism and the quest for becoming the subject of such valorization. It bespeaks the special relationship of the Muslims in Kendal to the court and the authorities, that the aforementioned 1936 list of Muslim dignitaries appointed by royal ordinance or ministerial decree only features four lower (i.e. non-*oknha*) dignitaries of the *hakem* level

⁷⁰⁴ "Deliberation de la commission", ANC-RSC 30385.

⁷⁰⁵ See fig. 11.

⁷⁰⁶ Guérin, "Les Cam et leur 'véranda sur La Mecque'", p. 50-52.

⁷⁰⁷ ANC-RSC 30385.

(with only four to six *huban*), of whom three came from villages in the province⁷⁰⁸. Among these, only Kim Man was consulted for his opinion on Hj. Tuorman's prospective successor, despite the fact that he was, unlike all the others involved, not an *oknha*. Unsurprisingly, he voiced his support for Hj. Ismail, the designate of the deceased *changvang*, who had been instrumental in regaining the leadership of his mosque and receiving his title. Even though Kim Man was eventually fully integrated into the hierarchy of Muslim dignitaries in Cambodia, Jawization does not seem to have yet been the dominant trend in his village in the 1930s. Nevertheless, chances are high that he was, apart from the *oknha khnour* in Au Russey, the last higher dignitary possessing any knowledge of the traditional Cham script⁷⁰⁹. Also in Chroy Metrey, located upriver in Muk Kampoul district on the right bank of the Mekong, where Jawization was apparently already much more developed than in Svay Chrum at that time, vestiges of Cham literary heritage were, unbeknown to Ner, still preserved. The latter only noted, that the village consisted of slightly more than one hundred houses and had a teacher educated in Kelantan. Moreover, the villagers had a reputation of being experienced contraband traders⁷¹⁰. This illicit trade was certainly conducted via riverine communication back and forth across the Vietnamese border, with Chroy Metrey serving as a relay point between Kampong Cham/Kratie and the Mekong Delta area. Apparently also people, including (future) religious scholars, and texts, including pieces of traditional Cham literature, flowed through these channels.

Accordingly, there is a great probability that the (again unnamed) Kelantan-educated teacher encountered by Ner was either Hj. Ayyub or his son Abu Talep (d. 1976)⁷¹¹. The former had been born in an unidentified village in Vietnam (most probably in the Chau Doc region) and moved to Chroy Metrey only later in his adult life. Both Hj. Ayyub and his son studied with the most illustrious figure of the history of Islamic education in Kelantan, Tok Kenali (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, d. 1933), who was also the most eminent student of Ahmad Patani. Both Malay scholars will be among the focal points of the next chapter. Whereas his father may have been taught by Tok Kenali in Mecca, Abu Talep's studies under

⁷⁰⁸ ANC-RSC 28319.

⁷⁰⁹ Unfortunately Ner did not visit Baren in Saang district, the only other Kendal village with a mosque (or rather its leader) associated with a major dignitary title. By the 1960s at the latest, the village was apparently fully integrated into *jawi* networks of learning. Thus, the village native Sim Mel, later interrogator at the infamous DK interrogation and torture center S-21 at Tuol Sleng (Phnom Penh), where he was eventually executed himself, studied with well-known teachers in Chroy Changvar, Chumnik, Trea and Roka Po Pram, which also serves us an indicator for the pace of Jawization in the latter village, otherwise rather associated with the rituals centered at the grave of Po Behim than with *jawi* scholarship. Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 57-59.

⁷¹⁰ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 168.

⁷¹¹ According to some sources the short form Talep stemmed not from Abū Ṭālib but from 'Abd al-Muṭallib, both of which are equally probable in Cham contexts. In archival sources Talep as derivation from the former is more frequently encountered (in *jawi* signatures).

his guidance certainly post-dated Tok Kenali's return to Kota Bharu in 1908. Primarily due to the prestige and activities of Abu Talep, around whom a small circle of teachers established itself (including the three Tayyeb – Ustaz Tayyeb, Tayyeb Kabir, Tayyeb Kecil – and the Datuk Hj. Yaakub from Kampong Cham), Chroy Metrey functioned as a renowned centre of Islamic education until the beginning of the civil war in 1970. Apparently this process had not yet gained momentum in Ner's time, but considerable numbers of students would soon flock to the village not only from within Kendal, but also from Kampot, Kampong Cham and Kampong Chhnang⁷¹².

Needless to say, Abu Talep was a main agent of Jawization in the region, despite lacking an official title. In addition he was evidently an outstanding Cambodian Muslim scholar as he also left a number of works. In this regard his legacy elucidates three main components of Jawization in Cambodia: the connection to transgenerational networks of *jawi* learning linking local Muslims to scholars in or from Patani, Kelantan and Mecca; extensive use of Malay *jawi* teaching materials; and the turn towards *jawi* script for writing the Cham language. Especially the latter aspect was much more developed with Abu Talep than was the case with most contemporary Cham scholars in Cambodia, Chau Doc and Tay Ninh. Thus, whereas he taught Qur'an reading, *tafsīr*, *akhlāq* (Muslim ethics⁷¹³), *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* exclusively from Malay works, he also instructed his students in Cham *jawi*. Moreover, he wrote all his works in that language. Strikingly, among those preserved we find a *jawi* version of the above-mentioned treatise of traditional Cham moral admonition known as *Muk Sruh Palei* (see fig. 2), otherwise encountered in Cambodia only in *akhar trah*. It is unfortunately unclear whether Abu Talep himself rendered the text into Cham *jawi*, which could imply that he still knew *akhar trah*, or not. This, however, seems rather unlikely.

⁷¹² In the mid-1960s Abu Talep reportedly taught fifty local female pupils alongside forty advanced male students from the village as well as from the mentioned provinces. Information on Abu Talep is drawn from a spontaneously convened "village forum" at the local *Masjid al-Rahmānī* (May 17th 2012) and interviews with the following former students of Abu Talep: Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman, Deputy Province Imam of Battambang), b. 1953 in Chroy Metrey, in Damspey (Battambang), May 11th 2012; Asyari b. Saleh, in his native Chroy Metrey (Kendal), May 17th 2012; Hj. Ahmad Osman Ong Chu, b. 1934, in his native Chroy Metrey, May 17th 2012. Local informants only knew about Abu Talep having been a student of Tok Kenali. Conversely al-Ahmadi lists an Hj. Ayyub and an Abdul Mutalib b. Ayyub from Vietnam among his Indochinese students. Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok Pemikiran Tok Kenali* (Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Kebudayaan, Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan Malaysia, 1983), p. 44.

⁷¹³ As can be inferred from this rendering into English, I am sharing Hallaq's conviction that the pre-modern concept of *akhlāq* is not equivalent to our modern "moral". This even seems to be borne out in Muḥammad 'Abduh's usage of the term with reference to '*ilm al-akhlāq*' being one of the positive aspects of Sufism. As Arkoun noted, *akhlāq* as a philosophical discipline or exercise, above the mere schematic presentation of actions traditionally regarded as good or evil, has become largely dormant after the efforts of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Wael B. Hallaq, "Groundwork of the Moral Law: A New Look at the Qur'ān and the Genesis of Sharī'a" *IL&S*, XVI (2009), p. 257f.; Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, p. 224; Mohammed Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam. Common Questions, Uncommon Answers* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1994), p. 115.

There is a greater probability that he either made a copy from a Cham *jawi* rendering, perhaps brought by his father from Chau Doc (where we know, as will be recalled, that such have been produced), or even composed his text from an orally transmitted version⁷¹⁴.

In addition to this text, he also left several original works or at least original renderings or translations into Cham. These are a *Syair Din* (religious poem), another poem entitled *Syair Islam Cermin* (Mirror of Islam) and a Cham version of the *Hikayat Nabi Yusuf*. Whereas the former is presumably an original work along the lines of the didactic Malay poems used in Cambodia and the Delta, which were subsumed under the label *syair agama* by Cabaton, the particular title of the second one may rather point to a translation or, in any case, to a specific work of influence. Thus, a *Syair Cermin Islam*, authored by Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ‘Abbās of Perak, a disciple of the eminent Sumatran Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rokan al-Khālidi (d. 1926), who founded his own *ṭarīqa* village community (still functioning today as the spiritual center of the Naqshbandiyya in Southeast Asia) at Kampung Babussalam in Langkat (in Northeast Sumatra, south of Aceh)⁷¹⁵, was published in Singapore in three consecutive editions from 1907-9⁷¹⁶. Although there are no known linkages between Cambodian Muslims and the community at Babussalam, it would not seem improbable that Abu Talep had encountered this work during his stay in Kelantan⁷¹⁷.

Being a collection of numerous versified moral stories for both sexes, it might well have featured among the Malay literature he employed to impart *akhlāq*. In any case, his own

⁷¹⁴ Apart from Abu Talep’s work, there are, to my knowledge, no other known *jawi* versions of the *Muk Sruh Palei* outside of the Delta (and probably Tay Ninh). A fairly ambiguous note in the JP might indicate that another such version had been sent from Phum Trea to Kelantan in the late 1960s. “Inf. Hassan bin Noordin. Letter of Mohammad bin Achmad, dated 2.10.1968 to Inche Hassan bin Noordin, from Phum Trea, in response to request from Hassan about Muk Soh Pelai”, typescript dated May 24th 1969, JP, DJA (2)/1/6. Jaspan also recorded an oral version delivered by a roving Cham *raconteur*, incidentally claiming birth in Panduranga, in Svay Khleang in 1967. Testifying to the process of Jawization, the local audience appeared to be mostly unacquainted with this Cham genre of moral admonition (*kabuon*) as well as with this particular text. M.A. Jaspan, “The Kabuon: A Particular Genre of Cham Literature”, typescript (first draft of unpublished article), p. 3-5. JP, DJA (2)/1/1.

⁷¹⁵ Denys Lombard, “Tarekat et enterprise à Sumatra: l’exemple de Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan (c. 1830-1926)” in Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic & Thierry Garcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d’un ordre mystique musulman* (Istanbul-Paris: Éditions Isis, 1990), p. 707-715; Martin van Bruinessen, “After the Days of Abū Qubays: Indonesian Transformations of the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya”, JHS, V (2007), p. 229-232.

⁷¹⁶ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 199f., 479. Perak was (like Kelantan) under Siamese control until 1909.

⁷¹⁷ Syaikh Abdul Wahhab had a *khalifa* in Kelantan by the name of Muhammad Said. In 1335 A.H. (1916-7) he had students coming to Babussalam from Kelantan, Terengganu and Patani (the source erroneously gives the year as 1235 A.H.). H.A. Fuad Said, *Syekh A. Wahab Tuan Guru Babussalam* (Medan: Pustaka Babussalam, 1991), p. 127, 130. Nevertheless the Naqshbandiyya never gained significant number of adherents in Kelantan. An early local pioneer with Cambodian students, most prominently the highly influential Saleh Haroun of Phum Trea, was Hj. ‘Umar b. Ismā‘īl Nur al-Dīn Sungai Keladi (d. 1946). Nik Abdul Aziz, “Islam dan Masyarakat”, p. 30f. As one of his teachers in Mecca was the Naqshbandiyya-Mazhariyya shaykh and later Shāfi‘i mufti of Mecca Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī (d. 1924), he certainly took the path from him and was therefore not a Khālidi like ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad Yāsīn. Ismail Awang, “Hajji ‘Umar Sungai Keladi: Ulama Tokoh Falak”, *Pengasuh*, 420 (Dec. 1976/Zul-Hijjah 1396), p. 21; TUSM, I, p. 280.

Syair Islam Cermin, which should be taken for a Cham and not a Malay title as all its words are part of Cham language in Cambodia, was certainly intended to serve as a complement to *Muk Sruh Palei*, with its only very marginal references to Islamic concepts⁷¹⁸. In contrast, his remaining work is obviously a Cham translation of one of the widely distributed Malay accounts of the life of the Qur’anic prophet Yūsuf, invariably entitled *Hikayat* (or *Kisah*) *Nabi Yusuf*. Such are to be found both as separate works and as parts of larger Malay collections of *Qiṣāṣ al-Anbiyā’*, with the oldest extant Malay version dating already to 1604⁷¹⁹. There even exists a version of the story ascribed to Daud Patani, which was published in several editions in the 1910s in Mecca by the Patani network⁷²⁰. Due to Yūsuf’s exemplary resolving of his moral dilemmas in the story, this translation of course ties in well with Abu Talep’s other writings.

In sum, Chroy Metrey was apparently free of intra-religious strife and functioned, especially due to the efforts of Abu Talep and his connection to scholarly circles in Kelantan, as another central node of Jawization in Cambodia, into which it, however, only developed somewhat later than Phum Trea, Chau Giang, Chrang Chamres or Chroy Changvar. Likewise its actual role in the process and for the development of Islam in Cambodian has been - unduly and completely - overshadowed by the scholarly focus on Kampong Cham and the Muslim suburbs of Phnom Penh. Tellingly, copies of Abu Talep’s *jawi* Cham works, rare literary testaments to Jawization in Cambodia, are still preserved, among other unknown places, in Cham private collections in Chroy Metrey, Chrang Chamres and even in the USA⁷²¹.

Returning to Ner’s assessment of the situation in the 1930s we shall now turn our attention towards the areas north of Phnom Penh to the west of the Tonle Sap River and Lake, in which the *kobuol-trimeu* conflict provided criteria for belonging to the residents of most Muslim villages visited by the ethnographer in the provinces of Kendal, Kampong Chhnang, Pursat and Battambang. He first visited the strong agglomerations of Khleang Sbek and Tuol Ngok in Kampong Luong commune of Ponhea Leu district (Kendal), then accounting for

⁷¹⁸ Besides invoking the ancestor spirits (*muk kei*), it also postulates the unity of Cham custom *adat* and Islamic law (*hukum*). “Kabuon Muk Soh Pelai. The Discourse of Muk Soh Pelai”, undated typescript, p. 4f. JP, DJA (2)/1/1.

⁷¹⁹ Ali Ahmad, *Kisah-kisah Nabi Yusuf dalam Kesusasteraan Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1999).

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53f.; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 261.

⁷²¹ Personal observation. The xerox copies of *Syair Din* and *Muk Sruh Palei* in the possession of Tuon Him in Chrang Chamres have evidently also been sent to a member of the community in Seattle. Olympia and Seattle in Washington State are both boasting veritable Cham villages, complete with their own mosques. Personal communication with Jay Willoughby, Reston (VA.), April 14th 2013.

4.181 people⁷²² and located directly at the route along the Tonle Sap to Oudong. Tuol Ngok has already been mentioned with reference to Kampot's Syekh Ismail (alias Tok Ngok). Although also reportedly an area of resettlement under Ang Duong, the history of the local Muslim community actually goes, due to its location at the royal harbor of Kampong Luong and near the former capitals of Lovek and Oudong, back to the early days of Cham-Malay presence in the country. Thus, the name of Khleang Sbek is in certain accounts also closely connected to the conversion and the Islamic policies of Ramadhipathi I/Sultan Ibrahim in the 17th century⁷²³. Ner duly noted, yet without giving their respective mosque affiliations, the presence of the three high dignitaries *oknha reachea phakdey montrey Sop* (Yusuf, head of the Khleang Sbek mosque), *oknha reachea kiripatta puon Din* (Syamsuddin?, Tuol Ngok mosque) and *oknha reachea Res Hadji Sen* (Hj. Zayn b. Idris, Sambour Meas mosque)⁷²⁴. Besides the three mosques, two of which belonged to the *kobuol* faction, also three (presumably attached) Islamic schools were encountered by Ner. The split nature of the community is apparently also reflected in the information he provides on the teachers of these institutions. Whereas two of them had spent a year in Mecca but showed little proficiency in Arabic, the third, who had studied there for eleven years, was assessed by him as speaking and writing good Arabic and Malay. Accordingly, the latter person was presumably the one teaching near the *trimeu* mosque.

Indeed, even though it is unfortunately not specified in his account which of the three mosques in question was the one controlled by the *trimeu*, it becomes evident at a later instance in his contribution that both Khleang Sbek and Kampong Luong (Tuol Ngok-Sambour Meas) had *kobuol* mosques⁷²⁵. Thus, as he also emphasized that the Muslims of the former village were using the Cham language, whereas those of Kampong Luong were mostly Khmer-speakers (i.e. Chvea), a situation which still persists today⁷²⁶, the dividing line was indeed one grounded in religious orientation and not in differences of ethnicity or first language use. This is even more intriguing if we consider the historical connection between Tuol Ngok and Kampot (with its *zuhhād* tradition) as well as the fact, that the area was among the prime fields of activity of visiting Malay traders and preachers (*orang pendakwah*), as will be discussed below. Evidently, the employment and enhancement of

⁷²² Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 168f. He refers to the two villages as Khleang Sbek and Kampong Luong respectively, whereby Kampong Luong/Tuol Ngok assumingly included the hamlet of Sambour Meas.

⁷²³ DC-Cam, *Duch Testimony Continued. DC-Cam's Outreach Report from the Villages. March 28-29 2012* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2012), p. 7.

⁷²⁴ Cf. ANC-RSC 28319, where the mosque affiliations are recorded.

⁷²⁵ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 187.

⁷²⁶ Personal communication with villagers at Tuol Ngok, May 1st 2012; and former residents of Chrang Chamres, in Reston (Virginia), April 14th 2013.

Malay as the prime vehicle of religious instruction was of crucial relevance in the division of the local community, which, somewhat expectedly, subsequently came to fully embrace Jawization at the expense of the *kobuol*.

Intriguingly, circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that the *trimeu* mosque was actually located in overwhelmingly Cham Khleang Sbek. It was in 1930 that the *oknha reachea phakdey montrey Sop* came to replace his predecessor Nong, who had in turn been appointed by royal ordinance in 1915. This was in line with the demands of 164 believers affiliated to the mosque, who all supported the nomination of Sop. Strikingly, however, Nong had not deceased, as was most frequently the case before the installation of new appointees to mosque/village leadership, particularly so in cases involving *oknhas*, but only withdrew from his functions⁷²⁷. It therefore seems fairly likely that Nong's replacement (as a representative of an old order) by a candidate enjoying full popular support, was nothing else but the eventual confirmation of gradual *trimeu* ascendancy (and thus of the forces of Jawization) within the mosque community in question. This would then also have been of significance from the hierarchical point of view, as theirs was the highest of the three locally distributed dignitary titles (i.e. the only one then coming together with the amount of 9 *huban* of dignity, otherwise only accorded to the *changvang* in Chroy Changvar and the *oknha borates* of Svay Khleang), which most probably constituted a remnant from the time preceding the court's move to Phnom Penh, when the country's (or at least the central region's) chief Muslim dignitary resided in Khleang Sbek. On the other hand, however, other circumstantial evidence, presented in the following chapter, could point to Din and the Tuol Ngok mosque as locally championing the case of the *trimeu*⁷²⁸.

It is likewise striking in this respect, that the court seemingly been favoured the involvement of local Malays or Chvea rather than that of Chams in the exclusively civil (as opposed to religious) administration of Khleang Sbek. Thus, in 1904 the *mesrok* (translated as "maire" in French sources and therefore denoting the function of *mephum* [civil village leader] today) of Khleang Sbek as well as eight of his nine adjuncts were listed as Malays and not Chams, which seems rather peculiar for a predominantly Cham village. Probably greater

⁷²⁷ ANC-RSC 27688. In the documentation Nong and Sop are referred to as *oknha reachea phakdey montrey kaley* and *oknha reachea phakdey montrey changvang* respectively, which again points to the fact that *kaley* and *changvang* (both ultimately derived from words denoting judges) were at times used interchangeably. Similarly, *phakdey*, which is also to be found in the variants *phake* and *phakes* (ch. [tuon] *pake*) was suggested to stem from ml. *pakih* (ar. *faqīh*). Cabaton, "Notes sur l'islam", p. 45; Aymonier & Cabaton, *Dictionnaire*, p. 252.

⁷²⁸ VI.2.2.

Chvea proficiency in Khmer influenced this selectivity in the appointment of civil servants⁷²⁹.

Finally, it must be emphasized that Tuol Ngok is today one of the very rare places where the critical *qabūl hamba* formula, since more than half a century no longer the subject of controversies anymore, is still employed in marriage ceremonies⁷³⁰. The persistence of this practice (now perceived as an oddity by Muslims of other villages) in the face of wide opposition and the overall gradual disappearance of its defenders as a specific faction within Cambodian Islam - and despite the wide destruction caused during the DK era - must be regarded as truly intriguing. As such it should alert us to the fact that also other peculiar local traditions and orientations, even if seemingly dormant for a certain period of time, can potentially resurface or be re-emphasized again under new circumstances. Hence the apparently completely sudden re-configurations leading to the establishment of KIS and its late joining by certain Kampong villages.

In Kampong Chhnang's Kampong Tralach district Ner finally came across the ostensible descendants of the Tuanko Po faction, who formed a numerically even stronger agglomeration of Muslims (with 4.184 people), primarily based in villages of Au Russey and Chhouk Sar. He characterized them as having held on most firmly to Cham traditions in Cambodia, having undergone hardly any Malay influence, and as the last devoted preservers of Cham manuscript culture. According to Ner, many locals were able to read *akhar trah* or even knew long passages of texts by heart. The crucial marriage ceremony was - just as all other religious ceremonies - conducted, apart from certain Arabic formulas, exclusively in Cham. Knowledge of Arabic was even more fragmentary than among the *kobuol* and was basically restricted to its letters, something which is still peculiar to the KIS of today, which is centered on the Au Russey/Chhouk Sar community. Surprisingly, Ner did not mention the presence of the local dignitary holding the *oknha khnour* title, whose latter-day bearer is nowadays presiding over the KIS. At the time of Ner the incumbent must have still been Him Kak (Ishaq b. Ibrahim, also known as Katep Kak), who had succeeded his predecessor Ses (or Les, derived from Saleh) in 1926. According to KIS tradition they were

⁷²⁹ In Prek Phnou, located halfway between Chrang Chamres and Khleang Sbek and described as a village of sixty Cham houses by Ner, the 1904 configuration of the local civil administration was similar, with the *mesrok* and five out of eight adjuncts being "Malays" (or rather Chvea). ANC-RSC 12722; Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 168.

⁷³⁰ Personal communication with *na'ib hakem* Ismail and other villagers at Tuol Ngok, May 1st 2012; with Imam Muhammad Abdullah of Norea Kraom (Battambang), married to a wife from Tuol Ngok (Norea Kraom, May 11th 2012). According to the imam villagers migrating from Khleang Sbek had also brought the practice to the neighbouring village of Norea Loeu, from where it has meanwhile, however, already vanished again. This further indicates that contending *trimeu* and *kobuol* traditions most probably persisted for some time in both Tuol Ngok and Khleang Sbek.

the fourth and fifth community leaders with this title since the arrival from Champa (together with Imam San)⁷³¹.

Notwithstanding the harmonious picture painted by Ner, the Chams of Au Russey (and Chhouk Sar) were, however, already by then not a religiously homogeneous community. Thus, regarding Him Kak's nomination, it was specified that he was to "administer the Chams belonging to the mosque of Au Russey East and those of the same religion, who are practicing the religious rites of their Cham master San"⁷³². Needless to say, this passage clearly implies that even within this commune religious practice was not uniform at that time. Accordingly, a related preceding document cites different prayer rites prevailing in the two "pagodas" of Au Russey as the reason for restricting the mandate of the *Oknha Khnour* to the Eastern mosque⁷³³. This documentary evidence is intriguing regarding a number of aspects. Firstly, it testifies to the antiquity of Au Russey's particularly strong connection to the figure of Imam San. Secondly, it confirms that the community around the *oknha khnour* indeed formed a separate faction (i.e. separate also from *kobuol* and *trimeu*) within Cambodian Islam already at that time, as the restriction of the latter's authority had certainly been expressly demanded by parts of the local Muslim community not harbouring a sense of loyalty towards him (and by implication to the legacy of Imam San). Whereas the existence of local differential orientations at such an early date serves well to explain why the Cham villages in the area are nowadays only partly affiliated to the historical anti-Jawization group of the KIS, it does little to explain how far-flung villages in other provinces, including most outstandingly (predominantly Chvea) Kampot, were eventually drawn into the emerging group. As was already discussed with reference to the latter, the figure of Imam San seems to have, among other factors, played an important part in this development, which will be further elucidated below.

The reference to Kampot, with its highly diversified make-up of the Muslim community, prompts us to point out a major lacuna in Ner's ethnographic work in Kampong Chhnang, namely his failure to take note of a similar degree of diversification undoubtedly also prevailing in this province during his day, which also partly accounts for the highly complex present situation on the ground. Indeed, today's Kampong Chhnang is likewise not merely split up into KIS villages and others following the Mufti, as especially among some of the latter certain traditions associated with present-day KIS, or perhaps with the vanished *kobuol* group, persist. This somewhat undecided state of affairs has not only brought

⁷³¹ Personal communication with *Oknha Khnour/Ong G'nur Kai Tam* at Sre Brey (Au Russey), May 13th 2012.

⁷³² ANC-RSC 25336 (dated June 21st 1926).

⁷³³ *Ibid.* (dated May 27th 1926).

classical agents of Jawization and contemporary representatives of globalized Sunni Islam (i.e. TJ as well as Arab, Malay and Cambodian Islamic NGOs) - all preying on wavering KIS villages and seeking to improve Islamic practice and doctrine among those villages traditionally leaving much to be desired in this respect from their perspective - onto the scene, but also, intriguingly just like in Kampot, the Ahmadiyya movement.

For Pursat province, which today boasts almost as many villages affiliated with KIS than Kampong Chhnang, the information presented by Ner is largely negligible. For the size of the population he gives a number of 3.149, which tallies with the 3.138 presented by Morizon around the same time⁷³⁴. More striking, however, is the fact, that Ner described the entirety of local Muslims as Chams with little previous exposure to Malays, whereas his predecessor had explicitly noted them to be Malays and not Chams⁷³⁵. Yet, it is certainly Ner who is to be trusted on this subject. It was perhaps their “Islamic” appearance (and certainly not linguistic considerations), on which the misrepresentation of the former was based. Of greater interest, however, are Morizon’s observations on the means of livelihood of Pursat Muslims. Indeed, almost the entire sector of forestry in the province was in “Malay” (i.e. Cham) hands. As wood was commonly floated downriver, this also accounted for the predominant Cham settlement along the Pursat River (*Stung Pursat*)⁷³⁶, which bisects the province.

Conversely, the only indeed relevant bit of information provided by Ner is that the whole Muslim community of Pursat identified with the *kobuol*, which implicitly rendered it the only still uncontested area for the group. This was certainly conditioned by its comparable remoteness from other centers of Muslim activity, coupled with a fairly low degree of interation with them. Nevertheless, the local mosque communities were (at least by the 1930s) integrated into the administrative structure of Islam in Cambodia. Thus, the *changvang* nominated a certain Ka Sop (Abu Bakr Yusuf) and a Py Man (Py Sulaiman) as *hakem* and *imam* of Phum Thkoul (then Kanchor commune, today *khum* Kampong Por, Krakor district) in 1934⁷³⁷. Among the 50 petitioners declaring their support for this duo, 47 signed in Arabic/*jawi* script. It must also be emphasized in this respect, that even the mere formalities involved in this exclusively administrative affair were both reflective and supportive of Jawization in the country. Thus, even though the related relevant documentation consisted of items in Khmer and French languages, the *changvang*’s official

⁷³⁴ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 170; Morizon, *Province Cambodgienne de Pursat*, appendix V.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71f., 133.

⁷³⁷ ANC-RSC 30364.

letter of appointment was intriguingly written in Malay (see fig. 10). Conversely, it is also possible that the timber trade brought the local Chams into regular contact with boat-builders at Kampong Tralach via the Stung Pursat-Tonle Sap Lake-Tonle Sap River connection, thus probably providing an indirect channel for exchanges between the Muslims of Pursat and those of Au Russey/Chhouk Sar.

In contrast, Ner's observations in Battambang make it a paradigmatic site of the internal divisions created by Jawization. Specifying the Muslim population of the province as 1.782 people, mostly residing in the suburbs of Battambang town, he seems to have visited only two neighbouring villages. These were Chvea Thom and Veal Norea, nowadays these are known as Norea Loeu and Norea Kraom, and it is unfortunately unknown to which part the name Chvea Thom had been applied in the past. According to Ner, the latter was a *kobuol* village, whereas Veal Norea was *trimeu*. While the community had still been entirely *kobuol* approximately forty years before his visit, their contenders soon began to arrive from Mekong villages as well as from "Indonesia" (i.e. the Malay World). As their numbers grew, certainly not only through migration, but also through interchanges with other Muslim communities and participation in scholarly networks, the community was drawn into a conflict over the control of the mosque. Eventually, the community split and the division was formalized by the building of a second mosque with its own religious functionaries. In addition, Ner emphasized that there were no hajjis (against six among the *trimeu*) or religious scholars educated outside of the village to be found among the *kobuol*⁷³⁸. The existence of a local Islamic village school had already been noted by Bastian in 1864⁷³⁹.

Even though the documentary and oral sources presented in the following are not allowing us to establish the course of events with certainty, it does not seem improbable that it was indeed the *kobuol*, who had to build a new separate mosque after losing control of, or becoming marginalized at, the old one. What is in any case evident is that the conflict was certainly also fuelled by highly diversified patterns of Muslim settlement in the village over a longer period of time. Bastian had in 1864 spoken of a predominantly Chvea community, with ancestors coming from Melaka and Patani, interspersed with smaller numbers of Chams. The grandfather of one instrumental figure in the local factionalism had come from Minangkabau. Whereas Ner mentioned more recent immigration (i.e. since the 1890s) from Mekong villages and the Malay World, local memory has preserved the arrival of settlers from Chrok Romiet (Chhouk Sar, Kampong Tralach, Kampong Chhnang), Khleang Sbek and

⁷³⁸ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 170f.

⁷³⁹ Bastian, *Journey in Cambodia*, p. 100.

the Phnom Penh area around the same time⁷⁴⁰. Today Norea is an almost exclusively Chvea village, with only one Cham-speaking household (a descendent of a family from Chroy Metrey) in the entire section of Norea Loeu⁷⁴¹.

Cambodian archival sources are enlightening us regarding a conflict concerning the mosque leadership in Veal Norea in the early 1930s. Albeit there is again no mention of specific factions involved in the dispute, this case might have represented the last futile attempt of the local *kobuol* to claim control over the village mosque. As in the aforementioned case in Svay Chrum, official involvement in the affair by the authorities started in response to a petition by a mosque leader who felt his authority (and in this case even his life) threatened by local co-religionists. Thus, in 1933 a certain *luong reacsar prates* Ma, introducing himself as the head of the local mosque, demanded that four fellow villagers be summoned and questioned by the authorities regarding an incident three of them had recently provoked in the mosque. In addition, he also requested the provisional closure of the mosque until the issue would be resolved. Ma, on whose initiative and estate the mosque in question had been built in 1896 and subsequently officially registered and measured in 1902 (thus both occurring still under Siamese rule over Battambang which lasted until 1907), claimed that numerous villagers had successfully lobbied for his nomination as mosque leader in 1931. After two years of allegedly fulfilling this function in tranquillity (which is of course open to doubt), the three ringleaders in question caused serious disruption at the mosque at the time of the afternoon prayers. Entering the mosque they enjoined the believers not follow Ma but to invite a certain Hj. Sulaiman (the fourth person Ma requested to be summoned) to lead the prayers, thereby creating a division within the community. Moreover, they advised their partisans to block the entrance to the mosque, in what Ma claimed to have amounted to a premeditated attempt on his life⁷⁴².

When the local police did indeed summon the four individuals in question, these were voluntarily joined by ten other villagers supporting their case. They declared unanimously that Ma had imposed himself as leader of the mosque without ever having had the majority of villagers backing his claim. While conceding that Ma was proprietor of the land and also upkeeping the mosque, in addition to being (with 63 years of age) the most senior member of the community, they also declared him to be an unlettered person intellectually

⁷⁴⁰ Personal communication with Imam Muhammad Abdullah, *tuon* Musa b. Muhammad Abdullah and *mephum* Leh Sa (Ysa b. Saleh) at Norea Kraom, May 11th 2012.

⁷⁴¹ Personal communication with villagers at Norea Loeu, May 10th 2012.

⁷⁴² "Luong- Reacsar- Prates Ma à Monsieur le Résident", dated August 21st 1933, ANC-RSC 30380.

incapable of running the affairs of a mosque⁷⁴³. Further they charged him of furnishing a fictive list of petitioners in the first place. Of course, the group also used this visit to the precinct to push once more for the nomination of their own preferred candidate Hj. Sulaiman⁷⁴⁴.

Evidently, Ma and his supporters had taken advantage of the vacuum generated by the death of the last village *hakem*, *tokaley* Yoeur, who had died already in 1927, to gain leadership of the mosque. Possibly Yoeur had been the last *hakem* from among the *kobuol* to head the mosque, and Ma, as village elder and proprietor of the mosque (that is at least what the Siamese officials and he considered himself to be), was regarded as the best choice to succeed him by those hoping to restore the old order. Nevertheless, even before the joint visit to the police post a collective petition in support of Hj. Sulaiman, bearing the signatures or fingerprints of 138 villagers (59 of whom signed in Arabic/*jawi*), had been submitted to the authorities⁷⁴⁵. In early 1934 the *changvang* Hj. Tuorman at Phnom Penh officially appointed – again in *jawi* Malay – Hj. Sulaiman “Jawi” (!) as *tok qādī* (evidently here used as substitute for *hakem*) and Hj. Samsou as his deputy (*riya qādī*, i.e. *na’ib hakem*), besides stressing his own authority over the country’s Muslims (*changvang Chroy Changvar yang berkuasa atas muslimin*)⁷⁴⁶. An accompanying Khmer document stressed that both had previously pursued studies in the Malay World⁷⁴⁷.

It is evident from Hj. Tuorman’s letter of appointment that the Jawiness of Hj. Sulaiman, whose Minangkabau grandfather had served (either the Siamese or the Khmers or both) as district governor, was seen as an asset by him and most probably also by his local supporters. Born in 1891, he was, in contrast to most villagers (including his father Ya [Yahya] Kaley Leas) not a fisherman but a trader⁷⁴⁸. Although the naming order is once again not completely clear, it may be inferred from the *kaley* title contained in his father’s name that either the latter or Hj. Sulaiman’s grandfather had also already served as village *hakem*

⁷⁴³ Generally, al-Shāfi’ī held that precedence in the leadership of prayer goes to the ruler or the owner of the prayer space. Marion Holmes Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 139. Apart from the fact that it is debateable whether Ma could also be considered the owner of the mosque and not just of the land, he did apparently not argue his position by reference to Shāfi’i legal thought.

⁷⁴⁴ “Le Maréchal-des-logis Chef de Gendarmerie ROUE, faisant fonctions des Commissaire de Police à Monsieur le Résident Chef de Province à Battambang”, dated August 30th 1933, ANC-RSC 30380.

⁷⁴⁵ ANC-RSC 30380 (Khmer collective demand dated August 22nd 1933). Cf. fig. 11.

⁷⁴⁶ ANC-RSC 30380 (Malay letter dated March 18th 1934).

⁷⁴⁷ ANC-RSC 30380.

⁷⁴⁸ “Acte de notoriété Yi-Salâ-y-Man”, dated November 5th 1933, ANC-RSC 30380. Such documents, including three signed testimonies regarding the veracity of the personal data contained, were used in the (common) absence of birth certificates. All six testimonials in the cases of Hj. Sulaiman and Hj. Samsou were signed in *jawi*.

in the past. It was probably Hj. Sulaiman's occupation, which had earlier led him to travel throughout the Malay World. Indeed, Ner, obviously unaware of the details of the recent conflict which had brought him into his position, noted that he had not only studied in Mecca, but also visited the Dutch East Indies and Malaya from Kota Bharu to Penang⁷⁴⁹.

The last two destinations would of course have been prime locations to acquire *kitab jawi*, in the former particularly from the Patani/Kelantan-run Ottoman Malay printing press in Mecca (founded by Ahmad Patani) and from different Penang publishers in the latter⁷⁵⁰, besides being renowned places for religious studies before one's continuation to Mecca. Indeed, even though Penang was even farther away from Cambodia than Patani or Kelantan, and does not feature in standard accounts of the scholarly networks of Cambodian Muslims, the local *Madrasatul Mashoor al-Islamiyah*, founded in 1916 and in former times considered to have been "about the best in Southeast Asia" as far as Arabic language instruction is concerned, also had students from the country⁷⁵¹.

If we go by the evidence suggesting that, like education abroad, also the pilgrimage to Mecca was generally the purview of the *trimeu* in the early 20th century, then Hj. Sulaiman's deputy Hj. Samsou (b. 1900) had evidently likewise sprung from a family with *trimeu* tendencies. Indeed, also his father Math was a hajji⁷⁵². Samsou had spent ten years of study in Kelantan, whereas the mosque's *katip* (ar. *khatīb*) had stayed there for two years. Again the correlation between education in Malay centers of religious learning (of course including Mecca) and the spread of, and leadership within the *trimeu* is self-evident. It was certainly also due to their efforts that Ner considered the local proportion of people able to speak and write in Malay as particularly strong, whereas many even knew a little Arabic⁷⁵³.

Whereas the villagers of Svay Chrum apparently rose up against a seemingly locally rather isolated *trimeu* claimant to leadership, the opposite appears to have transpired in Norea at the same time. Yet, things were not as straightforward in the latter case, and *trimeu* dominance of the mosque was therefore at that time still far from undisputed, leading to a veritable, even if only short-lived, split of the community along factional lines. Accordingly, it was recorded that the deposed Ma was eventually found not to be in principle objecting to the nomination of Hj. Sulaiman, but instead felt compelled to stress that it amounted to his elimination from the mosque (which was supposed to be his property) since the new

⁷⁴⁹ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 171.

⁷⁵⁰ Proudfoot, *Early Printed Malay Books*, p. 47f.

⁷⁵¹ Omar Farouk Shaeik Ahmad, "The Arabs in Penang", *MIH*, XXI, no. 2 (1978), p. 8.

⁷⁵² "Acte de notoriété Samsou", dated August 14th 1933, ANC-RSC 30380.

⁷⁵³ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 171.

hakem and his partisans were overtly hostile towards him. He therefore demanded guarantees from the French Resident in Battambang that his rights as well as those of his 29 followers would henceforth be respected⁷⁵⁴. It is thus perhaps not coincidental that the mosque of Norea Kraom, according to Ner constructed as a consequence of the *trimeu/kobuol* conflict, was reportedly built in 1936⁷⁵⁵, only two years after the official nomination of Hj. Sulaiman.

Yet, the complete Jawization of both parts of Norea was only a comparably brief matter of time. By the 1960s the Patani-educated *hakem* of Norea Kraom, yet another Hj. Sulaiman, also served as province imam (*imam khaet*) of Battambang. At the same time the village developed, besides Chroy Metrey, into the country's most underrated center of Islamic learning under his son and successor (as *hakem*) Hj. Math Zayn (d. 1975), who had studied in Bangkok (assumably with members of the Patani scholarly network), Mecca and at al-Azhar (from 1963-1967), and drew students from as far as Pursat and Kendal. Strikingly, besides teaching the standard *kitab jawi* of the Patani-Kelantan network, he also employed a self-produced Khmer translation of a Thai textbook for the study of Arabic and even wrote a textbook for instruction in Khmer language and script⁷⁵⁶. While the latter endeavors may appear to be less fitting into our scheme of Jawization, it must be emphasized that – in a predominantly Chvea community – the combination of teaching a *jawi* canon of books and enhancing the Khmer-language abilities of his students must have undoubtedly been conducive to further detach the community (including its internal Cham minority) from any remaining elements of *kobuol* or distinctively Cham Islamic discursive traditions. Additionally, the local process of Jawization was strengthened by the activities of a scholar locally known as Hj. Abdur Rahman Indonesia, who arrived in the 1940s, following twelve years of study in Malaya and Mecca and a brief period of roaming Thailand and Cambodia for teaching and propagation of the faith⁷⁵⁷.

Returning to Ner, he was finally also aware of a village of 30 Cham families, all former residents of Kampong Tralach, who had just resettled to a place he calls Veal Damleng in the

⁷⁵⁴ ANC-RSC 30380 (Khmer letter with handwritten French translation, dated August 31st 1933). The numbers are hardly legible. It is nevertheless obvious that Ma also had a notable following, albeit only amounting to slightly more than a fifth of the number of petitioners for Hj. Sulaiman.

⁷⁵⁵ Personal communication with Imam Muhammad Abdullah, *tuon* Musa b. Muhammad Abdullah and *mephum* Leh Sa (Ysa b. Saleh) at Norea Kraom, May 11th 2012.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; with Asyari and Nasir, former students of Math Zayn b. Sulaiman, born at Norea Kraom and Norea Loeu respectively, at Bunga Emas, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, July 26th 2012. According to informants interviewed in the 1980s, Math Zayn had also studied in Medina. Kiernan, "Orphans of Genocide", p. 31.

⁷⁵⁷ Hj. Abdur Rahman left Norea with other refugees in 1975 and died in the exile community of Bunga Emas (Kota Bharu) in 1998. Personal communication with Asyari and Nasir, born at Norea Kraom and Norea Loeu respectively, at Bunga Emas, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, July 26th 2012.

Southeast of the province in 1937, due to prevailing economic hardship in their home region. Even though I was so far unfortunately unable to locate the place, this reminds us of the fact that, despite the strong prolonged process of Jawization in suburbs of Battambang such as Norea, Phum Chen, Dam Spey and Slakaet, the province also houses the largest number of KIS villages of all⁷⁵⁸. Among these also the village of migrants from Kampong Tralach mentioned by Ner certainly figures. Highly probable locations would be Srama Meas (*khum* Prey Svay, *srok* MOUNG Russey), likewise known to have been established by settlers from Au Russey⁷⁵⁹, as well as Srah Chineang (*khum* Russey Krang, MOUNG Russey), which is still one of the rare repositories of *akhar trah* manuscripts in Cambodia⁷⁶⁰.

East of the Tonle Sap and thus outside of the reported conflict zone of *kobuol/trimeu* factionalism, Ner noted the existence of a small community of Chams in Siam Reap, which had moved there from Chau Doc. In harmony with the situation prevailing in their home region he described them to be fluent in Cham, Khmer and, to a lesser extent, in Malay. Conversely he was not able to visit the Muslims of Kampong Thom, whose numbers had swelled to 1.302 from merely 423 in 1918⁷⁶¹. Unsurprisingly, the Muslims of both areas were apparently well set onto the path of Jawization by then, not least due to their obvious integration into scholarly and other networks. The mosques in Kampong Thom's Baray district were only built in the early 20th century⁷⁶². Yet, already by 1928 the Chams of Tuol Lovieng in Baray requested and received the official permission, usually not sought for minor establishments, to open a Qur'anic school⁷⁶³. The Muslims of the district were evidently also connected to the scholarly center of Phum Trea in Kampong Cham. Thus, with the locally renowned Tuon Hj. Yusuf Awny (d. 1977) of Trapeang Chhouk (Boeng, Baray district), one of two major concentrations of Chams in the district (and the province), there was likewise a student of the latter's eminent Saleh Haroun locally engaged in teaching Islam⁷⁶⁴.

⁷⁵⁸ Personal communication with *Ong Khmour* Kai Tam at Sre Brey (Au Russey), May 13th 2012; with Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman, Deputy Province Imam of Battambang), in Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

⁷⁵⁹ Personal communication with Imam Muhammad Abdullah, *tuon* Musa b. Muhammad Abdullah and *mephum* Leh Sa (Ysa b. Saleh) at Norea Kraom, May 11th 2012.

⁷⁶⁰ *Proachum*, p. i.

⁷⁶¹ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 171; Cristiano Calcagno, *Kampong Thom and its Province. History, Geography and Archaeology of the Heartland of Cambodia* (n.p.: n.p., 2011), p. 20f.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁷⁶³ ANC-RSC 27286.

⁷⁶⁴ Personal communication with Tuon Him, b. 1942 in Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), in Chrang Chamres (Phnom Penh), May 13th 2012. The fact that Osman (*Oukoubah*, p. 124) lists Yusuf Awny as a "professor from Saudi-Arabia", something which was denied by Tuon Him, may point to the fact that he had also studied there for a longer period.

Even though there was still no Islamic school proper in Siam Reap in the 1960s, as religious education was then merely provided in the afternoons and evenings at the mosque, a local tendency towards Jawization was obvious. The initial settlers from Chau Doc were soon joined by newcomers from the suburban Muslim communities of Phnom Penh, including members of a prominent Cham family from Prek Pra (a site of Jawization already noted). In the 1960s a scion of this family, Hj. Karim, was appointed *hakem* of Siam Reap's Phum Cham. At the same time, besides successfully preserving Cham language, the local community was noted for its extensive participation in public affairs, including enrolment in public schooling. As a result, its exponents were to be found in important commercial and administrative positions. The anti-Communist political activist brothers Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth (b. 1944) and Abdul Gaffour Peang Meth, clearly representative of this trend, are stemming from a family that had migrated from Chrang Chamres to join Siam Reap's Muslim community⁷⁶⁵. Needless to say, this evolution into forming a disproportionate part of the national Muslim elites went hand in hand with a predisposition also towards urban expressions of Islam espoused at the centre, which were (albeit evidently in the 1930s still far from unchallenged) influenced by as well as influencing the process of Jawization.

5. Conclusion: between diversity and standardization

As was shown in this section, intra-religious difference among the Muslims of Central and Northwestern Cambodia had, in contrast to the concealed or at any rate less pronounced divergences in other regions, escalated and canalized into factional identities. The last guardians of Cham script and its literature, concentrated around Au Russey were apparently confined - apart from cases in their direct surroundings in which their claims to authority were swiftly rejected by those who would not (or no longer) identify with their distinctive Islamic discursive tradition (a rejection they in turn were seemingly prepared or forced to accept) - to the sidelines in a conflict engaging the already dominant *trimeu* proponents of Jawization and their *kobuol* contenders. The emergence of the latter faction, which resulted most probably only in response to the intrusion of Jawization into village

⁷⁶⁵ "Ideals and Barriers in Education", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2; "Secondary and Tertiary Education: Cham", typescript dated January 15th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2; "Genealogy of Hadji Haroun", undated typescript with handwritten notes, JP, DJA (2)/1/2; JP, DJA (2)/1/4; Justin Corfield & Laura Summers, *Historical Dictionary of Cambodia* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2003), p. 1f.; Gaffar Peang-Meth, "Islam - Another Casualty of Cambodian War" in Douc Rasy (ed.), *Khmer Representation at the United Nations* (London: n. p., 1974), p. 251.

and mosque communities hitherto barely touched by the process⁷⁶⁶, was evidently neither an exclusively Cham nor a strictly rural phenomenon.

Indeed, according to Ner's account the group kept or established their control also over mosques in suburbs of Phnom Penh (Chrang Chamres) and Battambang (Norea). Tuol Ngok and Norea were clearly predominantly Chvea villages, whereas Chrang Chamres was certainly somewhat mixed and Khleang Sbek, albeit predominantly Cham, is at least Tuol Ngok's sister village. Against this background of internal diversity, the absence of similar factional identities in other parts of the country and the intriguing geographic distribution of the *kobuol*, represented by a string of villages stretching west of the Tonle Sap from Chrang Chamres to Norea in Battambang, should be regarded as revealing rather than puzzling. Indeed, especially if seen - analogous to the emergence of *kaum tua* group identity as a response to the challenge of the purveyors of new discourses regarded as or championing themselves as *kaum muda* - as a reactive development, the formation of the *kobuol* and *trimeu* groups only in this specific region, despite the documented general process of Jawization in the country, is suggestive in two ways.

Firstly, it points to the fact that the Central and Northwestern region had, since the deportations under Ang Duong, experienced a very specific development. Apart from Chroy Metrey, which would have probably been better grouped together with Kampong Cham, and Chroy Changvar with its extensive contacts (economic, scholarly, familial and other) to the latter province, the local Muslims had apparently much more contact with each other than with co-religionists in other Cambodian regions. In other words, besides the Au Russey group and its dependents with their prolonged adherence to specifically Cham Islamic discursive traditions coupled with an extraordinary strong connection to the legacy of Imam San, also another distinct Islamic tradition, in contrast strongly influenced by lively exchanges between local Chams, Chvea and Khmers, and assumingly not mirrored elsewhere, had developed in the region in the course of the 19th century. Although reflective of some elements of Jawization, such as the loss of Cham script among the involved users of this language, the preservice of which would have obviously constituted an obstacle (i.e.

⁷⁶⁶ Therefore it is perhaps also more adequate to talk about the *kobuol* as presentist rather than traditionalist. Clearly, both factions laid claim to a specific Islamic tradition. Yet, by way of rephrasing a statement and quotation used by Edwards to describe the stance of the opponents of the Buddhist reformist wing within the Cambodian *Mahanikay* order, the *kobuol* "were driven not by an intellectual death wish, but by a desire 'to keep alive a life-form'" that hinged on different aspirations and assumptions of what it meant to be a Muslim (and what it may take to become a better one) than was the case with *trimeu*, for whom an evolution towards *jawi* model was a priority. Penny Edwards, "Making a Religion of the Nation and its Language: The French Protectorate (1863-1954) and the Dhammakāy" in John Marston & Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2004), p. 66.

in the exclusion of the Chvea) to the process of Muslim re-configuration at hand, or the usage of the actually Malay *kabul hamba* formula, its full onslaught as brought about by the main agents of Jawization was apparently taken as a threat to established practices.

An indicator for the actual existence of such a regional (Central and Northwestern) expression within Cambodian Islam is the absence of both the *kobuol* label as well as of the associated formula in all other regions. It was undoubtedly specific linkages or the lack thereof, which accounted for the emergence and prevalence of particular group identities and their emblematic features (e.g. specific canonized ritual formulas) in places as distant as Chrang Chamres and Norea (approximately 280km by road) and their absence elsewhere. Naturally, those who sought to hold on to the tradition eventually known as *kobuol* and its practices in their integrity reacted vehemently against the *trimeu* challenge. In addition, some of the *kobuol* leaders also had, due to their proximity to political centers and their accompanying historical role, positions and titles to lose. Moreover, whereas other communities throughout the country were gradually drawn into Jawization by the expansion of religious schooling and their participation in it, something which would in the long run also happen to most of Ner's *kobuol* villages, the proponents of the *kobuol* showed themselves to be rather removed from the trans-Cambodian scholarly networks, let alone from those stretching to Kelantan, Patani and Mecca⁷⁶⁷. Presumably, as they came to identify these networks as part of the problem their withdrawal became deliberate, which again brings us to the sociological concept of different horizons.

Secondly, the assumption that former *kobuol* villages were to eventually constitute a nuclei of KIS, though most probably at least partly accurate, cannot be substantiated from taking Ner's observations as a starting point. Indeed, apart from Pursat, every single village he identified as *kobuol* has contrarily embarked on the path of Jawization, which should not come as a surprise anyway, as they were in their majority divided communities with both *kobuol* and *trimeu* mosques and their respective constituencies. Once united, after the proponents of the *kobuol* faction had literally died out or were otherwise marginalized by the larger process of Jawization of which the *trimeu* were only a regional manifestation as much as Jawization in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta was likewise merely the regional expression of the same process in the larger frame of the Malay World, places such as Norea

⁷⁶⁷ Indeed, opposition to the growing Jawization of Islamic education was also not unknown in Kampong Cham. Thus, the French authorities noted in 1933 that some local Muslims considered the Patani-born teacher at a school in Svay Khleang (Krauchhmar) and a Cham scholar active in Kampong Siem as breaking with traditional education due to their overt focus on Malay and not Arabic. ANC-RSC, 26929 (note by the Resident of Kampong Cham, dated December 30th 1933).

and Chrang Chamres actually turned into important centers of *jawi* education. Looking at the *kobuol* as a regional Islamic discursive tradition gradually swallowed up by a larger wave of hegemonic, standardizing Jawization, and considering its obvious fusion of Cham, Chvea and Khmer elements (especially the latter to a degree certainly much stronger than would have been conceivable in the comparably far gone Muslim strongholds of Kampong Cham), one may also look at this particular faction within Cambodian Islam from an entirely different, unconventional angle, namely as the most distinctively Cambodian (as opposed to Cham or *jawi*) expression of Islam.

Similarly, the above reference to the dying out of *kobuol* was of course a deliberate one. Movements of religious change are often generational phenomena. Even though Jawization and thus also the spread of the *trimeu* appears to have been generally more subtle than the iconoclastic missions of *jawi kaum muda* reformists or of earlier reform movements such as the Padris in Minangkabau, hints at generational shifts as decisive background dynamics in the given localities were actually abundant in this chapter. Firstly, outside of Au Russey/Chhouk Sar, it was always a few individual old men, who were the last to know *akhar trah*. At Svay Chrum, where the majority of the local Muslims were apparently still harbouring *kobuol*(-like) tendencies, one of these emerged victorious in a contest over leadership. In Norea, more in harmony with nation-wide developments, it was the community elder, who sought in vain to reassert his authority, in all probability as a *kobuol* leader. Along the same lines a new generation would soon challenge the only recently established order of Jawization by its introduction of Islamic reformism, thereby potentially uniting both the erstwhile *kobuol* and *trimeu* ends of the spectrum as *kaum tua* contenders to *kaum muda* subversion. It is therefore all the more remarkable, that the *kobuol* formula, as an isolated and unrecognized reminder of past cleavages long forgotten, was preserved as a peculiarity in Tuol Ngok and probably some other places⁷⁶⁸. The same of course also goes for the traditions of parts of the presumptive Tuanko Po group at Au Russey, and for the temporarily dormant but now revived spiritual links between it and selected villages in Northwestern Cambodia (again supporting our thesis of particularly strong regional networking in this area) and, more astoundingly, Kampot.

⁷⁶⁸ Apart from Tuol Ngok I was only informed by informants in Norea that the *kobuol* formula had still been in local use in the recent past. Intriguingly, it was reported that this practice had been imported to Norea Loeu through settlers from Khleang Sbek. Personal communication with Imam Muhammad Abdullah, *tuon* Musa b. Muhammad Abdullah and *mephum* Leh Sa (Ysa b. Saleh) at Norea Kraom, May 11th 2012.

On a general basis, this chapter should have served to elucidate two aspects of the development of Islam in Cambodia in the early 20th century and beyond. Firstly, the early ethnographers' picture of a homogenous Islam in the country was, somewhat expectedly, ill-founded. Diversity, albeit in certain cases concealed because not necessarily contentious, was the order of the day. This concerned areas with no factional strife such as Kampong Cham and Kampot as much as the conflict zones in the center and the northwest. Moreover, in addition to differentiation within certain regions, those between them appear to have been likewise quite marked in certain cases. In this respect reference should once again be made to Kampot with its distinct *zuhhād* tradition, and the just discussed regional Islamic discursive tradition of Central and Northwestern Cambodia defended under the *kobuol* label. Intriguingly, both seem to have been linked to each other, not least importantly through the figures of Imam San and Tok Ngok. Although nothing is known about the *kobuol*'s relationship to the shrine of Imam San, it seems reasonable to assume that it figured prominently in the religious life of its exponents, which also provided the main - or probably even the only consequential and lasting - link to the Au Russey group with its otherwise significantly different orientation.

Conversely and secondly, however, this chapter was, despite the ample emphases on observed differentiation, also a tale of a major process of standardization under the parameters of Jawization. Ancient Cham script and its manuscript culture, and therefore also much of the distinct (Pandurangan) Cham Islamic discursive tradition disappeared from the scene, except in certain pockets in the northwest (most notably Au Russey). Instead *jawi* script was adopted to write Cham, though apparently also still only on a limited scale, a process during which only a very small amount of existent Cham literature was selectively transposed into the new script (particularly in the Mekong Delta and by Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey). Centers of *jawi* education, characterized by the primary usage of Malay books and models, which likewise partly accounts for the limited headway made by Cham *jawi* materials, drawing the surrounding Muslim populations into their orbit, sprang up in Chau Giang, Trea and Chroy Changvar. Students and teachers evidently circulated between these centers as well as between schools and scholarly circles frequented by Cambodian and Delta Muslims in Kelantan, Patani and Mecca. The most eminent teachers had invariably acquired their education in the latter places, whereas the strata of *tuons* below them had at least been educated in one of the three mentioned local hotspots or the emergent, increasingly relevant, subsidiary centers in villages such as Chumnik, Speu, Chroy Metrey and then also Norea.

The standardization thus achieved as well as underway, which also resulted in new (primarily Sufi) credentials and connotations to (most) shrines formerly associated with Cham princes and other renowned ancestors, proved contentious in certain areas, hence the *kobuol-trimeu* conflict, and seemingly much less so in others. Moreover, intra-religious conflict was not the exclusive domain of the two discussed feuding factions. Issues of correct belief and practice, or in other words disputes over local standards of orthodoxy, often linked to larger discussions taking place in the wider Malay or even Muslim World in general, as well as related contests over religious authority and its valorization by French and Khmer authorities (which sometimes instrumentalized the former), could and actually did at the same time seriously divide seemingly unified camps such as the *trimeu*. Whereas the perhaps major such intra-*trimeu* dispute will be dissected and analyzed in chapter seven, in conjunction with a closer look at the French role in the process of Jawization, we will now turn to the Cambodian Muslim community's strong connections and exposure to developments in the Malay World to elucidate some important mechanisms of the process of Jawization before, during and after Ner's time.

VI. Pondok, *fatāwā*, *ṭarīqa*, networks and books: agents, nodes and vehicles of Jawization

“[T]elah sedia maklum, hakir ini bukan daripada anak melayu jati [..] dan harap [..] menjadikan manfaat bagi bangsa-bangsa dan ahli watan hakir khususnya“ (“It is already known that the despicable one [i.e. the author] is not from among the true Malays [..] and it is hoped that it [i.e. the book] will bring benefits to the peoples and especially to the people of the homeland of the despicable one”). Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Hj. Hārūn Kemboja, *Pedoman Bahagia Membicarakan Sukutan Waktu dan Kiblat yang Mulia* (1353/1934).

This chapter endeavors to elucidate some of the deep structures and mechanisms underlying the process of Jawization in Cambodia. It will deal with the infrastructural, organizational, personal and institutional factors influencing Islam in Cambodia and its development leading up to the state of affairs in the 1930s (as described in the preceding chapter) and beyond. Jawization, just like the later introduction of *jawi* Islamic reformism was certainly not the *in toto* import of alien Islamic discursive traditions but rather a complex process of localization and vernacularization based on extensive prolonged and differentiated interaction with the Malay World, particularly and overwhelmingly with Kelantan and Patani, and with its extensions into the *ḥaramayn* and, to a lesser degree, Cairo and Bombay. It is these interactions and exchanges which constitute the focus of this chapter, as the mostly inadvertent French and (non-Muslim) Cambodian contributions to Jawization, which have already featured prominently in our observations and conclusions in chapters three to five, temporarily recede into the background of our enquiry before being taken up again more thoroughly in chapter seven.

Accordingly, the present chapter identifies, highlights and analyzes the respective roles of major agents, primarily religious teachers and functionaries (both Malay as well as indigenous), nodes (e.g. formal and informal centers of religious learning and scholarly networks between Cambodia, Kelantan, Patani, Bangkok, Mecca and Cairo) and vehicles of Jawization in the country. As should have become evident in the preceding chapter and will be even more so in the following, it must be kept in mind that such discussions must always include the Mekong Delta and Tay Ninh regions of Vietnam, where Islam developed very

much in tandem with Cambodia⁷⁶⁹. As far as the vehicles and media of Jawization are concerned, the relevance of *kitab jawi*, particularly the quasi-canon of books written and/or produced and disseminated by the Patani-Kelantan network will be elucidated. Yet, not only books but also Islamic periodicals undoubtedly proved influential as also Cambodians soon came to feature among their readership and likewise variously as contributors. In this connection, the role of *fatāwā*, both as original sources on intra-religious conflict or otherwise on more or less hotly debated issues of contemporary relevance for Cambodian Muslims intent on leading a religiously grounded life, as well as testimony to the actual extent of their religious networks and the perceived transnational hierarchies of Islamically-defined legal and social authority as seen from local perspective, will be scrutinized.

Many of the main actors of this chapter have already been noted, at least in passing. This primarily concerns the two most eminent Malay scholars associated with Jawization in Cambodia, namely Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali, as well as the two institutions strongly connected with their personas, the Ottoman Malay Printing Press in Mecca and the *Majlis Ugama Islam* (MUI) of Kelantan. Closely affiliated to both these scholars was also a family of *'ulamā'*, which likewise played a major role in Jawization in Cambodia. This was the family of Muhammad Zayn Awang, whose Kota Bharu pondok represented one of the prime local destinations for Cambodian and Vietnamese students of the period besides the town's main mosque and the MUI's *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*. Similarly, with Tuan Tabal and his progeny, also a second major scholarly family of Kelantan was likewise of prime relevance for Cambodian Muslims. Intriguingly, all those mentioned in the foregoing also had some relationship to the Aḥmadiyya/Idrīsiyya *ṭarīqa*, the only Sufi path with an attested presence in Cambodia. Conversely, whereas Abu Talep b. Hj. Ayyub and his literary output have already received considerable attention in the preceding chapter, which does generally not necessitate reiteration at this stage, the role and oeuvre of his contemporary Saleh Haroun will only be treated in detail in the following.

It will also be demonstrated that the numbers of Malay teachers active in Cambodia and/or having Cambodian students in Patani, Malaya or Mecca was truly significant. Whereas such intellectual and educational relationships have been taken for granted by Western scholarship on Cambodian Islam since the time of Ner, references have been commonly scant and of a solely generic nature. The only exception to this trend was Guérin's

⁷⁶⁹ This depended not only on the intense Muslim networking between these areas, but also on the fact that French Indochina – and much of this chapter falls into the period of French rule – was a “*non-national* space with ambiguous border”. McHale, “Ethnicity, Violence, and Khmer-Vietnamese Relations”, p. 367.

noteworthy article “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque’. L’influence des Malais de Patani et du Kelantan sur l’islam des Cam du Cambodge” of 2004. Yet, even here Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali and a few other Patani scholars are the only Malay scholars active outside of Cambodia to be identified as teachers of Cambodian Muslims. Yet, research in Malay biographical dictionaries of Islamic scholars as well as in biographic works on selected highly important individuals of the latter category, and in academic treatments of historical linkages between Kelantanese and Cambodian Muslim communities, has provided surprisingly large amounts of data for a more thorough assessment of the actual involvement of Malay scholars in the process of Jawization in Cambodia.

1. Malay teachers in Cambodia and teachers of Cambodian students abroad: Scholarly networks of Jawization and their nodes

1.1. Early Malay teachers in Cambodia and the Mekong Delta

It has already been noted that Cambodian Muslims are known to have already frequented the alleged first pondok of Kelantan, which had been founded in the 1820s by Daud Patani’s student ‘Abd al-Şamad b. Faqīh Hj. Abdullāh (Tok Pulai Chondong, d. 1873). Another early pondok frequented by Cambodian Muslims was that of Tok Malek (Abdul Malik b. Hassan, d. 1926) at Sungai Pinang⁷⁷⁰, which was most probably established in the 1860s. Nothing specific is known, however, about any of their students from the region, let alone their activities. The picture of Cambodian participation in transnational networks of *jawi* religious education only becomes clearer with the students of Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali and other late 19th/early 20th century Malay scholars.

In contrast, the names (and in certain cases also the spheres of activity) of a small number of earlier Malay scholars active in Cambodia have been preserved. Most of them were apparently active in the Kampong Luong and Kampong Cham areas, contributing to Jawization and, in the former case, therefore probably also to local factional strife. The purported cases of Imam San and Tok Ngok have already been mentioned, and especially the former will be the subject of further scrutiny later on in connection with the formation of KIS. It shall only be mentioned in this respect that Imam San, and probably both scholars, were apparently still part of an earlier phase of scholarly exchanges preceding the era of

⁷⁷⁰ TUSM, I, p. 115.

large-scale Jawization in Cambodia, something which also seems to be supported by the arguably fragmentary and contested information presented regarding their sojourns in Kampot. Indeed, in contrast to the decisiveness of Malay language and *jawi* script (in both its Malay and Cham form) in the process of Jawization, Imam San is reported to have produced a number of *akhar trah* translations of Arabic Sufi treatises⁷⁷¹. Even though this tradition may well derive from proto-KIS circles⁷⁷², it may be accurately pointing us to the fact that Imam San still pertained to a period when *akhar trah* and, to a lesser degree, Cham language had not yet been completely (as far as the former is concerned) or almost completely submerged by Jawization, its script and the related preference for Malay *kitab jawi*. It will be remembered in this respect, that the last Cambodian *akhar trah* manuscripts produced or at least distributed outside of present-day KIS domains are apparently also dating to the mid-19th century.

Apart from the two Sufi figures of Imam San and Ta Ngok, Hj. Wan Saleh b. Hj. Omar (b. 1820s) from Kampung Kubang Kawah in Pasir Mas (Kelantan) came to Cambodia as a religious teacher around 1870. Locally known as Tok Bebulu (“hairy”, from ml. *berbulu*), he taught and died in Chumnik. Given the village’s local reputation as of one of the earliest centres of pondok education in the country, it probably received part of its initial impetus from Tok Bebulu. Reportedly, many of his descendants likewise became religious scholars. One of them was a pondok teacher in Pasir Mas and local *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (PAS) politician in the 1980s⁷⁷³. Another early Kelantanese religious teacher in Cambodia was Hj. Wan Ngah b. Wan Mat Yunus from Kampung Selising in Pasir Puteh, who went to Cambodia in 1889 and taught in several Kampong Cham villages, including Phum Trea, as well as in other provinces. He only returned to Kelantan in 1917, leaving numerous offspring on both sides of the Gulf of Thailand⁷⁷⁴.

A still more profound outside influence on the transformation of Phum Trea into the country’s most renowned center of *jawi* education was certainly exerted by a Kelantanese scholar locally remembered as the Mufti Hj. Math (Ahmad), who reportedly hailed from Pasir Mas. Of this person it is variously claimed that he was either mufti in Kelantan before

⁷⁷¹ Nakula, “Orang Melayu”, p. 13. Here this information is misplaced under the biography of Hj. Syeikh Ismail b. Muhammad Zayn. It is, however, clear (especially when compared with the respective entries in his “Keturunan Melayu” [p. 28f.]) that it belongs to Imam San.

⁷⁷² KIS and former KIS circles are adamant (due to their engrained historically molded anti-Jawization stance one may suspect) that those *akhar trah* manuscripts in their possession with exclusively religious content (and little to no specifically Pandurangan flavour) have been directly translated from Arabic and not Malay. Personal communication with Imam Kai Tam at Svay Pakao (Kampong Tralach, Kampong Chhnang), July 9th 2009.

⁷⁷³ Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 29.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

departing for Cambodia or acted as such locally after his arrival in the village⁷⁷⁵. As far as this question is concerned several equally plausible answers could be put forward. Firstly, as mufti was not yet an official position in Kelantan at that time, Hj. Ahmad's role there and probably also in Cambodia was rather an informal than an official one. This would still importantly imply that his opinion was sought in cases of local religious disputes and other unresolved matters in the spheres of Islamic law and practice. Secondly, he could have become the holder of a Khmer title for Muslim dignitaries, which, as was shown, more often than not were based on legal terminology (e.g. *hakem*, *musphty*, *kaley*).

Thirdly, his biography of which only fragments are still preserved could have been confused with that of Hj. Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn Awang (see below), a later main agent of Jawization, who likewise died in the village (c. 1916) after having declined the Sultan's appointment to the position of mufti of Kelantan. In any case, the extraordinary prestige and reverence accorded to Hj. Math in Phum Trea is illustrated by his beautifully engraved grave-stone preserved in an enclosure on the verandah of the Phum Trea mosque, right beside the basically unmarked grave of the local luminary Hj. Haroun. As it bears the AH date 1307 (1890 AD)⁷⁷⁶ there can be no doubt that it belongs to Hj. Ahmad of Pasir Mas and not to Hj. Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn from Kampung Atas Banggol in Kota Bharu who died over two decades after that date. It must be noted in this respect, that Pasir Mas was just in the period in question (i.e. the second half of the 19th century) becoming one of Kelantan's major clusters of pondoks⁷⁷⁷. It is thus certainly not coincidental that this area produced several of the Malay teachers, who were active in Cambodia and the Delta in the late 19th century.

Additionally Kampong Luong (i.e. Tuol Ngok, Khleang Sbek and Sambour Meas) received a bunch of Kelantanese scholars around the same time. The most famous of these was Hj. Syeikh Ismail b. Muhammad Zayn of Kampong Binjai (Ketereh), who arrived in Cambodia around 1890. Allegedly, he subsequently became one of the most widely known religious teachers in the country, and many people are said to have joined hands together to build a mosque for him at Kampong Luong, where he stayed until the end of his life. Indeed, it seems as if he had been instrumental in giving an impetus to Jawization in the region. Also his son Hj. Syamsuddin resided and then taught in Kampong Luong, after studies in

⁷⁷⁵ Personal communication with Hj. Saleh, aged 82; Hamad Daud, aged 65 & Hj. Shukry, aged 58 (all born in Phum Trea), in Phum Trea, May 15th 2012; with Muhammad Ali, founder of *Nūr al-Hidāya* school (Kbal Romeas, Kampot), born in Khleang Sbek (Kendal), at Bunga Emas (Kampung Penambang, Kota Bharu, Kelantan), July 20th 2012.

⁷⁷⁶ Personal observation at Phum Trea, May 15th 2012. See fig. 5.

⁷⁷⁷ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 422.

Kelantan from 1917-1920⁷⁷⁸. It would thus seem plausible that the head of the Tuol Ngok mosque in the 1930s, referred to as *oknha reachea kiripatta puon* Din by Ner and the archival sources, was no one else but him. The latter, and not the Khleang Sbek mosque (as suggested in the preceding chapter), would then also have been the *trimeu* mosque of the Khleang Sbek-Kampong Luong area⁷⁷⁹.

Two other scholars, namely Hj. Wan Ismail b. Wan Musa and Hj. Wan Ahmad b. Wan Ismail, from villages in Pasir Mas and Pasir Puteh respectively, arrived in Kampong Luong in 1892, after having become aware of the local demand for religious teachers through Cambodian Muslim acquaintances in Mecca. The former acted as a roving religious teacher during an extended initial stay, before returning once more to the area late in his life. Conversely his friend ultimately settled down in Koh Khoi in the Chau Doc area, where *jawi* scholarship had then already begun to flourish as evinced by the local 1893 Arabic-Malay *Umm al-Barāhīn* manuscript. He became known as Hj. Wan Ahmad Long San on both sides of the border. Another religious teacher, this time from Tumpat, came to Kampong Luong in 1893⁷⁸⁰. Needless to say, these arrivals must have - one way or another - influenced local religious education and practice. Moreover, yet another religious teacher similarly testifying to scholarly linkages between Kelantan and Cambodia on the one hand, and between Kampong Cham and Chau Doc on the other must be mentioned. Hj. Ismail b. Yusuf from Kota Bharu also travelled to Cambodia directly from Mecca. There he first settled down in “Suwai Krang” (i.e. Svay Khleang) in Kampong Cham, where he also married a Cham wife. After moving from place to place as a roving religious teacher for some time, he eventually came to reside in Chau Doc until his death⁷⁸¹.

Finally, in harmony with Ner’s otherwise isolated report about the prominence of Chvea in Kampong Luong and Chroy Changvar of (partly) Kalimantan Malay descent, a scion of a Pontianak scholarly family who spent a considerable amount of time in Cambodia, namely Hj. Muhammad Nur Putih (“white”) b. Encik Wan Mat Thalib al-Funtiani, must be mentioned. Although we are lacking any specific dates for his stay in the country, where he was known as Wan Muhammad Daram (ml. *deram* – “roaring”), it most probably similarly took place in the late 19th century. After his return from abroad, Muhammad Nur, who had most certainly also married in Cambodia, gave his newly founded village in Pontianak the

⁷⁷⁸ Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 34.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. V.4.2. The strongest argument against this assumption is of course the preservation of the *kabul hamba* formula in Tuol Ngok into the present day.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29-31.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31. He could thus also be a candidate for authorship of Cabaton’s *Umm al-Barāhīn* manuscript.

intriguing name Kampung Kemboja. His son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Funtiyānī, author of two published *kitab jawi* (on prayer and questions of *imān/islām*), became a major Pontianak ‘*alim* and acted as a *murshid* of the Naqshbandiyya from his home in Kampung Kemboja⁷⁸². Given the relevance of Islam in Lombok as a comparative case for this study, it is striking that one of his other sons, Hj. Sulaiman, is credited with having spread Islam and established a *pondok* there, and, by implication, with having championed the case of the *waktu lima*, thereby becoming an important local agent of Jawization. Similarly, two of Muhammad Nur’s grandsons, Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Sulaymān al-Funtiyānī and Hj. Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Funtiyānī (d. 1967 in Singapore), produced *kitab jawi* published in Mecca and Singapore respectively⁷⁸³.

On a general basis, these arguably fragmentary reports about early (mostly Kelantanese) migrant Malay religious teachers in Cambodia and Vietnam fit perfectly with our foregoing mapping of the development of Jawization in the 1930s. Even though suburban Muslim communities of Phnom Penh and Battambang as well as Chau Giang are strikingly absent, the role of the Khleang Sbek-Kampong Luong area and of Kampong Cham scholarly centers such as Trea, Chumnik and Svay Khleang, and Chau Doc as prime recipients of visiting teachers should therefore not come as a surprise. What is more, the apparent village focus of all these reports may indicate that such visits were more frequent, and therefore less memorable, in suburban communities. In addition, the recurrent theme of Malay scholars coming to Cambodia and Vietnam at the invitation of pilgrims and students from these countries in Mecca (and assumingly also in Kelantan) - if accurate - points to the fact that these more widely-travelled local Muslims indeed felt a gap (a Jawization desideratum) between Islamic practice and scholarship in their home countries and that of the Malay community in Mecca and other places of study⁷⁸⁴.

⁷⁸² Despite the by then overall dominance of Khāliidiyya branch of the *ṭarīqa* in the *jawi* ecumene, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz certainly inducted his followers into the Mazhariyya branch (named after the Indian 18th century Mujaddidi master Maẓhar Jān-i Jānān, d. 1781), which was most prominently represented in Pontianak after the great (Arab) Meccan scholar and Mazhariyya shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī (d. 1924) assumed the post of mufti there from 1896 to 1908. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 104, 199. Even before that Snouck Hurgronje noted that the “Pontianak colony, so to say, stand under the control of the Zawāwī family [i.e. ‘Abd Allāh and his father, the Mazhariyya master Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ]”. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 308f. On the role of Jān-i Jānān within the Naqshbandiyya see Itzchak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya. Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 63-66.

⁷⁸³ Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Koleksi Ulama Nusantara*, I (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2009), p. 142-145 (henceforth cited as KUN); *ibid.*, “Ulama-ulama Pontianak dan Karya Mereka”, *Ulama Nusantara Blogspot* (UNB), entry dated March 27th 2008, <http://ulamanusantara.blogspot.co.at/2008/03/ulama-ulama-pontianak-dan-karya-mereka.html> (accessed June 19th 2013).

⁷⁸⁴ Contact with the Arabs or Indians in the *ḥaramayn* must have been fairly limited for all but the best-placed *jawi* scholars or adepts of Sufi *ṭuruq*, as can be best inferred from Snouck Hurgronje’s description of Mecca’s *jawi* community. The fact that Cambodian and Vietnamese Muslims probably did not have their own

1.2. Main Malay agents of Jawization: the network around Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali

The most eminent Malay scholars exerting major influence - direct as well as indirect - on Islam in Cambodia during the period and beyond were Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali. Both scholars have already been mentioned, the latter in his capacity as teacher of Hj. Ayyub and his son Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey, the former in connection with his prominent students Hj. Osman of Phum Trea and Mat Sales of Chroy Changvar, his role as mufti for Cambodian Muslims and his foundation and direction of the Ottoman Malay printing press. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (Ahmad Patani, d. 1907) was undoubtedly, after the towering foundational figure of Daud Patani, the most prominent representative of Patani *jawi* scholarship and its network. This is also well reflected by his place in Cambodian Muslim affairs. Besides being an author and renowned teacher in Mecca, whose legal opinions were sought by believers from all over Greater Patani and Cambodia, he played a major role in Jawization through the edition, publication, popularization and distribution of the texts of Daud and other Patani scholars, and, to a lesser extent, also the works of other Malay authors such as al-Sinkīlī, al-Palimbānī and Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī. Due to this latter activity he arguably also greatly contributed to the emergence of a canon of pondok and even madrasa textbooks equally prevailing in Kelantan, Patani and Cambodia.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī and his family: scholarship, ṭarīqa and publishing

Ahmad Patani was born in Yaring (Patani) in 1856 into a family of religious scholars, whose general influence on Islamic scholarship in Cambodia can hardly be exaggerated. Intriguingly, it was his grandfather, Hj. Wan Muṣṭafā b. Wan Muḥammad Faqīh al-Faṭānī (also Tok Wan Pa or Tok Bendang Daya Tua), who founded Pondok Bendang Daya, one of Patani's main centers of religious education, whose direction went over to his son 'Abd al-Qādir (Tok Bendang Daya Muda, d. 1894) after his death⁷⁸⁵. As was already noted in chapter II, this institution soon became the prime destination for Cambodian students studying in

pilgrimage agents (sg. *muṭawwif*), but were most probably catered to by those enlisted for Kelantan and/or Patani Malays could have additionally strengthened the connections between the communities and the coherence of the regional expression of Jawization englobing the Northeastern Peninsular Malay states on both sides of the border, Cambodia and the Mekong Delta. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 35, 90, 238.

⁷⁸⁵ For their biographies and their pondok see KUN, I, p. 194-199.

Patani. Consequently, we may assume, in the absence of any detailed reports, that the bulk of local scholars credited with education in Patani either in the archival sources or by Ner, had studied at this pondok. Among its teachers, it is particularly 'Abd al-Qādir who has been singled out for producing Cambodian 'ulamā⁷⁸⁶. This, however, must not have necessarily taken place at his Patani pondok, as he also taught in Mecca until his return to assume the direction of the school⁷⁸⁷. In addition, also other members of the extended family had students from Cambodia. Ahmad's father Muḥammad Zayn (d. 1908) had been active for some time at Bendang Daya and later continued to teach in Mecca from 1860 onwards, though never commanding the same prestige as his brother 'Abd al-Qādir, let alone his own son Ahmad's⁷⁸⁸. Nevertheless, known among his students from Kelantan, Patani and Cambodia as Wan Din b. Pak Wa Patani⁷⁸⁹, he was perhaps of some importance for students from Cambodia and Vietnam in Mecca in the crucial period of the 1860s and 1870s, when 'Abd al-Qādir had already departed but Ahmad not yet matured. 'Abd al-Qādir's son Wan Ismā'īl (Pak Da 'El Patani, d. 1965) also became an important *jawi* teacher in Mecca. Particularly after the Saudi takeover of Mecca and the resulting departure of many *jawi* scholars, he must have risen to become one of the main local teachers for Cambodian students in the 1930s and beyond⁷⁹⁰. He also taught and wrote a commentary to *Farīdat al-Farā'id*⁷⁹¹, Ahmad Patani's most popular work in Cambodia (see below). One of his students in Mecca, Hj. Hasan Ketereh (d. 1977), founded a pondok in Ketereh in 1915, which also drew students from Cambodia⁷⁹².

Moreover, 'Abd al-Qādir's brother 'Abd al-Laṭīf, also an erstwhile teacher at Bendang Daya, went to teach in Bangkok and its vicinity, presumably in particular among the numerous descendants of deportees from Patani settled there by the Siamese⁷⁹³. For that purpose he moved to Tha It in Nonthaburi province, where also some of his children would continue his mission. His son Wan Ismail for example, himself a student of his cousin Ahmad Patani in Mecca, assumed the position of imam and chief teacher at the Tha It mosque and also taught at the *Anjuman Islam Bangkok*. It was most probably also with him that the major

⁷⁸⁶ Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 316.

⁷⁸⁷ KUN, I, p. 195.

⁷⁸⁸ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 354.

⁷⁸⁹ Rahimullah, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 312.

⁷⁹⁰ On this cousin of Ahmad Patani see UBP, p. 167-180. Rahimulla notes that he was known in Cambodia.

Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 315.

⁷⁹¹ UBP, p. 173, 177.

⁷⁹² TUSM, II, p. 292-294.

⁷⁹³ Umayyah Haji Umar, *The Assimilation of Bangkok-Melayu Communities in the Bangkok-Metropolis and Surrounding Areas* (Kuala Lumpur: Allwrite, 2003).

Islamic teacher of Battambang, Hj. Math Zayn, had studied during his time in Bangkok⁷⁹⁴. Wan Ismail's son Acan Yaya (Hj. Yahya) even rose to the position of deputy *chularajamontri* of Thailand (or deputy *shaykh al-islām*, i.e. the Thai counterpart to the position of mufti/*changvang* in Cambodia)⁷⁹⁵.

Ahmad Patani was taken to Mecca by his father in his early childhood and was to spend most of his life there. In his youth he studied with major Arab, Patani and Kelantanese scholars of Mecca. These included the holy city's appointed *shaykh al-'ulamā'* and mufti for the Shāfi'i school of law, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1886), who was not only Mecca's most prestigious scholar at that time but also immensely popular within the *jawi* ecumene, and the latter's rival Muḥammad Ḥasab Allāh al-Makkī (d. 1917). His *jawi* teachers featured Nik Dir Patani ('Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, d. 1898), a former student of Daud Patani and prolific author, and his pupil Wan Ali Kutan (Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalantānī, d. c. 1913)⁷⁹⁶. The first three of this group were routinely consulted by members of the *jawi* ecumene, both in Mecca as well as from afar via letters, for *fatāwā*, thus fulfilling a function later performed for Malay, Thai-Malay and Cambodian Muslims by Ahmad Patani himself⁷⁹⁷. In this respect another important local Arab teacher of his with lasting influence on Islam in Southeast Asia must be mentioned. This was the pupil and biographer of Daḥlān, Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā' al-Dimyātī (d. 1893), whose major *fiqh* work, entitled *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*, was not only an instant success but has also remained a major reference for Southeast Asian Muslims until today⁷⁹⁸. The outstanding *jawi* reverence

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. V.4.2. A second major *melayu* scholar of Bangkok during that period was the Minangkabau exile Ahmad Wahab, who arrived in the city in 1926. As a member of the Indonesian *Muhammadiyah* organization and pioneering figure in the emergence of Islamic reformism in Thailand, he is a less likely candidate. Indeed, Hj. Math Zayn is not specifically known for reformist inclinations, although, for example, his offering of instruction in the Khmer language and script was certainly extraordinary. Conversely, it is precisely his selection of books for study by his students, which clearly betrays his attachment to the Patani network (see below). On Ahmad Wahab see Raymond Scupin, "Islamic Reformism in Thailand", *JSS*, LXVIII, 2 (1980), p. 2; Joseph Chinyong Liow, "Tradition and Reform in Islamic Education in Southern Thailand" in John Funston (ed.), *Divided over Thaksin. Thailand's Coup and Problematic Transition* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 137.

⁷⁹⁵ KUN, I, 199-203; Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 317f. On the office of *chularajamontri* see Michel Gilquin, "Musulmans et Malais de Thailand" in *ibid.* (ed.), *Atlas des minorités musulmanes en Asie méridionale et orientale* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010), p. 170f.

⁷⁹⁶ On these two scholars see UBP, p. 43-51; Abdul Halim, "Pendidikan Islam", p. 12-14; Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar Sastra* (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1966), p. 163-165. Wan Ali Kutan, a Shādhili, was accordingly himself also firmly rooted in the tradition of Daud. His *Zahrat al-Marīd fī l-'Aqā'id al-Tawḥīd* was expressly intended as a pathway to more elaborate *uṣūl al-dīn* works of Daud. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁷⁹⁷ The bilingual Arabic-Malay fatwa collection *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, first published in Mecca in 1310/1892, contains 89 *fatāwā* of Daḥlān, nine from Ḥasab Allāh, and eight from Nik Dir, besides 19 specimens lacking an identification of the mufti in question. Nico Kaptein, *The Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwa Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), p. 3-6.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. n. 691. This work also contains a fatwa from Daḥlān. Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā' al-Dimyātī, *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn 'alā Ḥall Alfāz Faṭḥ al-Mu'īn* (Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n. d.), II, p. 380. In contrast to the long held view that works on Islamic substantive law (*furū'*) soon became irretrievably detached from the actual life-worlds of Muslims, it was actually long established practice to include recent *fatāwā* on contemporary

towards Daḥlān is most evident in Shaṭṭā's biography of the mufti, *Tuḥfat al-Raḥmān*. Its first edition was published in 1305/1887 at the expense of a native of Semarang, one of Java's strongholds of Jawization, and additionally contains a eulogic poem by a Palembang scholar⁷⁹⁹.

Constantly in search of knowledge, Ahmad Patani further studied in Jerusalem, at al-Azhar and, late in his life (around 1901), with scholars in Medina⁸⁰⁰. In addition, the Malay scholar showed himself also devoted to achieving spiritual progress through Sufism. Although also initiated into the Shādhiliyya and Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqas*⁸⁰¹, it is his affiliation to the Aḥmadiyya-Idrīsiyya which proved crucial for Muslims in Cambodia and Kelantan, where the latter gained a strong foothold during his lifetime, albeit only partly on account of his own initiatives. Concerning his Naqshbandiyya affiliation it must be noted that he belonged to neither of its two prominent lineages in Southeast Asia (i.e. the aforementioned Khālidiyya and Maḥhariyya branches), but was initiated by Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī (d. 1884 in Mecca) into a third Mujaddidi lineage similarly (i.e. like the two foregoing) transmitted by a deputy of Maḥzar Jān-i Jānān's Indian successor Shāh Ghulām 'Alī (d. 1824-5)⁸⁰².

The fact, that al-Nāzilī's Arabic treatise of mystical engagement with the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*⁸⁰³ still enjoys some popularity among Southeast Asian Muslims today is presumably related to the activities of his best known Malay disciple, Ahmad Patani. Conversely, he most probably took the Aḥmadiyya directly from Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd (d. 1874), one of its foundational figures, but then also studied under his (for the spread and development of the *ṭarīqa* likewise highly instrumental) successor Muḥammad al-Dandarāwī (d. 1909)⁸⁰⁴. The background to his Shādhili affiliation is less clear, yet there is circumstantial evidence that it went hand-in-hand with his exposure to the Aḥmadiyya. Indeed, in a noteworthy fatwa given in response to an enquiry from Sultan Muhammad IV of Kelantan (d. 1920) concerning the permissibility of certain practices associated with the local Aḥmadiyya, the

legal problems into such works. Wael B. Hallaq, "From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*: Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law", *IL&S*, I (1994), p. 29-65.

⁷⁹⁹ Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, p. 4f.

⁸⁰⁰ UBP, p. 52f; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 354-357.

⁸⁰¹ Mark J. Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons. The Making and Remaking of the Rashīdi Aḥmadi Sufi Order, 1799-2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 123 n. 2; Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia", *DI*, LXVII (1990), p. 165.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 165f. On the transmutations of the Mujaddidi path cf. n. 717 and see Weismann, *Naqshbandiyya*, ch. 6.

⁸⁰³ Muḥammad Ḥaqqī al-Nāzilī, *Khazīnat al-Asrār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1423/2002).

⁸⁰⁴ Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 124; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 356. It shall be noted that Bradley, ironically just like many Cambodian Muslims today, confuses the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa* with the Indian Aḥmadiyya movement.

mufti not only explicitly notes his own belonging to the *ṭarīqa*⁸⁰⁵. He further stresses that its eponym Aḥmad b. Idrīs (al-Fāsī, d. 1837) had been a highly esteemed Islamic scholar (also of the law) as well as a transmitter of the Shādhiliyya⁸⁰⁶. Within the same legal opinion he cites an unidentified bearer of the *nisba* al-Shādhilī four times⁸⁰⁷. As will become evident below, certain Kelantanese Aḥmadiyya figures, many of them students of Ahmad Patani, who was, however, never primarily known as a Sufi, were undoubtedly major (either direct or indirect) agents of Jawization in Cambodia. Therefore, also his association with the *ṭarīqa* should not be regarded as inconsequential as far as the history of Cambodian Islam is concerned, even though its introduction into both Kelantan and Cambodia owed as much or even more to the activities of his older contemporary Tuan Tabal (‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, d. 1891) and his family in Kelantan (see below).

Ahmad Patani’s overall literary output even surpassed that of his famous predecessor Daud. Consisting of at least 65 Malay and Arabic works, it covered virtually all branches of Islamic knowledge, even including - rather unusually - medicine and history. In this respect he is credited with having been the first Patani author ever to compose prolifically in Arabic⁸⁰⁸. This supreme knowledge of Arabic was, *inter alia*, put to work in the preparation of his *Abniyat al-Asmā’ wa l-Af’āl* (in Arabic), on Arabic morphology, completed shortly before his death in 1907. *Ṭīb al-Iḥsān fi Ṭibb al-Insān* (in Malay) remarkably details the medicinal qualities of endogenous plants of the Malay World along the classical lines of *al-ṭibb al-yunānī* (“Greek medicine” – traditional Islamic medicine)⁸⁰⁹. His historical *Ḥadīqat al-Azhār wa l-Rayāḥīn* (in Malay) contains the first encompassing Malay relation of the lives and times of the eponyms of the four Sunni schools of law⁸¹⁰. At least in Cambodia, and perhaps also elsewhere, Ahmad Patani was, however, best known for his basic teaching text on Ash‘ari ‘*aqā’id* (creed)⁸¹¹, entitled *Farīdat al-Farā’id fi ‘Ilm al-‘Aqā’id*, which is, of course, written in Malay, and, as so many other *jawi* texts of the genre, strongly indebted to al-Sanūsī’s *Umm*

⁸⁰⁵ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 181.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204. In this context he emphasizes that his prestige was so great that even some of those responsible for his initiation into the Shādhiliyya attended the sessions during which he imparted the knowledge the legal scholars (‘*ulamā’ al-shar’*’) had transmitted to him. The whole passage gives the impression that Ahmad Patani (and other Malay Muslims) may still have regarded at least the Rashīdī Aḥmadiyya still as a Shādhilī lineage.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182f. He gives the diverging names of Shaykh Muḥammad Abī l-Mawāhib/Abī l-Wahhāb (*sic*).

⁸⁰⁸ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 357.

⁸⁰⁹ Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 28f.; Matheson & Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, p. 29, Shaghir Abdullah, *Al ‘Allamah Syeikh Ahmad*, p. 124f.

⁸¹⁰ Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Hadīqatul Azhar war Riyahin. Syeikh Ahmad Al Fathani. Pemikiran, Hikayat Imam Empat dan Para Wali* (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanat Fathaniyah, 1992), p. 25f.; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī, *Ḥadīqat al-Azhar wa l-Rayāḥīn*, p. 23-54 (facsimile in *ibid.*).

⁸¹¹ I fully concur with Matheson and Hooker’s observation that works of the network introduced and described as *pada bicara* (“to discuss”), as opposed to *pada menyatakan* (“to explain/clarify”), should be considered primarily as textbooks and reference for students. Matheson & Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, p. 47.

*al-Barāhīn*⁸¹². The popularity of the book is testified to by the fact, that it was published and reprinted in at least two different editions in Cairo, Mecca, Penang and Riau⁸¹³. Strongly identified with this work, its author was in Cambodia plainly known as “Tok *Farīda*”.

Most relevant for the study of the history of Cambodian Islam, however, is naturally the collection of 107 of his *fatāwā*, known as *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, which clearly mirrors his unmatched prestige among Cambodian Muslims as well as the latter’s contemporary thorough engagement with the *jawi* ecumene, including its highest scholarly representatives in Mecca. In this regard, the exceptional usefulness of *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya* for our purpose stems from the fact, that it is a collection of so-called primary fatwas, which have not undergone the standard editing processes commonly applied to the production of secondary fatwa collections or the incorporation of individual fatwas into *fiqh* manuals (*furū’*)⁸¹⁴. The most crucial component of this editing process was the removal of elements of fatwas irrelevant to legal scholars but of prime interest to the historian, namely the names and other particularities (e.g. places of origin) of the petitioners (sg. *mustaftī*)⁸¹⁵. The bulk of requests for the *fatāwā* contained unsurprisingly came from Patani Malays. Yet, questions were also sent from Kelantan, Siam (presumably the community of Patani Malays in and around Bangkok), Songkhla and, tellingly, Cambodia. Strikingly, the greatest number of fatwa requests coming from outside of the ranks of Patani Malays hailed from Cambodia. Thus, Cambodian Muslims accounted for five such enquiries, whereas Songkhla and Kelantan only accounted for four and three questions respectively⁸¹⁶. Unfortunately only one of the Cambodian fatwas lists the names of the three *mustaftīs*, most probably all former students of the mufti, whereas the others at least indicate their provenance from among Cambodian Muslims. Because of their extraordinary significance for the documentation and

⁸¹² As elsewhere this is most evident in his exposition on the twenty divine attributes.

⁸¹³ Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 27; Matheson & Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, p. 29. Both fail to mention the 1314/1896 edition of the Ottoman Malay printing press in Mecca. Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 480. Most probably, the work was (and/or is being) also published at the Patani Press and its local (likewise still operative) competitor *Maṭba’at Ibn Halābī/Saudara Press*. On these publishing houses see Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 54.

⁸¹⁴ Although extremely rare as far as Southeast Asian scholars are concerned, collections of *fatāwā* have been left by many legal scholars. Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1657) lists 138 such works (nrs. 8703-8841), whereas Brockelmann has 102 different titles. Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī l-kutub wa l-funūn*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig: Published for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland by Richard Bentley, 1835-1858), IV, p. 349-370; GAL, SIII, p. 856-858.

⁸¹⁵ Hallaq, “From *Fatwās* to *Furū’*”, p. 32-34, 44-55. The aforementioned collection *Muhimmāt al-Nafā’is* mostly does not contain such details, although the Acehnese and Minangkabau origins of certain questions can be inferred from contextual information contained or peculiar language used. Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā’is*, p. 9-14.

⁸¹⁶ Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 386.

study of Jawization in Cambodia, the *fatāwā* of Ahmad Patani for Cambodian Muslims will be discussed in detail below in a separate section.

Whereas the scholarly standing of Ahmad Patani was – within the *jawi* ecumene as a whole, though certainly not within the Kelantan-Patani-Indochina region – matched by Muḥammad Nawawī Banten and Zayn al-Dīn al-Sumbāwī in the 1880s and 1890s⁸¹⁷, the former was clearly an outstanding figure in his capacity as editor and publisher of Arabic works, and particularly *kitab jawi*. Although the claim that the publication of all Malay works printed between 1877 and 1889 in Mecca, Egypt and Istanbul resulted from Ahmad Patani’s efforts in the field of *taṣḥīḥ* (i.e. correcting, editing and authenticating copies) and supervising the production process⁸¹⁸, is probably an exaggeration, his activities in the area of Malay book printing were undeniably significant and far-reaching. In Mecca he set up a coordinating board for the edition and printing of Malay books (*Badan Pentashih dan Mencetak Kitab Jawi*) together with other Malay scholars, most notably his uncle Dā’ūd b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (d. 1935) and Idrīs b. Ḥusayn al-Kalantānī. In 1884 he was, certainly due to previous experience in the field acquired in Cairo⁸¹⁹ (under the auspices of Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī), appointed as the director of the Ottoman Malay Printing press, which operated under the name *al-Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā’ina* during his lifetime. Afterwards, as well as during a hiatus of its director from active publishing affairs 1896-1902, its direction fell to his two aforementioned associates and former pupils in the tools of the trade. In addition, its name was also eventually changed into *Maṭba‘at al-Tarraqī al-Mājidiyyat al-‘Uthmāniyya*. As already observed by Snouck Hurgronje, the output of the Meccan publishing house was thoroughly biased towards the works of Patani scholars, naturally in particular those of their most prolific and renowned representative, Daud Patani⁸²⁰. According to Bradley, works of the latter amounted to around 75 per cent of its publications, beginning with the inaugural publication of his *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (on ‘*aqā’id*)⁸²¹. In addition, also some of Ahmad

⁸¹⁷ For these two scholars cf n.

⁸¹⁸ Shaghir Abdullah, *Al ‘Allamah Syeikh Ahmad*, p. 50. Notwithstanding the author’s hyperbole, it would not seem improbable that the Malay/Indonesian terms *tashih* and *pentashih*, as referring to critical editing processes, may indeed have been introduced and coined by Ahmad Patani and his associates. Arabic *taṣḥīḥ* is not only a technical term in manuscript production and the transposition of manuscripts into print, but also in Islamic law. Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition. A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 82; Hallaq, “From *Fatwās* to *Furū’*”, p. 52.

⁸¹⁹ Michael Laffan, “Understanding *al-Imam’s* Critique of *Tariqa* Sufism” in Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk & Nico J.G. Kaptein (eds.), *Varieties of Religious Authority. Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010), p. 20.

⁸²⁰ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 306f.

⁸²¹ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 477. This publication was evidently so successful that it was reprinted already two years later. Dā’ūd b. Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (Mecca: al-Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā’ina, 1303/1886). Between 1888 and 1905 it saw at least three more reprints at this press. Bradley, *Social*

Patani's books as well as a number of *kitab jawi* by other Patani authors of the 19th century, most notably Tuan Minal (Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, d. 1913)⁸²² were published by it. As has been noted in chapter two, also the books of the major Palembang and Banjarmasin scholars of the 18th and 19th century were selected for lithographic editions by Ahmad Patani and his associates. A major pioneering undertaking, however, was the first publication of al-Sinkilī's Qur'anic commentary *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, the only printed Malay *tafsīr* available at that time, which, as we have seen, had apparently already made its way to Cambodia in the 1900s. Arabic works, such as Sayyid Bakrī's aforementioned *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*, were published to a lesser extent by the Ottoman Malay Printing press⁸²³.

While it must be noted that many of the publications of Ahmad Patani's publishing house, had already been published elsewhere in the Malay World, Mecca, Istanbul, Cairo or Bombay⁸²⁴, and were thus not representing pioneer work, particularly the works of Daud Patani and other later Patani authors indeed experienced an unprecedented degree of distribution and outreach through his efforts. Strikingly, the canon of textbooks studied in different types and levels of religious schools in Patani, Kelantan and Cambodia from the 1890s way into the 1960s largely coincides with the publication record of *al-Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā'ina* and its direct successor. As this selection certainly also mirrored Ahmad's teaching preferences which many of his students and then their students inherited from him, his contribution to the emergence and enduring maintenance of such a *jawi*/Arabic canon of standard mosque, pondok and madrasa literature with a heavy focus on Patani scholarship was certainly a major one. As this set of books had a particular relevance for Jawization in Cambodia on its own, it will also be subsequently discussed in a separate section.

Cambodian scholars studying under Ahmad Patani

Needless to say, the most direct influence exerted by Ahmad Patani on Islam in Cambodia was through his students from that country. All in all, the names of ten Islamic scholars

Dynamics, p. 478. The 1303 edition (held *inter alia* at Leiden) was apparently not listed by Bradley's 1323/1905 source edition.

⁸²² Himself a graduate of Pondok Bendang Daya (besides studies in Mecca), he was a prolific author of *kitab jawi* also used in Cambodia. UBP, p. 62-73; KUN, I, 160-163.

⁸²³ The sequence of published Patani literature is detailed in Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 477-486. For a list of Arabic and Malay publications edited and/or published by Ahmad Patani (including of non-Patani authors) see Abdullah, *Al 'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad*, p. 49-52.

⁸²⁴ See Proudfoot (*Early Malay Printed Books*, *passim*) on early publications in the Malay World and Bradley (*Social Dynamics*, p. 486-490), who, however, generally excludes virtually all non-Patani works published by the press from his discussion, for those from the other mentioned centers of publishing.

from Cambodia and the Delta who have studied with the eminent mufti in Mecca have come down to us through his grandson Wan Mohammad Shaghir Abdullah⁸²⁵. Whereas their names are the only piece of information preserved for some of them, additional information is supplied for a few others. Most importantly, individual scholars can be more or less securely identified with persons appearing in other sources. The most influential of these local agents of Jawization were evidently Cambodia's most eminent Islamic teachers of the first decades of the 20th century, Hj. Osman of Phum Trea and Hj. Mat Sales of Chroy Changvar (and earlier Chrang Chamres). Their unmatched prestige as the true leaders of Cambodia's Muslim community, as asserted by Ner, was certainly related to their legacy as students of Mecca's most prominent Malay teacher and mufti. It was assumingly also this widely acknowledged fact, most probably flaunted by the scholars in question, which turned Mat Sales into a protégée of the *changvang* Tuorman, and Hj. Osman not only into a renowned teacher but also into a natural arbiter in intra-community conflicts. Yet, especially in the case of Mat Sales, his open claims to superior knowledge and pronounced desire to rectify Islamic belief, practices and, as we will see, even architecture (or rather spatial arrangements), were to prove highly contentious notwithstanding his elevated standing in the community.

It was further already noted, that he was also among a group of *mustaftīs* from what was most probably Chrang Chamres' *trimeu* mosque, who jointly requested a fatwa from Ahmad Patani on a distinctly non-legal issue revolving around the proper terminology to be used in imparting knowledge about (al-Sanūsī's) twenty attributes of Allah. There is also a great probability that the other two petitioners, Tengku Sulaiman and Hj. Abdul Hamid had previously also been students of the mufti in Mecca themselves, as is claimed by Shaghir Abdullah. They are both credited with actively propagating Islam (*penyebaran*) in Chrang Chamres and other villages with a Kelantan/Patani Malay element⁸²⁶. It is, however, evident from the fatwa request in question that they were themselves Cham speakers and not of Malay stock (see below). Of a certain Hj. Muhammad Tahir b. Nuh, imam of Kampong Bang Din in Cambodia⁸²⁷, it is reported that he used to send money (assumingly donations) for his former teacher with the annual pilgrims to Mecca⁸²⁸. This would not only suggest constant interaction of at least individual members of the community with Ahmad Patani, but indicate that his fame in the country was such that he merited becoming the recipient of

⁸²⁵ Shaghir Abdullah, *Fatwa tentang Binatang*, p. 50.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50 (ns. 52 & 53).

⁸²⁷ I was unfortunately unable to identify this place.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50 n. 54.

monetary gifts otherwise reserved for the commonly unsalaried village *tuons*. In addition, mention must be made of a certain Hj. Abdul Malik, who might have either been one of the early scholars at Chumnik⁸²⁹ or a Phnom Penh-based teacher by that name, who is known to have studied with Ahmad's disciple Tok Kenali (see below).

Among Shaghir Abdullah's list we also find a certain Hj. Ismail Kemboja. Given the major preoccupation of the Patani scholars with *Umm al-Barāhīn* and the study of the *sifat dua puluh* (twenty attributes) derived from it, he could well have been the author of the interlinear Malay translation of it met by Cabaton in Chau Doc. As was already noted, the assumingly same person hailing from Koh Khoi was also (most probably incorrectly) remembered as the first Chau Doc scholar to have gone to study in Kelantan in the 20th century⁸³⁰, perhaps in order to reunite with his other (Kelantanese) Meccan teachers, such as Tok Kenali and/or the exponents of the scholarly family of Hj. Muhammad Zayn Awang (see below). Indeed, all the foregoing are - except Hj. Muhammad Tahir b. Nuh and Hj. Osman, who probably departed from Mecca before Tok Kenali embarked on his own teaching career - also known to have studied with Tok Kenali⁸³¹, and that Hj. Ismail Kemboja did not venture to Kelantan as a young man is evident, as he was related to have died there a mere five years after his arrival at the age of sixty⁸³². There is further a report about Hj. Ismail of Koh Khoi arriving in Kelantan in 1916, together with other Chau Doc and Kampong Cham Muslims, to attend the pondok of Hj. Muhammad Zayn Awang⁸³³, which, as will be shown below, was strongly identified with the Kelantan *Aḥmadiyya ṭarīqa*.

There can be no doubt that Ahmad Patani's major Indochinese students played a considerable role in the process of Jawization in Cambodia, although already their own quest for religious knowledge in the teaching circle of one of late 19th century Mecca's three most eminent *jawi* scholars (i.e. Ahmad Patani, Zayn al-Dīn al-Sumbāwī and Nawawī Banten) besides many others of the *jawi* ecumene, is a testimony to the process and Cambodian Muslims' partaking in the scholarly networks of Southeast Asian Islam and its personal and systemic links to Meccan society. Not only were Mat Sales of Chroy Changvar and Hj. Osman of Phum Trea among the most authoritative teachers and arbiters in Islamic matters. Mat Sales and his associates as well as Hj. Muhammad Tahir b. Nuh also functioned as direct

⁸²⁹ Cf. V.2.

⁸³⁰ Cf. V.1.

⁸³¹ Lists of Cambodian and Vietnamese students of Tok Kenali have been compiled by al-Ahmadi and al-Qari. al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 44; Abdullah al-Qari b. Hj. Salleh, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah di Zaman Tuk Kenali* (Kenali: Pustaka Asa, 1988), p. 62, 77f.

⁸³² JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

⁸³³ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48.

communication channels to the famed Meccan that acted as last and highest authority for unresolvable questions debated in Cambodia. Koh Khoi's Hj. Ismail and his highly probable authorship of the local Malay translation of *Umm al-Barāhīn* were certainly also not inconsequential for Islamic education and practice in the Mekong Delta. It may also be assumed that, as its senior member, Hj. Ismail was likewise the driving force behind the group of Indochinese Muslims enrolling at *Pondok Hajji Awang* in Kota Bharu in 1916. Yet, Ahmad Patani was only the pinnacle of the Patani-Kelantan-Cambodia network at that time. Apart from his relatives in Bangkok and at *Pondok Bendang Daya* in Patani, it was his many students, particularly his purported favorites Tok Kenali and Wan Ahmad b. Wan Muhammad Zayn (and then their students), who transmitted his teachings to Cambodian Muslims.

Tok Kenali: favorite student and patron saint of Kelantan

Ahmad Patani's alleged favorite student was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad (d. 1933), a native of Kelantan better known as Tok Kenali. Born in 1863 in Kampong Kenali at Kubang Kerian, four and a half miles outside of Kota Bharu, he was only seven years younger than his Meccan teacher. Yet, when he arrived in Mecca in 1886, Ahmad Patani was already a well-established scholar in his own right. Unsurprisingly, the two nevertheless shared a substantial number of teachers, *inter alia* Muḥammad Ḥasab Allāh al-Makkī, Sayyid Bakrī and Wan Ali Kutan. In addition, he also studied with 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī (d. 1924), Mufti of Pontianak 1896-1908 and then Shāfi'i Mufti of Mecca, and with the staunch early Minangkabau reformist (*kaum muda*) leader, Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minankabāwī (d. 1915)⁸³⁴.

It must be noted in this respect that both Tok Kenali and Ahmad Patani have been routinely described as having been strongly influenced, not least due to their visits to Cairo, by the Islamic reformism of Muḥammad 'Abduh, whom it is claimed they have even met personally⁸³⁵, and Rashīd Riḍā. Although they undoubtedly espoused some of the reformist ideals, such as a pronounced appreciation of print culture and the new medium of Islamic periodicals, and in Tok Kenali's case, also the desire for the establishment of new forms of Islamic education, they were certainly no partisan reformists such as Aḥmad Khaṭīb and other *kaum muda* leaders in Singapore and Java. Indeed, they were rather in an intermediate

⁸³⁴ Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Pokok Pemikiran Haji Mohamad Yusuf bin Ahmad al-Kenali (Tuk Kenali)", TM, IV (1995), p. 1410.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1411.

position, exhibiting certain reformist sympathies on the one hand, but completely lacking a partisan stance on the other. Also Ahmad Patani's literary output, as well as the works he felt compelled to see to the printing press, was fairly traditional in character. Both were evidently of a natural conciliatory nature, and Tok Kenali would later personify his intermediate stance by establishing both a traditional pondok as well as concomitantly playing a major role in the foundation of Kelantan's first modern Islamic school.

This should alert us to the fact, that the Greater Patani-Cambodia sphere within the *jawi* ecumene had its own trajectories of Jawization, differentiating its experience from some of its other areas, not only from its Javanese-speaking parts and the Outer Islands but also from Sumatra and the Straits Settlements. Despite the common overall process, these differences resulted *inter alia* in variegated manifestations and responses to Islamic reformism. This especially concerned the virulence of accompanying intra-community cleavages and conflicts, which transpired on a much smaller scale in places such as Kelantan and Patani. Although not devoid of friction, more serious confrontations between the *kaum muda* and the *kaum tua* began to disrupt Kelantan and Patani, with some notable delay, only from the late 1930s into the 1960s. It was thus only natural that – in scholarly terms closely linked – Cambodia only witnessed conflict and factionalism in the *kaum muda/kaum tua* framework only from the 1950s onwards, whereas the earlier *trimeu/kobuol* split as a dramatic reaction to Jawization constituted, as elsewhere, a precondition to it but should definitely not be confused with it.

In contrast to Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali was neither a prolific author of books nor an important figure in book publishing. Yet he became (just like the former) a teacher of great renown, and made important contributions to Arabic language instruction and the study of its grammar, as well as to establishment of Islamic periodicals in Kelantan. In addition, he was a frequent contributor to (*jawi*) religious periodicals (including in the rather unusual form of short stories), which he had become accustomed to read in Mecca upon the advice of Ahmad Patani. He was further involved in the translation of a couple of Arabic works into Malay and was an instrumental figure in the foundation of Islamic institutions in his home state.

It was only after more than twenty years of study in Mecca that Tok Kenali returned to his native Kelantan in 1908, shortly after the death of Ahmad Patani⁸³⁶. He soon acquired

⁸³⁶ For his biography and influence see al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok* & "Pokok Pemikiran"; al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah* & "To' Kenali: His Life and Influence" in W. R. Roff (ed.), *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State* (Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 87-100; Wan Mazwati Wan Yusoff. "Tok Kenali (Muhammad Yusof bin Ahmad). Modernisation of the Pondok" in Rosnani Hashim (ed.), *Reclaiming the*

considerable prestige as a teacher in his own *pondok* (established in 1910 in his home village) as well as in the main mosque of Kota Bharu (later rebuilt and known as *Masjid Muhammadiyah*), where he served as head-teacher from 1917-1925. He has been specifically credited for modernizing and systematizing instruction in Arabic. His lessons in Arabic grammar were posthumously edited by his Kelantanese student and former teaching assistant Hj. Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Awang (Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang, d. 1968)⁸³⁷, who in turn also came to serve as teacher for Cambodian Muslims (see below). In 1915 Tok Kenali was appointed a council member of the newly formed *Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan* (henceforth MUI), the first centralized body for the administration of Islam in any Malayan state⁸³⁸, and in 1917 as its director of Islamic education. In this capacity he was instrumental in the founding of the first modern Islamic school in Kelantan, the *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*, which, just like the schools championed by the *Muhammadiyah* in Java, functioned on a modern class and examination basis and combined religious and secular subjects.

He was likewise a main figure (including as “principal honorary editor”) in and frequent contributor to the MUI’s journal *Pengasuh* (est. 1918). Just as Tok Kenali himself managed to straddle the educational divide, which elsewhere separated the *kaum muda* and their contenders, by being equally active in both the traditional *pondok* as well as the emerging integrated *madrasah/sekolah agama* (religious school) system, also *Pengasuh* was rather non-partisan in comparison to the likes of *al-Imām* (est. 1910) or *al-Munīr* (est. 1911)⁸³⁹. While clearly sharing some of the religious and social reform agendas of the *kaum muda* and initially even explicitly welcoming new organs of the latter such as *al-Ikhwān* (est. 1926 in Penang by the leading reformist writer and publicist Sayyid Shaykh b. Ahmad al-Hadi⁸⁴⁰), *Pengasuh* did not claim to represent either camp⁸⁴¹. Apart from *Pengasuh*, he also wrote for the later Kelantanese monthly *al-Hidāya* (1923-1926), which had been established by a

Conversation. Islamic Intellectual Tradition in the Malay Archipelago (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2010), p. 72-90.

⁸³⁷ Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *al-Durūs al-Kenaliyyat al-Ibtidā’iyya* (Kota Bharu: Maṭba‘a Majlis Ugama Islam, 1945). The fact that Tok Kenali’s lessons were deemed worthy of publishing more than ten years after his death testifies to his superior knowledge of Arabic grammar and his far-sighted approach at imparting it.

⁸³⁸ Roff, “Origin and Early Years”.

⁸³⁹ As the first Southeast Asian organ of Islamic reformism, Singapore’s *al-Imām* drew heavily on Riḍā’s *al-Manār* in both form and content, as did its Minangkabau counterpart *al-Munīr* (published in Padang). HAMKA (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), *Ayahku. Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Penerbit Widjaya, 1958), p. 76-79, 86; Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 148-151, 172-178.

⁸⁴⁰ On this important *kaum muda* personality see Alijah Gordon, *The Real Cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hadi* (Kuala Lumpur: MSRI, 1999).

⁸⁴¹ Khoo Kay Kim, “Malay Society, 1874-1920s”, *JSEAS*, V (1974), p. 191f.

former student of Tok Kenali and graduate of the *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*⁸⁴². When Kelantan's Sultan Ismail (r. 1920-1943) commissioned the translation of al-Shāfi'ī's *Kitāb al-Umm* and of the "*Tafsīr al-Khāzin*" in 1929⁸⁴³, the MUI also entrusted the (eventually uncompleted) task initially to Tok Kenali.

When he died from an infected foot in 1933, he left a collection of supplicatory prayers (posthumously published as *Du'ā' Tok Kenali*), influenced by al-Ghazālī and in part directly taken from his edifying *Ayyuhā al-walad*, which testified to his piety and Sufi leanings⁸⁴⁴. His conciliatory nature and cautious approach to religious reform, combined with his erudition, simple lifestyle and proverbial love for the people, besides we may speculate, simply being active in the right place at the right time, all contributed to Tok Kenali's canonization as both a kind of patron saint of Kelantan for (almost) all persuasions and as alleged local doyen of Islamic reformism. Despite the resilience of local counter-claims regarding the latter aspect, whose historical proponents likewise proved influential to Islam in Cambodia and the Delta (see below), Tok Kenali's larger than life image is well implanted in Kelantan until today⁸⁴⁵.

More importantly for the present study, he produced a whole generation of authors of religious works, teachers and founders of pondoks, primarily in Kelantan, but also in Terengganu, Sumatra and Cambodia. Already in 1917 Tok Kenali was imparting knowledge to 300 students⁸⁴⁶. Thus, an even greater number of Indochinese Muslims studied with him than with Ahmad Patani, who, of course, not only died a quarter of a century earlier but was also less accessible due to his permanent residence in Mecca. Significantly, also the number of Malay students of Tok Kenali, who would in turn become teachers of Cambodian Muslims, was also higher than in Ahmad Patani's case. Combined with his contributions to religious institutional development in Kelantan, Tok Kenali's role in Jawization in Cambodia and the Delta was arguably tremendous. Moreover, even though he was not a major mufti

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 192; William R. Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals Published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), p. 35f.

⁸⁴³ The original letter of the Sultan is reproduced as a facsimile in al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 126. The second work is actually *Lubāb al-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl* of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Khāzin (d. 1340), a narrative-based Qur'ān commentary enjoying lasting popularity in the *jawi* ecumene since at least 1600. Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, p. 45f., 142-146, 161.

⁸⁴⁴ Although never flaunting affiliation to a Sufi order, it has been understandably suspected that also Tok Kenali had been initiated into the Aḥmadiyya during his stay in Mecca. Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 133. It must be emphasized in this respect, that the *ṭarīqa* still had a rather elitist scholarly character under Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd and his Kelantanese disciple Tuan Tabal (see below), and was therefore far from being the kind of classical path with popular appeal into which it was remade by al-Dandarāwī's followers. *Ibid.*, p. 122-138.

⁸⁴⁵ Philipp Bruckmayr, "Between Max Weber and Shāh Walīallah: Two trajectories of reformist canonization in Southeast Asia", unpublished paper presented at the conference *Failure in Islamic Reform?*, Princeton Univ., April 2013

⁸⁴⁶ Kim, "Malay Society", p. 187.

like his teacher, he was also involved in setting up the most important fatwa-issuing body for Cambodian Muslims after the demise of Ahmad Patani. Thus, he was a driving force in the creation of the fatwa section of *Pengasuh* through his membership in the MUI's *Meshuarat Ulama* (Committee of Religious Scholars)⁸⁴⁷, which had been established in 1918 to function as Kelantan's official and exclusive institution of *iftā'*⁸⁴⁸. Whereas we will deal with the *Meshuarat Ulama*'s fatwas as well as with Tok Kenali's relevant Malay students in greater detail below, we will now turn towards the scholars from Cambodia and the Delta, who sat at his feet.

Cambodian students of Tok Kenali

It is estimated that around thirty Cambodian Muslims (including those from the Delta likewise referred to as *orang kemoja* in Kelantan) studied with Tok Kenali, either at his pondok or in Kota Bharu's main mosque. This would place them on par with their colleagues from Kedah, but above those from Siam, which of course had its own famous pondoks, and even Terengganu (both estimated at twenty)⁸⁴⁹. Seventeen of the Kelantanese scholar's Cambodian students are known by name⁸⁵⁰. As was already noted, a few of them had likewise earlier been students of Ahmad Patani. These included most prominently the Phnom Penh scholars Mat Sales, Hj. Abdul Malik and the latter's son Muhammad Tahir⁸⁵¹. The remaining ones are Hj. Ismail from the Delta and a certain Hj. Sulaiman b. Muhammad Tahir⁸⁵², who is most probably identical with the student of Ahmad Patani, who called himself Tengku Sulaiman in the aforementioned joint request for a fatwa.

From among those students of Tok Kenali, who had not also studied with the Patani luminary, we have already discussed the cases of Hj. Abu Talep and his father Hj. Ayyub,

⁸⁴⁷ al-Qari, "To' Kenali", p. 93.

⁸⁴⁸ Roff, "Origin and Early Years", p. 140f.

⁸⁴⁹ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 94.

⁸⁵⁰ I am basing myself here primarily on the lists in al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 44; al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 62, 77f. Only two of Tok Kenali's students to be discussed below (both coming from the Delta) were not recorded by these two authors. Just as in the case of Ahmad Patani's students, nothing except their names has been preserved of some of these scholars, who will, accordingly, in their majority be left out from the following discussion, save in individual cases where a tentative identification can be justifiably argued with a certain degree of probability.

⁸⁵¹ As indicated above it is not entirely certain that it was the Phnom Penh and not the Chumnik scholar Abdul Malik, who studied with Ahmad Patani, whereas the studentship of the Phnom Penh scholar and his son under Tok Kenali is firmly established. al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 77; al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 44, 66, 90. Shaghir Abdullah also lists both a Hj. Abdul Malik and a Hj. Muhammad Tahir (different from Ahmad Patani's long time Cambodian supporter and contact Muhammad Tahir b. Nuh). Shaghir Abdullah, *Fatwa tentang Binatang*, p. 50.

⁸⁵² al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah di Zaman Tuk Kenali* (Kenali: Pustaka Asa, 1988), p. 62.

who had moved to Chroy Metrey from the Mekong Delta⁸⁵³. It will be remembered that both had evidently been decisive in turning their village into a center of religious education, and that Hj. Abu Talep was an outstanding scholar, particularly as far as his literary activity in Cham *jawi* is concerned. Mention has likewise already been made of Muhammad Amin, one of the sons of Phum Trea's famous Hj. Osman⁸⁵⁴. It was of course befitting Hj. Osman, as a student of Ahmad Patani, to send his son to receive Islamic knowledge from the latter's most illustrious disciple. Another of Tok Kenali's Cambodian students, a certain Ahmad Tawil, was noted to have hailed from Kendal province. The Hj. Idris found on both al-Ahmadi's and al-Qari's lists, was probably the advisor to the mufti of the early 1970s from Baren (Kendal). We may assume that he was instrumental in firmly connecting the village to *jawi* networks of learning stretching from Chroy Changvar to Kampong Cham. The same connection is apparent with another scholar, who can be identified with a degree of certainty. Thus, there is a great probability that the Hj. Yahya of our list is identical with a Hj. Katoeu-Ya (Hj. Yahya b. Abd al-Qadir) of archival sources. Born in Chroy Changvar in 1902, he solicited an official license to establish a religious school in Kampong Treas in Kampong Cham's Krauchhmar district (not be conflated with Phum Trea in the same *srok*) in 1933, after having passed the test for a teaching certificate from the authorities⁸⁵⁵, thereby testifying to his command of written (*jawi*) Malay. He received the desired authorization in the following year⁸⁵⁶.

The interconnectedness of Muslim communities in Kelantan, Cambodia and the Mekong Delta, eventually experiencing a weakening between the two latter areas with the demise of French colonial rule (see ch. 7), is particularly apparent with two other Indochinese students of Tok Kenali. Thus, Hj. Yasya Asmath (Ahmad b. Yahya), a *tuon* (religious teacher) and *orang pendakwah* (propagator of the faith) from the Chau Doc area, eventually became a highly important figure in Cambodian Islam after having studied under the Kelantanese luminary. Initially teaching in Saigon among the growing community of Muslim migrants from the Mekong Delta, he then took up teaching in a Phnom Penh mosque (most probably in Chroy Changvar) and finally rose to the position of advisor to the mufti/*changvang* of Cambodia after the Second World War⁸⁵⁷. In Lon Nol's Khmer Republic (1970-1975) he still formed part – in this capacity – of the official four-person religious leadership of the Muslim

⁸⁵³ Cf. V.4.2.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. V.2.

⁸⁵⁵ ANC-RSC 8772. He also signed plainly as Hj. Yahyā in *jawi*.

⁸⁵⁶ ANC-RSC 8465. This was, however, intriguingly soon revoked for "political reasons". ANC-RSC 8772.

⁸⁵⁷ al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 44, 90; al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 78.

community⁸⁵⁸. Unusually lucky for Muslim functionaries in such elevated or even much lesser positions, he managed to escape the killing spree, which the DK regime directed against his kind, to settle down in Pasir Mas in Kelantan. His role as a rare survivor among Cambodian Islamic scholars and former students of Tok Kenali turned him into one of al-Ahmadi's two invaluable sources on fellow Cambodian students of Tok Kenali⁸⁵⁹.

Also al-Ahmadi's second informant presumably only lived to tell by not being in the country during the DK regime. Born around 1900 in Svay Khleang⁸⁶⁰, one of the main early centers of Jawization in Kampong Cham besides Trea and Chumnik, Yakoub b. Mahmud was one of the selected few Indochinese Muslim scholars to become teachers not in their homeland but in Kelantan. Thus, while it is not entirely clear whether he ever returned to Cambodia after his studies with Tok Kenali, we know that he was already teaching at a pondok in Ulu Sa' (Bukit Panau, Machang, Kelantan) by the 1960s⁸⁶¹. When al-Ahmadi met him in the 1980s, he was still active at the same pondok, despite his advanced age. There, he assumingly had Kelantanese, Indochinese and descendants of Indochinese Muslim migrants in Machang as students. Indeed, it has been noted by Jaspan, that Cham farmers came to settle down in the area already in the interwar period⁸⁶².

Finally, mention must be made of a person only recorded as Hj. Abdullah on both al-Ahmadi's and al-Qari's lists. Given his age and position in the 1960s and early 1970s, it is of course tempting to assume that this individual could have been the *changvang* of the period, Res Lah (Abdullah b. Idris), especially if we consider that at least one of his officially appointed (and most probably personally selected) advisors (i.e. Hj. Yasya Asmath), or probably even two of them (i.e. Hj. Yasya Asmath and Hj. Idris of Baren), had indeed studied with Tok Kenali. Yet, it would have been strange for the informants to withhold such information from the two Kelantanese researchers. Anyhow, there can be no doubt that Res Lah was also educated within the networks of Jawization connecting Cambodia, the Delta, Patani, Kelantan and Mecca. As will be shown in the following, there were many other Malay as well as Cambodian agents of Jawization imparting religious knowledge to Cambodian Muslims at that time besides Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali, albeit most of them were arguably connected to their network in one way or the other.

⁸⁵⁸ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 37.

⁸⁵⁹ al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 54 n. 52.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20 n. 14, 54 n. 52.

⁸⁶¹ JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*

Moreover, it testifies to the aptitude of Ner's assessment of the major *tuons* and not the highest religious dignitaries being the real authorities in the Cambodian Muslim community, that the lives and activities of teachers such as Phum Trea's Saleh Haroun or Chroy Metrey's Abu Talep are far better preserved in local memory than that of Res Lah. Indeed, for the time being (until further Khmer archival sources are sighted), not even the year in which he rose to the position of *changvang* is firmly established. Older villagers in Chroy Changvar and elsewhere remember that Hj. Sam'un, a scholar well known from archival sources of the 1930s and to be discussed below, served as *changvang* around 1960⁸⁶³. Other sources assert that Res Lah was installed as first Mufti of Cambodia (i.e. *changvang*) by Sihanouk in 1960⁸⁶⁴, whereby at least the claim of him being the first holder of such an office is clearly incorrect. Contrarily, a 1961 CIA report on Cambodia notes that Islamic issues are falling under the purview of "the Under Secretary of State for Muslim Affairs of the Bureau for Religious Affairs", and declares the position to be vacant at the moment⁸⁶⁵. By 1967, however, Res Lah – as *changvang* – already convened the third congress of Cambodian Muslim officials⁸⁶⁶. If the convention of this annual congress had been initiated by him, which seems quite likely, then we may conclude that he became officially appointed leader of the Muslims in the country no later than 1965.

In addition, there were two other important students of Tok Kenali, with roots in the Mekong Delta, who are, however, strikingly absent from both our lists. The first of these has already been discussed in the preceding chapter, namely Muhammad Idris, *hakem* of Chau Giang for over a half century from 1951 onwards. He had studied *inter alia* with Tok Kenali at the *Masjid Muhammadi* from 1930 onwards⁸⁶⁷. Conversely, the second scholar in question became a major teacher in his own right in Kelantan, where he was known as Hj. Ayyub b. Hj. Husayn Kemboja⁸⁶⁸. As he is, however, more strongly associated with his other famous

⁸⁶³ Personal communication with villagers at the al-Azhar mosque (Chroy Changvar), April 27th 2012; with Tuon Ismail, age 80, born in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

⁸⁶⁴ Kok-Thay, *From the Khmer Rouge*, p. 131.

⁸⁶⁵ "CIA National Intelligence Survey, Cambodia: Section 52. Structure of the Government", dated July 1961, NA, 270/80/23/4 (Box 57), p. 11f. Even this information is, however, not unambiguous as most of the used data for the report was gathered in 1955. Yet, this does most probably not apply to the remark about the vacancy at the top of the Muslim hierarchy.

⁸⁶⁶ Shimon Avimor, *L'histoire contemporaine du Cambodge (1949-1975) sous un perspective israelienne* (Aix-Marseille: unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Université de Provence, 1982), p. 303 n. 1. Also Jaspan observed in 1967 that the "Sheikh ul Islam" was Abdullah (i.e. Res Lah), who resided in Chroy Changvar. "Politico-religious organization", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

⁸⁶⁷ LPD, "Haji Muhammad Idris".

⁸⁶⁸ Muhammad Salleh b. Wan Musa (with S. Othman Kelantan), "Theological Debates: Wan Musa b. Haji Abdul Samad and His Family" in W. R. Roff (ed.), *Kelantan: Religion, Society, and Politics in a Malay State* (Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 165.

local teachers to be dealt with below - which perhaps also accounts for his absence from the collated lists - he will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

After this look at Tok Kenali's known Indochinese students, some of whom evidently became highly influential teachers and religious functionaries in Cambodia, whereas the actual relevance of others can only be presumed but not assessed due to a lack of data or usable information, we may now turn to the last component of the upper tier of the network of Jawization constituted by Ahmad Patani and his family, Tok Kenali and the family of Muhammad Zayn Awang, and their considerable numbers of Cambodian and Malay students, who in turn again catered to new generations of Cambodian Muslims. This remaining component is represented by three generations of religious scholars and teachers out of the family of a Kelantanese Aḥmadi by the name of Hj. Muhammad Zayn Awang. Another Kelantanese scholarly family (i.e. that of Tuan Tabal), similarly influential in Kelantanese and Cambodian Islam during the period and arguably also strongly connected to the described network on different levels, will be briefly mentioned but otherwise dealt with separately, as it soon came to take a rather confrontational stance towards Tok Kenali and the MUI, thereby alerting us to the existence of contemporary intra-religious strife and factionalism also in Kelantan.

Muhammad Zayn Awang and his family: The Aḥmadiyya, Ahmad Patani's second favorite student and Kota Bharu's "Pondok Kemboja"

Arguably, Wan Muhammad Zayn Awang of Kota Bharu is a rather shadowy figure in comparison to Ahmad Patani or Tok Kenali. Yet, his influence and that of some of his children and grandchildren as well as of one of his sons-in-law on Cambodian Islam was undoubtedly likewise a major one, and shall thus be elucidated in the following. In fact, no other scholarly family in Kelantan was linked to the label *kemboja* as closely as his. Moreover, his son Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn was reportedly, besides Tok Kenali, Ahmad Patani's other favorite student⁸⁶⁹. Likewise, two different lines of transmission of the Aḥmadiyya converged in his family.

Hj. Wan Muhammad Zayn, often only referred to as Hj. Awang Atas Banggol after his native *kampung* in Kota Bharu, was one of Tok Kenali's early teachers, before the latter embarked to Mecca⁸⁷⁰. As he was primarily known as an expert on *fiqh*⁸⁷¹, we may assume that it was

⁸⁶⁹ al-Ahmadi, "Pokok Pemikiran", p. 1411.

⁸⁷⁰ al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 23f.

also in this science that he instructed Tok Kenali. Yet, he is also reported to have taught Hj. ‘Umar b. Ismā‘īl Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi (d. 1946), another major local scholar and teacher to Cambodian students, most prominently Phum Trea’s Saleh Haroun, in Arabic⁸⁷². Hj. Awang was also connected to another of Tok Kenali’s local teachers, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1891), better known as Tuan Tabal. The latter must indeed be regarded as one of the earliest indirect agents of Jawization in Cambodia. Accordingly, Tuan Tabal was the scholar who introduced the Aḥmadiyya into Kelantan and Cambodia. Born in Tabal in Southern Thailand in 1816, but raised in Kelantan, he was, like Ahmad Patani later, initiated into the Aḥmadiyya by Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd in Mecca. Sometime in the late 1860s/early 1870s he left Mecca following an invitation by a local notable (Tok Semian) to teach in Kota Bharu’s main mosque. In Kelantan’s capital he also soon established his own place for teaching, later known as Surau Tuan Tabal or Pondok Tok Semian⁸⁷³, which was conveniently located to draw students from the chief mosque⁸⁷⁴. There he also transmitted the Aḥmadiyya and conducted its *dhikr*. However, not regarding himself primarily as a Sufi shaykh, he spread it, very much in al-Rashīd’s fashion and that of some of his other *khalīfas* (i.e. those entitled to spread the path on his behalf), as a *ṭarīqa* for scholars⁸⁷⁵. In this respect, also Cambodian Muslims formed part of his student body⁸⁷⁶. Additionally, Tuan Tabal authored at least six Malay works on Sufism, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*, most of which were shortly seen to printing presses in Mecca and/or Kelantan. In this respect his originality, as opposed to the mere transferal of Arabic content into Malay form, has been stressed, along with the recognition that the prominence of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī’s (d. 1565) thought is clearly perceptible in his oeuvre⁸⁷⁷.

One of Tuan Tabal’s disciples in Kelantan must have been Hj. Awang. Indeed, they were so close that he even featured among the four men - all of them Kelantanese ‘*ulamā*’ - who eventually washed Tuan Tabal’s body and prepared it for burial⁸⁷⁸. Apparently, also his children, including even the females, were initiated into the Aḥmadiyya. Following Tuan Tabal’s death, Hj. Awang seems to have gone to Mecca for some time, where also his son

⁸⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 48 n. 9.

⁸⁷² TUSM, I, p. 278; Awang, “Hajji ‘Umar Sungai Keladi”, p. 20.

⁸⁷³ Hamdan Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah di Malaysia. Suatu Analisis Fakta secara Ilmiah* (Selangor: Percetakan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1990), p. 71-77.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸⁷⁵ Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 79f. It must be noted, that the original path of Ibn Idrīs knew no such position as *khalīfa*.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80, 177; Werner Kraus, “Sufis und ihre Widersacher in Kelantan/Malaysia. Die Polemik gegen die Aḥmadiyya zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts“ in Frederick de Jong & Bernd Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 741.

⁸⁷⁷ al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar Sastera*, p. 158-163.

⁸⁷⁸ al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 48 n. 9.

Ahmad was already studying with Ahmad Patani at that time. In Mecca, his daughter Safiyya married a Minangkabau-descended scholar from Negeri Sembilan, Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Linqī (Linggi, d. 1926). Already an Aḥmadi, Safiyya fatefully introduced her husband to the Egyptian shaykh Muḥammad al-Dandarāwī. The latter soon chose Muḥammad Saʿīd as his *khalīfa* (giving him the respective *ijāza* in 1900⁸⁷⁹), who in turn headed to Malaya to spread the path, first from his family’s native Negeri Sembilan, then from Kota Bharu and eventually from Seremban in Negeri Sembilan⁸⁸⁰. Intriguingly, when he came to Kelantan sometime between 1902 and 1905, he initially set himself up in Hj. Awang’s house⁸⁸¹ and proceeded with establishment of a surau right there in Atas Banggol.

Accordingly, Tuan Tabal’s Rashīdi-Aḥmadi line of transmission to Kelantan thus came to converge with the second - this time Dandarāwī - Aḥmadiyya lineage spreading to the Malay state, within the family of Hj. Awang. Also Muḥammad Saʿīd, who was, by the way, the subject of the aforementioned controversy surrounding the Aḥmadiyya in Kelantan and brought before Ahmad Patani in Mecca⁸⁸², finally gained *murids* (adepts) from Cambodia and Vietnam⁸⁸³. In the course of his endeavors he even personally traveled to Saigon, Ayutthaya (Thailand) and probably also Cambodia to establish an Aḥmadi presence there⁸⁸⁴. Whereas his mission to Saigon apparently did not achieve as lasting results as in the former Siamese capital, his target group was certainly the local *jawi* community (i.e. Muslims from the Mekong Delta and the Malay World).

Although Muḥammad Saʿīd is best known for carrying the Aḥmadiyya beyond strictly scholarly circles and for the controversies his branch created or ran into in Kelantan, he was nevertheless also a scholar in his own right, fully integrated in the networks of *jawi* learning of his day. Accordingly, he had studied with the eminent Patani teacher and writer Tuan Minal (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, d. 1913) in Patani and then continued his studies in Mecca with Ahmad Patani, some of the latter’s own non-*jawi* teachers (e.g. Ḥasab Allāh al-Makkī and Sayyid Bakrī), as well as with other significant *jawi* scholars such Wan Ali Kutan, Nawawī Banten, al-Sumbāwī, and, like Tok Kenali, also with the Minangkabau reformist Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minankabāwī. Additionally he also stayed at

⁸⁷⁹ Che Zarrina Sa’ari, “Perkembangan Tarikat Aḥmadiyyah di Negeri Kelantan Darul Naim”, *Afkar*, II (2001), p. 71 n. 38.

⁸⁸⁰ For his biography and role in the Aḥmadiyya in Kelantan see Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah*, p. 55-57, 62f.; Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 126-131; Sa’ari, “Perkembangan Tarikat Aḥmadiyyah”, p. 68-74; KUN, I, p. 27-31.

⁸⁸¹ al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 48 n. 9; Sa’ari, “Perkembangan Tarikat Aḥmadiyyah”, p. 72 n. 39.

⁸⁸² On this and other Aḥmadiyya-related controversies in Kelantan see Kraus, “Sufis und ihre Widersacher“.

⁸⁸³ KUN, I, 27f.; Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 137, 177, 179.

⁸⁸⁴ He was most successful in Ayutthaya, where he even contracted another marriage. Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah*, p. 62f., 226; Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 137, 173-177.

Medina and al-Azhar, where he studied with the (Shāfi'i) *shaykh al-azhar* Shams al-Dīn al-Anbābī (incumbent during 1886-1895)⁸⁸⁵. Although fewer of his at least ten works (in different fields, including Sufism and *fiqh*)⁸⁸⁶ were printed than was the case with his precursor Tuan Tabal, he exhibited a clear awareness of the relevance of print in the dissemination of Aḥmadi teachings, which had perhaps been instilled by his teacher Ahmad Patani. Indeed, besides translating al-Rashīd's *'Iqd al-durar al-nafīs*, he also organized the printing of a Malay version of the Aḥmadi *awrād*, together with a text of the path's eponym Aḥmad b. Idrīs in the margins (*Kunūz al-Jawāhir*), which has otherwise only been preserved in manuscript form throughout the Muslim World⁸⁸⁷. Intriguingly, this publication also seems to have found its way into Cambodia⁸⁸⁸.

Despite the prominent - and at times notorious - activities of Hj. Awang's son-in-law Muḥammad Sa'īd, it was, however, his own sons, which made the greatest contribution to Jawization in Cambodia and the Delta from within the ranks of his family. The biography of his eldest son Ahmad is strongly connected to both the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network and Cambodian Islam. These two features are best exemplified by his hagiographic status as alleged second favorite student of the Meccan mufti (besides Tok Kenali), and by his epithets Hj. Ahmad (b. Muhammad Zayn Awang) Kemboja and Pak Da Mat Kemboja in Kelantan⁸⁸⁹, which he acquired due to his residence in Cambodia towards the end of his life. Moreover, it is even claimed that he was, because of his teacher's high opinion of him as well as the former's particular concern for Cambodian Muslims, sent to Cambodia by Ahmad Patani himself, in order to teach Islam and convince the local Muslims to first seriously study in Kelantan and Patani before coming to seek knowledge from him in Mecca⁸⁹⁰. This, however, is a matter of doubt since Ahmad Kemboja only arrived in Indochina roughly seven years after his teacher's death.

After receiving his early lessons from his father in Kelantan, Ahmad Kemboja proceeded to Mecca to study with Ahmad Patani and, assumingly, other *jawi* as well as non-*jawi* teachers

⁸⁸⁵ Sa'ari, "Perkembangan Tarikat Aḥmadiyyah", p. 70f.; KUN, I, p. 28. With al-Anbābī (also al-Imbābī) the position was returned to the Shāfi'is, who had staffed the position continuously since 1725 (save for 1860-1864 where a board had assumed his functions), after the Ḥanafī intermezzo of Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-Mahdī (1870-1886). After al-Anbābī the position was, however, rarely held by a representative of his law school. Dodge, *Al-Azhar*, p. 193f. Nevertheless it must be assumed that it was of significance to *jawi* students and scholars in Cairo and Mecca, that they were commonly sharing their school of law with the highest religious functionaries of both cities (until 1895 and the Wahhābi take-over of Mecca respectively).

⁸⁸⁶ KUN, I, p. 30.

⁸⁸⁷ Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, p. 130.

⁸⁸⁸ At least the *awrād* was reportedly recognized by a Cambodian visitor to the Aḥmadi surau in Ampangan (Negeri Sembilan). *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁸⁸⁹ TUSM, II, p. 387 (nr. 67).

⁸⁹⁰ al-Ahmadi, "Pokok Pemikiran", p. 1411.

there. Indeed, Ahmad Kemboja was certainly no intellectual lightweight, even though he is not known to have left any written works. As in the case of his companion Tok Kenali, this may on the contrary imply that he concentrated on teaching and spiritual progress instead. Given his family and scholarly backgrounds, we may, despite the absence of any firm evidence, take his membership in the Aḥmadiyya for granted. In harmony with this assumption, it was reported from contemporaries staying with him in Mecca, that he was an extraordinarily pious Sufi scholar. Even when he was sleeping, the name of Allah was came from his lips as he exhaled⁸⁹¹. Intriguingly, he spent an even longer period of his life in Mecca than did Tok Kenali⁸⁹². It is unclear whether or not he returned briefly to Kelantan to teach at his father's surau, which Hj. Awang had established in Atas Banggol after his own return from the holy city sometime in the 1890s. Whereas this is asserted by some sources⁸⁹³, others maintain that he traveled directly from Mecca to Cambodia around the year 1914⁸⁹⁴, which appears to be more likely.

Strikingly, it is unanimously reported that he had been approached by Sultan Muhammad IV (r. 1899-1920) to assume the office of Mufti of Kelantan, which he rejected in a letter (presumably written from Mecca)⁸⁹⁵, because accepting such a position would have run counter to his soul (*karena jawatan ini tidak sesuai dengan jiwanya*). Purportedly, he also explained in his response that he desired to first spread the religion in Cambodia before taking up the post. This must then have taken place already in 1907-8, when the first new-type of State Mufti of Kelantan was to be appointed, as the most senior – now administrative and judicial – official serving the Sultan, whose authority the British had just circumscribed to the degree that it was now effectively confined to matters of religion and custom (*agama dan adat*)⁸⁹⁶. Intriguingly, it was eventually Tuan Tabal's son Wan Musa, naturally also an Aḥmadi as well as a disciple of Ahmad Patani (from whom he also took the *ṭarīqa*) and then still a comparably young returnee from Mecca, who received the appointment. As will be shown below, he would, however, soon prove a burden to the Sultan. It must be noted, that scholars of Islam in Kelantan have generally been puzzled by

⁸⁹¹ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 13, 48.

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁹³ Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 351. This account is considerably confused as the author assumes to have been one of Tuan Tabal's sons. Consequently, reference to his father's surau would therefore also imply Tuan Tabal's.

⁸⁹⁴ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; Shaghir Abdullah, *Fatwa tentang Binatang*, p. 45.

⁸⁹⁶ Roff, "Origin and Early Years", p. 123. There had only been one earlier Mufti of Kelantan, Hj. Nik Wan Daud b. Hj. Wan Sulaiman (d. 1907), already appointed under Sultan Mansur (r. 1891-1900), who was then followed by an interim, named Hj. Wan Ishak b. Imam Hj. Abdullah. TUSM, I, p. 89f. Tellingly, also Wan Ishak's son Muhammad would later teach in Cambodia for two decades (see below).

Sultan Muhammad's selection of Wan Musa for the office, not least due to the his youth⁸⁹⁷. If we, however, assume that he was never the Sultan's first choice to begin with, but rather the future Wan Ahmad Kemboja instead, this appears to be less startling. Apparently, the ruler, once bereft of his preferred candidate, merely decided to do with a younger Aḥmadi-affiliated Mecca-based 'ālim from another Kelantanese scholarly family. Moreover, it would enhance the credibility of reports claiming that Ahmad Kemboja had been dispatched to Cambodia by Ahmad Patani, if he had actually already drawn up plans for a mission to Cambodia at this early date. Nevertheless acquaintance with students and colleagues from the Cambodian Muslim community in Mecca may well have provided a sufficient impetus for the venture.

Yet, it took until 1914 or 1915 for Ahmad Kemboja to arrive in his eponymous country. Subsequently he acted as a roving teacher, visiting Muslim villages in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam (i.e. in the Delta and probably also Tay Ninh). His endeavors were, however, cut short by his death, significantly in Phum Trea, after approximately only one year in Indochina in 1915 or 1916⁸⁹⁸. Due to his important position in the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network in Mecca and his intimate connection to both of Kelantan's Aḥmadi lineages with their Cambodian students we may assume that his reputation preceded him in Cambodia. In this respect, he was most probably the locally most famed Malay Islamic scholar to ever visit the country. His brief stay may thus have been of disproportionate relevance to the local process of Jawization. It has already been noted, that his biography could have become somewhat confused with that of another earlier Kelantanese agent of Jawization dying in Phum Trea, the "mufti" Hġ. Math (Ahmad) from Pasir Mas (d. 1890)⁸⁹⁹. Indeed, local memory recalls only one such figure, and it was pointed out to me repeatedly that he died approximately 80-100 years ago⁹⁰⁰, which would more or less apply to Ahmad Kemboja, but contrasts sharply with the death date of 1307 A.H. given on the tombstone of Hġ. Math of Pasir Mas⁹⁰¹. Intriguingly, present references to his alleged influence on local Islam fit in neatly with our conception of Jawization as revolving around the notions of religious

⁸⁹⁷ Sedgwick (*Saints and Sons*, p. 125) suggested that the Sultan may have thought that the young scholar "would prove amenable".

⁸⁹⁸ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48; *ibid.*, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 34.

⁸⁹⁹ See p.

⁹⁰⁰ Personal communication with Hġ. Saleh, aged 82; Hamad Daud, aged 65 & Hġ. Shukry, aged 58 (all born in Phum Trea), in Phum Trea, May 15th 2012.

⁹⁰¹ Arguably, this date is hardly legible from outside of the grave's low-lying enclosure (which I have naturally refrained from intruding into) in the verandah of the Phum Trea mosque. Nevertheless I concur with the reading of the TJ's junior leader Muhammad Ali, that 1307 is the most likely reading. Personal observation in Phum Trea, May 15th 2012; personal communication with Muhammad Ali, at Bunga Emas (Kampung Penambang, Kota Bharu, Kelantan), July 20th 2012.

change and written transmission of Islamic knowledge in *jawi* Malay. Thus, one elderly informant claimed that Hj. Math brought with him *kitab jawi* and religious knowledge from Kelantan, and that the people of Phum Trea had performed only three daily prayers prior to his arrival⁹⁰².

Another long term consequence of Ahmad Kemboja's visit to Cambodia and the Delta was that the Kota Bharu pondok of his father Muhammad Zayn Awang in Atas Banggol became particularly popular with Muslims from the area. Already in 1916, a group of knowledge seekers made up of Muslims from Cambodia and the Delta set out for the pondok, assumingly under the direction of its most senior member, the aforementioned Hj. Ismail of Koh Khoi. Other recorded fellow travelers were two brothers likewise stemming from the Chau Doc area, Hj. Ayyub b. Hj. Husayn and his younger sibling Hj. Abu Bakr, as well as a Kampong Cham native, known as Yakoub "Bangkok" or "Boeung Kaok"⁹⁰³. The latter has unfortunately remained a shadowy figure to me, although it is not inconceivable that he can be identified as a Toun Yakoub, who was an important teacher in Phum Trea in the 1960s and early 1970s, but then fell victim to the first *Khmers Rouges* purge of religious leaders in the village in 1974⁹⁰⁴. When Jaspan met Tuon Yakoub in Trea in the late 1960s he described him as taking up an unusual "hostile attitude" towards him⁹⁰⁵. An evidently staunch advocate of Jawization, the *tuon* also twice interrupted the audio-recording of traditional Cham spells of Islamic magic recited over women in child labor to facilitate delivery⁹⁰⁶.

His former local student Ibrahim b. Tukang Sulaiman was similarly representative of the course and scope of Jawization. Then already himself a *tuon*, Jaspan noted that, after having studied with Tuon Yakoub as well as with a Kelantanese teacher (assumingly in Cambodia), he "spoke perfect Malay". Moreover, he was not only a religious teacher but also a successful roving seller of the type of white skullcaps (ml. *kopiah*/ar. *kūfiyya*)⁹⁰⁷ which became so popular with Cambodian Muslims with the advancement of the local process of Jawization, and thus supplanted the traditional white turbans still today worn by the KIS

⁹⁰² Personal communication with Tuon Rosad, Phum Trea, May 15th 2012.

⁹⁰³ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48. Nakula spells the latter name as "Ya'qūb Būngkūq", which might imply either a connection to Bangkok or to a location bearing the popular Cambodian place name Boeung Kaok. Villages of that name are to be found in Kampong Cham (near Kampong Cham city) in Koh Sautin and in Thbaung Khmum district.

⁹⁰⁴ Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 123; *ibid.*, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 121.

⁹⁰⁵ JP, DJA (2)/1/

⁹⁰⁶ "Cham personality: evaluations and attitudes toward. Srok Krauch Mar", typescript, dated January 10th/11th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

⁹⁰⁷ JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

community. Ibrahim apparently not only purveyed the religious and cultural content but also the aesthetic tastes associated with Jawization.

Whereas we have seen, that Hj. Ismail Kemboja died a few years after his arrival in Kelantan, and thus whatever influence he had on Jawization in Cambodia and the Delta had rather resulted from his earlier activities before his venture to Kota Bharu, this does not apply to the brothers Hj. Ayyub and Hj. Abu Bakr. Originating from Châu Phong in the Mekong Delta, their father Hj. Husayn was assumingly also already a religious scholar. In any case, he had brought his sons for religious education to Patani even before their time in Kelantan⁹⁰⁸. It is, however, not certain that they indeed formed part of the group coming to study at Hj. Awang's pondok in 1916. Indeed, one other – most probably more reliable – source states that Hj. Ayyub b. Hj. Husayn (d. 1970), the clearly more illustrious of the two, only came to Kelantan in 1925⁹⁰⁹. Once in Kota Bharu, he was evidently not content with studying only at Pondok/Surau Hj. Awang. As has already been noted above, he additionally also studied with Tok Kenali.

Yet, the local teachers leaving the apparently strongest imprint on his later career and activities were Hj. Wan Musa and, to a lesser degree, Hj. Abdullah, two sons of Tuan Tabal, and thus representative of Kota Bharu's other Aḥmadi lineage. It will be remembered that Wan Musa was the person who became Kelantan's (eventually highly controversial) mufti due to Ahmad Kemboja's unwillingness to serve in that capacity. Whereas he established his own surau in Jalan Merbau, his brother Hj. Abdullah took over that of their father, where he led the Aḥmadi *dhikr* and *rātib*⁹¹⁰. Hj. Ayyub was thus not only a student of Kelantan's most famed teacher (i.e. Tok Kenali) and of its former mufti (Wan Musa felt forced to resign in 1916), but was likewise strongly entrenched in the state's Aḥmadi milieu.

After a stay in Mecca during which he perfected his Arabic, he returned to Kelantan in 1934⁹¹¹ to establish himself as a teacher in his own right. It speaks for his scholarly qualities, that his former teacher Wan Musa enlisted his services for the education of his son Nik Leh (Muhammad Salleh, d. 1972)⁹¹². It may thus be taken for granted that he also drew students from Cambodia and Vietnam. Until his death in 1970 Hj. Ayyub reportedly only returned to his native Châu Phong on two occasions⁹¹³. Nevertheless, his influence on religious

⁹⁰⁸ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48.

⁹⁰⁹ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 165 n. 25.

⁹¹⁰ Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah*, p. 79.

⁹¹¹ TUSM, I, p. 214; Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 165 n. 25.

⁹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹¹³ Agnes De Féo, "Les musulmans de Châu Doc (Vietnam) à l'épreuve du salafisme", *Moussons*, XIII-XIV (2009), p. 362.

developments there proved to be tremendous. Strongly imbued with the reformist spirit championed by Wan Musa and some of his sons, he and his brother Hj. Abu Bakr are locally commonly identified as representing one of the two channels for the introduction of *kaum muda* thought and practice into the Delta⁹¹⁴. We will accordingly return to Hj. Ayyub Kemboja in our discussion of the role of Hj. Wan Musa's family in Jawization.

Due to the fact, that many more students from Cambodia and the Delta came to study at Pondok Hj. Awang it became plainly known as "Surau Kemboja"⁹¹⁵. While it is certainly true, that this specific kind of audience continued to flow to the pondok, the name also stuck for the plain reason that Ahmad b. Hj. Awang was not the last family member to earn the quasi-*nisba* "Kemboja". Indeed, his younger brother Hassan (d. 1934), who assumingly served as the school's head teacher during most of the period, likewise received this epithet. For this reason it was then more commonly known as "Surau Hj. Wan Hassan Kemboja"⁹¹⁶. In contrast to his older brother, who had spent most of his adult life in Mecca, Hassan was well entrenched in Kelantan's scholarly community. By 1917, at the latest, he was among the illustrious group of scholars teaching in Kota Bharu's main mosque⁹¹⁷. Besides directing his own pondok (which he had inherited from his father), he also continued his activities there into the 1920s, and most probably even until his death in 1934⁹¹⁸.

Besides teaching Cambodian students in both these institutions, Hassan Kemboja also followed in his brother's footsteps by undertaking two missions to Cambodia. Thus, he first traveled to the country in 1924, accompanied by a young Kelantanese associate, Hj. Idris b. Hj. Salleh (d. 1983), who had earlier stayed in Mecca together with Ahmad Kemboja. The two scholars then lived in Cambodia for two years as traveling teachers. Accordingly, Hj. Idris became known as "Tok Idris Kemboja" upon his return to Kelantan⁹¹⁹, where he also chose to settle down in Atas Banggol until his death in 1983⁹²⁰. Among the places they were known to have stayed longer were "Chrumantri" (i.e. Chroy Metrey) and "Kaknor" (i.e. Roka Khnor in Krauchhmar, Kampong Cham)⁹²¹, that is, a village and a district strongly associated with the dynamics of Jawization (as observed in in chapter five). Wan Hassan returned to

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 364f.

⁹¹⁵ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 48.

⁹¹⁶ Nik Abdul Aziz, "Islam dan Masyarakat", p. 18 n. 14.; *ibid.*, "Approaches to Islamic Religious Teachings in the State of Kelantan between 1860 and 1940", *Sari*, I (1983), p. 81 n. 2.

⁹¹⁷ Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education", p. 200 n. 88.

⁹¹⁸ TUSM, II, p. 392.

⁹¹⁹ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 13, 48.

⁹²⁰ TUSM, II, p. 412 (nr. 204).

⁹²¹ Nakula, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 36. Here Nakula, in an obvious error, has him accompany a "Hj. Wan Muhammad Zain b. Hj. Wan Muhammad" instead of Hj. Wan Hassan b. Muhammad Zayn.

Cambodia once more, this time for approximately one year, in 1928⁹²². These visits were certainly not only directly contributing to Jawization in Cambodia, but also further enhancing the popularity of his surau and his lessons in the Kota Bharu mosque, then already known by its present name (*Masjid Muhammadi*). Luckily we are in this respect also in the position to know some of the books, which Hassan Kemboja (and most probably also his father and his brother) employed for teaching. As will be shown below, these were part and parcel of the regionally prevailing literary canon of Jawization with its strong bias towards Daud and other Patani authors.

Additionally, also the next generation of Hj. Awang's family had its Islamic scholar with teaching experience in Cambodia. Indeed, Hj. Wan Muhammad Zayn b. Hj. Wan Ahmad Kemboja, had already accompanied his father in Mecca and also on the latter's final journey through Cambodia (and Vietnam). After his father's death he returned to Kelantan, but continued to visit the country on several occasions until 1928⁹²³. Hj. Wan Muhammad Zayn was assumingly also a teacher at his grandfather's surau in Atas Banggol, which remained the preferred residential area for Cambodian and Vietnamese students in Kota Bharu until the late 1960s. In 1967 Jaspán estimated their number at forty⁹²⁴. Albeit this preference also resulted from the proximity of the *Masjid Muhammadi* as well as the existence of several other suraus/pondoks in its vicinity, some of which also drew Cambodian students, it certainly owed much to the fame of the suraus of Hj. Awang and his son-in-law Muḥammad Sa'īd Linggi.

Indeed, whereas the "Kemboja brothers" Ahmad and Hassan chose to focus their activities on teaching the *arkān*, *'aqīda* and *fiqh* in Kelantan and Cambodia, it was Hj. Awang's other sons, Hj. Abdul Rahman and Hj. Daud, who carried on the Aḥmadiyya of Muḥammad Sa'īd. Accordingly, Hj. Abdul Rahman was installed as his *khalīfa* for Kelantan, as he left the hostile climate of Kelantan for Negeri Sembilan. Hj. Abdul Rahman held weekly Aḥmadi *dhikr* sessions at Muḥammad Sa'īd's former surau in Atas Banggol every Friday between *maghrib* and *'ishā'* prayers. Upon his death he was succeeded by his brother Hj. Daud b. Hj. Awang, who handed over the responsibility of the surau, which had become largely disconnected from the center at Negeri Sembilan after Muḥammad Sa'īd's death in 1926, to his own son Wan Ja'afar in 1941. Thus, also with respect to the second Atas Banggol surau connected to Hj. Awang, the third generation of his family continued to carry its banner. Yet, due to Wan Ja'afar's early death in 1946, the Aḥmadiyya of Atas Banggol became dormant for more than

⁹²² *id.*, "Orang Melayu", p. 48.

⁹²³ *id.*, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 34.

⁹²⁴ JP, DJA, (2)/1/2.

thirty years. It was only in 1978 that an emissary from Negeri Sembilan revived it and put Wan Ja'afar's son-in-law Hj. Sa'ari b. Hussain, who had been earlier initiated into the path through its branch in Bukit Abal (Pasir Puteh, Kelantan), in charge of it⁹²⁵. Hj. Sa'ari continues to direct regular *dhikr* ceremonies in Atas Banggol to this day⁹²⁶. Although the surau has changed places several times, now being located in Jalan Atas Paloh (a parallel street to Jalan Atas Banggol), it still bears the name "Surau Hj. Awang Alim", which seems befitting, given the fact, that it has more or less remained in the hands of his family for over a century.

Other scholars of the network with Cambodian students and/or teaching in Cambodia

Of course, the foregoing exposition on the network revolving around Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali and Hj. Awang and its influence on Cambodian Islam was not exhaustive, as it had many other participants in that respect. Accordingly, this section will draw attention to some of its remaining figures, who either taught Cambodian students in Malaya or in Cambodia itself. It has already been mentioned that Wan Ahmad Kemboja had allegedly been dispatched to Cambodia by Ahmad Patani, who apparently felt particular concern for his students from the country and their co-religionists there. Indeed, Ahmad Kemboja is not the only subject of such attributions, as the same claim has also been made regarding the early Patani nationalist and pioneering Islamic reformist Hj. Sulong as well as concerning Kelantan's mufti of 1927-1941, Hj. Ibrahim b. Hj. Yusuf. Whereas the first account is most probably of a spurious - or in any case dubious - nature, the second certainly is not.

Hj. Sulong (Hj. Muhammad Sulum b. Hj. Abdul Kadir, d. 1954) was born in Kampong Anak Ru in Patani in 1895⁹²⁷. He was a grandson of the eminent Patani scholar Tuan Minal (d. 1913), some of whose works already formed part of the regional canon of *kitab jawi* in his day. Given his family background it is of course no wonder that also Hj. Sulong took the route of the scholar. After pondok studies in Patani, he arrived in Mecca in 1907. It is, however, unclear with whom he studied there⁹²⁸. Claims about Ahmad Patani having been one of his

⁹²⁵ Sa'ari, "Perkembangan Tarikat Ahmadiyyah", p. 83-85.

⁹²⁶ Personal communication with Che Zarrina bt. Sa'ari, e-mail, August 8th 2012; with the surau's guardian, Kota Bharu, July 21st 2012.

⁹²⁷ On his life and scholarly activities see UBP, p. 129-148; Joseph Chinyong Liow, "Religious Education and Reformist Islam in Thailand's Southern Border Provinces: The Roles of Haji Sulong Abdul Kadir and Ismail Lutfi Japakiya", JIS, XXI (2010), p. 34-42; TUSM, I, p. 339ff.

⁹²⁸ UBP, p. 130.

teachers⁹²⁹, and more far reaching theories of his alleged dispatch to Cambodia flowing from them, are therefore unsubstantiated. In any case, any possible association could only have been short-lived as Ahmad Patani died within one year after Hj. Sulong's arrival. In 1914/15 Hj. Sulong allegedly spent time teaching in Cambodia and Vietnam while en route to Patani. Suspected of being an Ottoman spy, he was, according to different reports, either successfully hidden by Muslims in Vietnam from the French authorities⁹³⁰, or arrested by them in Kampong Cham. Following the latter version of the story, he was released after a few days, and subsequently set out for his homeland⁹³¹. His stay there was brief, however, and he departed for Mecca once more the following year.

There he took up teaching and stayed until his eventual return to Patani sometime in the mid-/late-1920s. Back in Patani he became the first major spokesman of the *kaum muda* reformist movement in Southern Thailand, thereby stirring serious conflict with the local scholarly establishment. The hallmark of his activities in that direction was the 1933 establishment of his *Madrasah al-Ma'arif al-Wataniah Fatani*, Thailand's first Islamic school with an integrated (i.e. religious and general) curriculum⁹³². Suspected of separatist political leanings it was, however, closed down by the authorities already in 1935. With Hj. Sulong's mysterious disappearance in Thai custody in 1954, the reformist project in Patani, by then already mostly submerged by the local Malay political struggle, fell dormant for a few years, before it regained momentum again in the 1960s, coinciding with major *kaum tua/kaum muda* disputes in Cambodia.

Of course, Hj. Sulong's pioneering madrasa project was similar in character to both the MUI's *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah* (est. 1917) and the school of Hj. Haroun and his son Mat Sales in Phum Trea, which had assumingly switched to an integrated curriculum in the second half of the 1930s⁹³³. Two particularities must, however, be emphasized in this regard. Firstly, the two latter schools were actually not regarded as specifically controversial. While this probably owed partly to the fact that they were not aggressively promoted or understood as reformist institutions, this state of affairs could also imply that Islamic scholarly culture in Patani had, a quarter of a century after the death of Ahmad Patani, grown much less dynamic than in Kelantan, and even in Cambodia for that matter. It was

⁹²⁹ al-Ahmadi, "Pokok Pemikiran", p. 1411; Liow, "Religious Education", p. 35. Liow even claims that he had close relations with Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali during his second stay in Mecca from 1916 onwards. Of course, the former was dead for seven years by then, whereas the latter had been living Kelantan for almost as long.

⁹³⁰ al-Ahmadi, "Pokok Pemikiran", p. 1411; Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 49.

⁹³¹ Liow, "Religious Education", p. 35 n. 20.

⁹³² UBP, p. 131f.; Liow, "Religious Education", p. 36-41.

⁹³³ Cf. V.2.

therefore presumably far from insignificant that Kelantan, Patani's erstwhile junior partner and first follower in the regional process of Jawization, had come to increasingly marginalize Patani as destination for Cambodian students. Secondly, although also Mat Sales Haroun's school remained a singular instance until the actual ascendancy of the *kaum muda* in Kampong Cham under Li Musa from the late 1950s onwards, it clearly shows that Cambodia was hardly a late-comer in that respect, if the first - similarly singular - school of this type in Thailand's (then still Malay-dominated) South was also only inaugurated a few years earlier.

Whereas Hj. Sulong's stay in Cambodia may well have actually taken place, albeit most probably not representing compliance with a request of Ahmad Patani, his influence there would not have been a major one, due to its brevity and his then still lacking scholarly prestige when compared to other contemporary Malay teachers active in the country during the period. In any case we are on much firmer ground with Ahmad's third alleged emissary to Cambodia, Hj. Ibrahim.

The family of Hj. Ibrahim b. Hj. Yusuf (d. 1952) had come to Kelantan from Minangkabau with ties going back to its royal family⁹³⁴. After receiving his early education in Kelantan, *inter alia* at the pondok of Tok Malek Sungai Pinang (Abdul Malik b. Hassan, d. 1926), where he may first have come into contact with Cambodian students⁹³⁵, he embarked for Mecca. There he became a student of Ahmad Patani, Wan Ali Kutan, Ḥasab Allāh al-Makkī and others. Like his illustrious colleagues Tok Kenali and Ahmad Kemboja, also Hj. Ibrahim certainly associated with Cambodian students in Mecca. It was accordingly rather due to an invitation from his Cambodian friends than to a request from his teacher, that he traveled to Cambodia in (or around) 1903, although he was arguably the only one of Ahmad Patani's alleged emissaries to have embarked on his journey during the latter's lifetime. He then stayed in Cambodia for two years, even outstandingly becoming fluent in Cham⁹³⁶. It is unfortunately unknown where he resided in that period. Yet, as his great-uncle Hj. Said b. Hj. Isa left Kelantan for Chrang Chamres shortly after Hj. Ibrahim's return to Kota Bharu⁹³⁷, there is a great probability that he had also been based there. Naturally, their presence there would have contributed to the emerging local *kobuol/trimeu* split. Also the confirmed

⁹³⁴ For brief biographies see Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 348f.; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 431f.

⁹³⁵ It has been noted that Tok Malek, born in 1834 (or, according to some claims even in 1813) and therefore too old to form part of the network around Ahmad Patani, had Cambodian Muslims among his students. TUSM, I, p. 113-115. His pondok was presumably, besides Pondok Pulau Chondong, among the earliest destinations for Cambodian students coming to Kelantan.

⁹³⁶ Nakula, "Orang Melayu", p. 13; *id.*, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 31; Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 349.

⁹³⁷ Nakula, "Keturunan Melayu", p. 31f.

presence of former local students of Ahmad Patani in Chrang Chamres, probably the same individuals, who had invited Hj. Ibrahim in the first place, naturally adds weight to this assumption.

Hj. Ibrahim's engagement with Cambodian Muslims did, however, not stop there. Firstly, he reportedly continued to alternate between Kelantan, Cambodia and Mecca for much of the first two decades of the 20th century⁹³⁸. In 1917 he was, besides Tok Kenali, Wan Hassan Kemboja and others, appointed as one of the eight teachers at the MUI's new *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*, where he certainly also had Cambodian students. Indeed, its 139 registered students in the inauguration year came from all over the Peninsula, Patani, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Cambodia⁹³⁹. His position as one of the major Islamic scholars of Kelantan was ultimately testified to by his ascension to the position of State Mufti in 1927, which he held for eight years. Strikingly, as will be shown below, he was neither the only nor the first mufti of Kelantan teaching Cambodian students on both sides of the Gulf of Thailand. Hj. Ibrahim left two printed works. The first of these was published in 1904 by Ahmad Patani's printing press in Mecca⁹⁴⁰, clearly testifying to his respect for his former student's scholarship, and probably distributed in Cambodia.

Similarly, his son Hj. Muhammad Nur (1905-1987) was to become teacher at institutions drawing Cambodian students, namely at the MUI's *Jami' Merbau al-Ismaili* (est. 1939 as a follow up to the MUI's Arabic section of the *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*) and at the *Masjid Muhammadi* from 1945 and 1949 onwards respectively. Eventually, he also served as Mufti of Kelantan 1968-1987⁹⁴¹. The influence of both these scholars, not to mention the activities of their relative Hj. Said in Chrang Chamres, on the process of Jawization in Cambodia was certainly far from negligible. Indeed, Hj. Muhammad Nur was in addition also a prolific writer leaving several works⁹⁴². Most notably, his *Durūs al-Tawḥīd* become a standard text book for three standards in the *Jami' Merbau*, whereas his (*jawi*) Malay *Tafsīr al-Raḥmān* (or *Tafsir Pimpinan al-Rahman*), co-authored with Abdullah b. Muhammad Basmih and, significantly, first published in Ramadan 1388/1968 by the Prime Minister's Office of Kelantan, is still in use in Cambodia today. As such, this *tafsīr* also serves to elucidate the salience of the described networks until today. Indeed, I saw it lying on the table in the house of Battambang's deputy Province Imam Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman), a former

⁹³⁸ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 431.

⁹³⁹ Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education", p. 200 n. 88.

⁹⁴⁰ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 432 n. 37.

⁹⁴¹ TUSM, II, p. 318.

⁹⁴² *ibid.*, II, p. 320-324.

student of Tok Kenali's disciple Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey⁹⁴³. A good friend of the present Cambodian mufti Sos Kamry, Man Seu himself has been teaching a classical *jawi* curriculum to hundreds of students from the area (including the Muslim settlements of Dam Spey, Norea and Slaket) since the end of the DK era in 1979⁹⁴⁴. Also Sos Kamry and his former deputy Zakariyya Adam of Svay Khleang are known to keep the work in their private collections⁹⁴⁵.

Another former student of Ahmad Patani and contemporary of Hj. Ibrahim, active in Jambu (Patani), was Tok Bermin (Hj. Wan Muḥammad b. Wan Idrīs al-Faṭānī, d. 1957). His pondok named *Madrassa Nūr al-Islām al-Barminiyya* was highly popular through the 1920s to 1940s⁹⁴⁶. During this period it was also frequented by students from Indochina, such Hj. Muhammad Idris of Chau Giang, who studied there from 1928-1930⁹⁴⁷.

Whereas most of the scholars discussed so far in this section, as well as in the preceding one, were more or less directly connected to Ahmad Patani, many of the remaining ones to be discussed here became part of the network primarily through Tok Kenali. Even though some of them were not major scholars or founders or directors of pondoks in their homelands, but nevertheless products of and participants in the network, certainly likewise making their mark on their Cambodian audiences. Conversely, two other important students of Ahmad Patani (i.e. Tuan Tabal's son Wan Musa and Mat Sales Haroun's teacher Nur al-Din Sungai Keladi) will be discussed in separate places below.

Another Kelantanese scholar, who acquired the epithet "Kemboja" was Tuan Hj. Awang b. Mamat (d. 1937) or, more precisely, Hj. Muhammad Saleh b. Penghulu Mamat⁹⁴⁸, better known locally as "Tok Kemboja" or, as he was neither the last nor the youngest to be called so, "Tok Kemboja Tua" ("Tok Kemboja, the Old"). Born in Terap (near Kota Bharu), he went to Mecca together with his close friend Tok Kenali in 1886, studied with him under the same teachers and assumingly also with the same colleagues, including the selected few of Cambodian origin, eventually becoming a specialist for *uṣūl al-dīn* and *tajwīd* (recitation)⁹⁴⁹. He also returned to Kelantan together with Tok Kenali in 1908. After another trip to Mecca around 1912, he proceeded directly to Cambodia to settle and teach in "Kampung

⁹⁴³ Personal observation in Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

⁹⁴⁴ Personal communication with Man Seu, Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

⁹⁴⁵ Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*", p. 138.

⁹⁴⁶ UBP, p. 149-165; Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Bermin al-Fathani cergas, cermat dan kemas", UNB (November 12th 2006). UBP holds his name to have been Aḥmad and not Muḥammad. As Shaghir Abdullah is citing his name *inter alia* on the basis of original written documents, his opinion seems more reliable.

⁹⁴⁷ LPD, "Hj. Muhammad Idris".

⁹⁴⁸ TUSM, II, p. 395 (nr. 181).

⁹⁴⁹ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 70; TUSM, I, p. 139.

Suwaithin” in Kampong Cham (i.e. Kampong/Phum Soai in Krauchhmar). He stayed in Cambodia for approximately twenty years, also teaching in other localities outside of his village of residence, and taking an additional wife from the province’s Vietnamese community. Due to his empathic style of teaching and particularly his gentle voice in recitation, he became locally known as “Hj. Wang Lemak (“gentle”)). He died a few years after his return in Kelantan, whereas some of his descendants in Cambodia eventually also arrived there as refugees from DK brutality and civil war⁹⁵⁰.

A younger contemporary of Tok Kemboja Tua, incidentally settling down in Cambodia around the same time, was Hj. Ahmad b. Hj. Abd al-Manaf (d. 1952), accordingly known in his native Kelantan as Tok Kemboja Muda (“Tok Kemboja, the Young”)⁹⁵¹. He took the established road of scholarship by studying first in Kelantan and then with *jawi* scholars in Mecca. His only known teacher there was, however, a scholar from Songkhla (South Thailand), Tok Senggora (‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Qāsīm al-Fiqhī al-Sanqūrī, d. 1930)⁹⁵². The latter was well entrenched in the network, having not only studied under Ahmad Patani, but also under his father Muhammad Zayn⁹⁵³. As a renowned specialist in the field of *tajwīd/qirā’a* (and, to a lesser degree, *fiqh*), Tok Senggora certainly also drew Cambodian students. His talent in Qur’ān recitation was even acknowledged, and reportedly financially rewarded, by the Ottoman governor. He also produced a major Malay work on the subject, *Mawrid al-Zam’ān fī mā yata’allaq bi-Tajwīd al-Qur’ān*, which was printed by Ahmad Patani’s Meccan printing press in 1316/1898⁹⁵⁴. Tok Kemboja Muda went, just like his aforementioned namesake directly to Cambodia from Mecca in 1912. Settling down in Kampong Luong (Kendal), he taught there and in other places for ten years. Afterwards he returned to the holy city, but soon found himself forced to return to Kelantan for good, due to the outbreak of the second Wahhabi war⁹⁵⁵.

Finally, mention must be made of a number of scholars belonging to the network, which did not go to Cambodia themselves, but nevertheless exerted their influence on Islam in the country through the Cambodian students coming to their major pondoks, primarily (though not exclusively) in Kelantan. One of them was Tok Selehong (or Selehor, Hj. Abdul Rahman b. Hj. Uthman, 1871-1935)⁹⁵⁶, who began his education, just like the later mufti Hj. Ibrahim,

⁹⁵⁰ Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 32f.; *ibid.*, “Orang Melayu”, p. 13.

⁹⁵¹ TUSM, II, p. 398 (nr. 237).

⁹⁵² UBP, p. 86.

⁹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 87-89.

⁹⁵⁵ Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 34.

⁹⁵⁶ TUSM, I, p. 163-171.

at the pondok of Tok Malek Sungai Pinang. After further studies in Patani, he went to Mecca, where he was close to Tok Kenali. Indeed, on one occasion Tok Kenali borrowed a copy of Daud Patani's *Munyat al-Muṣallī* from him for teaching purposes⁹⁵⁷. Following his return from Mecca, Tok Selehong founded his own pondok around 1920, which soon also drew foreign students from Cambodia, Patani, Sumatra and even Java⁹⁵⁸. Also in Kelantan he kept close contact to Tok Kenali, who famously regaled him with the title "Our Poet" (*penyair kita*). On the other hand, Tok Selehong is still remembered for holding what were probably Kelantan's largest and most elaborate *mawlid* celebrations⁹⁵⁹. Given the contentious nature of the *mawlid* in present-day Cambodia, as the most emblematic dividing line between today's major contending factions (i.e. the TJ with its strong linkages to Southern Thailand and Malaysia on one hand and the Salafis with their Arab supporters on the other), this may well be regarded as significant.

Tok Selehong's younger Kelantanese contemporary Hj. Muhammad Saman b. Awang Senik (1881-1935), better known as Tok Seridik, lived and studied in Patani for more than twenty years before his journey to Mecca. As he arrived there several years after Ahmad Patani's death and Tok Kenali's departure, he necessarily had another entry point into the network revolving around these two scholars. Indeed, his prime connection was Ahmad Patani's son Wan Ismail, who was one of his teachers in the holy land⁹⁶⁰. After his relocation to Kelantan he established his own school (Pondok Kuala Nipah), which, due to its popularity had to be enlarged in 1930. Its students came from all over the Peninsula as well as from Cambodia⁹⁶¹. Conversely, mention has already been made of Hj. Muḥammad 'Alī Salāḥ al-Dīn b. Awang (Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang, d. 1968), who posthumously prepared the Arabic grammar lessons of his teacher Tok Kenali for publication through the MUI. One of his brightest students, Tok Kenali selected him as his teaching assistant⁹⁶². We may therefore take it for granted, that many of Tok Kenali's Cambodian students were likewise taught by him. His mastery of Arabic syntax was such that Tok Kenali advised anybody seeking knowledge of that science to study it with him (*kalau mau belajar nahu pergilah belajar kepada Hj. Ali*)⁹⁶³. For the same reason he also acquired the epithet "Tok Sibawaih" after the eminent Persian grammarian

⁹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, I, p. 166. For brief descriptions of its contents and dating see Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 25f.; Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 24f. Incidentally, as will be shown below, this work on the proper conduct of prayer also prompted inquiries for clarification from some of Tok Kenali's Cambodian students.

⁹⁵⁸ TUSM, I, p. 163, 167.

⁹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, I, p. 168f.

⁹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, I, p. 177-179.

⁹⁶¹ *ibid.*, I, p. 186f.

⁹⁶² *ibid.*, II, p. 170.

⁹⁶³ *ibid.*, II, p. 167.

Sibawayh (d. c. 793). He likewise worked on the aforementioned unfinished translation of al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-Umm*, commissioned by the Sultan⁹⁶⁴.

Before his time at Pondok Kenali his search for knowledge had already brought him to the pondok of Tok Malek Sungai Pinang, Patani, another Kelantan pondok (in Tumpat), and finally for three years to Mecca⁹⁶⁵. Similarly, he was then also as a teacher active on several fronts⁹⁶⁶. At some point in the 1930s, he established his own pondok (*Madrasat al-Falāḥ*) in his native Pulau Pisang. Certainly already a widely-known scholar due to his work at Pondok Kenali, his school soon boasted students from different Peninsula Malay states, Borneo, Sumatra and Cambodia. Even though most foreign students departed with the Japanese take-over of Kelantan, this did not mean the end of his teaching career. Thus, he was likewise a long-running teacher at the *Masjid Muhammadi* (until 1967), and then also started teaching at *Jami' Merbau al-Ismaili* in 1943. There he must have also had Cambodian students. The MUI published both his *al-Durūs al-Kenaliyyat al-Ibtidā'iyya* (1945) and a *tafsīr* on the surah Yā-Sīn (Q 36), "the heart of the Qur'ān", which heralded his teaching position at the *Masjid Muhammadi* on its title page⁹⁶⁷.

In addition, also members of the network from outside of Kelantan are known for having had students from Cambodia. A case in point is Hj. Muhammad Saleh Kedah (d. 1944). After studying with Ahmad Patani in Mecca, he took over Kedah's oldest pondok, ironically also called Pondok Pulau Pisang (due to its location in Pulau Pisang, Jitra, Kedah), which had been founded by his grandfather Hj. Ishaq (d. 1871), a former disciple of Daud Patani and Palimbani. Under Hj. Muhammad Saleh's aegis the pondok acquired unprecedented popularity and thus also began to draw students from other regions, including Cambodia. In harmony with our notion of the *jawi* ecumene, the latter mingled there even with colleagues from Burma⁹⁶⁸, certainly drawn from the country's Pashu or Myedu (i.e. Muslims with Malay ancestry) community in Tanintharyi Region (Myanmar's southern-most administrative division)⁹⁶⁹.

⁹⁶⁴ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 37f.

⁹⁶⁵ TUSM, II, p. 168-170.

⁹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, II, p. 171-173; al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 37.

⁹⁶⁷ 'Alī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *Risāla Shurbat al-Zam'ān fī Tafsīr Qalb al-Qur'ān* (Kota Bharu: Maṭba'a Majlis Ugama Islam, 1959), p. 1. Yā-Sīn is one of the most widely recited surahs due to the prophetic injunction to recite it for the dying as well as for funeral prayers. G.H.A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 9; Asad, *Botschaft des Koran*, p. 836.

⁹⁶⁸ KUN, I, p. 64-66.

⁹⁶⁹ For a brief overview of Burma's different Muslim communities see Curtis Lambrecht, "Burma (Myanmar)" in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds.), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia. A Contemporary Sourcebook* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2006), p. 23-25. On the legal status of Pashu/Myedu see Gabriel Defert, "Les Musulmans en Birmanie. Une minorité 'para-nationale'" in Michel Gilquin (ed.), *Atlas des minorités musulmanes en Asie méridionale et orientale* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010), p. 141f.

Whereas the bulk of the Malay scholars mentioned in this section have so far not been treated together with any specific Cambodian students of theirs, concrete extensions of a major scholarly lineage within the network from Mecca to Kelantan and Kampong Cham will conversely be highlighted in this sub-section focusing on Mat Sales Haroun of Phum Trea, his Kelantanese teachers and his Cambodian students. We have already briefly touched upon the roles of Mat Sales Haroun and his pioneering school in Phum Trea in chapter five, yet without providing detailed information about either his teachers or students, nor his place as a *jawi* scholar and writer in Malaya. This desideratum will accordingly be tackled in the following.

Mat Sales and his teachers

Mat Sales naturally began his studies under his father Hj. Haroun, then one of two renowned teachers in his native Phum Trea. There he also studied with the village's second eminent figure, Ahmad Patani's student Hj. Osman. Subsequently, he departed to Kelantan together with another future local scholar, Tuon So⁹⁷⁰. According to Jaspan his departure fell into the year 1934⁹⁷¹. This is, however, highly improbable. Indeed, as a book by Mat Sales, written in Kelantan, was finished in April 1934 and published there the same year, he must have arrived earlier. Moreover, Ner noted that he had studied in Kelantan for ten years⁹⁷². Thus, Jaspan could have actually meant 1924. We know two of his teachers in Kelantan, both of which were firmly embedded in our network. Mat Sales most important teacher was undoubtedly Hj. 'Umar b. Ismā'il Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi (d. 1946)⁹⁷³. Intriguingly, one of the latter's formative teachers in Kelantan had been Hj. Muhammad Zayn Awang. After reaching maturity and interrupting his studies for a few years, the early death of his wife prompted Nūr al-Dīn to take up Islamic scholarship again, this time in Mecca. He stayed there for twelve years, and sat at the feet of the already familiar great *jawi* and non-*jawi* scholars of his day. These included Ahmad Patani, Wan Ali Kutan, Tok

⁹⁷⁰ Personal communication with Muhammad Nour, b. 1929 in Phum Trea, *tuon* and former student of Hj. Mat Sales Haroun, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012.

⁹⁷¹ DJA (2)/1/2.

⁹⁷² Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 178.

⁹⁷³ The following account on his life and activities is drawn from Awang, "Hajji 'Umar Sungai Keladi"; TUSM, I, p. 277-289.

Senggora, Sayyid Bakrī, Ḥasab Allāh al-Makkī and ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī, from whom he took the Naqshbandiyya.

Returning to Kelantan in 1899, he soon took up teaching at Kota Bharu’s future *Masjid Muhammadi*. In 1913 he moved from Kampung Atas Banggol out to Sungai Keladi to establish his own pondok. He then was appointed a member of the MUI, which he remained until a few years before his death. Put in charge by the body to write and translate religious texts from 1917-1922/3, his *Kitab Jalan Sejahtera*, on questions of Islamic law and ethics, was the first book ever to be published by the MUI’s printing press in 1917. It was already reprinted the following year. Also his *‘Iqd al-Falāḥ* (1922), on prayer, and *Tadhkīr al-‘Awwām* (1923), a concise exposition on the *sifat dua puluh* (i.e. the divine twenty attributes as found in al-Sānūsī’s work) designed for memorization, were, among other works of his, most probably a product of this working relationship. In addition, Nūr al-Dīn was, like Tok Kenali, also involved in the unfinished translation project of al-Khāzin’s *tafsīr*. It is evident from his other five published works that he was not only a prolific author, but also one mastering fields otherwise comparably neglected or else underdeveloped in the *jawi* ecumene.

Thus, he also wrote books on the laws of inheritance (*Pelajaran Membahagi Pusaka*), mathematic calendric calculations (*Miftāḥ al-Ta’līm*) and astronomy (*Shams al-Faṭḥiyya*). Especially in the latter field, he would find a remarkably talented student in Mat Sales Haroun, who actually came to excel his teacher in that field in certain respects. Moreover, astronomy (*ilmu falak*) had then just gained greater prominence in the *jawi* ecumene due to its relevance for accurately calculating prayer times, the direction of prayer and the beginning of the fasting month, whereby the novel insistence on its employment and its findings in the two latter spheres would often prove highly controversial from Java to Cambodia⁹⁷⁴.

Mat Sales’ second local teacher, Hj. Abdullah Tahir (d. 1961), was of similar standing as Nūr al-Dīn. It is claimed that Tok Kenali’s achievements in perfecting local instruction in Arabic grammar were matched by Hj. Abdullah Tahir’s in the sphere of Shāfi’i *fiqh*⁹⁷⁵. He had studied with Tok Kenali at Pondok Kenali for fifteen years, before he went to Mecca in 1926⁹⁷⁶. There he stayed for four years, studying *inter alia* with Muḥammad Nūr b.

⁹⁷⁴ On the historical and contemporary controversy surrounding calculations of the beginning of Ramadan see Zulfiqar Ali Shah, *The Astronomical Calculations and Ramadan. A Fiqhi Discourse* (Herndon, VA.: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2009). On the similarly historically contentious calculation of prayer times and the *qibla* see *ibid.*, p. 8-12.

⁹⁷⁵ TUSM, II, p. 54.

⁹⁷⁶ Unless otherwise noted data on Hj. Abdullah Tahir is derived from *ibid.*, II, p. 49-64; al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 34f.

Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (d. 1944), who was a son of the important Patani scholar and *kitab jawi* author Nik Mat Kecik Patani (Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, d. 1915)⁹⁷⁷. The Mecca-born Muḥammad Nūr, unsurprisingly a student of Ahmad Patani there, had also studied in Egypt. In 1910 he could take advantage of new Ottoman regulations, which admitted new teachers to the *ḥaram* after examination⁹⁷⁸. Eventually, he even became the leader of the numerically strongly reduced *jawi* community in Mecca after the Saudi takeover in 1924⁹⁷⁹. We may therefore safely assume that also the Cambodian and Vietnamese Muslims studying there in the late 1920s and 1930s (and thus also during Ner's time) were his students. Moreover, Muḥammad Nūr was sufficiently important for his biography to appear in both a Malay biographic dictionary of Patani scholars as well as in an Arabic counterpart detailing the life and times of Meccan 'ulamā'⁹⁸⁰.

Back in Kelantan, Hj. Abdullah Tahir taught at the *Masjid Muhammadi* and founded his *al-Madrasat al-Aḥmadiyya Bunut Payong* in the latter village in 1931, which soon developed into Kelantan's largest pondok with approximately 800 students, including from Cambodia⁹⁸¹. He was also appointed a member of the MUI's (fatwa-issuing) *Meshuarat Ulama*⁹⁸², and left at least seven works on different topics such as *fiqh*, prayer, *uṣūl al-dīn* and Arabic grammar⁹⁸³. Among a list of twenty-three of the foremost (*terkemuka*) among his hundreds of students, we also encounter Mat Sales Haroun of Phum Trea⁹⁸⁴. Doubtlessly, however, Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi appears to have exerted a much stronger influence on Mat Sales than Abdullah Tahir. It is therefore also only natural that he is commonly only noted as a student of the former in Malay academic work on Islamic education in Kelantan⁹⁸⁵.

Mat Sales and his Pedoman Bahagia

⁹⁷⁷ Also Nik Mat Kecik most probably had Cambodian students in Mecca, although I have so far not come across any source confirming this. He was likewise perhaps even responsible for the Indochinese pilgrims in his role as pilgrimage shaykh (*muṭawwif*). Among his most illustrious students we find familiar names such as Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali, Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi and the pondok-educated Sultan Zainal Abidin III of Terengganu (cf. II.3.). UBP, p. 76, 79.

⁹⁷⁸ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 175.

⁹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 223.

⁹⁸⁰ UBP, p. 268f.; 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa l-Tarājim Ba'd 'Ulamā'inā fi l-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashr li l-Ḥijra*, 3rd ed. (Jidda: al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-Sa'ūdī, 1403/1982), p. 269-272.

⁹⁸¹ TUSM, II, p. 59.

⁹⁸² William R. Roff, "Whence Cometh the Law? Dog Saliva in Kelantan, 1937" in *id.*, *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), p. 252, 259. TUSM (II, p. 63) and al-Qari (*Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 34) are speaking of a "Jemaah Ulama'" and "Dewan Ulamaa'" respectively. Roff's identification is, however, certainly correct.

⁹⁸³ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 35.

⁹⁸⁴ TUSM, II, p. 61.

⁹⁸⁵ Abdul Halim, "Pendidikan Islam", p. 18 n. 69.

Mat Sales' prominence in Kelantan and other Malay states, unmatched by all other Cambodian students of Islam in Kelantan with the exception of the aforementioned Hj. Ayyub Kemboja, stemmed from the fact, that he penned an important *kitab jawi* on astronomy. Entitled *Pedoman Bahagia Membicarakan Sukutan Waktu dan Kiblat yang Mulia*, it was published in Kota Bharu in 1934⁹⁸⁶. As such it not only represented an unprecedented feat for a Cambodian Muslim scholar, but also a testimony to the process of Jawization in the country. Additionally, it also brings into rare focus that Cambodian Muslims were part of a Southeast Asian *jawi* scholarly, in which they not always necessarily merely played the role of students and *mustaftīs* outside of their own country. Conversely, some of them such as Mat Sales, Hj. Ayyub and Yakoub b. Mahmud built up their own scholarly reputation or careers in the competitive environment of Kelantan, where students from all parts of the Western Malay World (from the Peninsula to Java) gathered.

Indeed, Mat Sales' work received wide recognition in Kelantan. This is particularly evident in the accolades from major Kelantanese scholars, which appear on the initial pages of the publication. His great teacher Nūr al-Dīn himself found everything in the book to be correct, according to his knowledge (*maka didapati segala amalan padanya itu sahih pada pengetahuan saya*)⁹⁸⁷. A notable by the name of Datuk Seri Diraja Muhammad Said Jamaluddin even expressed his hopes that "by the grace of Allāh, the children of our Malay race may pick some of the fruits contained in the treatise in order to break free from the inadequacy of ignorance which brings sin" (*Mudah-mudahan ditawfik Allah akan anak-anak bangsa melayu kita memetik akan buahan kandungan risalah ini supaya terlepas daripada taksir kejahilan yang membawa kepada berdosa*)⁹⁸⁸. Such hopes were also entertained and expressed in similar wording by the contemporary Mufti of Kelantan, Hj. Ibrahim. Given his own teaching experience in the country, he must have known well about the situation of scholars, such as Mat Sales, from among the sons of Cambodia (*min abnā' kambūjā*). Thanks to it being written in Malay, he expected the book to become a gate for the Malay youth to learn about its subject-matter (*pintu bagi anak-anak bangsa melayu pada membelajari akan dia*)⁹⁸⁹.

The longest foreword was, however, provided by the MUI member and editor of *Pengasuh*, Hj. Ahmad Mahir b. Hj. Ismail (d. 1968), who is also credited by the author for having reviewed and edited the treatise (*membetul dan metashihkan risalat ini*)⁹⁹⁰. This illustrious

⁹⁸⁶ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Hj. Hārūn Kemboja, *Pedoman Bahagia Membicarakan Sukutan Waktu dan Kiblat yang Mulia* (Kota Bharu: Maṭba'at al-Kamāliyya, 1353/1934).

⁹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 8.

student of Tok Kenali, soon to be appointed as Hj. Ibrahim's successor as mufti (1941-1968)⁹⁹¹, even referred to Mat Sales as an *ustaz* (ar. *ustādh*). He moreover described his book – because of its subject and execution – as a very timely work (*kandungannya sangatlah bertolak dan sesuai dengan masa kita ini*), besides stressing that some of its figures and diagrams had never been available before in Malay language (*bahasa kita*). In view of prevailing conceptions of the Malay World as the region where Malay served as commercial, diplomatic and religious *lingua franca* and our notion of the contemporary Malay World as home to the *jawi* ecumene, it is noteworthy that Ahmad Mahir also speaks of the Malay-speaking world (*alam perbahasaan melayu*) in this regard⁹⁹².

Clearly, partaking in the *jawi* ecumene was not dependent on being of the *bangsa melayu* (Malay race). Thus, Mat Sales notes in his introduction that he “is not from among the true Malays” (*bukan daripada anak melayu jati*)⁹⁹³. He also expresses his hope that his effort will bring benefits for the races and especially the people of his fatherland (*menjadikan manfaat bagi bangsa-bangsa dan ahl watan hakir khususnya*)⁹⁹⁴. An appended list of places with their respective longitudes and latitudes includes Prek Tomboung, Phnom Penh, Kampong Cham, Chau Doc and Saigon (again the latter two places are also grouped under *kemboja*), thereby highlighting his connection to and conception of the fatherland. It is, however, sufficiently clear from the other entries in this section that the *jawi* ecumene constituted the intended general audience for his work. Thus, excluding the five mentioned locations in Indochina, 62 out of 97 entries are taken up by places in the Malay World (the easternmost and westernmost being Ambon in Maluku and Aceh respectively)⁹⁹⁵.

We may assume that Mat Sales was personally acquainted to the whole array of major scholars and officials providing such enthusiastic reviews for inclusion in his work. It must also be noted in this respect that it was indeed only a small group of scholars, which concerned itself with issues of *ilmu falak*, despite the virulence questions surrounding the science had acquired since the beginning of the century. In Kelantan, only two earlier comparable works had been published before *Pedoman Bahagia*. These were Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi's aforementioned *Shams al-Faṭḥiyya* and, as is expressly noted in Ahmad

⁹⁹¹ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 18-22.

⁹⁹² Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Pedoman Bahagia*, p. 5.

⁹⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 8. In present Indonesian/Malay and Cham (Sanskrit-derived) *jati* means mostly “genuine” and “real”. Jones, *Loan-Words in Indonesian*, p. 133; Muḥammad Zayn, Yūsuf, Aḥmad & ‘Ārifīn, *Qāmūs Melāyū-Ĉam*, p. 170. In colonial times and during early Malay nationalism, i.e. well before the Malay *bumiputra* (nativist) discourse, *melayu jati* (“real, pure [bloodied] Malay”) was employed to define the members of the *bangsa melayu*. Wilkinson, *Malay-English Dictionary*, I, p. 451; Shamsul, “History of an Identity”, p. 364.

⁹⁹⁴ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Pedoman Bahagia*, p. 9.

⁹⁹⁵ The remained are mostly cities of the Arab World and India, but also of Europe and East Asia. Mecca and Medina are naturally listed first. *ibid.*, p. 48-53.

Mahir's foreword and in the introduction of *Mat Sales*⁹⁹⁶, *Pilihan Mustika pada Menerangkan Qiblat dan Ketika* by Mufti Hj. Ibrahim's son Muhammad Nur. Both had been put out by the MUI just a few years before the work of *Mat Sales* appeared, namely in 1344/1926 and 1351/1932 respectively. It is noteworthy that the notorious Minangkabauan reformist Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Jalāl al-Dīn (d. 1956), who had even studied 'ilm al-falak at al-Azhar⁹⁹⁷, finished his first work on calculating the *qibla* and the prayer times (employing logarithm) also only in 1356/1937. It was then published the following year⁹⁹⁸. Likewise, astronomy was finally introduced into the curriculum of the MUI's *Jami' Merbau al-Ismaili* in the 1940s, due to the efforts of Hj. Muhammad Nur b. Hj. Ibrahim (i.e. the author of *Pilihan Mustika*)⁹⁹⁹.

Thus, *Mat Sales* was evidently, with this work on calculating the prayer times and the *qibla* with recourse to the quadrant (ar. *rub'*), at the forefront of developments in this regard¹⁰⁰⁰. In the late 1960s Jaspan reported that *Pedoman Bahagia* was still "used as a guide by Cham[s] throughout Cambodia and by Malays on the East Coast of Malaya"¹⁰⁰¹. The prestige he must have acquired in Kelantan is also testified to by the fact that he was able to show Ner not only a "Malay certificate" - assumingly an *ijāza* from one of his teachers or even a *tauliah* (i.e. certified teaching permit) from the MUI, which would have also allowed him to teach officially in Kelantan - but also another one issued by the British Advisor to the Government of Kelantan (i.e. a testimony to his good conduct)¹⁰⁰².

Jaspan also noted that *Pedoman Bahagia* had been of particular importance to the Muslims of the author's native Krauchmar district, due to recurrent uncertainties regarding the beginning and ending of Ramadan, especially if skies were clouded¹⁰⁰³. It must, however, be emphasized in this regard, that *Mat Sales*, unlike many *kaum muda* partisans, did not position himself as a stern advocate of calculation over direct sighting of the new moon (*ru'aya*). Indeed, whereas he specifies Ramadan as a month of thirty days and explains how

⁹⁹⁶ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Pedoman Bahagia*, p. 6f. *Mat Sales* also makes reference to a second work which he used as a basis for *Pedoman Bahagia*, namely *Taman Buah-buahan* by his teacher Nūr al-Dīn. As this title is absent from biographical accounts of the latter, it has presumably remained unpublished, but may have been used by the author at his pondok.

⁹⁹⁷ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 129.

⁹⁹⁸ KUN, I, p. 72. Afterwards he devoted yet two more works to the calculation of the *qibla*. Already the first one was, however, representative of a gradual weakening of Jawization in (especially "Indonesian") reformist circles. Thus, it was published in a combination of Arabic and *rumi* (i.e. employing the Latin alphabet) Malay.

⁹⁹⁹ TUSM, II, p. 321.

¹⁰⁰⁰ A somewhat isolated early Malay printed work on calculating the *qibla* was Muhammad b. Abdullah Suhaimi al-Wanasabi's *al-Dalāla fī Tahrīr al-Qibla wa l-Adilla*, published 1902 in Singapore. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 315. On *qibla* calculations with sine quadrants in mediaval times see David A. King, "al-Khālidī's *Qibla Table*", JNES, XXXIV (1975), p. 109-115.

¹⁰⁰¹ "I. Haji Mohamed Saleh", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁰² Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 178.

¹⁰⁰³ "I. Haji Mohamed Saleh", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

to calculate the beginning of months to come, he also admits that the result will be an approximate one, as it may either accord with or predate *ru'aya* by one day (*yang diketahui dengan jalan kira-kiranya ini terkadang terdahulu sehari daripada ru'ayat [lihat anak bulan] dan terkadang bersamaan*)¹⁰⁰⁴. No opinion is given, however, on which method would be preferable. This combination of supplying the mandatory tools for (potentially disruptive) calculation with a non-partisan stance on the hotly debated issue appears to be typical for the environment of the MUI and *Pengasuh*¹⁰⁰⁵. It must, however, be noted that Nik Dir Patani ('Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, d. 1898), the student of Daud Patani and teacher of Ahmad Patani, had already set a precedent in the late 19th century by passing a fatwa mandating the calculation of the beginning of Ramadan (by way of completing thirty days for *sha'bān*) by a knowledgeable person (*bertanya akan orang yang mengetahui akan dia supaya dapat kita sempurnakan dia tiga puluh hari*) in case of an undiscernable new moon¹⁰⁰⁶.

Mat Sales and his students

The luminary from Phum Trea is also the most instructive example of all, regarding the way Jawization expanded in Cambodia through the teaching activities of the network's central nodes in Mecca, Kelantan and Cambodia itself. As a student in Kelantan of former students of Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali (i.e. Nūr al-Dīn and Abdullah Tahir), he became perhaps the most influential religious teacher in Cambodia after his return. He may thus have been even more instrumental in transmitting the canonical works of Jawization and the ideas of our network anchors Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali than their likewise certainly highly important direct major Cambodian students such as Hj. Osman of Phum Trea, Mat Sales of

¹⁰⁰⁴ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Pedoman Bahagia*, p. 45f.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Unfortunately local informants were unaware of the method actually used in Phum Trea in the 1930s and 1940s. Personal communication with Mat Sales former students Hj. Saleh (b. 1930) and Muhammad Nour (b. 1929), at Phum Trea, May 15th & 16th 2012. According to one informant the *kaum tua* of Kampong Cham relied on *taqwīm* (i.e. an almanac) instead of moon sighting, whereby certainly not an astronomically calculated but a traditional octaval calendar was meant. Personal communication with Tuon Him (Chrang Chamres, May 8th 2012). Natives of Chrang Chamres have asserted that still in the 1960s emissaries from Kampong Chhnang would come down to their village to enquire about the *changvang*'s decision regarding the beginning of Ramadan, which clearly points to moon sighting on the *changvang*'s part. Personal communication with Ysa Meth and Syafii, b. in Chrang Chamres around 1950 (Herndon, VA., October 6th 2013). Among the KIS of Au Russey, moon sighting is still the method followed. Kaori Ueki, *Prosody and Intonation in Western Cham* (Manoa: unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2011), p. 26.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 'Abd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Ashī (ed. & trans.), "Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is fī Bayān As'ilat al-Ḥādīth" in Nico Kaptein, *The Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwa Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), p. 107 (references to pagination of the Arabic/jawi facsimile). This fatwa collection was also among those distributed by the Patani network. Two of its five known editions were published by Ahmad Patani's Ottoman Malay Printing Press (1325/1907 & 1331/1913). Already the original 1310/1892 Meccan edition (the facsimile of which was consulted here) had Daud Patani's Shaṭṭari *dhikr* manual *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd* printed in its margins. Kaptein, *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*, p. xii, 17.

Chroy Changvar and Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey. Indeed, he reared a whole generation of Islamic scholars, primarily in Kampong Cham, but also in other areas. Returning to Phum Trea a few years before the outbreak of the Second World War, his madrasa, the popularity of which was – as will be remembered – also testified to by Ner, soon developed into the largest in the country¹⁰⁰⁷. Whereas Ner had recorded 66 students at his school in the late 1930s, their number rose to approximately one hundred in the 1940s¹⁰⁰⁸.

Needless to say, many of these throngs of students became *tuons* themselves. One of the few still alive and active as a teacher is Muhammad Nour of Phum Trea. Aged 82, he was still teaching the Qur’ān to eighty pupils (up to the age of twelve) in his house in 2012¹⁰⁰⁹. Yet, Mat Sales’ instrumental role in the expansion of Jawization and of our network in Cambodia is of course brought into sharper focus by his students from outside of the village, who carried his legacy over into their home villages and, way beyond his premature death in the late 1940s, into the 1970s (when many of them were eventually killed or died during the DK regime and the earlier struggle for its establishment) and beyond. Indeed, the landscape of Kampong Cham soon became dotted with schools run by his most talented students. Hj. Muhammad Kachi (“Little Muhammad”) b. Musa (executed in 1975¹⁰¹⁰), for instance, became a famed *tuon* and leader of the local *kaum tua* in Chumnik¹⁰¹¹, where he taught until 1973¹⁰¹². Interestingly, also his father Wan Musa b. Wan Abdullah had been a religious teacher in Chumnik, even teaching *ḥadīth*, and their family history is strongly suggestive of the dynamics of Jawization. Accordingly, Wan Musa still guarded a genealogy marking him out as a descendant of the last king of Champa¹⁰¹³. Already his own father had, however, evidently discarded the Cham *po* title for the Malay *wan*. No claims to Cham royal descent are related regarding Muhammad Kachi, whose claim to fame assumingly rested exclusively on his outstanding stature as a *jawi* scholar. Osman’s informants for his 1974 arrest by the

¹⁰⁰⁷ JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Personal communication with Hj. Saleh, aged 82, former student of Mat Sales Haroun; Hamad Daud, aged 65 & Hj. Shukry, aged 58 (all born in Phum Trea), in Phum Trea, May 15th 2012; with Muhammad Nour, b. 1929 in Phum Trea, *tuon* and former student of Hj. Mat Sales Haroun, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Personal observation and communication with Muhammad Nour, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012.

¹⁰¹⁰ Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 123.

¹⁰¹¹ Personal communication with Muhammad Kachi’s former students Imam Muhammad Hasan, *tuon* and imam of Phnom Penh’s Boeung Kak mosque (International Dubai Mosque), b. 1935 in Koh Phal (Krauchhmar, Kampong Cham), at Phnom Penh, April 30th 2012; Tuon Him (b. Tukang Basih), *tuon* and former Deputy Mufti of Cambodia, born 1942 in Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), at Chrang Chamres, May 8th & 13th 2012; Tuon Ismail, born 1932 in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012; and Asyari b. Adam, b. 1973 in Stung (Kaong Kang, Ponhea Kraek, Kampong Cham), at Chroy Metrey (Kendal), May 17th 2012.

¹⁰¹² Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 122.

¹⁰¹³ JP, DJA (2)/1/6.

Khmers Rouges unanimously stated that he was renowned throughout the country¹⁰¹⁴. He is also reported to have secretly fasted during Ramadan when he was being held at Krauchhmar's district prison (1974-5)¹⁰¹⁵. His prominence is further attested by the fact that Sos Man (d. 1975), the leader of the soon to be disbanded (in 1974) *Eastern Zone Islamic Movement*, which had been established to encourage the local Muslims to join the revolution¹⁰¹⁶, appointed him as "director of Islam" in 1973¹⁰¹⁷. Unsurprisingly, his son Fadil was by then likewise a *tuon*¹⁰¹⁸.

Mat Sales' most skilled student in *ilmu falak* was the Phum Trea-born Ismail b. Adam Flahi (i.e., *falaki* – "astronomer"). He eventually settled down as a teacher in Speu (Chamkar Loeu, Kampong Cham)¹⁰¹⁹, where he taught alongside the aforementioned Hj. Li Patani (Hj. 'Alī b. 'Abbās al-Ṣabrī al-Faṭānī)¹⁰²⁰. Among his students there were the present Mufti of Cambodia Sos Kamry (b. 1950) and the (later also) al-Azhar-educated former deputy mufti Tuon Him (b. 1942). Also two teachers from the scholarly circle around Abu Talep in Chroy Metrey, Tayyeb Kabir and Tayyeb Kecil, had studied in Speu, and were therefore with great probability also among his students¹⁰²¹. Just like Muhammad Kachi, his son and the three scholars from Chroy Metrey, also Ismail Flahi did not survive the DK years. He died in 1978¹⁰²².

Another former student acquiring prestige as a teacher was Ahmad Syarhi ("commentator" – derived from ar. *sharḥ*) of Koh Phal in Krauchhmar¹⁰²³. Not least due to the strong Islamic consciousness of its inhabitants this village was, together with the even more developed *jawi* center of Svay Khleang, in 1975 one of two sites of truly rare instances of popular uprisings against the Khmers Rouges¹⁰²⁴. As a result of the ensuing devastating punitive

¹⁰¹⁴ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 121-123.

¹⁰¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 25f.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 15f; Peang-Meth, "Islam – Another Casualty", p. 253f.; Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime. Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 1997), p. 67, 258, 261f. Sos Man acted as a spokesman for Muslims within the insurgent National United Front of Kampuchea since at least 1971. Corfield & Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 400.

¹⁰¹⁷ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 122.

¹⁰¹⁸ He was fatally shot in the village by Khmers Rouges. *ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁹ Personal communication with his former student with Tuon Him (b. Tukang Basih), at Chrang Chamres, May 8th & 13th 2012.

¹⁰²⁰ Cf. V.2.

¹⁰²¹ Personal communication with *tuon* Asyari b. Saleh, in his native Chroy Metrey (Kendal), May 17th 2012.

¹⁰²² Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 123. Abu Talep and the two Tayyebes all died after deportation to Battambang due to sickness, injuries and malnutrition respectively. Personal communication with Abu Talep's student and fellow deportee Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman, Deputy Province Imam of Battambang), b. 1953 in Chroy Metrey, in Damspey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

¹⁰²³ Personal communication with Tuon Him, born 1942 in *khum* Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), at Chrang Chamres, May 13th 2012.

¹⁰²⁴ For the whole DK period only two other cases on a comparable scale have been recorded. Solomon Kane, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges* (Paris: Aux lieux d'être, 2007), p. 322f. A minor rebellious outbreak had already

measures of the regime, only around 10 per cent of Koh Phal's residents survived the DK period¹⁰²⁵. Ahmad Syarhi was not one of them.

Other well-known teachers who had studied under Mat Sales¹⁰²⁶ were Hj. Sulaiman Shukry (d. 1975) and Tuon Him (d. 2010) of Phum Trea, Ismail Fikri and Tuon Saleh Sebyan ("childlike" – derived from ar. *ṣibyānī*) of Kang Meas, Yusuf Atrey ("fragrant" – from ar. *'aṭīr/'iṭrī*) of Ponhea Kraek (near the border to Tay Ninh) as well as Tuon Hj. Ahmad (Roka Po Pram, Thbaung Khmum) and Hj. Said Sa'di (also from Thbaung Khmum). Outside of Kampong Cham, Hj. Yusuf Awny of Trapeang Chhouk in Kampong Thom (d.1977) must be noted again¹⁰²⁷. Additionally, also two sons-in-law of Mat Sales became renowned teachers. These were Yakoub Ahmad (Ahmad b. Yakoub) of Chumnik and Hj. Sulaiman b. Yusof of Phum Trea. Whereas Yakoub Ahmad studied with his father-in-law in Phum Trea, Hj. Sulaiman accompanied his prospective father-in-law to Kelantan and later proceeded to Cairo's al-Azhar for three years after receiving a scholarship (1963-6). He then re-established the madrasa of his father in law, which now even drew students from among the small nascent *cam baruw/jawa* community of Phan Rang¹⁰²⁸, thereby extending the role of Phum Trea as central node of Jawization into former Panduranga.

A few remarks are in order concerning this sub-network centered on Mat Sales of Phum Trea. Already the fact that many of his better known students were known by epithets most probably acquired during their student days in Phum Trea, suggests that his was a tight-knit and perhaps also (positively) competitive scholarly community¹⁰²⁹. The influence of his scores of students on Jawization in Cambodia must have been tremendous, even though it was permanently in most and temporarily in certain cases arrested with the civil war of 1970-5 and the ensuing DK rule. Some of his better known students came from areas far from the Mekong such as Ponhea Kraek and even Roka Po Pram, still largely untouched by

occured in Phum Trea in 1973. Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 120f. The CIA noted "small-scale revolts" of Cham villagers in Kampong Cham and Kratie starting in fall 1973. CIA Intelligence Memorandum, "The Rebellious Chams", dated January 22nd 1974, NA, CIA-RDP86T00608R000300070003-0, 25X1.

¹⁰²⁵ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 53. On the two rebellions see *ibid.*, p. 53-111.

¹⁰²⁶ Data in this paragraph is based, unless otherwise noted, on personal communication with Tuon Him, born 1942 in *khum* Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), at Chrang Chamres, May 13th 2012; and with a son of Mat Sales' locally born student Tuon Him, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012.

¹⁰²⁷ Cf. V.4.2.

¹⁰²⁸ "I. Haji Mohamed Saleh", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2; "Phum Trea: Inf. Suleiman bin Youssof", typescript, December 28th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁰²⁹ Following this pattern also the director of Chumnik's most renowned Islamic school in the late 1960s, Ahmad Sohir (ar. *zāhīr* – "helper", "defender") b. Musa, was most probably part of the group. It testifies to Chumnik's character as one of the main centers of *jawi* education in the country, that the village housed four major Islamic schools catering to the needs of over 200 students at that time. Even two *cam baruw/jawa* from Phan Rang were studying there in the 1960s. "Ideals and barriers in education", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2. A populous village, Jaspan estimated its population at approximately 5400 inhabitants. "Demography and Settlements", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

Jawization in the 1930s. Moreover, a number of the selected individuals chosen for scholarships to study at al-Azhar in the 1960s were part of his sub-network. These included, besides Sulaiman b. Yusof, the future deputy mufti Tuon Him of Kor (a student of Ismail Flahi and Muhammad Kachi) and Muhammad Hasan, the present imam of Phnom Penh's centrally located International Dubai Mosque and *inter alia* a former student of Muhammad Kachi. The emerging picture of a more or less lasting scholarly elite is complemented by the fact that Muhammad Kachi also eventually became one of the leaders of the Cambodian *kaum tua* in its confrontation with the local Islamic reformists, and by the figure of Sos Kamry (a student of *inter alia* Ismail Flahi) becoming Mufti of Cambodia in 1998, when the office was officially re-established after more than twenty years.

In this regard also the long-term perspective for religious literature in Cham *jawi* is of interest. Intriguingly, the first book ever to be published in Cham *jawi*, albeit only in mimeographic style, was a work on *fiqh* by Ḥusayn (b.) Ya'qūb of Thbaung Khmum, printed in Malaysia in 1990¹⁰³⁰. As can be inferred from his foreword, the author studied with no less than three of the identified students of Mat Sales, namely with Yusuf Atrey at the latter's *Madrassa al-'Aṭiriyya al-Islāmiyya*, with Imam Ahmad of Roka Po Pram and with Muhammad Kachi in Chumnik¹⁰³¹. Conversely, the next Cham *jawi* book to be published, which was also the first to be properly printed and to be published in Cambodia ("Let's come to pray", 2009) was penned by Sos Kamry¹⁰³². Earlier he had already produced a few hand-written Cham *jawi* treatises, including a two volume *Kitab Fiqh Islam* (on *'ibādāt*), which were then photo-copied and distributed in the country¹⁰³³. Muhammad Kachi's student Imam Muhammad Hasan is currently almost daily teaching adults the Qur'an between *maghrib* and *'ishā'* at Phnom Penh's central International Dubai Mosque on the basis of its first published Cham *jawi* translation¹⁰³⁴.

As will be shown in the next chapter, the process of Jawization, with its implicit disjuncture from *inter alia* specifically Cham traditions and historical awareness, propelled by the

¹⁰³⁰ Ḥusayn Ya'qūb, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī bi l-Lughat al-Tshāmiyya. Fiqh Tuei Bahasa Cam* (Petaling Jaya: Office of Muslim Minority Affairs – ABIM, 1990).

¹⁰³¹ *ibid.*, p. [i f.] (the foreword actually lacks pagination).

¹⁰³² [Sos Kamry (Qamar al-Dīn b. Yūsuf)], *Mai We' Drai Sembahyang* (Phnom Penh: al-Majlis al-A'lā li-Shu'ūn al-Islām fi Kambūdiyā, n.d. [2009]).

¹⁰³³ Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*", p. 138, 146.

¹⁰³⁴ Personal observation on various occasions, April & May 2012; Aḥmad Yahyā (gen. ed.), *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm Lang Tuei Bahasa Cam* (Phnom Penh: Jam'iyyat al-Taṭwīr al-Mujtama' al-Islāmī bi-Kambūdiyā, 2011). At present the mosque is actually only a large barrack as the dilapidated testimony to Islamic internationalism in Cambodia (built in 1994) has been torn down to make room for a yet more impressive structure to be named after its chief donor Ṭsā b. Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sirkāl, a Dubai businessman with an extensive record of funding the construction of (so-called Dubai) mosques in Cambodia. Bruckmayr, "Cham Muslims of Cambodia", p. 9 (here he is erroneously referred to as Hishām b. Nāṣir).

transnational network and its local manifestation revolving around central nodes such as the school of Mat Sales, would also inadvertently inhibit the political attempts to arouse Cham diasporic fervor in Cambodia in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, the reason for this was not a lack of political consciousness among either Mat Sales or his students, but rather the inherent tension between at least partly mutually exclusive outlooks: one (as a result of Jawization) directed towards the strongly religiously defined *jawi* ecumene, the other towards the revival of a Cham state just as strongly associated with Pandurangan (and even pre-Pandurangan) traditions increasingly submerged and marginalized by Jawization.

Clearly, conflicts arising over the correct orientations of mosques or their *miḥrābs* towards the *qibla*, in Cambodia as well as elsewhere in Southeast Asia formed part of the process of Jawization. This is not only mirrored in *fatāwā* of the period but also in the new kind of literature on the subject produced by scholars such as Mat Sales and his patrons in Kelantan or by *kaum muda* partisans like Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Minankabāwī. Yet, despite sharing some concerns with the *kaum muda* (e.g. accurate calculation of the direction of prayer), neither Mat Sales nor his MUI-affiliated patrons were representatives of Islamic reformism as such. Indeed, some of the students of Mat Sales would become the champions of the *kaum tua* cause in Cambodia. Conversely, the genealogy of Islamic reformism in Cambodia runs instead through the second (i.e. besides Hj. Awang's family) and most important major Kelantanese scholarly family pertaining to the Ahmad Patani network, that is, the descendants of Tuan Tabal and specifically the family of his son Wan Musa. As will be shown in the following, Wan Musa and some of his sons would be more often than not in a state of confrontation with the MUI and its members from among the '*ulamā*', which otherwise played such an important role for those Cambodian Muslims favorably disposed towards Jawization.

Wan Musa b. Abdul Samad and genealogies of Islamic reformism in Cambodia

As was already noted, Tuan Tabal's surau was after his death in 1891 taken over by his son Hj. Abdullah. Yet, it was contrarily his two other sons Wan Musa (d. 1939) and Hj. Muhammad who would rise to the highest post in Kelantan's religious bureaucracy. Despite succeeding each other in the position of mufti, these two scholars evidently traveled different paths. Indeed, Hj. Muhammad was selected as a quietist replacement for his younger brother who had seriously fallen out with both the Sultan and the MUI. As it was solely the controversial Wan Musa who would become strongly connected to religious

developments in Cambodia during the period, it is accordingly his persona and his sons, on whom we will focus here.

Wan Musa and his stubborn sons: a family in constant confrontation with the MUI

Wan Musa had studied under Ahmad Patani together with Tok Kenali and Ahmad Kemboja. It was also from the former and not from his father Tuan Tabal that he took the *Aḥmadiyya*¹⁰³⁵. Like Tok Kenali he allegedly equally returned to Kelantan in 1908¹⁰³⁶. Yet, contrary to the former, he not only founded his own surau (conveniently located at Jalan Merbau), but was also shortly appointed to a major post, more precisely to that of Mufti, the highest office in Kelantan's religious administration. Despite this promising start, he evidently soon became a burden to Sultan Muhammad IV, who consequently took care not to appoint him to the MUI at the time of its 1915 establishment. This non-appointment paved the way for decades of protracted conflict of Wan Musa and some of his sons with the MUI. Although the reasons for this conflict were certainly not exclusively religious and doctrinal, it must be noted that Wan Musa's side was much more prone to explicitly and emphatically champion causes of the *kaum muda* than its MUI contenders. Indeed, the outbreak of open *kaum muda/kaum tua* controversy in Kelantan in the 1930s, occurring somewhat delayed in comparison to the Archipelago and the Straits Settlements, can be traced back to his family. Thus, despite clearly forming part of the Ahmad Patani (-Tok Kenali) network, Wan Musa and those of his sons gaining similar notoriety are evidently representing a noteworthy counter-current to all of the foregoing scholars discussed in this chapter, who were in their great majority associated to varying degrees with the MUI. It should therefore also not come as a surprise that Wan Musa, his sons and their Cambodian disciples came to impress and fuel different trends within the wider pattern of Jawization in Cambodia than the latter. It is thus also only befitting that their names are closely associated with genealogies of Islamic reformism in Cambodia and the Delta.

In Kelantan things first came to a head after the newly-formed MUI decided to divert a substantial portion of the now centralized *zakāt* and *fiṭra* collection to the construction of the new main mosque of Kota Bharu (henceforth to be known as *Masjid Muhammadi*). Labeling this as unlawful use of funds reserved for distribution to the needy, Wan Musa came into open conflict with the Sultan and the MUI. Ahmad Patani would have most

¹⁰³⁵ Sedgwick. *Saints and Sons*, p. 123.

¹⁰³⁶ Sedgwick (*Saints and Sons*, p. 124 n. 8) has convincingly argued that an earlier date would be more plausible.

probably backed his claims. At least his own teacher, the Meccan mufti of Shāfi'is Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān has likewise declared the use *zakat* for the purpose of mosque construction to be against the law¹⁰³⁷. Tensions were additionally soon compounded by another dispute, this time about inheritance matters, in which Wan Musa again refused to recant a ruling detrimental to the Sultan's interests. After resigning from his position in mid-1916 and going into exile to neighboring Terengganu and, apparently, Cambodia (see below), he only returned after the death of Muhammad IV (d. 1921) whose son Sultan Ismail again patronized him¹⁰³⁸. As a result of the controversy, Wan Musa never set foot into the new *Masjid Muhammadi*, arguably one of the most important locations for Cambodian students in Kelantan, during his lifetime.

Nevertheless a significant portion of the local 'ulamā' and notables remained opposed to the stubborn Wan Musa and conflicts soon resurfaced, though along altered lines. This time Wan Musa and his son Hj. Nik Abdullah (d. 1936), supported by one branch of the royal family around the heir apparent Tengku Ibrahim, were pitted against the Mufti, the MUI and another branch of the royal family over the question of the permissibility of dog-keeping, which was affirmed by Nik Abdullah, seconded by his father¹⁰³⁹. Intriguingly, we find three familiar names among the four leading 'ulamā' opposing Wan Musa and Nik Abdullah. Thus, the group of their most vocal critics included Hj. Ibrahim b. Yusuf (i.e. the Mufti), Hj. Ahmad Mahir and Hj. Abdullah Tahir (as representative of the *Meshuarat Ulama*, the fatwa-issuing body of the MUI). It will be remembered that all three were deeply involved in the education of Cambodian Muslims in Kelantan and additionally featured among Mat Sales Haroun's local patrons. It was therefore only natural that both sides were bound to feed divergent trends also within Cambodian Islam¹⁰⁴⁰.

Nik Abdullah's younger brother Muhammad Salleh (known as Nik Leh, 1920-1972), however, turned out to be an even more controversial figure. Spreading reformist thought (*inter alia* regarding the Islamic conception of the family and the character of the prophet's mission vis-à-vis the "People of the Book") branded as heretic by the MUI and, just like his father, passing legal opinions on *fiṭra* collection regarded as detrimental to the MUI's interests, he

¹⁰³⁷ al-Ashī, "Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is", p. 56. Two other fatwas in the same collection, one by an unidentified *jawi* mufti and one by Daḥlān's assistant and successor Muḥammad Sa'īd Bā Buṣayl (d. 1912), concur with Daḥlān's view. *ibid.* p. 83, 91f. On the Hadrami Bā Buṣayl see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 201; Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 103, 108.

¹⁰³⁸ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 156-160.

¹⁰³⁹ Roff, "Whence Cometh the Law".

¹⁰⁴⁰ Still it has to be emphasized that the contenders were not at odds in all points associated with *kaum muda* reformism. Thus, Ahmad Mahir is known to have likewise opposed certain practices cherished by the *kaum tua* such as *talqin*. al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 20f.

quickly drew its wrath after his return to Kelantan from long years overseas in 1946. Consequently, Nik Leh never received the required *tauliah* (certified teaching permit) from the MUI in order to become an accredited teacher of religion. In 1947 his book *Filsafat Berumahtangga* (Philosophy of Having a Family Household) was banned by the MUI¹⁰⁴¹. Perhaps upon the initiative of the MUI, this and other works of Nik Leh received rebuttals in the forms of books and *fatāwā* from scholars and State Muftis in Terengganu, Johor and Pahang. As a last step, his father's *surau*, to which he had resorted for his continuous informal teaching, was torn down at the behest of his surviving brothers, which evidently did not share the reformist pretensions of his father and Nik Abdullah, to make room for a new one partly financed by the MUI¹⁰⁴².

Part of the controversy spawned by Wan Musa and his two equally stubborn sons was also generated by their denunciation of numerous customary practices in local Islam as *bid'a* (innovation), which was fully in line with the agendas of the *kaum muda* throughout the *jawi* ecumene. In 1914 Wan Musa even wrote to Rashīd Riḍā's *al-Manār* concerning the practice of *talqīn* (whispering advice for the questioning of the grave into the ear of a corpse)¹⁰⁴³. Therein he also takes issue with the positive stance towards this practice, which was strongly disapproved of by the *kaum muda*, to be found in "al-Birmāwī's commentary on the work of Ibn Qāsim" (i.e. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Birmāwī's [d. 1694] gloss on *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* by Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī [d. 1512]¹⁰⁴⁴, the latter being one of the *jawi* ecumene's most popular Arabic Shāfi'i *fiqh* manuals¹⁰⁴⁵).

In this context, his break with established practice and doctrine within the Patani network at large as well as also specifically within the network around Ahmad Patani is obvious, as is his conventional - but unprecedentedly critical - engagement with its texts. Indeed, in

¹⁰⁴¹ Unfortunately, this work was inaccessible to me. Yet, judging from the brief description by S. Othman Kelantan, and despite the latter's relentless emphasis on the influence of Shāh Wali'allāh, the propounded view of the ultimate purpose of the family being the formation of society, is in harmony with the modern conception of family to be found in the writings of 'Abduh (for example in his 1899 "Report on the Reform of the Sharī'a Courts") and other Arab reformers. The latter relied in their discussions on the modern term *'ā'ila*, meaning family in the sense of a unit of habitation consisting of parents and children. Tellingly, also Nik Leh's usage of *rumah tangga* (family household) carries the same connotation. Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 168; Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, p. 227-235.

¹⁰⁴² Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 167-169.

¹⁰⁴³ *al-Manār*, XVII (1332/1914), p. 413-416. Even though the signatory (*ṣāhib al-imḍā*) to the fatwa request only calls himself Mūsā 'Abd al-Ṣamad of Kelantan, without any additional information, we may safely conclude that this is Wan Musa's unspecified "lost" correspondence with *al-Manār* mentioned by one of Sedgwick's informants. Sedgwick. *Saints and Sons*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Anbābī, *Taqrīr al-Anbābī 'alā Ḥāshiyat al-Birmāwī 'alā Sharḥ Ibn Qāsim 'alā Matn Abī Shujā'* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmira, 1319/1901). It shall be noted that the author of this super-gloss to al-Birmāwī's text was not only *shaykh al-azhar* but also one of the teachers of Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Linqī, the Aḥmadi master with followers in Cambodia and Vietnam.

¹⁰⁴⁵ van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 246.

Ahmad Patani's *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya* the issue of *talqīn* is raised twice (in fatwas nrs. 28 and 107). Far from generally condemning or questioning the validity of the practice, the mufti only declares certain Arabic formulas used within the ritual to be correct and others to be forbidden (*ḥarām*)¹⁰⁴⁶. Evidently both of these were then commonly practiced in the *jawi* ecumene. Strikingly, Ahmad Patani further explains that the correct formulaic expressions are to be found in Daud Patani's *Kayfiyyat khatm al-Qur'ān*, which is a prayer manual, including a Shaṭṭari pedigree¹⁰⁴⁷, already published in Singapore and Bombay in 1877 and 1880 respectively. What is more, the mufti further clarifies that the lofty invocation of the name of god (*lafẓ al-jalāla*) relied upon by Daud, appears word for word (*ḥarfān bi-ḥarfī*) in al-Birmāwī's *ḥāshiyā*¹⁰⁴⁸ and also in Sayyid Bakrī's (posterior) *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*¹⁰⁴⁹. Intriguingly, the second fatwa (nr. 107) already reflects an awareness of general resentment against the practice in certain circles. Accordingly, it is stressed that Daud merely conveyed the phrases in question in his work without explicitly mandating *talqīn*¹⁰⁵⁰.

Wan Musa further voiced typical *kaum muda* criticism against widespread practices such as the mandatory verbal pronunciation of the *niyya* (intention) formulas for prayer and other rituals or elaborate *mawlid* celebrations¹⁰⁵¹. His propensity for looking to reformers in Cairo for adjudication also resurfaced during the aforementioned "dog saliva affair". After a public council of debate (*majlis mudhakara*) in 1937, which was attended by two thousand people and has therefore come to epitomize *kaum tua/kaum muda* conflict in local memory, proved inconclusive, Wan Musa addressed the matter of the permissibility of dog-keeping and of the necessary ablutions after being touched or licked by one to the Fatwa Committee of Cairo's al-Azhar¹⁰⁵². Al-Azhar was then for the second time under the direction of

¹⁰⁴⁶ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 74f., 217f.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁴⁸ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 218. In Bakrī's time, also Snouck Hurgronje observed *talqīn* as a regular feature of burials in Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁵⁰ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 218. Intriguingly, this was, in contrast to nr. 28, one of merely seven (out of 107) fatwas in the collection in which question and answer was originally in Arabic. *Talqīn* was likewise of major ritual importance in the Urdu logosphere. Its formulaic instructions were even reproduced in certain textbooks for the study of Urdu. Constance F. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions. A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: SPCK, 1961), p. 278f.

¹⁰⁵¹ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 159. Around the same time *niyya/uṣallī*, *talqīn* (or at least everything beyond merely whispering the first part of the *shahāda* into the ear of the newly deceased) and certain *mawlid*-related practices were also attacked *inter alia* by the *kaum muda* of Minangkabau. HAMKA, *Ayahku*, p. 79f. It shall be noted that also for the *kaum tua* the fight over the validity of *niyya/uṣallī*, *talqīn* and other practices took transnational forms. Thus, the *kaum tua* of Minangkabau requested fatwas in their support from 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī in Mecca, whereas Hġ. Abū Bakr al-Mu'arī (d. 1938), *kadi* of Muar (as well as "one-week-mufti" of Johor) and notorious *kaum tua* polemicist, even wrote a refutation of Rashīd Riḍā's stance on the *niyya* (as *bid'a*), which was subsequently also translated into Malay. Kaptein, "Southeast Asian Debates", p. 187f.; KUN, I, p. 10-13.

¹⁰⁵² Roff, "Whence Cometh the Law", p. 252, 262. On the Fatwa Committee see Dodge, *Al-Azhar*, p. 173f.

Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (*Shaykh al-Azhar* 1927-9 and then again 1935-45), whose initial appointment in 1927 had been strongly opposed by many Azharis due to the radicality of his reform program, which was intended to extend - beyond the fields of textbooks, teaching methods and organizational structure - also into devising reformist religious thought¹⁰⁵³. Also the establishment of the Fatwa Committee in 1935 formed part of these endeavors. Unsurprisingly, the resulting ruling was in full support of Wan Musa's positions.

More striking is, however, Wan Musa's strong affiliation with the Aḥmadiyya. At his surau at Jalan Merbau he both taught and held an Aḥmadi ḥaḍra, without, however, acting as a shaykh. Conversely, he patronized two successive (and due to accusations of improper behavior during their ḥaḍras) controversial shaykhs of the ṭarīqa in Kelantan. The first of these was Muḥammad Sa'īd Linggi. Indeed, it was only Wan Musa's unwillingness - in his capacity as State Mufti - to condemn the shaykh¹⁰⁵⁴, which prompted the Sultan to request the aforementioned fatwa on the issue from Ahmad Patani in Mecca. The second, Abū Ḥasan al-Azharī (d. 1939), was expelled from Kelantan shortly after Wan Musa's resignation as Mufti. After the death of Muhammad IV he too returned and was given a house by Wan Musa to teach in¹⁰⁵⁵. With his sons Nik Abdullah and Nik Leh, the Aḥmadiyya connection becomes more tenuous. Although both have reportedly occasionally led *dhikr* and *rātīb*, they were less identified, and presumably likewise less identified themselves, with the ṭarīqa¹⁰⁵⁶.

Finally, the reformism of Wan Musa and his sons also introduced an entirely new element into Cambodian Islam as far as scholarly and intellectual genealogies and networks are concerned, namely a connection to the Indian Deobandi school and the legacy of the Indian 18th century reformer Shāh Walīallāh (d. 1762). Already Wan Musa became closely associated with the instrumental figure in the spread of teachings inspired by Shāh Walīallāh and the Deobandis, namely Abu Abdallah Said al-Tukki al-Ghilazi (d. 1943), better known as Tok Khurasani, a paradigmatic "globalized" early 20th century Islamic scholar. According to his somewhat deformed *nisbas*, so far apparently unresolved in local as well as Western scholarship on Kelantan, we may assume that he was a Pashto-speaking member of the Tōkhī sub-tribe of the Turān group of the Ghilzay tribe (or tribal confederation) inhabiting Afghanistan and, to a lesser degree, present-day Pakistan. Ghilzay confrontation with the British and especially with the Afghan Emir 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān (r. 1880-1901) in

¹⁰⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 148, 171, 194.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Sedgwick. *Saints and Sons*, p. 129.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 123-134.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah*, p. 83.

the 1880s¹⁰⁵⁷, could have prompted Tok Khurasani's emigration, which brought him to India, South Africa and finally Kota Bharu. After studying at the *Dār al-'Ulūm* Deoband under Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan Deobandī (d. 1921), Tok Khurasani went on to preach in Cape Town for three years. According to different sources, he came to Kota Bharu in either 1911/12 or 1915/16 as religious teacher and cloth merchant. Known as Kelantan's first *ḥadīth* specialist, he initially taught from his home, before relocating to the *Masjid Muhammadi* as place of instruction in 1928 during the reign of Sultan Ismail, who we have seen harbored reformist inclinations¹⁰⁵⁸.

One of Tok Khurasani's many Kelantanese students was Nik Abdullah, and his teacher could well have played a part in dissociating him from the Aḥmadiyya¹⁰⁵⁹. Once he proceeded to Mecca to further his studies, he became a pupil of 'Ubaydallāh al-Sindhī (d. 1944), who had been a contemporary of Tok Khurasani at Deoband. Tok Khurasani is, besides Wan Musa, credited for having convinced Nik Abdullah, along the lines of Shāh Walīallāh's thought¹⁰⁶⁰, of the relevance of *ḥadīth* studies and *talfīq* (i.e. the modern selection of rulings, or components thereof, from different Sunni schools of law in accordance with their suitability to the present circumstances in the context of the common good [*maṣlaḥa*] or the assumed objectives [*maqāṣid*] of the *sharī'a*), and he also evidently taught him major works of the latter. Under al-Sindhī such studies and tendencies were certainly intensified. Indeed, it has been suggested that al-Sindhī was the instrumental figure in the popularization of Shāh Walīallāh, resulting in the prevailing view that the latter was the starting point for all Islamic reformist endeavors in South Asia, which naturally went hand-in-hand with the marginalization of other actors¹⁰⁶¹. It was thus unsurprisingly also Shāh Walīallāh's books, for the teaching of which, alongside al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Nik Abdullah became famous in Kota Bharu in the brief period of time elapsing between his return and his premature death¹⁰⁶².

With Nik Leh the inclination towards the teachings of Shāh Walīallāh and the Deoband connection further concretized. Between 1936 and 1943 Nik Leh studied briefly with al-Sindhī in Mecca, then at Deoband (1937-1939) and finally in Delhi at the *Jāmi'a Milliyya Islāmiyya*, where al-Sindhī had meanwhile founded his *Bayt al-Ḥikma* institute characterized

¹⁰⁵⁷ R.N. Frye, "Ghalzay", EI², II (Leiden: Brill, 1991), p. 1001.

¹⁰⁵⁸ TUSM, I, p. 257-259; Roff, "Whence Cometh the Law", p. 255.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Another Kelantanese scholar, Hj. Yaakub Gajah Mati (d. 1957), reportedly stopped with the Aḥmadi *rātib* and changed various religious practices to accord with *kaum muda* views after studying with Tok Khurasani. TUSM, II, p. 4f.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, p. 319f.

¹⁰⁶¹ Jan-Peter Hartung, *Viele Wege und ein Ziel. Leben und Wirken von Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥasanī Nadwī (1914 - 1999)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2004), p. 246 n. 262.

¹⁰⁶² Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 162-164.

by a special emphasis on the teachings of Shāh Walīallāh¹⁰⁶³. With the Cambodian students of Wan Musa, Nik Abdullah and Nik Leh, a specific facet of the process of Jawization, namely *kaum muda* discourse, entered Cambodia and the Mekong Delta. Ironically, the conflicts and factionalism it engendered anew in the country, far from reversing the progress of Jawization in the country, rather seems to have been instrumental in uniting (former) partisans of the *kobuol* with local major agents of Jawization such as the illustrious students of Mat Sales Haroun.

The Cambodian connections of Wan Musa, Nik Abdullah and Nik Leh

According to some accounts, Wan Musa also had plans to go to Cambodia for teaching already shortly after (or even before) his return from Mecca. He was, however, reportedly held back by Sultan Mansur (r. 1891-1902), who wanted to keep the promising young scholar in Kelantan¹⁰⁶⁴. If this report should be accurate, which it may well be, it would clearly indicate that Wan Musa had indeed returned from Mecca several years before his appointment as mufti in 1909. Conversely, it likewise shows that embarking on a teaching mission to Cambodia was indeed a matter of personal prestige for Kelantanese scholars at that time, especially so for those linked to the network of Ahmad Patani. With Wan Musa, Hj. Ibrahim b. Yusuf and Wan Ahmad Kemboja, no less than three individuals put forward as appointees for the position of State Mufti or actually filling the position actively spread their teachings also in Cambodia. Whereas Hj. Ibrahim's activities in the country, however, predated his prestigious appointment, Wan Musa eventually only came to Cambodia after his resignation in 1916.

Even though it is usually only noted that he spent his following years in exile - until some time early in the reign of Sultan Ismail, which began in 1921 - in Terengganu, Wan Musa must have also used his marginalization from affairs in Kelantan to carry out his earlier plans of travelling to Cambodia. Thus, he came to spend a few of his years of exile as a teacher in Indochina. After returning to Malaya his devoted student Hj. Ayyub b. Husayn of Châu Phong in the Mekong Delta is said to have carried on his mission¹⁰⁶⁵. Yet, as was already noted above, Hj. Ayyub likewise headed to Kelantan in 1925 and spent the next

¹⁰⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 164-166. The *Jāmi'a Milliyya* had been founded in 1920 by a broadly based board featuring Islamic scholars drawn from different, otherwise at times mutually hostile, currents (including Deobandis and *Ahl-e Ḥadīth*). Sikand, *Bastions of the Believers*, p. 89.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 427f. This claim may, however, be a projection of Hj. Ayyub's later role into the more distant past of his youth.

decade studying there and in Mecca with Wan Musa, his brother Wan Abdullah (who had taken over their father's surau) and Tok Kenali¹⁰⁶⁶. Although nothing is known about his teachers in Mecca, it may be taken for granted that he studied there with Muḥammad Nūr b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (d. 1944), then already the leader of the local *jawi* community in the new Wahhābi/Sa'ūdi era. In this respect also the latter's own record of engaging both with classical *jawi* texts of Daud Patani and with works of traditionalist Salafism seems to be, in conjunction with Wan Musa's decidedly *jawi kaum muda* influence, mirrored in Hj. Ayyub's own later reformist mission in Kelantan and his native land. Indeed, the confluence of the legacy of the Patani network after Daud and (still decidedly *jawi*) *kaum muda* discourse characteristic of all three mentioned scholars, is well exemplified by two of Muḥammad Nūr al-Faṭānī's major works: a lengthy commentary on Daud Patani's *fiqh* work *Sullam al-Mubtadi'* entitled *Kifāyat al-Muhtadī*, and a Malay translation of *al-Hadīyat al-Saniyya fī l-'Aqīdat al-Salafiyya*¹⁰⁶⁷ by Sulaymān b. Saḥmān (d. 1930), a Wahhābi apologist of global import¹⁰⁶⁸. In addition, Wan Musa's own son Nik Abdullah certainly also featured among Hj. Ayyub's teachers in Mecca. Indeed, during his stay in Mecca from 1926-1934, Nik Abdullah not only studied with al-Sindhī but also taught numerous students from among the *jawi* ecumene, including from Cambodia¹⁰⁶⁹. Given his prior association to Wan Musa and his brother Hj. Abdullah, Hj. Ayyub was surely one of them. As both are known to have returned to Kelantan in 1934, they most likely traveled together. In Kota Bharu, Nik Abdullah naturally again also drew students from Indochina. One of them was Hj. Muhammad Idris of Chau Giang¹⁰⁷⁰. Returning to the figure of Hj. Ayyub, it is evident that Wan Musa must have been very content with the scholarship and doctrinal orientation of his former student. Thus, it was most probably not only the premature death of Nik Abdullah, but also the full appreciation of his qualities which prompted him to select Hj. Ayyub as a teacher for his youngest son Nik Leh¹⁰⁷¹.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 165 n. 25; TUSM, I, p. 214.

¹⁰⁶⁷ UBP, p. 269; Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 25, 32f.; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 26; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa l-Tarājim*, p. 269. As only his Arab biographer 'Abd al-Jabbār makes mention of the latter work, we may infer that it had much less appeal in Southeast Asia than the more conventional *Kifāyat al-Muhtadī*.

¹⁰⁶⁸ He not only published a defence of the Wahhābiyya in Amritsar (India) in 1897, but also had two of his works printed, with Saudi funding, at *al-Manār* in the early 1920s. In addition, the meanwhile thoroughly co-opted Riḍā also released another work by Ibn Saḥmān, coinciding with his 1925-6 article series *al-Wahhābiyūn wa l-Ḥijāz*. Reinhard Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), p. 135-137.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Roff, "Whence Cometh the Law", p. 255.

¹⁰⁷⁰ LPD, "Haji Muhammad Idris". Cf. V.1.

¹⁰⁷¹ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 165.

Besides Nik Leh and other locals, Hj. Ayyub, who died in Kota Bharu in 1970¹⁰⁷², naturally also had students from Cambodia and especially the Delta. It was assumingly through the latter that he was able to leave a strong mark on religious practice in his native Châu Phong, despite returning there on only two occasions. One of his visits eventually resulted in the construction of the Chau Doc area's first distinctively *kaum muda* place of worship, the *Muhammadiyah* mosque of Châu Phong, in 1963. Its present imam related to a French researcher that Hj. Ayyub had then also been the first person to ever bring a book from al-Azhar to the village¹⁰⁷³, thereby probably reflecting Wan Musa's affection for Cairene reformism.

Intriguingly, also the second - arguably even more influential - strand of *kaum muda* reformism in Cambodia and the Delta was closely connected to Wan Musa's family and Hj. Ayyub. Its main actor was undoubtedly Li Musa (Musa b. Ali) of Svay Khleang (Krauchhmar, Kampong Cham), the figure head of the *kaum muda* in its factional strife with the *kaum tua* in the 1950s and 1960s. Born in 1916 or 1917¹⁰⁷⁴, Li Musa left his native village already at the age of twelve to work in the town of Poipet (Banteay Meanchey province) at the Thai-Cambodian border, then still a place largely devoid of Muslim residents¹⁰⁷⁵. It was probably due to this general absence of coreligionists in the town that he was within a few months taken by a Thai Muslim trader back to Bangkok as the latter's adopted son. In Bangkok he attended school and learned to read and write Thai.

After a few years in Bangkok he traveled to Patani and Kelantan in search for Islamic knowledge and business opportunities. In Kelantan he apparently first studied, beginning in the early 1940s, with the common MUI-affiliated agents of Jawization at the *Jami' Merbau al-Ismaili*. His teachers there must have included the later mufti Hj. Muhammad Nur b. (Mufti) Hj. Ibrāhīm and Tok Kenali's former assistant Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang. According to Jaspán, who met Li Musa in the late 1960s, he gave his highest education as "*Madrasah Jamik Merbau Tingkat* ["level/standard"] 6"¹⁰⁷⁶. As the *Jami' Merbau's* ultimate standard five only began its

¹⁰⁷² TUSM, II, p. 405 (nr. 68).

¹⁰⁷³ De Féo, "Musulmans de Châu Doc", p. 362.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Mohamad Zain, "Dynamics of Faith", p. 60; "Household Census of Cham Villages, Cambodia 1966-67", undated typescript with handwritten entries, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Nowadays Poipet is, besides Koh Kong and Stung Trang provinces as well as *srok* Malai in Banteay Meanchey, among the new frontiers of Muslim settlement in Cambodia. Accordingly, recent years witnessed the construction of a mosque in Malai district as well as in Poipet to cater to the needs of the new internal migrant community. The latter mosque was befittingly named *Dār al-Muhājirīn*. Personal observation in Poipet, July 11th 2009; personal communication with Abdul Halim Ahmad, involved in the mosque foundation in Malai, in Phnom Penh, May 17th 2012; with the son of the imam of the Poipet mosque, in Phnom Penh, May 2nd 2012.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Household Census", JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

operation in 1946¹⁰⁷⁷, we may firstly suspect a flaw regarding the level's number and, secondly, conclude that Li Musa attended the school until that or even until the following year.

Apart from this official Islamic education under the auspices of the MUI, however, Li Musa also attended the pondok of Nik Leh¹⁰⁷⁸, Wan Musa's youngest son and Hj. Ayyub's former student, which was then incidentally also frequented by other students from Svay Khleang. As Nik Leh only returned to Kelantan in 1946, Li Musa was undoubtedly one of his earliest students, either beginning his studies with him during his final year at *Jami' Merbau* or immediately after his graduation. Through this early association with Nik Leh, he certainly also witnessed how the latter was soon removed from his own foundation, the *al-İslāh* school, due to doctrinal differences with the less *kaum muda*-inclined members of his family¹⁰⁷⁹. Undistracted from his unwillingly unlicensed teacher's detractors, Li Musa continued to attend his lessons until his return to Cambodia in 1948¹⁰⁸⁰.

In Kota Bharu he also met his future congenial partner in spreading *kaum muda* reformism in Cambodia, Son Ahmad, who also originated from Svay Khleang and was then studying at a pondok in Melor in Kota Bharu¹⁰⁸¹. In harmony with the educational choices of Wan Musa's sons and those of a few other Kelantanese scholars at that time, Son Ahmad later continued his education at Deoband, where he became the first (and most probably the only) Cambodian to ever graduate from the famous *Dār al-'Ulūm*¹⁰⁸². After his return to Cambodia in 1956 or 1957, he joined forces with Li Musa. Now known as Imam Mat India of Amphil, he gained, besides the latter, notoriety as one of Cambodia's leading *kaum muda* figures¹⁰⁸³. Incidentally, also Hj. Muhammad Badri of Da Phuoc (d. 2005), the major propagator of reformist thought in the Mekong Delta, apart from Hj. Ayyub who was rarely present in the country, gained his inspiration primarily through Li Musa. After studying in

¹⁰⁷⁷ Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education", p. 198-200.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Mohamad Zain, "Dynamics of Faith", p. 60.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Muhammad Saleh, "Theological Debates", p. 167.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Mohamad Zain, "History of Education", p. 90.

¹⁰⁸¹ *ibid.*, "Dynamics of Faith", p. 60. The school in question was assumingly Pondok Mahligai in Melor.

¹⁰⁸² Internal statistics for foreign students in the period 1866-1994 are listing only a single person from Cambodia (i.e. Son Ahmad). Reetz, "Deoband Universe", p. 145. As the Indian government decided to refrain from issuing visas to prospective foreign students at Deoband and other madrasas in the country in 1998, Son Ahmad remained in all probability its single Cambodian graduate. Sikand, *Bastions of the Believers*, p. 271. Retrospectively, his most illustrious co-student at Deoband was certainly Kelantan's longest-running Prime Minister Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat (b. 1931, in office 1990-2013), who went to India in 1952 to study briefly at the *Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College* Aligarh and then for five years at the *Dār al-'Ulūm*. Peter G. Riddell, "Shari'ah-mindedness in the Malay World and the Indian Connection: The Contributions of Nur al-Din al-Raniri and Nik Abdul Aziz bin Haji Nik Mat" in R. Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea (eds.), *Islamic Connections. Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 180.

¹⁰⁸³ Mohamad Zain, "History of Education", p. 91; *ibid.*, "Dynamics of Faith", p. 60; Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 93f.

Trea, Kelantan and at al-Azhar, it was allegedly only the acquaintance with the latter in the early 1960s, which convinced him of the *kaum muda* path¹⁰⁸⁴.

Contending visions of Jawization among the Indochinese tentacles of the network

Whereas *kobuol/trimeu* factionalism represented a conflict between the agents and positively-inclined recipients of Jawization on the one hand and the opponents of the religious and social changes it engendered on the other, the renewed intra-community strife represented by the *kaum muda/kaum tua* confrontation in Cambodia was rather already one grounded in contending visions of Jawization. Intriguingly, with its outbreak the arena of intra-religious strife had mainly shifted from Central and Northwestern Cambodia to the outlying early centers of Jawization of Krauchhmar district in Kampong Cham and Chau Doc in the Mekong Delta, both, it must be added, in contrast to some of the chief locations of the *kobuol/trimeu* conflict, areas with predominantly Cham-speaking Muslim populations. Moreover, the main actors on both sides were clearly in their majority products of the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network, albeit belonging to different lineages. Already Cham nomenclature to describe the emerging new group identities betrays a strong *jawi* imprint. Thus, the employed Cham counter-parts to the *kaum muda/kaum tua* labels were *phong bhaw* (in seeming analogy to the *cam baruw* label) and *phong klau'* respectively. Yet, also the more obvious renderings of Malay categories, *phong mudeu* and *phong tueu*, were in use¹⁰⁸⁵.

As was the case with *kobuol/trimeu* factionalism, strict separation only affected a small fraction of the community, and conflicts primarily arose in the immediate areas of activity of the *kaum muda* leaders. Accordingly, the contending groups were represented in Krauchhmar by Li Musa and Son Ahmad on one side, and by Muhammad Kachi (Chumnik), Hakem Tayyeb, Hj. Yahya Ibrahim and Tuon Said of Amphil on the other¹⁰⁸⁶. In Chau Doc

¹⁰⁸⁴ De Féo, "Musulmans de Châu Doc", p. 361f.

¹⁰⁸⁵ "Cham political organisation. Inf. Seman Mohamad & Math Sleyman of Khbop Leu [&] Pah Villages, Krauch Mar", typescript dated January 14th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/3. Khmer officials in the late 1960s described the contending groups to Jaspas as "clans".

¹⁰⁸⁶ "A Preliminary Exploration in Cham Sociology", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; JP, DJA (2)/1/2; personal communication with Imam Muhammad Hasan, former student of Muhammad Kachi, b. 1935 in Koh Phal (Krauchhmar, Kampong Cham), at Phnom Penh, April 30th 2012; with Tuon Ismail, age 80, born in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), former student of Hakem Tayyeb, Hj. Yahya Ibrahim and Tuon Said, at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012; with Tuon Him (b. Tukang Basih), former student of Muhammad Kachi, born 1942 in Kor (Thbaung Khmum, Kampong Cham), at Chrang Chamres, May 8th 2012.

leadership fell to Muhammad Badri and Omar Ali respectively¹⁰⁸⁷. Another important *kaum tua* figure outside of Krauchhmar was Hj. Li of Speu (Chamkar Loeu, Kampong Cham), the son of the Patani scholar Hj. Abbas, who had settled in the village¹⁰⁸⁸. Whereas Tuon Said had come to Amphil from Kelantan, all others of the aforementioned were Cham Muslims. Moreover, also in this case the discursive field of intra-religious conflict stretched beyond national borders, as the partisans of both groups in Kampong Cham and Chau Doc were apparently in close contact. Indeed, Li Musa proved to be highly influential in Chau Doc and Saigon. When things came to a head in 1955, the two groups were represented in a major debate by the Cambodian Li Musa and the Vietnamese Hj. (Omar) Ali¹⁰⁸⁹.

The reasons for the conflict between Wan Musa and the local ‘*ulamā*’ are falling well into the wider pattern of *kaum muda/kaum tua* division within the *jawi* ecumene. Wan Musa was criticized for wearing Western-style dress instead of the traditional *sarong* or the Arab garb typically worn by hajjis¹⁰⁹⁰. Strongly reminiscent of one of the famous controversies surrounding the family of his teacher Nik Leh in Kelantan, also Li Musa kept a (watch) dog, which he claimed was necessary due to the unrestrained animosity of his detractors. Apart from these departures from established practice in personal lifestyle, his positions regarding prayer, education and mosque attendance of women proved to be particularly controversial. Indeed, he rejected cherished practices such as the (quasi-obligatory) recitation of the *qunūt* (i.e. a specific *du‘ā*) as part of the dawn prayer and the rubbing of the forehead after prayers¹⁰⁹¹. Additionally, Li Musa’s efforts in establishing a system of more modern Islamic schools, *inter alia* by introducing secular subjects and particularly “non-Islamic languages” otherwise rarely taught in them were felt to be threatening the positions of the established *tuons* and therefore met with criticism. This is particularly startling as many of the major *kaum tua* partisans had themselves studied under the pioneer of

¹⁰⁸⁷ Mohamad Zain, “History of Education”, p. 92; *ibid.*, “Dynamics of Faith”, p. 63; De Féo, “Musulmans de Châu Doc”, p. 364f. Cf. V.1.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Mohamad Zain, “History of Education”, p. 92. Cf. V.2.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mohamad Zain, “Dynamics of Faith”, p. 63.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Also in early 20th century Minangkabau debates about the permissibility of wearing European dress featured among the *kaum muda/kaum tua* causes of contention. Authorities approached for legal opinions by the two groups were Rashīd Riḍā’s *al-Manār* and Mecca’s Shāfi’i mufti ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī respectively. Nico J.G. Kaptein, “Southeast Asian Debates and Middle Eastern Inspiration: European Dress in Minangkabau at the Beginning of the 20th Century” in in Eric Tagliacozzo (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Islam, Movement and the Longue Durée* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 176-195.

¹⁰⁹¹ Mohamad Zain, “Dynamics of Faith”, p. 62. Positions on the place and nature of *qunūt* are varying greatly among traditionists, the legal schools and individual jurists. Cf. Ibn Rushd, *The Distinguished Jurist’s Primer. Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*, trans. Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee (Reading: Garnet, 1994), I, p. 145f., 232; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 145, 489, 622f., 660; A.J. Wensick, “Ḳunūt”, *El²*, V, p. 395. Regarding *qunūt* Cambodia’s present mufti Sos Kamry shows himself to be a faithful follower of his *kaum tua* teachers, as he indeed introduces it as part of the morning prayer. Sos Kamry, *Mai We’*, p. 40f.

(modestly) integrated pondok curricula in Cambodia, Mat Sales Haroun. Yet, Li Musa's most controversial steps were his encouragement for the attendance of public schools and, even more sacrilegious, his advocacy of mosque attendance and education for females. His locally unprecedented permissance of women to the congregational prayers was labeled as outright heresy by some of his *kaum tua* contenders¹⁰⁹². Additionally, conflicts also arose over burial rites. Unsurprisingly, Li Musa and his adherents condemned practices such as *talqīn*¹⁰⁹³.

Already in 1953 he and a few of his followers founded the *Sangkhum Li Musa* (Li Musa Association) for the establishment of schools. Two years later they established the first secular primary school in Svay Khleang with backing of the government. Another such school was later founded in Kampong Ro (Chhlong, Kratie province)¹⁰⁹⁴, despite the reluctance and at times even overt hostility towards the public school system among some local Muslims of the *kaum tua* majority¹⁰⁹⁵. Also Li Musa, however, devoted even more energy to the establishment of a system of integrated religious schools, for which he vainly sought state support and official recognition. Around 1964 he founded the *Madrassa Anṣār al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya* in Kbop, adjacent to Svay Khleang. There he appointed a Phum Trea-educated follower, Ibrahim b. Kosem (Ibrāhīm b. Qāsim), as headteacher¹⁰⁹⁶. A few years later three schools in Svay Khleang and its vicinity bore his name¹⁰⁹⁷. The secular subjects taught in his religious school were maths and French. Jaspan, however, deemed the quality of instruction in these fields lamentably low¹⁰⁹⁸. As Li Musa considered the absence of funds to be one of the most serious obstacles to the improvement of the Muslim community, he resorted to the devices of *waqf* (pious endowment), for example for the projected establishment of a school and a cemetery in his home village¹⁰⁹⁹, and cooperative financing through farmlands acquired by the *Sangkhum Li Musa*¹¹⁰⁰.

¹⁰⁹² "Biography of Lymusa", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁰⁹³ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 93f.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Mohamad Zain, "History of Education", p. 94f. Allowing these schools to function was clearly part of Sihanouk's "first attempt at Cambodianization" of the educational system in newly independent Cambodia between 1955 and 1958. David M. Ayres, *Anatomy of a Crisis. Education, Development and the State in Cambodia, 1953-1998* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003), p. 39-43.

¹⁰⁹⁵ "Ideals and barriers in education", JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁹⁶ "Cham Primary Schooling: The Madrisah at Kbop, Srok Krauch Mar", typescript dated January 25th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Biography of Lymusa", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁰⁹⁸ JP, DJA (2)/1/6; "Cham Primary Education", typescript dated January 25th 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁰⁹⁹ It is not certain that these projects came to fruition. Yet, Jaspan had observed in the late 1960s that the land for the cemetery had already been cleared from trees. "Biography of Lymusa", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹¹⁰⁰ Mohamad Zain, "Dynamics of Faith", p. 64.

Education at his schools was as elsewhere thoroughly *jawi*, with textbooks being imported from Kelantan and Penang¹¹⁰¹, albeit instruction in Cham and Arabic language was probably more pronounced than in most *kaum tua* schools. Transcripts of his lectures, in either *jawi* or Cham *jawi*, were copied and passed on. Even outside of the school, Li Musa provided lessons in commentated (Cham) translation of the Qur’ān, *tafsīr* and hadith to adult villagers of both sexes between sunset and night prayers¹¹⁰². In response, his contenders charged him for falsely translating the Qur’ān into Cham¹¹⁰³, which again testifies to the fact that – due to the salience of Jawization – Malay had come to serve as the preferred medium for teaching the Qur’ān for many Cambodian *jawi* scholars¹¹⁰⁴. At the schools he also employed the highly unusual medium of self-composed Cham songs and religious chants to motivate the pupils for educational attainment and proper religiously conscious lifestyles. Two of these songs were even performed by the pupils for Jaspan in 1967 who made recordings and transcripts of a *Syair Soal dalam Kubur* (Poem of the Questioning of the Grave) and a *Leguw Siyet Ugama* (Song of Serving the Religion)¹¹⁰⁵.

Before the 1960s, however, Li Musa’s leeway to carry out his agendas was still severely restricted. Due to his conflicts with the *kaum tua*, which only intensified after the 1955 debate with Hj. Ali and the return of Son Ahmad from India, and resulting allegations of being connected to a US-sponsored opposition group, he was banished to Thailand, together with Son Ahmad, for a year (or for two years) in 1958. After having spent three months on the Thai side of the border near his erstwhile home Poipet, he, however, sneaked back into the country¹¹⁰⁶. With the support of loyal villagers (including the family of Cambodia’s present Deputy Mufti Zakariyya Adam), he awaited the end of his banishment hidden in the vicinity of Svay Khleang¹¹⁰⁷. Yet, even afterwards he remained temporarily

¹¹⁰¹ *id.*, “History of Education”, p. 94.

¹¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 92. Personal communication with H., former female student of Li Musa, October 6th 2013, Herndon (Virginia). According to her, Li Musa taught *tafsīr* based on “a [*jawi*] book from Malaysia”. Most probably, the work in question was the then still brandnew *Tafsīr al-Rahmān* by his former teacher Hj. Muhammad Nur and Abdullah b. Muhammad Basmih, published in Kelantan in 1968. Li Musa was, however, certainly not the first or only religious scholar in Cambodia and the Delta/Saigon with female students. In the 1930s the Chroy Changvar scholars Hj. Kateur and Chi Mo Seu were noted for teaching females. ANC-RSC 8465. As early as 1967 a Cambodian Cham girl, Adika bint Muhammad won the third prize in the annual Qur’ān recitation contest in Kuala Lumpur, where in addition also a Cham girl from Vietnam participated. “Politico-religious organization”, undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3. Cf. also the photograph in Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 40.

¹¹⁰³ “Cham political organization”, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mohamed Effendy Bin Abdul Hamid, “Understanding the Cham Identity in Mainland Southeast Asia: Contending Views”, *Sojourn*, XXI (2006), p. 235.

¹¹⁰⁵ JP, DJA (2)/1/6.

¹¹⁰⁶ “Biography of Lymusa”, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; “Cham political organization”, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; “Politico-religious organization”, undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; Mohamad Zain, “Dynamics of Faith”, p. 63.

¹¹⁰⁷ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 93f.

under surveillance and was even briefly arrested again in 1966. Despite being acquitted of all charges he was then for a time barred from residing permanently in Kampong Cham province¹¹⁰⁸.

In 1967 two local informants of Jaspan in Krauchhmar estimated the number of *kaum muda* followers in the country at 30 per cent, which was, however, certainly a very rough estimate¹¹⁰⁹. As was the case with earlier instances of intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia, and would be again so from the 1990s onwards, the fault-lines between the groups sometimes led to separation among inhabitants of the same village and even members of the same family, not to mention physical separation inside mosques still shared but contested by both camps. Especially in Krauchhmar (and presumably in Chhlong), however, at least individual villages had reportedly acquired a *kaum muda* majority. Unfortunately, little is known about the *kaum muda* leaders' relationship with the religious authorities in Phnom Penh, which were certainly bent on keeping the peace within the community. There are, however, certain indicators that the Cambodian *kaum muda* movement was indeed mostly an affair of the Eastern part of the country and that its agendas were deemed well off the mark also by many Muslims in Phnom Penh. This seems to be implied by a statement made by a French observer in the 1960s, who did research in the Au Russey community, but whose judgements regarding the wider Muslim community were obviously shaped by her Phnom Penh-based informants. Labelling her prime target group in Au Russey as syncretic, in opposition to the orthodox majority, she noted that approximately ten years earlier an imam returning from Malaysia had founded "a less orthodox group" (*a fondé un ordre moins orthodoxe*), which was confined to Kampong Cham, had only a small number of adherents and was known as "Moudar"¹¹¹⁰.

Indeed, eminent Phnom Penh scholars, such as Hj. Srong Yousos (Yūsuf), in the 1960s leader of Chrang Chamres' km7 (*Nūr al-Islām/al-Iḥsān*) mosque and president of the committee for the translation of Islamic books, most probably disapproved of the *kaum muda*'s zeal. Strikingly, this scion of a scholarly family¹¹¹¹, who had spent seven to ten years at al-Azhar

¹¹⁰⁸ "Cham political organization", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹¹⁰ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 22.

¹¹¹¹ His maternal grandfather, a native of Padang in Minangkabau, had fled from Dutch persecution to Mecca. From there he went to Cambodia together with local Muslims and married in Chrang Chamres. Srong Yousos's mother (born in 1886) later married a Kampong Cham native who eventually became the leader of the mosque, a position which his son seemingly inherited. The Arabic/*jawi* side of the business card he gave to Jaspan marked him out as "Qāḍī al-Ḥājj Srang Yūsuf, *Imām Masjid al-Jāmi' Nūr al-Islām wa Ra'īs al-Lajnat al-Tarjama wa al-Ta'lif bi-Aḥkām al-Dīn al-Islāmiyya* (sic)". JP, DJA (2)/1/6; "Genealogy of a religious leader", undated handwritten note, JP, DJA (2)/1/3. Many later Azharis of the 1960s, such as Muhammad Kachi's students Tuon Him and Muhammad Hasan of Koh Phal (cf. VIII.1.4.), would develop tendencies more in line with the *kaum*

and was wealthy enough to maintain a Chrang Chamres house for each of his four wives, was also locally known as a spiritual healer (*wali, bomoh*) engaging in Islamic magic¹¹¹². Also Hj. Omar Ali, the Chau Doc *kaum tua* leader and one of the major figures in the Jawization of parts of Phan Rang's *Bani* community¹¹¹³, and his followers in South Vietnam reportedly engaged in similar practices, which were regarded as anathema by the *kaum muda*. In the same vein, it was also only the *kaum tua*, which defended and supported the rituals at shrines of Islamic saints in Chau Doc¹¹¹⁴. In that respect, the *kaum muda* challenge was certainly conducive to a rapprochement of the local *jawi* establishment and surrounding Muslim populations hitherto less exposed to Jawization, which now faced a common threat. The same dynamics apparently unfolded themselves in Kampong Cham and Kratie, where, for example, certain parts of Thbaung Khmum only came to be more thoroughly exposed to Jawization through the efforts of Mat Sales Haroun and his local students.

This state of affairs and a similar rapprochement probably also influenced Po Dharma, who spent 1968-1972 in Cambodia as a FULRO¹¹¹⁵ operative (presumably mostly in border areas to Vietnam in the East of the country), to make the otherwise idiosyncratic claim that only a third of Cambodia's Muslims were "orthodox" and thus greatly outnumbered by so-called "traditionalists" described as having undergone only minimal Malay (i.e. *jawi*) influence and upholding many *Bani*-like practices¹¹¹⁶. Besides his supposed specific point of observation from the fringes of Jawization (i.e. at some distance to the centers of Jawization at the Mekong and in Phnom Penh) and the FULRO-related desire to pronounce distinctively Cham heritage, this somewhat biased assessment again rightfully brings into focus that also in Kampong Cham the process of Jawization was not yet completed at that time. On the other hand it likewise seems to indicate that the challenge of Islamic reformism may have furthered and transformed it by bringing established agents of Jawization and hitherto less receptive groups closer together again. Similar instances of re-alignment were observed regarding the successive emergence of different reform movements in Minangkabau. Also in Lombok it has been well documented in the early 1970s how instances of intra-community strife as well as social and personal crises could turn a *tuan guru* agent of

muda. In 1966 official Cambodian sources reported eleven Cambodian Muslims to be studying at al-Azhar with scholarship from the Egyptian government. "Ideals and barriers in education", JP, DJA (2)/1/2. In 1968 the Egyptian government again offered ten such scholarships. Avimor, *Histoire contemporaine du Cambodge*, p. 303 n. 1.

¹¹¹² Personal communication with Ysa Meth, Ismail & Syafii, all born around 1950 in Chrang Chamres, in Reston (Virginia), April 14th 2013.

¹¹¹³ Cf. V.1.

¹¹¹⁴ De Féo, "Musulmans de Châu Doc", p. 362-364.

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. VIII.1.2.

¹¹¹⁶ Po Dharma, "Notes sur les Caṃ du Cambodge. Religion et organisation", SK, V (1982), p. 103-114.

Jawization into a champion of the *waktu telu* cause, or prompt another stern *waktu lima* leader to (re-) embrace at least part of the ritual and memorial world of Sasak Muslims that had ostensibly been left behind by the expansion of *waktu lima* Jawization¹¹¹⁷.

At least in Svay Khleang time worked in favour of Li Musa until the advent of the DK era. In the last years preceding his ultimately futile flight from the encroaching KR to Phnom Penh in 1971 his initially so controversial school already drew students from all over the country¹¹¹⁸. Under KR interrogation in 1975 he claimed that “Lon Nol had made him ‘king’ of the Chams”¹¹¹⁹.

This section should have served to demonstrate that also the emergence of Islamic reformism in Cambodia was a direct outgrowth of the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali-Hj. Awang network. Moreover, in contrast to its development in Indonesia and Singapore, which was soon characterized by the Romanization of religious literature in Malay/Indonesian¹¹²⁰, *kaum muda* reformism in Cambodia and the Delta remained fully in the *jawi* fold, as was also the case in Kelantan and Patani. Tellingly, also in Patani *kaum muda/kaum tua* conflict was only seriously sparked in the 1950s and 1960s as Li Musa’s contemporaries Hj. Abdullāh b. Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ Bendang Kebun (1912-1991), a student of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī’s son Wan Ismā’īl (Pak Da ‘El Patani, d. 1965) in Mecca, and the Kelantan-born Tok Guru Ghani (Abdul Ghani Fikri, d. 1982) began to attack certain established practices, particularly funerary ones such as *talqīn*, holding a feast (*kenduri*) and the *tahlīl* (i.e. a *dhikr* based on the first part of the *shahāda*) at the house of the deceased, and broke in similar fashion with the conventions of traditional pondok education¹¹²¹. In Bangkok, where Thai (not *jawi*) Islamic reformism had developed earlier under the influence of the Minangkabau exile Ahmad Wahab, its main figure from the late 1940s onwards has been Direk Kulsiriswasd (Ibrahim Qureyshi, b. 1922), the son of Pakistani father and a Cham mother from Ban Khrua (Bangkok’s old Cham quarter)¹¹²².

¹¹¹⁷ Cederroth, *Spell of the Ancestors*, p. 72-88.

¹¹¹⁸ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 77f.

¹¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹¹²⁰ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 178-180.

¹¹²¹ UBP, p. 208-218; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 17-22. Ghani himself had been educated at Hj. Abdullah Tahir’s *al-Madrasat al-Aḥmadiyya Bunut Payong* and at the *Masjid Muhammadiyah*. *Kenduri* and *tahlīl* are still condoned and carried out in Cambodia also by members of the network in important positions in the administration of Islam such as Man Seu, deputy province imam of Battambang and former student of Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey. Personal observation at Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

¹¹²² He also produced the first full Thai translation of the Qur’ān. Scupin, “Islamic Reformism in Thailand”, p. 1-9; *id.*, “Muslim Accommodation in Thai Society”, *JIS*, IX (1998), p. 251f. The local center of religious education in Ban Krua has for long been the *Masjid Salamiyya* and its attached madrasa, which boasts a lamp donated by the king Rama V (Chulalongkorn, d. 1910). *ibid.*, p. 241.

After this excursion into the genealogy of Islamic reformism in Cambodia as a final demonstration of the salience of the network around Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali and Hj. Awang for Islam in Cambodia, we may finally briefly mention a few other *jawi* scholars, who were either directly active in the country or are else known for having had Cambodian students, but cannot – from the evidence at hand – be directly linked to the network.

1.3. Malay teachers not directly linked to the network

As an introductory disclaimer to this section it must be noted that the bulk of the Islamic scholars to be discussed in the following again hailed from Kelantan and Patani. Given their places and times of birth and education it would indeed be quite surprising if they had not also been – in one way or another – a part of the extensive network just delineated. This, of course, also goes for the aforementioned Patani scholar Hj. Abbas of Speu (the father of the local *kaum tua* leader Hj. Li Patani) and the Kelantan-born *kaum tua* teacher Tuon Said in Amphil.

From French archival sources we know about a scholar named Ses Nor (alias Nihak Ninaw), born in Patani in 1899. Around the year 1930 he went to French Indochina. After teaching for eight months in Saigon, he relocated to Svay Khleang, where he married a local woman and established an elevated Islamic school for which he received an official license of the second degree in 1933¹¹²³. Although (at least his official) educational activities in Svay Khleang soon came to a halt (see chapter 7), he may well have propelled the process of Jawization with his locally then reportedly still unusual heavy focus on Malay materials for instruction¹¹²⁴. In any case, a decade later the number of Svay Khleang youths studying in Kelantan during the formative years of Li Musa and Son Ahmad was apparently quite impressive.

Two other Malay scholars teaching in Cambodia at that time were Hj. Ahmad b. Abdul Rahman of Kampung Penambang (Kota Bharu) and Nik Daud b. Nik Mat of Jambu in Patani. Born in the 1880s, the former had studied in Kelantan and Mecca, and was eventually convinced by resident Cambodian Muslims in his home state to move to Cambodia in 1918. After teaching in various places in different provinces, while staying the longest period of time in Chumnik, he returned to his native village only around 1930¹¹²⁵. Conversely, Nik

¹¹²³ ANC-RSC 26929.

¹¹²⁴ Cf. n. 767.

¹¹²⁵ Nakula, “Keturunan Melayu”, p. 34f.

Daud had migrated as a youth from Patani to Kelantan, where he studied at the Masjid Muhammadi. There it would arguably have been quite unlikely for him not to have one or more members of our network as his teacher(s). Doubtlessly, Cambodian Muslims featured among his fellow students there. Evidently impressed by his knowledge, some of them later invited him to the inauguration ceremony of a mosque in “Bret Bhak” (i.e. Prek Bak in *srok Stung Trang*) in Kampong Cham in 1931. He stayed in the village as a teacher for ten months before returning to Kelantan¹¹²⁶.

In contrast, Hj. Yusuf Saigon al-Banjari hailed from much farther afield than Kelantan and Patani. A grandson of the eminent Muḥammad Arshad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Banjārī¹¹²⁷, he was born in Pontianak (Borneo) and became a successful and widely-travelled diamond trader and also a scholar. During the First World War he settled down for some time in Saigon and then also in Cambodia. There he reportedly married a woman of a local *kampung melayu* (probably Chrang Chamres). By 1926 he had returned to Pontianak, where he established an extensive rubber plantation on his own land, which was henceforth known as Kampung Saigon. As a result of that name, the *nisba* Banjari was soon all but forgotten and many locals came to assume that its founder had actually originated from Saigon. Ironically, it lay in close proximity of the local Kampung Kemboja founded by the aforementioned earlier returnee from Cambodia, Muhammad Nur al-Funtiani¹¹²⁸. The fact, that a town such as Pontianak on Kalimantan boasted both a Kampung Kemboja and a Kampung Saigon, albeit of course coincidental, certainly tells us something about the attachment of Cambodia’s Muslim community to the Malay World and its *jawi* ecumene. Just as a descendant of al-Funtiani would become a notable agent of Jawization in Lombok, also Hj. Yusuf Saigon would make a major contribution to the unfolding of the process in Pontianak. Thus, after the arrival of a young scholar by the name of Hj. Abd al-Samad, a fresh graduate from the famous *Madrasat al-Ṣawlatiyya* in Mecca¹¹²⁹, they together founded the first major pondok of West Kalimantan, which was until the Second World War known as the *Pondok Pesantren Saigoniyyah*¹¹³⁰.

¹¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹²⁷ Cf. II.2.

¹¹²⁸ Cf. VI.1.1.

¹¹²⁹ Founded sometime in the 1860s or 1870s by Raḥmat Allāh al-Kayrānāwī (d. 1892), an exile from British India, and since 1882 named after its biggest donor, the wealthy Bengali widow Begum Saulat un-Nisa, it soon drew students from among the *jawi* ecumene. Seema Alavi, “‘Fugitive Mullahs and Outlawed Fanatics’: Indian Muslims in the nineteenth century trans-Asiatic Imperial Rivalries”, *MAS*, XLV (2011), p. 1367-1375. By 1912 thirty per cent of its student body was *jawi*. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 200.

¹¹³⁰ KUN, II, p. 135f. Intriguingly, Hj. Yusuf Saigon’s brother Hj. Muhammad Arsyad b. Muhammad Thasin al-Banjari is, besides the Minangkabau *kaum muda* pioneer Hj. Abdul Karim Amrullah (d. 1945), the father of the

Similarly, one more important founder of a pondok with Cambodian students in Kelantan must be mentioned in this respect. Again, there is of course a great probability that he was (in contrast to Hj. Yusuf Saigon) somehow part of our network. The scholar in question was Hj. Uthman b. Hj. Muhammad (d. 1953), better known as Tok Bachok (due to the location of his pondok in Bachok south of Kota Bharu), who has been treated by Bradley as one of the exemplary figures representing the legacy of the Patani network in Kelantan¹¹³¹. It is known that his school was also frequented by Cambodian Muslims¹¹³².

It should thus have become evident that the process of Jawization in Cambodia was closely aligned to similar developments in Patani and particularly Kelantan, which also experienced a remarkable contemporary expansion of Islamic education. Indeed, the interaction of Cambodian Muslims with *jawi* scholarly circles in Kelantan, Patani, Mecca, and, to a lesser degree, in Cairo was far from negligible and certainly instrumental in shaping Cambodian Islam in the 20th century. As was also shown, such interchanges not only took place outside of the country but also, to a significant degree, in Cambodia and the Delta itself. Moreover, the extensive network revolving around and flowing from Ahmad Patani, Tok Kenali and Hj. Awang was the decisive driving force behind both the international and the domestic facets of this development.

2. Written testimonies of Jawization: Fatwas for Cambodian Muslims

Apart from the presented extensive biographic information allowing us to measure the extent and intensity of *jawi* scholarly networking between Cambodian Muslims and the wider *jawi* ecumene, a number of extant fatwas passed for Muslims from the Khmer kingdom are serving us a valuable evidence for the process of Jawization in the country and its linkages to Malay scholars abroad, in this case in Mecca and Kelantan. Moreover, they are, of course, providing windows to problems of actual relevancy for the community at the date of their issuance. Intriguingly, all of the *fatāwā* in question were delivered by actors from within the network which has served as the main focus of the preceding section on scholarly contacts. Thus, whereas already the specific type of documents (i.e. requests of Cambodian Muslims for legal opinions on specific questions and the resulting responses in

eminent Islamic scholar and *Muhammadiyah* activist HAMKA (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), a candidate for the honor of having penned the first *uṣūl al-fiqh* work ever to be written in Malay. *ibid.*, p. 138.

¹¹³¹ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 430.

¹¹³² TUSM, I, p. 329.

jawi) involved are illustrating the dynamics and external dimensions of Jawization in Cambodia, the individuals and institutional bodies behind their production are even more so. In addition, the particular content of most of the fatwas in question is highly revealing regarding a number of different aspects of contemporary Muslim life in Cambodia by shedding light on local factionalism, problems of translating and transposing concepts between the Malay, Cham and Arabic logospheres, and the relationship to the non-Muslim majority population and its authorities. Conversely, apart from questions more or less peculiar to, or at least notably conditioned by, the Cambodian context, also issues well known for their contemporary contentious nature from other parts of the *jawi* ecumene, such as establishing the correct direction of prayer, are likewise to be found therein.

The fatwas to be discussed in the following are stemming from two different sources and periods. Those of the first group are contained in the already mentioned *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, which is a collection of legal opinions issued by Ahmad Patani. Although hardly any of the questions or fatwas in the collection are dated, one notable exception being a fatwa request from Cambodia of 1321/1903, it has been assumed that they are mostly pertaining to the final years of the mufti's life (i.e. the first years of the 20th century until his death in 1907)¹¹³³. Although such details as dates and the names of the enquirers are often omitted in the *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, they may still be regarded as primary fatwas having undergone only a minimal editing process. In any case, it was deemed adequate not to remove references to Cambodian Muslims or even the Cham people as the sources of the concerned questions.

Conversely, the second group of *fatāwā* was issued over two decades after those contained in Ahmad Patani's collection and can only be ascribed to a fatwa-issuing body and one of its organ's for publication but not to an individual legal scholar. Indeed, all the legal opinions of this group were published between 1927 and 1930 in the MUI's journal *Pengasuh* (est. 1918). In contrast to *al-Manār*, in which all requests for *fatāwā* were answered by the editor Rashīd Riḍā himself, the responses in *Pengasuh*'s fatwa section were credited to the MUI's *Meshuarat Ulama* (also established in 1918)¹¹³⁴ in a generic fashion. It has, however, been suggested that many of the journal's fatwas were indeed legal opinions passed by its most prominent member, Tok Kenali¹¹³⁵. Other prominent members of the body already mentioned because of their attachment to the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network were Hj.

¹¹³³ Cf. Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 379-381.

¹¹³⁴ Cf. VI.1.2.

¹¹³⁵ Roff, "Origins and Early Years", p. 230 n. 102.

Ali Pulau Pisang¹¹³⁶ and Hj. Abdullah Tahir. Yet, concerning the latter it is unclear whether he already formed part of the council in the late 1920s¹¹³⁷. All items in question are primary fatwas, giving the names of the enquirers and sometimes also their respective positions and places of residence¹¹³⁸.

It must be noted in this respect, that no complete survey of *Pengasuh*'s fatwa section has been undertaken so far. There is accordingly a good chance that more fatwas for Cambodian Muslims contained in its pages will surface, once such a conclusive survey is carried out. The four legal opinions unearthed so far, all of which are actually addressing multiple and not always closely related questions, may, however, suffice for our present purpose, particularly so as they are dating to a crucial period in the history of Islam in Cambodia. No fatwa requests are recorded from Cambodian Muslims in *al-Manār*¹¹³⁹ nor in the aforementioned composite bilingual collection *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is* or in 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī's *al-Fatāwā al-Saniyya fī l-Mazā'im al-Bid'iyya*, which obviously also consisted of responses to questions coming from within the *jawi* ecumene¹¹⁴⁰. Of course, there remains the possibility that surveys of other *jawi* journals, such as *al-Imām* or *al-Munīr*, could also yield evidence of such communication between Cambodian Muslims and the wider *jawi* ecumene. This is, however, rather unlikely. Until any such evidence should surface, we may safely conclude that requests for *fatāwā* from Cambodian Muslims were circulated exclusively within the - geographically admittedly vast - confines of the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network, or in any case, the Patani-Kelantan circuit of Jawization. Two further cases in which Cambodian Muslims solicited legal rulings from authorities from/in Mecca and Patani, known only through French archival sources, will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹¹³⁶ TUSM, II, p. 176.

¹¹³⁷ His *fiqh* work entitled *Ajwiba al-Jaliyya* may well be a fatwa collection or at least contain some of his fatwas, but was unfortunately inaccessible to me. al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 35.

¹¹³⁸ This is a very lucky occurrence. Indeed, works on substantive law are contrarily advising prospective *mustaftīs* not to mention their real names and to formulate questions "in an impersonal manner". Hallaq, "From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*", p. 33 n. 24.

¹¹³⁹ The number of 134 established by Bluhm and still relied upon by Burhanudin, must represent complete requests for fatwas (sg. *istiftā'*) from Southeast Asian Muslims. According to my own counts, based on the index of the journal compiled by Yasushi et al., 175 individual questions (including twelve from Siam and Bangkok, and ten from *šūlū* [i.e. either the Sulu Archipelgo in the Philippines or Solo/Surakarta on Java]) were sent to *al-Manār*. J.E. Bluhm, "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established Between the Reform Magazine 'Al-Manar' and the Malayo-Indonesian World", IC, XXXII (1983), p. 37; Burhanudin, "Aspiring for Islamic Reform", p. 10; Yāsūshī, Ṭbis & Khūrī, *Faḥras Majallat al-Manār*, p. 366-418.

¹¹⁴⁰ Kaptein, "Southeast Asian Debates", p. 187f. For the author cf. VI.1.2.

2.1. Fatwas for Cambodian Muslims in Aḥmad al-Faṭānī's *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*

Already the first fatwa for Cambodian Muslims contained in Ahmad Patani's collection (nr. 4), which has already been mentioned above as it is the one requested in 1903 by his students Mat Sales, Tengku Sulaiman and Hj. Abdul Hamid of Chrang Chamres¹¹⁴¹, is highly suggestive regarding two different aspects of the process of Jawization in Cambodia. Firstly, it reflects some of the typical dynamics of Islamic scholarship in countries such as Cambodia, where the local Muslims were participants in the *jawi* ecumene and its process of Jawization without, however, being in their majority native speakers of its carrier language (i.e. Malay). It is thus highly revealing concerning the changes of logospheres (in this case primarily from Cham to Malay) and the clashes of the logospheres of Arabic (as the Islamic religious and scholarly language *per se*), Malay (as the Islamic supra-language of the ecumene) and of the two local languages Cham (spoken by the majority of the local Muslims) and, to a lesser degree, Khmer (as first language of most remaining local Muslims). Secondly, it demonstrates the full integration of Cambodian Muslim scholars in the theological debates seemingly peculiar to the *jawi* ecumene. Indeed, the fatwa in question is not revolving around any legal issue as such at all, but is concerned with discussions of the twenty divine attributes (*sifat dua puluh*) as elaborated on in al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*. Apparently al-Sanūsī's teachings of the attributes nowhere in the Muslim World received as much attention as in staunchly Shāfi'i-Ash'ari Muslim Southeast Asia¹¹⁴², where a distinct *sifat dua puluh* literature developed in Malay, Javanese and other languages of the region. Accordingly, the teaching of the *sifat dua puluh* not only became a point of contention and differentiation between *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* (as well as more recently between local Salafis and their counterparts¹¹⁴³), but also a frequently discussed subject in fatwas resulting from enquiries regarding its proper understanding. Two examples, one predating and the

¹¹⁴¹ Cf. VI.1.2.

¹¹⁴² Cf. Bruckmayr, "Spread and Persistence", p. 74-77. Arguably, the *Umm al-Barāhīn* was also of tremendous significance for Islam in the Fulfulde and Hausa-speaking spheres of West Africa, where memorization of the text as well as of (mostly oral) Fulfulde and Hausa translations was similarly an integral part of formative Islamic education, and proved in certain cases likewise to serve as a tool for either the establishment or the critique of specific sectarian identities. Moreover, even the locally perceived status of Fulfulde as a "holy language" (i.e. one endowed with the prestige of an Islamic supra-language) was attributed to its role in the teaching of the *kaḥḥ* (Fulfulde for *tawḥīd*), as the local versions of the *Umm al-Barāhīn* were known. Despite these obvious similarities, neither Muslim Southeast Asia's emphasis on the twenty attributes as the most emblematic element of the text, nor the accompanying high degree of literary production appear to have been mirrored in West Africa. Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi. The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 79-86. I am indebted to Stefan Reichmuth (Bochum) for this reference.

¹¹⁴³ Joseph Chinyong Liow, "Muslim Identity, Local Networks, and Transnational Islam in Thailand's Southern Border Provinces", MAS, XLV (2011), p. 1405.

other postdating Ahmad Patani's work, are a late 19th century fatwa by Aḥmad Daḥlān regarding explanations of al-Sanūsī's teachings and a question sent from Sambas in Kalimantan to *al-Manār* on the divine speech and his attributes (published in the journal in 1930)¹¹⁴⁴.

The three Cambodian scholars wrote to Ahmad Patani concerning a primarily linguistic problem associated with the correct translation of the attribute *qidam* (pre-existent), one of the *sifat dua puluh* derived from al-Sanūsī. According to the *mustaftīs*, the Chams have long (*daripada masa yang dahulu-dahulu*) been using Malay *sedia* as equivalent to Arabic *qidam* due to the lack of a satisfactory term in Cham. Yet, recent years had, according to the enquirers, seen the emergence of people among the Cambodian Chams, who claimed that Cham *kelu'* was an equivalent to both *qidam* and its Malay rendering *sedia* (*setengah-tengah manusia yang bangsa cam dari ahli kemboja di dalam dua tiga tahun ini bahawasa sifat qidam [...] yang terjemah dengan bahasa melayu sedia itu terjemah dengan bahasa cam itu kelu'*). This was vehemently rejected by the three scholars, who stressed, that *kelu'* clearly had negative connotations. Whilst conceding that it was used in the sense of "old", they stressed that it was employed as an attribute of objects subject to deterioration (*berubah daripada asalnya yang telah lalu atasnya masa*), thus making it completely inadequate for usage in reference to Allāh and rather analogous at best to Malay *buruk* ("shabby", "old") and *usang* ("shabby", "obsolete"). Extending their discussion to the second prevalent first-language of Cambodian Muslims, they are further noting that Cham *kelu'* is *cah-cah* (i.e. the reinforcing reduplication of *cah* – "old") in Khmer language (*bahasa kemboja*), which carries the same meaning as Malay *tua* ("old"), again something impossible to say about the divine. Clearly testifying to the perceived superior status of Malay as language of religious scholarship they conclude by stressing that, although there would be a Khmer equivalent to Malay *sedia*, also this term would not meet the same degree of accuracy as the latter (*tidak sampai martabat eloknya kepada martabat sedia*)¹¹⁴⁵.

To this the mufti responded with a lengthy exposition of more than ten pages. After first explaining different usages of Arabic *qidam* and their Malay renderings, he stresses that *sedia* is indeed better suited for describing the divine attribute *qidam* than its direct translation *lama* ("old"), as it does not imply existence with a definite beginning (*tidak ada permulaan baginya sekali-kali*)¹¹⁴⁶. It must be noted in this respect that the rendering of *qidam* as *sedia* is indeed well established in *jawi* scholarship and particularly so within the Patani

¹¹⁴⁴ al-Ashī, "Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is", p. 67; *al-Manār*, XXX (1349/1930), p. 120-123.

¹¹⁴⁵ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 4f.

¹¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 5f.

network. Only a few examples may suffice to demonstrate this. In one of the most widely used works of ‘*aqā’id* and Malay renderings of *Umm al-Barāhīn* from the Patani network, authored by Tuan Minal (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, d. 1913) and completed in 1308/1890-1, it is explained that *qidam* means *sedia* (*qidam artinya sedia*)¹¹⁴⁷. Also the Malay interlinear translation in the 1893 *Umm al-Barāhīn* manuscript encountered by Cabaton in Chau Doc has *sedia* for *qidam* (though with a variant spelling ending on *yā’* instead of *-ā*)¹¹⁴⁸, providing us with an earlier example of this usage among *jawi* scholars in Cambodia and the Delta. As one of the intriguing qualities of Jawization was that also scholars of Arab stock living in Southeast Asia began to compose works in *jawi*, including in the peculiar genre of *sifat dua puluh*, it must be noted that also the eminent Batavia-based Hadrami author Sayyid ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl al-‘Alawī (d. 1913), a well-known critic of Malay romances such as *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*¹¹⁴⁹ and undoubtedly the most productive of local Ḥaḍramī writers of the day¹¹⁵⁰, translates *qidam* with the same (Sanskrit-derived) term¹¹⁵¹.

Of specific interest are, of course, the mufti’s comments on the Cham use of *kelu’* and the potential controversies arising from it. In discussing the appropriateness of the word, he notes that it naturally hinges on its actual meaning and connotations in Cham. In this respect he further declares that, according to his understanding *kelu’* could (like Malay *lama*) refer to the past as well as to the future (*di dalam dhihn* [ar. “intellect”] *hamba bahawasa kelu’ itu [...] dengan makna masa yang telah lalu pada lagi akan datang*)¹¹⁵². As this specific issue is not raised in the *istiftā’*, this statement could imply that Ahmad Patani had also discussed the matter with some of his Cham students then still residing in Mecca. In any case, he opines that *kelu’* may well be a suitable rendering of *qidam*, while hastening to add that this would not be the case should it also have negative (*kasar*) and therefore potentially misleading connotations such as Malay *lama*. Then it would be better to find a more suitable expression¹¹⁵³.

Ahmad Patani further specifies that, should *kelu’* indeed serve as an equivalent to Malay *usang* then it would be a shame (*jadi aib*) to use it in reference to the divine. Yet, he cautions

¹¹⁴⁷ Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Aqīdat al-Nājīn fī ‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Patani: Maṭba‘at Ibn Halābī, n.d.), p. 18.

¹¹⁴⁸ Cabaton, “Une traduction interlinéaire”, p. 133; Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī, *Matn al-Sanūsīyya fī ‘ilm al-tawḥīd* ((Cairo: al-Maktaba wa l-Maṭba‘at al-Maḥmūdiyya, n.d.), p. 1.

¹¹⁴⁹ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 57.

¹¹⁵⁰ Peter G. Riddell, “Arab Migrants and Islamization in the Malay World during the Colonial Period”, I&MW, XXIX (2001), p. 120f.

¹¹⁵¹ Strikingly, 27 out of his at least 38 works were written in Malay. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl al-‘Alawī, *Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh* (Batavia: n.p., 1317/1899), p. 5.

¹¹⁵² al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 8.

¹¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 9f.

that, while it is forbidden to say despicable and ugly things about god and his attributes (*haram mengatakan barang yang keji dan hudoh*¹¹⁵⁴ *pada hadrat tuhan dan sifat-nya*), this would not necessarily be so in teaching and learning, if the teachers should be using *kelu'* with the best intentions and in the actual sense of *qidam*. Although usage of *kelu'* should be considered carefully if it should have shown itself to be liable to misunderstandings, its use would still be preferable if students were not capable of grasping the meanings of *qidam* or *sedia*. His permissive attitude towards translation, which apparently exceeded the permissiveness of the enquiring local agents of Jawization, becomes even more evident as his line of argument continues. Thus, he states that an initially objectionable word may become pleasant once it has achieved common terminological acceptance (*sesuatu kalimat yang hudoh terkadang jadi elok ia apabila beristilah atasnya oleh kebanyakan manusia*). Moreover, far from being a case of describing a divine attribute with something not permitted by the law (*tidak diizin daripada syarak*), he considered it only to be a translation into Cham of a concept derived from the law (*hanya menterjemahkan barang yang datang daripada syarak*). Indeed, such translations of books, *ḥadīth* and the Qur'ān into various languages had been indispensable in spreading Islam, its beliefs and rules ever since¹¹⁵⁵.

In his conclusion the mufti stresses that this and other contested issues must not divide the community by leading each side away from the religion by declaring the others to be infidels. Against this background of guarding against factionalism and intra-community strife, he leaves the Cambodian Muslims with three equally commendable options. Firstly, they could agree on Cham *beluh* (a possible equivalent to Malay *lama*), which had been invoked but intriguingly rejected by the *mustaftīs* on the grounds that the same expression (i.e. *beluh*) was taken to mean *sudah* (“accomplished”, “done with”) in Malay. As a second option, both parties could agree to use *kelu'*. Finally, they could stick to Malay *sedia*, but would then have to explain its meaning to students without using the potentially misleading *kelu'*¹¹⁵⁶.

It is surely striking that the Cambodian *mustaftīs* (and their unnamed followers), as obvious products and agents of Jawization, are displaying a degree of Malay (*jawi*) religious linguicism evidently not shared by their mufti (and purported former teacher). It may here be reiterated that by linguicism we mean “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of

¹¹⁵⁴ This is a dialectal form of *odoh*.

¹¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 12-14.

¹¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 15.

language”¹¹⁵⁷. Religious linguicism, which rests on claims to religious leadership based on demonstrated or alleged access to or proficiency in a culturalized and (quasi-)sacralized language, in Muslim contexts otherwise only associated with access to or proficiency in the Arabic, is thus a phenomenon also occurring with Islamic supra-languages such as Malay and their hegemonic logospheres¹¹⁵⁸.

This is most obvious in the *mustaftīs*’ rejection of a Cham word (*beluh*) due to the purported existence of a cognate with a different meaning in the Islamic supra-language (i.e. Malay)¹¹⁵⁹, which also furnishes their preferred term (*sedia*), but also mirrored in their conviction that the established usage of Malay terminology, undoubtedly conditioned by their exclusive recourse to Malay literature on the subject, is better suited than any term from their own language. Even for Ahmad Patani, who exhibits such a positive disposition towards translation in this fatwa, there could be no doubt that the languages of Islamic scholarship for Cambodian Muslims were Malay and Arabic, hence his advice to them to first study in Kelantan and Patani and only then continue on to Mecca.

Finally, a few remarks are in order regarding the reasons behind the commotion leading to this particular *istiftā*’. Of course, it fits neatly into the pattern of Jawization and its manifestation in the conflict between its *trimeu* proponents with their strong focus on the role of Malay in religious education and their *kobuol* opponents. In this respect, the claim made in the letter to the mufti that a group using *kelu*’ to describe *qadim* had only recently emerged could well be incorrect as divergent trends and traditions were obviously by then already the order of the day in Cambodian Islam. There is actually a great possibility that *kelu*’ was indeed the well established rendering of *qadim* among Cham scholars not yet fully exposed to Jawization. Indeed, Cham texts on the *sifat dua puluh* in *akhar trah* are still preserved in KIS villages as well as among recent breakaways from the group¹¹⁶⁰. In the 1960s the small treasure chest of Cham manuscripts kept by Sam Saly, the then *oknha khnour* at Au Russey, contained a book called “Siphat Tua Puluh” by Baccot¹¹⁶¹. Even though

¹¹⁵⁷ Kramersch, *Language and Culture*, p. 76 (quoting Phillipson).

¹¹⁵⁸ A particularly striking case in point is the fatwa of the great Central Asian (Persian-speaking) legal scholar Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ūshī (d. 1173) quoted at the very beginning of this study, which notes that a person making a claim of having become Muslim is not to be automatically trusted if he does so in plain Arabic, but may be accepted as such right away if he does so in Persian. I am indebted to Yohannan Friedmann for bringing this passage to my attention and for providing me with an unpublished hand-out referring to it.

¹¹⁵⁹ I have arguably been unable to find such a cognate in Malay dictionaries. As the mufti felt compelled to highlight certain inconsistencies in the *istiftā*’ (including the *beluh* issue) but did not tackle this particular point, there may still be the chance that the enquirers were not mistaken and that *beluh* was/is to be found in Patani/Kelantanese dialect.

¹¹⁶⁰ Kai Tam, the imam of until recently KIS-affiliated Svay Pakao owns one such manuscript. Personal observation at Svay Pakao (Kampong Tralach, Kampong Chhnang), July 9th 2009. Cf. fig. 7.

¹¹⁶¹ Baccot, *On G’nur et Cay*, p. 102.

knowledge of *akhar trah* had already strongly declined by the early 1900s, the Cham-speakers among the more orally-oriented *kobuol* and other sceptics of Jawization may well have preserved the Cham renderings used in these old texts.

Less specific than the foregoing is the second matter addressed to Ahmad Patani by the Cambodian Muslim community (fatwa nr. 26). Nevertheless, below the surface it also throws considerable light on the process of Jawization in Cambodia. Indeed, it is asked from the mufti whether the prayer over the dead by people who have missed a number of the prescribed prayers is valid or not¹¹⁶². Strikingly, the *mustaftī(s)*¹¹⁶³ go on to specify that, should it be deemed invalid, the dead would have to be buried without any funeral prayers as there would be nobody in the country who has already made up for all his missed prayers (*tidak ada dalam negeri itu mereka yang telah habis kada sembahyangnya*)¹¹⁶⁴. Even though the latter statement could have merely been an expression of realism or the common critique by religious functionaries regarding the neglectfulness of their co-religionists¹¹⁶⁵, it could also point into another direction.

Undoubtedly, Jawization has resulted in Cambodia, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, in much wider participation of the common man in daily religious ritual. Among the Cham *Bani* as well as among the present KIS community and, for example, Lombok's *waktu telu*, regular mosque attendance (usually only on Fridays) is the exclusive domain of religious functionaries or the priestly class. Especially in the diversified Muslim landscapes of Kampong Chhnang and Kampot, the - evidently historically rooted - attitude that the imam prays for the entire village still prevails also in many villages barely touched by Jawization, but nevertheless not formally associated with KIS, the institutionalized countercurrent to the process¹¹⁶⁶. Naturally, such villages are nowadays targets of preaching missions by various Islamic actors such as "independent Salafis", Malay and Cambodian Islamic NGOs, TJ, the Ahmadiyya movement and, assumingly also KIS. Despite a certainly more

¹¹⁶² The Muslims of Minangkabau were around the same time very much divided over the question if the missed prayers of the dead could be redeemed through payments (ar. sg. *fidya*, ml. *fidiah/fidyah*) by their heirs. HAMKA, *Ayahku*, p. 81.

¹¹⁶³ As is also the case with the remaining fatwas requests from Cambodian Muslims in the collection no names are given.

¹¹⁶⁴ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 72.

¹¹⁶⁵ For an overview of scholarly discussions – often characterized by a strong degree of realism – concerning the failure to pray among persons, who in principle acknowledge the obligation to do so, see Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought*, p. 162-172.

¹¹⁶⁶ In some of these villages the imams have until recently also merely observed prayers on Fridays. Personal communication with Abdul Halim Ahmad, organizer of *da'wa qāfila* ("Preaching caravans") into destitute Kampong Chhnang villages, in Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012 & May 1st 2012; with Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman), b. 1937, at Prey Thnorng (Kampot), May 5th 2012; personal observation in Prey Thnorng Cheung (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

pronounced character of the aid component, there is little reason to believe that these are substantially different from the preaching missions conducted by Malay and Cambodian scholars a century earlier. Literally, the call to prayer to the common villager was certainly then and now a major concern for those involved. As in Java, Lombok, Sumatra and elsewhere the era of Jawization led to a sharp increase in individual observance of the daily prayers¹¹⁶⁷. Of course, this development has continued well beyond this phase into the present, also without *jawi* as prime carrier of (written) religious discourse¹¹⁶⁸. It was probably this change of attitude towards prayer, and not Islam it must be noted as even most Cambodian Muslims of the period not observing the daily prayers felt themselves to be faithful Muslims, which is reflected in the *istiftā'*.

Ahmad Patani, of course, was not concerned with such wider issues. Focusing on the concrete question at hand he responded that it was valid for negligent but repentant Muslims to perform the funerary prayers. Moreover, always conscious of the potential divisiveness of disputes over proper religious observance, he further stressed that keeping people from saying the prayers within the prescribed timeframe could easily result in damage and strife not easily forgotten (*membawa ɗarar* [ar. “damage”] *atau fitnah yang tidak mudah menghilangkan dia*)¹¹⁶⁹.

Albeit the next question addressed to the Meccan mufti (fatwa nr. 45) is less instructive regarding Jawization, it is nevertheless revealing concerning the circumstances of the community under the protectorate, as it was apparently drafted in response to the French ban on slavery in the country. Thus the matter raised is whether the sale of a non-Muslim of a non-Muslim country (*kafir harbi*) by either another non-Muslim or a Muslim of the same country, such as Cambodia, to a Muslim would be valid or not¹¹⁷⁰. Ahmad Patani responds that the sale would only valid under the condition that the seller (either non-Muslim or

¹¹⁶⁷ The issue of *ṣalāt* was of course central in Santrization/Jawization on Java and Lombok and their observance was a main distinguishing feature between *putihan* (or *santri*)/*abangan* and *waktu lima/waktu telu*, just as it still is in Cambodia between KIS and the Muslim mainstream (cf. VIII.3.). Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, p. 82, 90, 97; Bousquet, “Recherches sur les deux sectes”, p. 160f; Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors*, p. 30. Regarding Sumatra, Marsden noted in 1783 that, except “such as were in the orders of the priesthood”, he rarely observed local Muslims in prayer. Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 346.

¹¹⁶⁸ Apart from its obvious continuation in present-day Cambodia, again the case of Java is intriguing. Whereas it was estimated that only 0-15 per cent of the inhabitants of Javanese villages observed the daily prayers in the 1960s, 90 per cent of the respondents of a recent survey at least claimed to do so. Merle C. Ricklefs, “Foreword to the Second Edition” in Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree. A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c. 1910s-2010*, 2nd Enlarged Edition (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), p. xxif.

¹¹⁶⁹ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 73. It is generally advised to hasten the burial. Even in cases in which a delay is recommended (in order to be able to ascertain death), three days of such delay were considered to be sufficient in classical Islamic law. Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist's Primer*, I, p. 259f., 280.

¹¹⁷⁰ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 94.

Muslim) had taken the person to be sold in battle. He further specifies that a female captive could not be made into a concubine (*dipergundikkan*)¹¹⁷¹ unless the mandatory taxes (*ar. khums*) have already been paid¹¹⁷². Likewise, he deemed the sale of a non-Muslim child by its parents to be invalid. The mufti also emphasizes that a Muslim in a non-Muslim country (such as Cambodia) is only allowed to engage in battle with its inhabitants if his safety is being threatened. Should his personal safety, however, be granted by the state, then he is liable to payments (*membayar*, i.e. of taxes) and is to refrain from any acts of hostility¹¹⁷³. This straightforwardness regarding the minority situation of Muslims in Cambodia of course casts doubt on reports claiming that Ahmad Patani urged them to establish their own state¹¹⁷⁴.

Regarding the background to this request for a legal opinion it must be noted that the French began to abolish all forms of slavery in the country with the inauguration of their administrative reforms in 1876, which were greatly accelerated in 1884. Accordingly, the ban on slavery was one among the strongly resented policies leading to the 1884 rebellion against the French. Indeed, the condemnation of slavery served as an important discursive tool to legitimize their weakening of King Norodom's position¹¹⁷⁵. We may assume that also parts of the Cambodian Muslim community resented or were at least disconcerted by French policies such as the abolition of slavery. Thus, the concerned *istiftā'* was in all probability an expression of the uncertainties precipitated by these major social changes of the Protectorate era, for which also religiously-argued answers were sought.

The next fatwa in the collection drafted by Ahmad Patani at the behest of Cambodian Muslims is less noteworthy, although it is, besides the preceding, the one of the fatwas in question most clearly concerned with a legal issue in the modern Western sense of the word. Indeed, it deals with the question of whether in the case of a married couple of Cambodian Muslims, who are establishing a cotton plantation together, albeit with differing work loads and shouldering different tasks, both are entitled to the same shares of the

¹¹⁷¹ Intriguingly, it was already asked in the preceding question (nr. 44, no origin mentioned) whether it would be valid to buy *inter alia* Vietnamese girls from their parents to keep them as concubines in their country. *ibid.*, p. 92.

¹¹⁷² It is unclear whether the mufti actually assumed that *khums* (as mandated by the Qur'ān) should also be paid to non-Muslim rulers or if he used the term in the general sense of tax. Cf. Asad, *Botschaft des Korans*, p. 320 n. 40; Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, "Qur'ānic Commentary on the Verse of *khums* (al-Anfāl VIII: 41)" in Morimoto Kazuo (ed.), *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies. The Living Links to the Prophet* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 37-48.

¹¹⁷³ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 94f.

¹¹⁷⁴ Rahimulla, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 259, 436. Moreover, the mufti makes the same point also in fatwa nr. 44. al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 94.

¹¹⁷⁵ Hansen, "Khmer Identity", p. 50f., 61 n. 12.

property. Additionally, it is also enquired what should be done with the property in case of a divorce or the death of one of the spouses¹¹⁷⁶.

Finally, the last remaining Cambodian fatwa request in the Meccan mufti's work is again of particular interest for our purpose. Indeed, it represents the earliest testimony to the discussions lying at the root of the peculiar taxonomy of the two contending groups in the factional strife of subsequent decades (i.e. *kobuol* and *trimeu*). Moreover, even though it was in the first decade of the 20th century most probably not yet such an emblematic issue, Ahmad Patani's fatwa and the *isftitā'* which precipitated it are arguably the only and therefore highly valuable external references encountered so far, which are lending credibility to Ner's description of the prevailing factional nomenclature and its underlying divergent ritual practices in the 1930s¹¹⁷⁷. Given the fact, that every single scholar of late working on Islam in Cambodia had taken the accuracy of Ner's report for granted without any supporting external evidence, the finding of such a fatwa in the writings of a major *jawi* scholar of Mecca, who died three decades before the Frenchman's research, is naturally a most welcome occurrence.

At the outset the *mustaftī* (it is clear in this case that it is a single person) explains that some people in Cambodia are employing the phrase *kabullah hamba menikahi dia* ("I consent to marry her/him") to express their acceptance of a marriage proposal during the ritual. Highly reflective of the dynamics of Jawization, he asks the mufti whether this is correct according to the common practice among the Malays (*maka adakah lafaz ini betul dengan yang ghalib dipakaikan dia orang melayu*). The enquirer further requests a clear explanation of the phrase as well as of the expression usually used by most people of knowledge (*kebanyakan ahl al-'ilm*), which already seems to imply that he was convinced that the quoted phrase was not the prevalent one among learned members of the *jawi* ecumene. Such suspicions seem to be further justified due to the fact that the *mustaftī* feels compelled to denigrate himself in an unusual fashion by stating that he requires such clear explanations for being very stupid (*sangat bodoh*)¹¹⁷⁸.

Similarly instructive are Ahmad Patani's responses. He initially explains that *qabūl* is an Arabic word, which means *terima* in Malay, whereas the Malay counterpart to Arabic *nikāḥ* would be *kahwin* ("marriage"). Accordingly, the quoted phrase would be *terimalah hamba*

¹¹⁷⁶ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 104.

¹¹⁷⁷ Cf. V.4.

¹¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 112f. Such self-abasement is, however, not completely unknown in other sources from the region either. Thus, the (most probably Javanese) owner and copyist of a Malay manuscript of the second half of the 19th century also refers to himself as a most dishonourable and stupid man (*terlebih hina dan bodoh*). Wieringa, *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau Manuscripts*, II, p. 31f.

mengahwini dia in (pure) Malay. Nevertheless also the *kabullah* phrase would be correct and could thus serve as a valid declaration of consent, as long as the person saying it understood its meaning and what its utterance implied. Yet, assumingly very much to the delight of the *muftaṭī*, also the mufti hastens to add that it indeed differs from the established practice of the Patani Malays and others (*bersalahan dengan barang yang ghalib dipakaikan dia oleh kebanyakan orang melayu patani dan lainnya*), who would rather routinely employ the phrase *hamba terimalah nikahnya*. Finally, he suggests that, should the phrase uttered by the Cambodian Muslims have proven to be difficult to understand, it would probably be easier and clearer to express consent to marriage with *berkahwinlah hamba akan dia* (“I will marry her”)¹¹⁷⁹.

Evidently, this last advice of the mufti was not heeded and usage of either the *kabul* or the *terima* phrase turned into a distinguishing feature in the factional strife, with the contending groups accordingly becoming known as *kobuol* and *trimeu*. While it may seem startling that the *kabul hamba* phrase came to be taken as Arabic, Jawization also provided for the complete (perceived) integration of the word *terima* into Cambodian Cham language. Thus, informants in Phum Trea, where naturally *terima* has prevailed, told me that it was a Cham word¹¹⁸⁰. Whereas *kabul* has only survived in this function¹¹⁸¹ as an oddity in certain villages in the country, without any potential for revived conflicts over the issue, also the Cham term *taduol* (“to accept”) has wide currency among the Cham speakers in Cambodia and the Delta¹¹⁸². Strikingly and probably related to the continuing appeal of the Malay *terima* phrase, some informants from Chrang Chamres claimed that *taduol* is actually a Khmer word¹¹⁸³.

It was surely not only the actual ritual practice mandated by visiting and resident Malay imams and religious scholars which hieved the eventually eponymous *trimeu* formula into its prominent position. Indeed, *jawi* legal manuals, used both in their capacities as teaching

¹¹⁷⁹ al-Faṭānī, *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya*, p. 113.

¹¹⁸⁰ Personal communication with villagers at Phum Trea, May 15th 2012.

¹¹⁸¹ The part of the marriage involving the negotiation of the dowry and the declaration of consent is still referred to as *kobuol* by Cambodian Muslims. Cf. Osman, *Navigating the Rift*, p. 57-59; “For Chams, Traditional Wedding Season Begins”, *Voice of America Khmer*, December 9th 2009, <http://www.voacambodia.com/content/a-40-2009-12-09-voa4-90170062/1355321.html> (last accessed May 3rd 2012).

¹¹⁸² Personal communication with villagers on the occasion of a wedding in Svay Pakao (Kampong Chhnang), May 13th 2012; with Abdul Halim Ahmad, born in Phan Rang (Vietnam), and Les Sary, born in Koh Roka (Kampong Cham), in Phnom Penh, May 17th 2012. Cf. Muḥammad Zayn, Yūsuf, Aḥmad & ‘Ārifīn, *Qāmūs Melāyū-Ĉam*, p. 179, 401.

¹¹⁸³ Personal communication with Ysa Meth, Ismail & Syafii, all born around 1950 in Chrang Chamres, in Reston (Virginia), April 14th 2013. There is indeed a cognate in Khmer language (*totuol*), which may once have been the source word for Cham *taduol*. Yet, already the Cham-French dictionary of 1906 records it in two different spellings (*taduol* and *daduol*) as a word of (Cambodian) Cham. Aymonier & Cabaton, *Dictionnaire*, p. 173, 213.

texts and reference works for the proper performance of religious ritual, have certainly played a decisive part in this development. Indeed, Daud Patani's in many respects most influential and thus also most popular work among many Muslim communities of the ecumene was his *Īdāh al-Bāb li Murīd al-Nikāh bi l-Ṣawāb*, which clarified Shāfi'i law on marriage in a concise manner¹¹⁸⁴. Completed in Mecca in 1224/1808-9¹¹⁸⁵ it was soon disseminated throughout Muslim Southeast Asia and even the most far-flung outposts of the ecumene. Within a decade the work was taught in Patani and Kelantan¹¹⁸⁶. Bradley likewise has identified four students of Daud from Patani and Kelantan who have brought back manuscript copies of the work from Mecca and subsequently spread the text in their homelands in the mid-19th century¹¹⁸⁷. By 1853 at the latest it had reached Aceh. Moreover, a student of Daud from the Malay community of Cape Town had already copied the text in 1844 in order to take it back to South Africa¹¹⁸⁸. In 1870 it was for the first time printed in Singapore, with the next edition being published there only four years later¹¹⁸⁹.

In *Īdāh al-Bāb* Daud Patani emphasizes that marriage is invalid without a declaration of consent. According to Daud, the proper Arabic formulas to be used for that purpose are either *qabaltu nikāḥahā* or *qabaltu tazwījahā*, which he both translates by employing *terima* and not *kabul* (*artinya aku terima nikahnya atau aku terima kahwinnya*). Conversely, he also notes that it would also be valid to make the pronouncement in another language (*dengan bahasa 'ajamiyya*) as long as all parties involved were able to understand it¹¹⁹⁰. In his more elaborate general legal manual *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya* (completed in al-Ṭā'if in 1252/1836)¹¹⁹¹, he leaves Arabic *qabaltu* untranslated at its first mention, but then again renders *qabaltu nikāḥahā al-nafsī* ("I accept to take her in marriage for myself") or, if the pronouncement is made by a *wakil* (ar., *wakīl*, "representative"), *qabaltu nikāḥahā lahu* (I accept to take her in marriage for him), as *aku terimalah nikahnya bagi aku* and *aku terimalah nikahnya baginya* respectively¹¹⁹². In the more elevated discussion of the topic in his major *fiqh* compendium

¹¹⁸⁴ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 326.

¹¹⁸⁵ For brief descriptions see Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 23; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 26.

¹¹⁸⁶ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 310f.

¹¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 318.

¹¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 326f.

¹¹⁸⁹ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 135. Another early edition (1304/1886) was even produced in Constantinople. Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 486. There is of course a great probability that Ahmad Patani was involved in that venture.

¹¹⁹⁰ Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Īdāh al-Bāb li Murīd al-Nikāh bi l-Ṣawāb* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n. d.), p. 8.

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 23f.

¹¹⁹² Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya fī Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Dīniyya wa Aḥkām al-Fiqh al-Marḍiyya wa Ṭarīq al-Sulūk al-Muḥammadiyya* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n. d.), p. 167, 169.

*Furū' al-Masā'il*¹¹⁹³, the author does not even bother to translate the involved Arabic formulas into Malay¹¹⁹⁴.

In harmony with our contention that Jawization is reflective of larger similar processes within the Muslim World, it may be noted that heightened sensibilities for properly performed marriage rituals are at the same time also noticeable elsewhere, including in different Muslim minority contexts. Thus, at the other end of the Bay of Bengal (i.e. opposite to the Malay Peninsula and Singapore as first place of publication for Daud Patani's *Īdāh al-Bāb*), the nascent sphere of Tamil Muslim printing witnessed the publication of six different texts on to the topic by contemporary Tamil scholars in the period 1885-1916¹¹⁹⁵.

2.2. Fatwas for Cambodian Muslims in the MUI's *Pengasuh*

The second group of *fatāwā*, issued in response to questions from Cambodian Muslims, to be discussed here is drawn from the Kelantanese MUI's journal *Pengasuh*. It has already been demonstrated above, that also *Pengasuh* and its fatwa section were intimately linked to the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network, not least due to the paramount role played by Tok Kenali and some of his disciples in the journal and the *Meshuarat Ulama* as fatwa-issuing body. The subsequent enquiry will deal with four requests for legal opinions sent from Cambodian Muslims to the MUI in the late 1920s. Although we are left unaware of when these questions were exactly drafted, the resulting legal rulings are all dating to 1926-1928, even though they were only published in issues of *Pengasuh* pertaining to the years 1927-1930. In any case, given the geographical proximity of Kelantan and Cambodia and the bureaucratized and professionalized nature of the *Meshuarat Ulama*, it may be assumed that no long amount of time had elapsed between the drafting of the questions and the issuance of the respective legal opinions. As will become evident in the following, all of these fatwa requests are more detailed than the ones discussed above, and are consisting of several different questions, or at least addressing several specific issues flowing from the initial question, with one even listing twelve separate points of enquiry. As was the case with Ahmad Patani's *fatāwā*, passed over two decades earlier, also the Cambodian fatwa requests in *Pengasuh* are providing us with an inside view on certain social, religious and political issues, which were of concern to the Muslim community of the country in the late 1920s.

¹¹⁹³ Cf. Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 22; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 23f.

¹¹⁹⁴ Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Furū' al-Masā'il* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n. d.), II, p. 164-166.

¹¹⁹⁵ Most of these were also already reprinted during the period. J.B.P. More, *Muslim Identity, Print Culture and the Dravidian Factor in Tamil Nadu* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), p. 232, 236, 238-242, 268-271.

Similarly, they are allowing us glimpses on the legal and scholarly mindset of the Kelantanese 'ulamā' elite of the day, in a more practical manifestation than could be found in their theoretical writings. What is more, its discourse is naturally unadulterated in such original documents, which can, of course, not be taken for granted with regards to the biographic collections mainly relied upon in the preceding section.

The first fatwa of our concern was passed in 1926 and published the following year, in response to an enquiry by a certain Shams al-Dīn b. Ḥajj Aḥmad Kemboja. Although, contrary to the cases of other Cambodian *mustaftīs* writing to *Pengasuh*, no official title is appended to his name, it would not be inconceivable that this Shams al-Dīn can be identified with *oknha reachea kiripatta puon* Din, the head of the Tuol Ngok mosque, known from both French archival sources as well as Ner's study and already mentioned earlier¹¹⁹⁶. His request raises four different points¹¹⁹⁷, all of which are shedding considerable light on the social and religious worlds of Cambodian Muslims, as a religious minority among other ethnic and religious minorities in the Khmer Buddhist kingdom.

Intriguingly, the first two questions are both dealing with issues of conversion to Islam and inter-religious marriage. Firstly, it is asked whether the marriage of a female convert to Islam could be performed without a witness to her having said the *shahāda*, and if so, whether it would nevertheless be *sunna* to search for one (*adakah sunna dicari saksi supaya mempersaksi ia atas thabit demikian itu*). Strikingly, the brief response to this, only notes that it would be *sunna* to have witnesses to the marriage ceremony, without addressing the – in Kelantan certainly much less salient – conversion issue at all¹¹⁹⁸. As was already noted, among others, by Ner, intermarriage of female Khmers with Cambodian Muslim men, invariably accompanied by the conversion to Islam of the female spouse, was a frequent occurrence in Cambodia at that time¹¹⁹⁹. Still today, neither official conversion nor intermarriage can be performed in the absence of the *hakem* (or one of his deputies) and a number of witnesses¹²⁰⁰.

Likewise, despite obviously representing a separate case, also the second question is related to the particularities of intermarriage, conversion and the issue of sincerity in changing

¹¹⁹⁶ Cf. V.4.2. This of course only applies if *oknha* Din can not indeed be identified with the Malay scholar Hj. Syamsuddin b. Syekh Ismail (cf. VI.1.1.).

¹¹⁹⁷ *Pengasuh*, IX, 216 (Ramaḍān 15th 1345/March 18th 1927), p. 3.

¹¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 191. Such intermarriage is presently again on the rise, and most probably to a hitherto unprecedented degree. A survey in 2006 in 47 Muslim villages, found out that intermarried couples made up 3.5% of the total (4.4% in urban and 3.1% in rural settings), whereas the proportion for 1970 was retrospectively estimated at 0.64%. Significantly, both spouses were found to be professing Islam in 88% of the cases in 2006. Osman, *Navigating the Rift*, p. 143f.

¹²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 69.

one's religion under such circumstances. Furthermore, it adds the topic of illicit sexual intercourse, and thus certainly another feature of local social reality, to the equation. Thus, this part of the *istiftā'* revolves around the case of a Muslim girl, which had "committed *zinā'* with an unbeliever, for example a Chinese" (*berzina dengan seorang lagi-lagi kafir cina umpamanya*). After having been informed by the girl's parents that he would be given their daughter in marriage upon fulfillment of the condition to first embrace Islam, the culprit concedes to do so. Yet, he does not show himself to be happy with Islam, thus rendering it highly probable that he would eventually, after conversion and marriage, return to his original religion. Consequently, Shams al-Dīn's question - which clearly betrays him to be a *hakem* or some other religious functionary - is whether they (*kita*, i.e. the local '*ulamā'*) are, against this background, supposed to teach him the confession of faith at all. The mufti's response comes swiftly, making clear that it would be obligatory to teach it to him, should he request so. It is of course noteworthy, that any discussion about punishment for the committed illicit sexual intercourse is absent from the debate¹²⁰¹.

Contrarily, the third question of this *istiftā'* is of an altogether different, namely spiritual, nature. Here the questioner enquires regarding the exact meaning, background and technicalities of the injunction of the '*ulamā'* to make the prophet present in one's heart (*hadirkan didalam hati*) in an honourable way (*rupanya yang mulia*), before calling god's blessings on him in prayer. The mufti stresses in turn, that the ability for such visualization is of course contingent on the spiritual knowledge and capacities of the individual believer, and provides a hadith from "a commentary to [al-Ghazālī's] *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*", certainly a reference to Palimbānī's *jawi* work *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā 'ibādati rabb al-'ālamīn* (actually a translation enriched with additional material rather than a commentary) and not to the enormous *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi sharḥ asrār Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* of the outstanding 18th

¹²⁰¹ Whereas the application of either *ḥadd* penalties or corporeal discretionary (*ta'zīr*) punishment for *zinā'* (or at least calls for it) have been prominent in recent years in such Southeast Asian Muslim majority contexts as Kelantan (i.e. the Kelantan Syariah Criminal Bill [II] of 1993, often referred to as "Hudud Bill") and Aceh (i.e. the *Aceh Qanun*, in process since 2000) and elsewhere, the question of conversion in cases of interreligious *zinā'* appears to be still of greater importance in the Cambodian Muslim minority context. In this respect a Chroy Changvar *hakem* similarly noted in 2006 that whereas meting out punishment in this world was not paramount to him, as the culprits would be eventually held accountable by god, inaction in the case of a desired conversion was not an option: "[W]hen they come to ask for conversion, it is compulsory for the *hakim* to convert them to Islam without delay. If they agree to be punished later, we can do it later" (quoted in Osman, *Navigating the Rift*, p. 70). Cf. Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, *Islamic Law in Southeast Asia. A Study of its Application in Kelantan and Aceh* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009); Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds.), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia. A Contemporary Sourcebook* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2006), p. 176-180, 188-191.

century Indian scholar Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791)¹²⁰², to the effect that man is not expected to burden himself with anything beyond his capacities.

Finally, the last question of this fatwa request is again concerned with a strictly legal issue, from the realm of the law of inheritance. Also this one, however, throws light on Muslim social reality in Cambodia as it deals with two specific cases, one of which involves the division of the property among two widows of a polygamous marriage¹²⁰³. As there is nothing peculiar about neither the questions raised nor the legal rulings derived from them, there is no need for us to pursue this issue any further. Suffice it to say, that, as the particular cases mentioned were most probably not merely hypothetical in nature, this *istiftā'* again shows polygamy, though then and now a rare occurrence among Cambodian Muslims¹²⁰⁴, as indeed at times being practiced and – perhaps due its restricted nature – likely to give rise to legal problems not always easily solved by local religious specialists. Of course, contrary to Southeast Asian Muslim majority contexts, where colonial legal administration had led to a complete transformation of indigenous law in the course of the 19th century, including all of its aspects understood by either the indigenous population or the colonial bureaucracy as deriving from Islam, no form of Muslim/Islamic law whatsoever was administered in French Indochina¹²⁰⁵.

The second fatwa to be discussed here was likewise issued in 1926 (with the question most probably drafted the preceding year) and then also saw publication the following year¹²⁰⁶. In this case the enquirer is clearly marked out as a high Cambodian religious dignitary, as he introduces himself as *raja kadi* (i.e. *reachea kaley*) 'Abd al-Raḥīm. At least just a few years later (in 1936), this title was bound to the position of leadership in the so-called “Southern

¹²⁰² Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi sharḥ asrār Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.). On the author see the excellent study by Reichmuth. Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732-91). Life, Networks and Writings* (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009). Generally, concentration or “the presence of the heart” (*ḥuḍūr al-qalb*) ranked very high on al-Ghazālī's list of “interior factors” that ‘enliven’ prayer”. Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought*, p. 63.

¹²⁰³ The second case concerns the husband and a number of still premature children as inheritors of a female Muslim's properties.

¹²⁰⁴ A famous case of a religious scholar with four wives in the mid-20th century was Srong Yousos of Chrang Chamres (cf. VI.1.2.). In 1975 a report by a US Army officer of the MEDTC (*Military Equipment Delivery Team Cambodia*), who had been dispatched to evaluate troops in the Oudong-Lovek area, exhibited clear bewilderment at the fact that a (Muslim) battallion commander had his two wives staying with him at the front. “MEDTC-AR, Memorandum for: CHMEDTC SACS”, dated January 7th 1975, NA, 270/80/24/2 (Box 9) (Brigade EIUIs). Nowadays many Cambodian religious leaders argue that the necessary preconditions for marrying more than one wife in harmony with Islamic precepts are plainly impossible to meet for Cambodian Muslims. Osman, *Navigating the Rift*, p. 62f. The perhaps most widespread form of polygamy involving Cambodian Muslims is represented by Malaysians, and to a lesser degree Cambodian Muslims with Malaysian citizenship, who have (often without acknowledgment) taken wives at both sides of the Gulf of Thailand. Abdul Hamid, “Understanding the Cham Identity”, p. 252 n. 19.

¹²⁰⁵ M.B. Hooker, “Muhammadan Law and Islamic Law” in *id.* (ed.), *Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 166f.

¹²⁰⁶ *Pengasuh*, X, 217-218 (Shawwāl 15th 1345/April 18th 1927), p. 4f.

Mosque” of Chrang Chamres and came along with eight *huban*, thus belonging to the second highest category attainable to Muslim dignitaries¹²⁰⁷. As we know that a new *hakem* for the mosque (Eyman Yourat), who intriguingly (as will be shown below) held *kobuol* leanings certainly not espoused by his obviously Kelantan-oriented predecessor, was appointed in 1926¹²⁰⁸, it is questionable whether ‘Abd al-Raḥīm lived to hear the mufti’s response, or else, whether it reached him while still holding the post. Indeed, the legal problem he brought before the MUI’s *Meshuarat Ulama* is one strongly reflective of the minority situation of Cambodia’s Muslims and its not always harmonious relationship with the ruler, who was then still King Sisowath (d. 1927). As the concerned fatwa request could well have been prompted by tensions between the questioner and the authorities, it would not be inconceivable that ‘Abd al-Raḥīm finally ended up removed from his post. Strikingly, when both mosques of Chrang Chamres received new leaderships in 1926, only the *hakem* of the Northern Mosque (but not his counterpart at the Southern Mosque) was noted to have recently deceased from tuberculosis¹²⁰⁹.

In his *istiftā*, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm refers to the grievances that had arisen over a piece of land (most probably located in Chrang Chamres) belonging to the non-Muslim king (*raja kafir [kemboja]*, i.e. Sisowath)¹²¹⁰. The Muslims had been allowed to occupy it and were in turn subject to a land rent. Despite the annual payments, the king, however, was withholding them permission to build a mosque on the land. Accordingly, the *reachea kaley*’s question was whether they should nevertheless press on with their project. Additionally, he also volunteered his own interpretation of a section drawn from one of the most popular and widely disseminated legal texts of the Patani network, the *Maṭla’ al-Badrayn* of Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl Dā’ūd al-Faṭānī (Nik Mat Kecik Patani, d. 1915)¹²¹¹, according to which the mosque could not - from the perspective of Islamic law - be legally constructed under such circumstances. In his response, the mufti concedes, that ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s conclusion, regarding the impermissibility of building the mosque without the king’s consent, is

¹²⁰⁷ ANC-RSC 28319.

¹²⁰⁸ ANC-RSC 25315.

¹²⁰⁹ *ibid.* If ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s name was not misspelled in *Pengasuh*, a possibility which cannot be excluded, he had only been in his position comparably briefly when he drafted his question (assumably in 1925). Indeed, a document of 1919 bears the stamp and (*jawi*) signature of a ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as *hakem* of the Chrang Chamres South mosque. ANC-RSC 3995.

¹²¹⁰ The Russey Keo and Chrang Chamres area on the northern fringes of Phnom Penh was one assigned by Norodom to Vietnamese of all religious persuasions (including Christian) upon his move to the city as his new capital. Muslims were by then certainly already settled there, which, however, does not preclude further assignment or lease of land to Muslim newcomers, although the majority of those joining Norodom on his move from the Oudong-Lovek area were undoubtedly settled in Chroy Changvar. Edwards, *Cambodge*, p. 56.

¹²¹¹ On the work see Matheson & Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, p. 32; UBP, p. 77; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 31f.

correct, as the land in question belongs to him. In addition, however, he also clarifies that the mentioned material from *Maṭla' al-Badrayn* refers to a different and incomparable case, as it would relate to the estate of a deceased person in a non-Muslim state. This fatwa clearly shows that Cambodia's Muslims were not completely free from state interference into their mosque building ventures. Secondly, it also testifies to the relevance of *Maṭla' al-Badrayn* as major reference work for both local Cambodian scholars as well as their muftis in Kelantan. As will be shown in the next section, it indeed featured among the most important works of the educational canon relied upon by the exponents of Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network.

The next fatwa responding to an enquiry from Cambodia was drafted in 1928 and appeared in *Pengasuh* in 1929¹²¹². It similarly bears direct relation to the production and reception of *jawi* scholarly literature. As has been noted above, the question of the correct calculation of the *qibla* – epitomized by the soon-to-be *Muhammadiyah* founder Ahmad Dahlan's notorious correction of the direction of prayer in the Great Mosque of Yogyakarta – gained prominence in the first decades of the 20th century throughout much of Muslim Southeast Asia, including Kelantan and Cambodia. We have also seen that Mat Sales Haroun of Phum Trea was among the pioneering authors addressing these questions with his *jawi* 1934 *Pedoman Bahagia*. The lengthy *istiftā'* and fatwa at hand, with their Cambodian origins, are concerned with just these issues and clearly point to the local demand for a work such as *Pedoman Bahagia*. Indeed, when the question was drafted, also Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi's *Shams al-Faṭḥiyya*, the first work ever to come from the Patani-Kelantan network to engage with the calculation of the *qibla* (published only in 1926), was most probably still unknown in Cambodia, whereas the relevance of establishing correct *qiblas* for mosques had obviously already been recognized by some local scholars. Likewise, its potential for causing intra-community strife had likewise most probably already started to manifest itself.

The *mustaftī* introduces himself as Hj. 'Abd al-Ghānī b. Aḥmad of Chroy Changvar and begins his letter by explaining that his villages comprises an old and a new mosque. As will be shown in the next chapter, the existence of these two (and then three) mosques became the source of much debate in the village only a few years later, in connection with the question of where to hold the Friday prayer. Yet, as will become evident in the following, the seeds of controversy and even factionalism had already been sown at the time of the present *istiftā'*. Indeed, it had become a cause of concern for some local Muslims, including Hj. 'Abd al-Ghānī, that the two mosques had – certainly only recently – been found to exhibit different

¹²¹² *Pengasuh*, XII, 263 (Dhū l-Qa'da 15th 1347/April 24th 1929), p. 2-4.

orientations for the *qibla*. According to the enquirer, the *qibla* faced the second point (*noktah*, ar. *nuqṭa*) at the old mosque (i.e. the Ek mosque¹²¹³), but the seventh at the new one. Now, one faction (*satu* [ar.] *tā'ifa*) of the common believers held the opinion that both were correct. Moreover, without any reservation towards one or the other mosque, turns were taken concerning the performance of the Friday prayer. Hj. 'Abd al-Ghānī, however, suggested that their assumptions were only resulting from wishful thinking (*demikianlah kasdu mereka itu pada hati*), as none of the people of the two mosques were knowledgeable in astronomy. He thus wanted to know from the mufti whether they were right or not.

In this regard, he also stressed the fact, that their revision (or rather confirmation) of respective *qiblas* had been carried out without the aid of any tools (*alat*, ar. *āla*) and was thus merely based on opinion (*zan*, ar. *ẓann*). From this presentation then flows the (rather rhetorical) question whether it would be incumbent to follow their interpretation by way of *taqlīd*, especially so if there should happen to be people locally available with superior knowledge of the matter (*terlebih alim daripadanya*).

Delving deeper into the details of the discussion, Hj. 'Abd al-Ghānī further explained that there were up to eight different sides (or factions?, *pihak*) concerning the *qibla*, each with its specific point (*noktah*), all of which had been transmitted together with the letter¹²¹⁴. Naturally, the *mustaftī* was keen to know which of these was the most correct (*terlebih betul*). More intriguing, however, is his follow-up question, which clearly hints at the kind of factionalism and intra-community strife famously known from Ahmad Dahlan's attempted correction of the *qibla* in the Sultan's mosque of Yogyakarta, which came to a temporary halt with him being sent on a second trip to Mecca around 1900¹²¹⁵. Thus, he further enquires about the legal implications – according to the Shāfi'i school – of an imam facing a wrong direction of prayer and the congregation (*makmum*, ar. *ma'mūm*) either following him or instead turning to another direction. Should the latter be valid¹²¹⁶, he continues to argue before closing with an Arabic quote, this would imply that ultimately every row (*sap*, ar. *ṣaff*) of worshippers could theoretically be oriented towards a different *noktah*.

Apparently done with posing questions, the *mustaftī* then turns to describe how he would correct the *qibla*, in a way very similar to what Ahmad Dahlan is known to have done in Yogyakarta. That is, by stretching fine cords inside the mosque as well as on top of a world

¹²¹³ Cf. p. n. 669.

¹²¹⁴ If this had been the case, they were nevertheless not included in the published text in the periodical.

¹²¹⁵ Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 168f.; Nakamura, *Crescent Arises*, p. 51f.

¹²¹⁶ Regarding such possible validity, he also asks whether there would be a precedent in custom, for which he intriguingly employs not the commonly used word *adat* but *uruf* (ar. 'urf), which could hint at close acquaintance with Islamic legal works also in Arabic.

map and establishing north and south with the aid of a compass before finally establishing each *noktah* successively. Even though this section of the fatwa request contains no question at all, it is obvious that Hj. ‘Abd al-Ghānī was seeking official endorsement for his method. Yet, despite obviously sharing his implicit conviction that it is an obligation to establish the correct *qibla* for every mosque, the mufti did not – as will become evident – accord him such full endorsement.

Indeed, he begins his response by stating that the questioner’s usage of *noktah* is not sufficiently clear, as he was still unsure whether it was meant to denote a “degree” (*darjah*) or something else. Had it been used in the sense of “degree”, he reasoned, both judgements regarding (the directions of prayer in) the two mosques were undoubtedly incorrect. He further elaborated, that there were three kinds of proofs to determine the *qibla*: (1) the latitude and (2) the longitude of one’s location and (3) observation of the stars, the sun or the moon. Noting that Cambodia’s latitude was at 12.125 degrees¹²¹⁷, he then provided a model calculation by way of observation of the sun.

Turning to the specific questions raised by Hj. ‘Abd al-Ghānī, he asserts that the faction (*ṭā’ifa*) mentioned by the *mustaftī* (i.e. the one arguing that both *qiblas* were correct) was clearly wrong. Not only did they reject the (true) *ijtihād* given to them, although they themselves were not from among the scholars, but also their prayer was invalidated because it did not meet one of its obligatory conditions (*tidak sah sembahyang mereka itu dengan sebab kurang satu syarat*), i.e. being directed towards the (actual) *qibla*. Accordingly, he considered their practice to be based not on Islamic legal reasoning (*ijtihad pada syarak*) but on personal opinion and guesswork (*sangka-sangka*), and strongly emphasized that it was certainly not incumbent on other people to follow them. Hereby, he supported his own position with a translated quote from al-Shāfi’ī to the effect that all prayers were to be performed facing Allah’s house (i.e. the *ka’ba*), except on travels and in situations of major anxiety (ar. *shiddat al-khawf*)¹²¹⁸, whereas in all other cases, in which the *ka’ba* was out of sight, the direction of prayer had to be properly determined. Subsequently his discussion is further embellished by a translated quote from al-Muzanī (d. 878)¹²¹⁹, according to which

¹²¹⁷ Mat Sales Haroun would later give 12° 20’ and 11° 56’ as latitudes of Kampong Cham and Phnom Penh respectively. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Pedoman Bahagia*, p. 50.

¹²¹⁸ Prayer during travel, in a state of fear or of a sick person is falling into separate legal categories different from the one of the individual who is resident, secure and in good health. Cf. Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist’s Primer*, I, p. 133.

¹²¹⁹ Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā’īl al-Muzanī was one of al-Shāfi’ī’s most prominent students. His abridgement of his teacher’s oeuvre was instrumental in the early spread and establishment of the law school. As Brown notes, “the Shāfi’ī tradition propagated itself through the transmission of its formative text, al-Muzanī’s *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Shāfi’ī’s *Umm*”. Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, p. 139. There is accordingly a good chance that

“there are people who are ignorant about the *qibla* due to a lack of knowledge and those who are due to a lack of eyes”. Finally returning to the crux of the matter, the mufti declared it obligatory to correct the direction of prayer in any given mosque, once it has been discovered to be at fault.

Strikingly, also the last remaining fatwa drawn up by the MUI for Cambodian Muslims known to date is concerned with the issue of the correct direction of prayer, thereby clearly testifying to its paramount role in intra-religious strife and discord among the Muslims of Cambodia at that time, and again pointing us to the timely nature of Mat Sales’ *Pedoman Bahagia*. Issued in 1929 and published the following year, this legal opinion bears witness to the fact, that the *qibla* disputes had meanwhile spread from Chroy Changvar (had they really originated there, that is) to Chrang Chamres¹²²⁰. This is of particular significance as, whereas we are lacking any additional sources for the conflict in the former Muslim quarter of the capital, there is explicit evidence in French archival documents, to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, that Mat Sales of Phnom Penh, identified by Ner as one of the two most influential and respected figures in Cambodian Islam in the 1930s, was directly implicated in the disputes in Chrang Chamres.

Moreover, one of the two *mustaftīs* of this last fatwa request is again explicitly marked out as one of the highest ranking Muslim dignitaries in the country. Indeed, the *istiftā’* bears the names of *Tok Kadi* (i.e., the *tokaley* of Khmer usage) Hj. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Hj. Yūnus Kemboja of Chrang Chamres, whereby the former can be safely identified with the person listed as *tokaley* “To-Man”, head of the Chrang Chamres North mosque, in 1936 by the French¹²²¹. With eight *huban* of dignity he formed part of the second highest tier of Muslim dignitaries in Cambodia. Describing his background to the MUI, Hj. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān even declares his mosque to be the most widely known in country, besides the one of the mufti (i.e. the *changvang* in Chroy Changvar).

In the past, the people who had built this particular mosque, he continues, had established its *qibla* based on the setting sun (*ijtihad dengan matahari jatuh*)¹²²². In this connection also his

both quotes were taken directly from the *Mukhtaṣar*, if not already from a *jawi* work. In any case, the aforementioned translation of the *Kitāb al-Umm* had then not yet been commissioned by the Sultan of Kelantan.

¹²²⁰ *Pengasuh*, XI, 289-290 (Shawwāl 1st and 15th 1348/March 1st and 15th 1930), p. 2f.

¹²²¹ ANC-RSC 28319. An earlier French document testifies to the nomination of an *oknha tokaley* Siem-Hayiman (Hj. [‘Abd al-Raḥ]Mān b. Sim) as new *hakem* of the mosque in 1926, following the death of his precursor Math Li (‘Alī b. Aḥmad) the same year. ANC-RSC 25315. Given the brief amount of time between this appointment and the *istiftā’* it must be concluded that, despite the disparate but in both cases equally severe deformations in the renderings of the name, the same person is meant.

¹²²² In proximity to the equator calculations based on the polar star, which was as will be shown below (because of its greater precision) the method advocated *inter alia* by al-Banjārī, are more difficult than

Cambodian context is becoming plainly evident at one instance, as he refers to a month called *bulan cayt* (spelled *cā'-yā'-tā'* *marbūṭa*) in his discussion, which he felt compelled to explain as denoting the fifth month in Malay (*melayu kata bulan lima*). This could only have been a reference to *chaet*, the fifth month of the Khmer lunar calendar, and may thus have proved rather puzzling to those addressed. Yet, the enquirers' first question in this context only related to the overall validity of this particular way of establishing the direction of prayer.

More specifically, the *mustaftīs* wanted to know what had to be done with the large prayer mats (*sajadah*) in the case of a necessary shifting of the *qibla* in the mosque due to proper application of the sunset method. Moving away from their own mosque but sticking to the methodological issue at hand, they further enquired regarding its suitability for people staying in the woods or in the middle of a jungle with a restricted view of the skies and the horizon. As a next step they asked for confirmation of a quotation from Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī's *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*¹²²³, according to which there were six kinds of proofs for the *qibla* (*dalil qiblat itu enam perkara*), namely longitude, latitude, the polar star (*bintang kutub*) and other stars (ar. *kawākib*), sun, moon and the wind¹²²⁴. From this then flows the next set of questions, that is, whether the people should act upon it and in which way (i.e. on a collective or an individual basis; by employing any or all of the proofs). Additional clarification is also requested regarding the book's treatment of the function of sun and moon as tools for calculation, as the *mustaftīs* have found it not to be sufficiently clear in that respect¹²²⁵.

Whereas the foregoing part of the *istiftā'* was of interest in revealing the prominence of *Sabīl al-muhtadīn* in Islamic scholarship in Cambodia at that time, the subsequent one is again equally reflective of specific disputes and consequent outright factionalism within the community. More intriguingly, it gives us a clear indication of the degree to which Kelantan's MUI and its scholars were regarded as higher authorities and thus natural arbiters in such cases by parts of the community. Thus, it is explained that only half of

elsewhere, which may account for greater prevalence of sun-based ways of calculation. I am indebted to Uwe Plachetka (Vienna) for this information.

¹²²³ It will be remembered that this work likewise formed part of the teaching and reference canon of the Patani-Kelantan network. Well ahead of his time, al-Banjārī (d. 1812) had himself already caused controversy during a stay in Batavia due to his efforts at determining exact directions of prayer. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, p. 169.

¹²²⁴ Cf. Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, I, p. 189.

¹²²⁵ Indeed, the work is much more concerned with calculations through longitude/latitude and the polar star, which are accordingly explicitly described as the strongest (*yang terlebih kuat*) indicators for the purpose. *Ibid.*, p. 188-190. Al-Rānīrī's *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* (on which Banjārī's work is based) provides general directions for the *qibla* in relation to the polar star for Mecca, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Gujarat and the "majority of Malay states and Aceh" (*kiblat kebanyakan negeri melayu dan Aceh*). al-Rānīrī, *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, I, p. 126f.

Cambodia's Muslims would be holding the given *ijtihād* on the *qibla* and reliance on one of the six possible determinants as obligatory. Consequently, in the absence of an authority clarifying what was true and what was false (*tiadalah hakim hendak membetulkan yang salah dan yang sebenar*), quarrels (*berbantah-bantah*) among the 'ulamā' over the issue were rampant. As these conflicts had even resulted in split families and the like, *tokaley* Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān explicitly states that he held "high hopes that the honoured sirs of the MUI would be able to dispel the darkness which had been absent at the time when there still was light, until it transpired in my country that children broke with their fathers and siblings and so forth" (*maka besarlah harap saya kebawah yang berhormat tuan-tuan di Majlis Ugama Islam menolong me[ng]hilangkan zulmat yang tiada ketika masa waktu yang ada nur hingga jadilah didalam negeri saya ini berputus rahim anak dengan bapak dan saudara bersama-sama saudara dan lain*). Obviously desiring to elicit a reprimand from higher authorities to local contenders, the *mustaftīs* also enquire regarding the legal judgment (*hukum syarak*) on scholars who attempt to hide the judgments of the *sharī'a* and the examples from the book in order to pass rulings well before matters have been decided, and are thus creating divisions, something forbidden by god.

Finally they are also concerned about whether the statement that it is sufficient to determine the direction of the *ka'ba* – in case of an impossibility to see it – by relying on the proofs established for it in the book (i.e. the Qur'ān) and the Sunna as well as by analogy, drawn from al-Palimbānī's *Sayr al-sālikīn*, is reliable or weak, and whether they should act upon it. They were seeking clarification of the matter due to the fact that, according to Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Hj. Yūnus, some Cambodian 'ulamā' of the day considered it as a weak position. This last point, which already marks the second invocation of *Sayr al-sālikīn* in only two *fatāwā*, clearly indicates that *Sayr al-sālikīn* was a widely distributed and frequently studied work also in Cambodia. Secondly, it shows that, despite its primary categorization - especially in Western scholarship - as a book of Sufism (as opposed to a work of *fiqh*), al-Palimbānī's *opus magnum* equally served as an important reference for ritual law¹²²⁶.

We may now turn to the responses of the mufti to this rather long list of actual questions and other subsidiary issues likewise raised but not phrased in the form of proper questions. Regarding the first two points (i.e. the methods used to establish and/or correct the *qibla*), it is only noted that these queries have been sufficiently answered in the by then already

¹²²⁶ Indeed, certain parts of the work (*inter alia* chapters 2-6 out of 40) are mainly concerned with proper outward ritual performance, although for example the hidden inner aspects of prayer (ar. *shurūṭ al-bāṭiniyya min a'māl al-qalb*, ml. *syarat sembahyang yang batin yaitu daripada amal yang didalam hati*) are duly discussed (al-Palimbānī, *Sayr al-sālikīn*, I, p. 200-217). Cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 105-413 & II, p. 1-107.

published responses to Hj. 'Abd al-Ghānī Kemboja. Concerning the third question, it is stressed that naked-eye observation of the sunset alone could not constitute a proper way of determining the direction of prayer, as (besides from being by that able to establish the cardinal points) the eye of the *qibla* ('*ayn al-qibla*, i.e. the *ka'ba* itself as opposed to its mere general direction or *jiha*¹²²⁷) would be different in every country and would even differ within one and the same country. Thus, only the general direction (*pihak kiblat jua*) could be established through observation of the sunset. Next up, the whole set of issues and questions (points 4 to 10) connected with the invoked quotation from *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* is addressed in one combined response, which expressly affirms the validity of al-Banjārī's statement (*betul bagaimana barang yang tersebut*) and advocates to put this reasoning into practice (*boleh beramal dengan ijtihad itu*). More precisely, the mufti declares that it is an obligation and necessary condition for valid performance of the prescribed prayers to determine the correct *qibla*, and that the proofs (*dalil*) expounded upon by al-Banjārī are means to comply with it. Accordingly, one of these should be relied upon.

Conversely, the mufti immediately jumps at the opportunity to lash out against stern partisans of the *kaum tua* and their ways of acting, in connection with the *mustaftīs'* enquiry concerning Islamic scholars allegedly hiding the truth about judgments of Islamic law from their followers. Right from the outset, he stresses that it would be clearly forbidden for such individuals to issue *fatāwā* and decisions to common people (*awam*). Moreover, he continues, their behavior would be especially reprehensible as they must have already studied dozens of books and would nevertheless be (falsely) instructing people about what has— according to their claims - been definitely established (ar. *jāzim*) in such matters as the alleged obligatory nature of the pronunciation of the *niyya* before *wuḍū'*¹²²⁸. It will be remembered that the latter view was rejected by partisans and sympathizers of the *kaum muda* such as Wan Musa. Al-Qari lists rejection of the pronunciation of the *niyya/uṣallī* as a trait of certain students of Tok Kenali¹²²⁹, who himself characteristically kept out of the disputes surrounding it. We can therefore at least tell that this unsolicited condemnation was not voiced by Tok Kenali, but perhaps by one of his students appointed to the *Meshuarat Ulama*.

¹²²⁷ Also Ibn Rushd specifies the question of facing the *ka'ba* itself or its general direction and the question whether one is either way obliged to be exact or allowed to merely estimate it as the two main issues surrounding the *qibla*. Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist's Primer*, I, p. 121.

¹²²⁸ Verbal utterance of the *niyya* was already prevalent by the time of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328). Whereas the latter condemned it, just as the later Southeast Asian *kaum muda*, as a reprehensible innovation, many other jurists considered it as a good innovation (*bid'a ḥasana*). Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought*, p. 45.

¹²²⁹ al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 49, 96.

Finally, the mufti turns to address the last two points of the *istiftā'*, which – as will be recalled – were concerned with the contested reliability and legal implications of a passage from al-Palimbānī's *Sayr al-sālikīn*. Again the crux of the matter is whether facing the *ka'ba* itself (ar. *'ayn al-qibla/al-ka'ba*) or merely in its direction (ar. *jiha*) is a condition for valid prayer and whether inaccuracy could render it invalid. In his response, the mufti makes no direct mention of al-Palimbānī's text at all. Yet, he draws attention to the fact that while the view proposing facing the *'ayn al-qibla* had achieved a degree of common acceptance (*masyhur*, ar. *mashhūr*) within the Shāfi'i school, also the contending position had strong supporters. As examples for the latter, a whole array of authorities of the school from al-Ghazālī via Ibn Abī 'Aṣrūn (d. 1189) to al-Maḥallī (the co-author of the *Jalālayn*, d. 1459) as well as the Ḥanafī jurist al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), are invoked¹²³⁰. Reference is also made to the prophetic hadith, “whatever lies between East and West is a *qibla*”, which has figured prominently in discussions of legal scholars on the subject¹²³¹.

Further a (translated) quotation from a work merely called “*Bughyat*” is provided, which highlights the way the actual difficulties of establishing the direction of the *ka'ba* itself and the uneven distribution of such elevated knowledge has impacted on the discussion and different scholarly preferences concerning the obligation and its applicability for scholars and common people. Although the first work coming to mind in this context is naturally Daud Patani's *Bughyat al-ṭullāb li murīd ma'rifat al-akḥkām bi al-ṣawāb* (a work on *fiqh al-'ubūdiyya*¹²³²), the passage is, however, derived from an Arabic work. Indeed, the book in question is *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn fī talkhīs fatāwā ba'd al-a'imma min al-'ulamā' al-muta'akḥkhirīn*¹²³³ by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā 'Alawī (d. c. 1835), a former mufti of the Ḥaḍramawt. It must be noted, however, that the quoted text is actually much longer than indicated by the quotation marks in the mufti's response, as it indeed runs until the very end of the fatwa, which concludes in a conciliatory manner that the differences between the proponents of *istiqbāl al-'ayn* and *istiqbāl al-jiha* (or *menghadapkan ain kiblat* and *menghadapkan jihat* in the Malay rendering) were then merely of a terminological nature (*fa*

¹²³⁰ Although not marked as such in the text this passage is indeed a translated quote from a 19th century Arabic fatwa collection (see below). In contrast to his main rival for royal patronage at the Timurid court, Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 1390), the mentioned al-Jurjānī did not write on both Shāfi'i and Ḥanafī *fiqh* (but only on the latter). Josef van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit. Leben und Werk des 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ġurġānī (gest. 816/1413)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), p. 35-38, 55-59; Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 63f.

¹²³¹ Cf. Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist's Primer*, I, p. 121f.

¹²³² Matheson & Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, p. 21.

¹²³³ According to Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1657), it is legal scholars writing after the fourth/tenth century which are labeled as *muta'akḥirūn*. Hallaq, “From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*”, p. 49. I was, however, unable to locate this statement in the indicated place (i.e. the section on *'ilm al-fatāwā*) in the Flügel edition of *Kashf al-zunūn* (Hallaq cites a more recent edition).

l-khilāf hīna'idhin lafzī/maka khilaf pada waktu itu lafaz jua)¹²³⁴. In contrast, al-Banjārī, earlier invoked in the same fatwa, unequivocally states that it is not sufficient to merely face the general direction of the *ka'ba*¹²³⁵.

Whereas Daud's *Bughya* was a well established book in the Patani-Kelantan scholarly networks of the day (see below), also Bā 'Alawī's book was used as a reference, among others by Ahmad Patani in his fatwas¹²³⁶. Moreover, it was distributed through channels directly linked to the *jawi* ecumene. It was published in Cairo by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī's printing press¹²³⁷, which also produced *jawi* and Arabic publications intended for the Southeast Asian market¹²³⁸. Needless to say *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn*'s character as a collection of abridged (*talkhīṣ*) fatwas of Shāfi'i muftis made it a convenient reference also for Southeast Asia-based legal scholars. Indeed, also the employment of the legal concept of *tashhīr* (i.e. declaring a legal opinion on a specific case as *mashhūr* or commonly accepted with a legal school)¹²³⁹ in the response of the MUI's mufti, points to his close reading of the work. Whereas theoretical issues such as who can serve as *mujtahid* or can declare *tashhīr* are discussed in Bā 'Alawī's *Bughya*, this is assumingly not the case in Daud's contribution¹²⁴⁰. Upon closer inspection it also becomes evident that the earlier passage delineating the views of scholars such as al-Ghazālī and al-Jurjānī has likewise been translated from Bā 'Alawī's work¹²⁴¹, though in this case without acknowledgement of the source from the mufti's side.

The foregoing expositions on requests for legal rulings from Cambodian Muslims to Malay muftis in Mecca and Kelantan should have served to elucidate how Jawization in Cambodia was both resulting in and conducive to the increasing participation of Cambodian Muslims in the scholarly networks of the *jawi* ecumene. They also give us an indication of the degree to which Malay scholars in the holy city itself as well as at its perceived balcony (*serambi Makkah*, i.e. Kelantan) came to be regarded as supreme authorities by Cambodian Muslims.

¹²³⁴ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā 'Alawī, *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn fī talkhīs fatāwā ba'd al-a'imma min al-'ulamā' al-muta'akhhirīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1418/1998), p. 53.

¹²³⁵ Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, I, p. 184.

¹²³⁶ Rahimullah, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 407f.

¹²³⁷ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Bā 'Alawī, *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn fī talkhīs fatāwā ba'd al-a'imma min al-'ulamā' al-muta'akhhirīn*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1355/1936). The first edition was assumingly already in circulation in the late 1920s. Note that citations above and below are to the more recent Beirut edition.

¹²³⁸ Shaghir Abdullah, *Al 'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad*, p. 97; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 492-494. The work was later also printed in Surabaya (Java), further testifying to its reception and consumption in Southeast Asia. It is also appears in van Bruinessen's survey on Arabic and *jawi* literature used in the *pesantren* milieu. van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 249.

¹²³⁹ Hallaq, "From Fatwās to Furū'", p. 53f.

¹²⁴⁰ Bā 'Alawī, *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn*, p. 12-16. Daud's *Bughya* was unfortunately inaccessible to me.

¹²⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 52.

Indeed, as Kaptein has noted, calling in a legal scholar from the outside for the adjudication of local conflicts usually represented only the last step in the attempts to solve such disputes¹²⁴². In other words, these primary sources are commonly but the tip of the iceberg under which lies a longer and much broader genealogy of deliberations on contested issues and of strategies to decide them. In addition, a given fatwa rarely serves as unanimously accepted conclusion to any intra-religious dispute, as they usually have an afterlife. This is particularly visible in the case of the intriguing *terima/kabul* question addressed to Ahmad Patani in the early years of the 20th century. Ironically, his rather conciliatory ruling may well have only fuelled an already latent tendency towards the *trimeu/kobuol* factionalism observed by Ner three decades later.

The respective factional identities had most probably not concretized during the mufti's lifetime, but had obviously taken shape by the time the Cambodian *istiftā's* for *Pengasuh* were drafted. In that respect we may assume that it was exclusively the (proto-) *trimeu*, with their proverbial proficiency in Malay, who communicated with muftis overseas. Even though Ner's account of *trimeu/kobuol* factionalism in the 1930s focuses on disputes over language use in Islamic ritual and education, the discussed *fatāwā* in *Pengasuh* are of course suggesting that also the *qibla* question had its part to play in the commotion. Indeed, apart from Ahmad Patani's marriage fatwa, the last of the discussed *istiftā's* sent to *Pengasuh* clearly has the strongest smack of factionalism of all. It will be remembered in this respect that Ner had just a few years later experienced Chrang Chamres as a divided community with a *trimeu* and a *kobuol* mosque. Revisiting the charges against rival scholars made by the *mustaftīs* Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Hj. Awang, as well as the former's bold statement that his mosque would be second to none in importance save for the *changvang's*, there arises the question whether it was not primarily the contending mosque and its *hakem* and adjuncts who were the addressees of the involved malignancy.

Indeed, also at the Southern Chrang Chamres mosque a new *hakem*, *oknha reachea kaley* Eyman Yourat, endowed with just as many *huban* of dignity as Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had assumed responsibility in 1926¹²⁴³. Given the fact, that both Yourat and Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān still held their positions in 1936¹²⁴⁴, we can safely conclude that it was these two scholars, who led the contending factions at the time of Ner's research (i.e. Yourat the *kobuol* and 'Abd al-Raḥmān the *trimeu*), and that they had by then already been opposed to each other

¹²⁴² Kaptein, *Muhimmât al-Nafâ'is*, p. 9.

¹²⁴³ ANC-RSC 25315. He was probably installed due to the removal of his predecessor, whom we have earlier also encountered as corresponding with the MUI.

¹²⁴⁴ ANC-RSC 28319.

for a while. At the time of the *istiftā'*, the fault-lines and factional identities had, however, not yet concretized to the degree soon observed by Ner. This can also implicitly be read from the fatwa request, as it is noted that believers from both mosque communities were following the practice of holding alternating Friday prayers at both mosques as well as refusing to accept that prayer at any of them could be invalidated for being performed facing a wrong *qibla*.

Moreover, reading these sources, it is obvious that even the *trimeu* themselves were not unanimous regarding this and other issues brought before their Malay muftis. Also our view of Mat Sales Haroun (and other less prominent luminaries such as Mat Sales of Chroy Changvar) as outstanding scholars is reinforced through these *fatāwā*. In contrast to our Cambodian *mustaftīs*, the former took matters into his own hands to produce a work, *inter alia* on the complexities of *qibla* calculation, which proved most welcome also among the scholars of the *serambi makkah*. As also the authoritative nature of certain *jawi* and Arabic books has been a topic in some of the fatwas we will know turn to the canon of literature commonly relied upon by the discussed Malay and Cambodian agents of Jawization of the period.

3. The canon of Jawization: The books studied and taught by Cambodian scholars

As has already been suggested above, the major exponents of the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network, in their capacities as teachers, preachers and muftis, also played a considerable role in the emergence and the perpetuation of a specific canon of literature employed for teaching, deriving law and as guides for various legal and particularly ritual practices (e.g. marriage ceremonies, prayer and the like) in Kelantan, Patani and Cambodia alike. The main figure in this process was clearly Ahmad Patani himself. Accordingly, it has also already been noted that the mentioned canon, which from the 1890s onwards remained more or less unaltered and uncontested well into the 1960s, is largely coincidental with the output of titles of his *al-Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā'ina* in Mecca¹²⁴⁵. Thus, it also exhibits a disproportionate bias towards the works of Patani authors, with Daud Patani as by far the single most important writer. Besides those of Daud and later Patani authors, also the works of the major late 18th – early 19th century scholars of Palembang and Banjarmasin, identified right at the outset of this study – alongside Daud of course – as foundational figures in the

¹²⁴⁵ Cf. VI.1.2.

process of Jawization as a whole, were staples of the canon. It is therefore certainly not incidental that for example al-Palimbānī's *Sayr al-sālikīn* was invoked several times, by both Cambodian *mustaftīs* and Kelantanese muftis, in the foregoing fatwas.

As far as our usage of the term canon is concerned, we are here primarily referring to what Sheppard has defined as “Canon 2”, which may take the form of a standardized list or catalog of books. Even though the books in question are clearly not invested with the same epistemological value as the scriptural canon of the Qur’ān and the canonical hadith collections, these texts employed for teaching and reference, as well as in many cases - perhaps most importantly - in the form of practical guides, evidently also had the potential qualities of “Canon 1”, namely to act “as a criterion between truth and falsehood”¹²⁴⁶. Indeed, whereas - as was witnessed - it was far from anathema to question the validity of particular claims made in *Sayr al-sālikīn* and other commonly used texts, it is also evident that the procedures laid out for marriage or prayer rituals in such works as *Īdāh al-bāb* and *Munyat al-muṣallī*, or the framework of the *sifat dua puluh* contained in virtually all texts on *‘aqīda* in the canon, were clearly conventionally treated as representing not only correct practice but also religious truths. Likewise, an almost exclusive focus on *Tafsīr al-jalālayn* (and its Malay renderings) in Qur’ānic commentary may arguably also have resulted in a narrow scope for textual interpretation and the canonization of approaches relied upon and conclusions drawn in this specific work. As we will henceforth primarily focus on the *jawi* works extensively used in our network, which were less in number than their (actually lesser studied) Arabic counterparts and for which it is therefore also easier to argue for the existence of a specific canon, the role of the latter in containing and defining a communal vision and trans-regional identity - not merely as Muslims but specifically as members of the *jawi* ecumene - must likewise be emphasized.

What follows will provide identification of, and in certain cases a closer look onto, the actual items of this canon consisting of printed - as indeed the ventures of Ahmad Patani and his predecessors by and large signified the protracted demise of manuscript culture in the regions in question - literary agents of Jawization. For our purpose we will primarily draw on reports in biographical accounts about the teaching preferences of a number of scholars, in their overwhelming majority already discussed in the first section of this chapter, supplemented by data derived from interviewees, who have attended mosque schools, pondoks and madrasas in Cambodia in the 1950s and 1960s, where they likewise

¹²⁴⁶ Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī*, p. 25 (with reference to Gerald T. Sheppard, “Canon” in Mircea Eliade [ed.], *The Encyclopedia of Religion* [New York: MacMillan, 1987], III, p. 66).

studied under scholars already mentioned above. For reasons which are partly quite obvious and partly less so, the focus will hereby lie on the *jawi* books of the canon, with only scant attention being paid to its Arabic works. Firstly, it will not come as a surprise that the analysis of a process denoted as *Jawization* will pay particular attention to literature written in *jawi* language and script. Of course, it was the latter which defined and precipitated the emergence of the *jawi* ecumene as a trans-Southeast Asian expression of Islam, and which also served as one of the prime vehicles for the dissemination of its hegemonic homogenizing de-localizing discursive tradition into different various localities within and on the borders of its geographical confines, to the detriment of more localized Islamic discursive traditions (e.g. Cham, Javanese, Sasak, Batak). It was, additionally, not the use of specific Arabic texts, or of Arabic as a scholarly language, that differentiated the *jawi* from the Urdu, Persian or Swahili logospheres (all of which were thoroughly engaged with Arabic), which likewise stretched far beyond the confines of first-language users in their capacities as shared linguistic mental spaces for scholarly expression, resulting in a certain degree of homogenization and commonality, also in cultural expression, in each case.

Secondly, and perhaps more pertinently, only the *jawi* books were the true mass media of Islamic education within the ecumene and the process of *Jawization*. Whereas Arabic works remained reserved to the highest tiers of what we might term, despite its actual lack of systematization at that date, the Islamic educational system of the areas in question, this was clearly not the case with their *jawi* counterparts. Thus, *jawi* works were used on all levels of Islamic education as well as for more practical purposes, beginning with the study of *jawi* versions of the *Muqaddam* as most basic texts in the teaching of children¹²⁴⁷ up to the invocation of *Sayr al-sālikīn* as proof text in *fatāwā* and employment of *Pedomān Bahagia* (tellingly the work of a native Cham speaker) to calculate *qibla* and prayer times.

In what follows, we will draw on information on the “curricula” or literature used for teaching by ten different individual scholars and one group of teachers, for which the sources at hand have not allowed for separate discussions. In their entirety, only two of the

¹²⁴⁷ The *Muqaddam* (or *Muqaddam Alif-Bā'-Tā'*) is, as can be inferred from its full title, a guide to the Arabic letters, usually supplemented with reading passages consisting of the short surahs of the Qur'ān (Q 1 and Q 78-114 [in reversed order] and at times also the ritually highly important Q36 [*Ya Sin*]), which also account for its additional monicker as “little Qur'ān”. Some versions come along with Malay interlinear translations. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 352. More recent editions also include graphic illustrations of how to perform the ablutions and prayers. After the destructions of the DK era, the *Muqaddam* was, apart from the Qur'ān, the most frequently distributed book by transnational Islamic NGOs from Malaysia active in the country. As such it still forms the sole basis of elementary religious instruction for Cambodian Muslims throughout the country, despite the publication of *Mai We' Drai Sembahyang* (tellingly in Cham *jawi*) by the present Mufti of Cambodia in 2009, which fulfills some of the same functions. Bajunid, “Place of *Jawi*”, p. 132f.; Sos Kamry, *Mai We'*.

mentioned figures have not already been elaborated upon so far in this study, and it will become evident that also their inclusion is easily justifiable for our purpose. What thus emerges is an inventory of the books taught by the large group of direct and indirect agents of Jawization in Cambodia denoted as the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali-Hj. Awang network. Our sample thus includes (1) Tok Malek Sungai Pinang (d. 1926, one of the earliest directors of a Kelantan pondok frequented by Cambodian students)¹²⁴⁸, (2) Tok Kenali (d. 1933)¹²⁴⁹, (3) his illustrious student Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang (d. 1968)¹²⁵⁰, (4) Hassan b. Hj. Awang Kemboja (d. 1934)¹²⁵¹, (5) Tok Seridik (d. 1935)¹²⁵², and (6) Wan Daud (Dā'ūd Khaṭīb b. Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, d. 1936)¹²⁵³, all of which were active in Kelantan (and in Hassan Kemboja's case, additionally also in Cambodia). Among these only Wan Daud has not yet made an appearance in this study. Yet, as he was *khaṭīb* and teacher at *Masjid Muhammadi* and *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah* from 1917-1930, i.e. at the very same time as Tok Kenali and Hassan Kemboja, he must have doubtlessly shared some of their Cambodian students in the second and third decades of the 20th century. His only known student from Indochina was, however, Hj. Muhammad Idris, the renowned *hakem* of Chau Giang in the Mekong Delta¹²⁵⁴. Wan Daud is also of importance for the history of *jawi* publishing as he worked together with Ahmad Patani at the Ottoman Malay Printing Press and was likewise instrumental in its continued operations between the latter's demise and the folding of the enterprise in 1914¹²⁵⁵.

Further included in the sample are, from outside Kelantan, (7) Hj. Muhammad Saleh (d. 1944)¹²⁵⁶, the Cambodian Muslims' man in Kedah, as well as (8) Hj. Sulong (d. 1954)¹²⁵⁷ and (9) Tok Guru Dala (Hj. Abdul Rahman b. Muhammad Arshad, d. 1975) of Patani¹²⁵⁸. The latter has been included for his status as student and son-in-law of another Patani scholar with strong educational and familial links to the families of Hj. Sulong and of Ahmad Patani and the Bendang Daya shaikhs, Hj. Idris b. Hj. Abd al-Karim (Pak Cu Yeh Tok Raja Hj., d. 1935)¹²⁵⁹. Finally, from among Cambodian scholars, the books reportedly taught by (10) Hj. Math Zayn

¹²⁴⁸ TUSM, I, p. 118. Cf. VI.1.1.

¹²⁴⁹ Partly overlapping lists of books are found in al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 44; and Wan Mazwati, "Tok Kenali", p. 81.

¹²⁵⁰ Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education", p. 201 n. 88. Cf. p.

¹²⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 200 n. 88.

¹²⁵² TUSM, I, p. 183.

¹²⁵³ Abdullah Alwi, "Development of Islamic Education", p. 200 n. 88.

¹²⁵⁴ LPD, "Haji Muhammad Idris".

¹²⁵⁵ UBP, p. 266-268; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 483-485.

¹²⁵⁶ KUN, I, p. 67. Cf. VI.1.2.

¹²⁵⁷ UBP, p. 132. Cf. VI.1.2.

¹²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 195.

¹²⁵⁹ Hj. Idris was a cousin of Hj. Sulong's grandfather Tuan Minal. Besides studying with his cousin, he also sat at the feet of Ahmad Patani and the latter's uncle Abd al-Qadir, who married one of his daughters to Hj. Idris. *ibid.*, 193f., 261-263.

(d. 1975) of Norea (Battambang)¹²⁶⁰ and (11) by the *kaum tua* scholars Hakem Tayyeb, Tuon Said and Hj. Yahya Ibrahim of Amphil (Kampong Cham) in the late 1950s and early 1960s¹²⁶¹, will be considered.

As an initial disclaimer it must be noted that the individual items of the sample are unevenly distributed, as the number of recorded books in the respective cases are ranging from merely five to over twenty. In addition, the data on works taught by Tok Kenali and Ali Pulau Pisang is strongly biased towards Arabic titles, thus mostly consigning the *jawi* books employed to obscurity. It can nevertheless be concluded from the comparable uniformity of the available material that their own teaching preferences in that respect closely matched that of their own students and fellow students included in the sample. It is also this uniformity which allows us to speak of an actual canon of teaching materials. Regarding our definition of Jawization in Cambodia, it is similarly significant that the three Cambodian informants in the sample, which were selected from among others due to their status of being modestly rather than highly educated in Islamic subjects (and therefore deemed representative for average local religious education), have actually studied following an almost exclusively *jawi* curriculum. Indeed, the only Arabic books mentioned by them were the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawāwī's (d. 1277) famous hadith collection *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*. This clearly indicates that, apart from the field of Qur'ānic commentary and hadith, where *jawi* alternatives were arguably limited, only the most elevated students of Islam in Cambodia proceeded beyond the Islamic supra-language (i.e. Malay) to Arabic. This was, of course, also conditioned by the fact that, in contrast to Patani and Kelantan Malays, this supra-language was already a foreign language. Despite this state of affairs, however, the large-scale penetration of *jawi* literature into Cambodian Islam in the course of Jawization was such that for the first time large segments of the local Muslim population were directly exposed to Malay texts in their original language of composition.

3.1. The *jawi* books at the core of the canon

As was already indicated above, Daud Patani and a selected few later Patani authors are representing the dominant strand within the canon and thus expectedly also within the sample. Indeed, out of twenty recorded *jawi* books, one of which could not in all cases be

¹²⁶⁰ Personal communication with Asyari and Nasir, former students of Math Zayn b. Sulaiman, born at Norea Kraom and Norea Loeu respectively, at Bunga Emas, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, July 26th 2012.

¹²⁶¹ Personal communication with Tuon Ismail, born 1932 in Kampong Kendal (Kampot), former student of Hakem Tayyeb, Hj. Yahya Ibrahim and Tuon Said, at Kampong Treach (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

categorized with certainty¹²⁶², seven were authored by Daud Patani. These were his *fiqh* works *Furū' al-masā'il*, *Sullam al-mubtadi'*, *Bughyat al-ṭullāb*, the more specific *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (on prayer) and *Īdāh al-Bāb* (on marriage), as well as *al-Durr al-thamīn*, his main work on 'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn, and his translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'ābidīn* (Sufism). Tuan Minal (Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, d. 1913)¹²⁶³ is represented with his two most well-known works, namely his extensively commentated Malay rendering of *Umm al-barāhīn*, entitled '*Aqīdat al-nājjīn*, as well as *Kashf al-lithām*, his major *fiqh* work, which besides ritual law also covers matters of inheritance¹²⁶⁴. Similarly, two books by his contemporary Nik Mat Kecik Patani (Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, d. 1915) are appearing in our sample. These are *Maṭla' al-badrayn*, his best known work, which covers the *arkān*, *tawḥīd* and *fiqh* in the familiar composite fashion well established by Daud, and the much briefer *Wishāh al-afrāh* on the pillars of the faith, including its practical aspects concerning *wuḍū'*, *ṣalāt* and *du'ā'*. Finally also Ahmad Patani is represented with his main 'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn work, *Farīdat al-farā'id*. Thus, Patani scholars are accounting for twelve out of the nineteen or twenty *jawi* books of our sample.

Moreover, also all the remaining works of our survey, save two exceptions, have either already been mentioned in the course of this study or were written by non-Patani authors with which the reader was already familiarized above. Thus, al-Palimbānī's *Sayr al-sālikīn* is unsurprisingly featured, besides his *Hidāyat al-sālikīn*, which is likewise an enriched adaptation of a text by al-Ghazālī detailing mystical interpretations of *sharī'a* rules, namely of his *Bidāyat al-hidāya*¹²⁶⁵. Likewise, Daud's and al-Palimbānī's scholarly contemporaries from Banjarmasin are represented, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī with his *opus magnum* *Sabīl al-muhtadīn* and Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī with his mystical *al-Durr al-naḥīs*. Finally, a third lesser known bearer of the *nisba* al-Banjārī, albeit actually born in Kedah, is featured with a work in the sample. This is Muḥammad Ṭayyib b. Mas'ūd al-Banjārī (al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidī, d. after 1879) with his *Miftāh al-janna*, yet another work based on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn*. As Muḥammad Ṭayyib had *inter alia* been a teacher of Tuan Minal (Zayn al-

¹²⁶² With reference to the books taught at the pondok of Tok Guru Dala, it was not entirely clear whether the employed *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* was al-Ghazālī's original or Daud Patani's translation. For Daud's contribution see Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 24.

¹²⁶³ Cf. VI.1.2.

¹²⁶⁴ Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 34f.

¹²⁶⁵ Azra, *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 131f.

‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, it should not come as a surprise that the *Miftāḥ al-Janna* was also printed by Ahmad Patani’s Ottoman Malay printing press in Mecca¹²⁶⁶.

Intriguingly, the sample includes merely two works produced by scholars who did not witness the advent of the 19th century, clearly testifying to the fact that the era of al-Palimbānī, the two Banjārīs and Daud, all of which died in the first half of the 19th century, marks the general historical bottom line for the canon of Jawization in Cambodia. Yet, also these two particular works were intriguingly both apparently first seen to the printing press (as separate works) by Ahmad Patani and his associates, and their lasting popularity was thus greatly facilitated by the endeavors of this central pillar of the Patani-Kelantan network.

The two titles in question are ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkilī’s (d. 1693) Qur’ānic commentary *Tarjumān al-mustafīd*, first prepared for lithography by Ahmad Patani and his associates Dā’ūd b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī and Idrīs b. Ḥusayn al-Kalantānī in 1884 and subsequently published in Istanbul the same year and at Cairo’s *Bulāq* the following year¹²⁶⁷, and *Bidāyat al-hidāya* (completed in 1170/1757) by Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī¹²⁶⁸. This pioneering Malay rendering of the *Umm al-barāhīn* had possibly already been printed before Ahmad Patani’s effort, yet only as a subsidiary text, that is, as an appendix to two 1873 printings of an important brief Arabic legal text of the canon, *Safīnat al-naḡā* by Sālim b. Sumayr al-Ḥuḍrī (d. 1854)¹²⁶⁹ (see below), a Ḥaḍrami trader-scholar writing in Batavia¹²⁷⁰. In any case, it was later, just like the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* and the other five mentioned works

¹²⁶⁶ Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, “Muhammad Thaiyib penerus tradisi ulama Banjar”, UO, January 8th 2007. http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2007&dt=0108&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Bicara_Agama&pg=ba_02.htm (accessed December 8th 2013).

¹²⁶⁷ Rahimullah, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 324f.; Sugahara Yumi, “Towards Broadening the Audience: The Role of Authors and Publishers of *Jawi Kitabs* from the 19th to 20th Century in Southeast Asia” in *ibid.* (ed.), *Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitabs. Papers of the Workshop Held at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan on October 23, 2011* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures, Center for Islamic Studies, Sophia University, 2012), p. 27. These editions were on sale in Southeast Asia by 1887 at the latest. Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 496. It has to be noted, that the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* (actually a Malay rendering of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, enriched with additional content from other *tafsīr* works) was prepared by Ahmad Patani and his associates in Mecca under the misleading but obviously influential title *Tafsīr Bayḍāwī Melayu*. This accounts for the fact that a *Tafsīr Bayḍāwī* at times still appears under the rubric of Malay books.

¹²⁶⁸ Shaghir Abdullah, *Al ‘Allamah Syekh Ahmad*, p. 51.

¹²⁶⁹ Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 450f. This identification is, however, not certain. Both editions only contain a title (*Bidāyat al-hidāya li tariq uṣūl al-dīn*) but no author’s name. At this early date also the narrow focus on Ash’arism which could be regarded as a corollary of Jawization had not yet fully manifested itself. Thus, just as al-Samarqandī’s Ḥanafī catechism was still (but decreasingly) studied in Cambodia and elsewhere in the region in the first years of the 20th century, only to disappear from the curricula shortly afterwards, these editions came along with the Malay translation of the versified Māturīdī catechism (the *Lāmiyya*) of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ūshī (d. 1173) in the margin.

¹²⁷⁰ L.W.C. van den Berg, *Het Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische boeken* (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1887), p. 9f.; Riddell, “Arab Migrants and Islamization”, p. 120.

of the canon not written by Patani authors, also printed under the supervision of Ahmad Patani. Needless to say, he also arranged editions of virtually all of the Patani books in the sample at some point¹²⁷¹. It is noteworthy in this respect, that only five of the twenty *jawi* books of our sample, three among them authored by Daud Patani as sole representative of the Patani network in this case, had found their way to the printing press (in either Southeast Asia or Bombay) before Ahmad Patani began his activities in the sector in the early 1880s¹²⁷². Thus, particularly his effort and success in popularizing Patani literature through his publications and network of students can hardly be overestimated.

Indeed, only a single book of the sample, which may reasonably be taken as representative for the postulated literary canon of Jawization, can not also be directly linked to the publishing ventures of Ahmad Patani. This is the *Tafsīr nūr al-iḥsān* of Muḥammad Saʿīd b. ʿUmar Qāḍī al-Qadaḥī (d. 1932), a native of Kedah (as can be inferred from his *nisba*). As a former student of the two eminent Pondok Bendang Daya shaykhs Wan Mustafa Patani and Abd al-Qadir Patani, he was likewise hardly a character foreign to the network. His contribution is noteworthy for being only the second complete Malay *tafsīr* after the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* (and often more of a *tafsīr* in the literal sense of the word than its predecessor) to appear. It was first printed in Egypt in 1349/1930-1¹²⁷³.

As far as an internal ranking of the listed twenty works is concerned, only two of the books were taught by as many as five of the teachers in question (Daud's *Sullam al-Mubtadi'* and Ahmad's *Farīdat al-farā'id*), whereas three are each appearing in four of the lists (Nik Mat Kecik's *Maṭla' al-badrayn* as well as *Munyat al-Muṣallī* and *al-Durr al-thamīn* by Daud). It is thus evident that, while the canon itself, with its strong dominance of Patani authors and the few staples of texts by Daud's contemporaries from Palembang and Banjarmasin, was surprisingly uniform, there existed a considerable degree of variation regarding the specific teaching preferences of individual teachers. Such was particularly easy to achieve in the field of *fiqh*, as many of the nine mentioned works from this discipline were quite similar in scope, with their overwhelming foci on *fiqh al-'ibādāt*.

After Islamic law, with its nine specimens, *'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn* is, with five different titles, the second most strongly represented discipline in the sample. Intriguingly, every single book

¹²⁷¹ Cf. Shaghīr Abdullah, *Al 'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad*, p. 50-52; Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 477-482.

¹²⁷² These were Daud's *Furū' al-masā'il*, *Īdāh al-bāb* and *al-Durr al-thamīn*, al-Banjārī's *Sabīl al-muhtadīn* and al-Palimbānī's *Hidāyat al-sālikīn*. Cf. the list compiled from Proudfoot (*Early Malay Printed Books*) in Sugahara Yumi, "The Publication of Vernacular Islamic Textbooks and Islamization in Southeast Asia", *JSAS*, XXVII (2009), p. 25.

¹²⁷³ KUN, I, p. 189-193; van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 254. The *Tafsīr nūr al-iḥsān* is still relied upon by major scholars in Cambodia, such as Mufti Sos Kamry and his former deputy Zakariyya Adam. Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*", p. 138.

in this category is primarily based on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn*, which indicates how Jawization contributed to and resulted in the absolute dominance of al-Sanūsī's late Ash'arism (that is, of course, only until the advent of vehemently anti-Ash'ari Salafism in Southeast Asia). Additionally, it also shows that Hj. Ismā'īl's effort at producing his own Malay interlinear translation of the text (or copying an existing one) in late 19th century Chau Doc, was perfectly in tune with larger contemporary developments.

Conversely, Sufism is represented with four works¹²⁷⁴, three of which are primarily based on al-Ghazālī, whose works *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*, *Bidāyat al-hidāya* and *Ayyuhā l-walad* are likewise appearing among the Arabic works taught. This brings us to another salient aspect of Jawization in Southeast Asia as a whole and specifically also in the Kelantan-Patani-Cambodia region, namely the triumph of Ghazālian Sufism, at times harmonized with local Ibn 'Arabī-inspired *waḥdat al-wujūd/martabat tujuh* teachings, at the expense of the latter. Of course, particularly figures such as Tok Kenali are sticking out as major propagators of "pure Ghazāliism". Moreover, as has become evident in the preceding section, works such as al-Palimbānī's *Sayr al-sālikīn* were also read and relied upon for their elaborations of the *zāhir* component of Islamic ritual, and were thus much more to their readers than mere works of mysticism¹²⁷⁵.

Strikingly, *al-Durr al-naḥīs* of Muḥammad Naḥīs al-Banjārī, the only work of the group with a different focus (i.e. on the *martabat tujuh* rather than Ghazālian) and therefore comparably exceptional in character, is known to have elsewhere been put to use in a fashion detrimental to the homogenizing drive of Jawization. Thus, the book has served as the scriptural basis of various strongly localized Islamic sects (commonly subsumed under the labels *kebatinan* [from ar. *bāṭin/ml. batin* – "hidden, inner" or *kepercayaan* [lit. "belief", as opposed to *agama* – "religion"]]) in South Kalimantan¹²⁷⁶. As will be shown in the last chapter of this study, also among the Cambodian KIS, which, in contrast to the entirety of the

¹²⁷⁴ Another work of the genre certainly also studied in Malay translation are Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī's *Ḥikam*, which exist in the form of a full translation (i.e. the *Hikam Melayu* attributed to the 18th century Terengganu scholar Tok Pulau Manis [cf. II.3.]) and also of an abridged one. Indeed, the *Ḥikam* were evidently highly popular, appearing five times (and thus among the most frequently used titles) in our sample. Yet, it is, perhaps misleadingly, at all times implicitly or explicitly treated as an Arabic book.

¹²⁷⁵ Similarly, the discussion in Muḥammad Naḥīs al-Banjārī's *al-Durr al-naḥīs* is naturally not strictly confined to Sufism. In this case it is, however, rather issues from the realm of *'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn* which are reflected in the work, and particularly so in its first chapters dealing with proofs for the unity of acts (*bayān tawḥīd al-af'āl*) and the unity of attributes (*tawḥīd al-ṣifāt*). Thus, the harmony of Sufi concepts with Ash'arism is, *inter alia*, elucidated by the inclusion of a question posed to and subsequently answered by al-Sha'rānī regarding certain statements of al-Ash'arī. Also the divine attributes are intriguingly discussed along classical Ash'ari lines rather than following al-Sanūsī's more elaborate scheme (i.e. seven rather than twenty attributes). al-Banjārī, *al-Durr al-naḥīs*, p. 7, 10.

¹²⁷⁶ van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders", p. 18.

kebatinan/kepercayaan movements and the *wetu telu* tradition in Indonesia¹²⁷⁷, has successfully lobbied for state recognition as a distinctive religious group, even texts commonly reflective of the victory of Jawization have (preserved in Cham *akhar trah* translations) become symbols for arguing a separate localized identity, and thus tools of anti-Jawization.

Finally, the remaining two books of our sample are the Qur'ānic commentaries, *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* and *Tafsīr nūr al-Ihsān*. It will be remembered in this regard, that Cabaton had already encountered the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* as a textbook used in Cambodia in the 1900s. This is a further clear indication that the books of the canon were also physically transmitted into Cambodia without much delay. Half a century later this was naturally even more so. Indeed, although not part of the sample, the Malay *Tafsīr al-Raḥmān* by the Kelantanese scholars Hj. Muḥammad Nūr b. Hj. Ibrāhīm and 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Bāsmih was likewise quickly introduced to Cambodia and is (tellingly in its original *jawi* version) still locally used by products of the Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali network and their students¹²⁷⁸. The same goes for an important work from another of Tok Kenali's most illustrious students, Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī (1896-1989). Born in Mecca to parents from Perak and educated at Pondok Kenali and Cairo's al-Azhar, he completed his famous Arabic-(*jawi*) Malay dictionary *Qāmūs al-Marbawī*, which followed the grammatical system (*taṣrīf*) devised by Tok Kenali, in 1937¹²⁷⁹. Since then it has seen 24 print runs¹²⁸⁰ and is also still regularly consulted by religious scholars and teachers in Cambodia¹²⁸¹. It must also be noted in that respect that al-Marbawī, who spent approximately sixty years of his life in Cairo, also worked as a writer, translator and editor of *jawi* publications at the aforementioned publishing house of Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī there¹²⁸², with which already

¹²⁷⁷ Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors*, p. 32-35. *Kebatinan* groups had vainly sought state recognition as religious communities between 1957 and 1973. One strategic measure taken in the course of this struggle was the shift from using the label *kebatinan* to *kepercayaan*. Despite their failure to achieve their goals and decades of decline many such groups still persist. Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents*, p. 132-138, 383-392; Asfa Widiyanto, *Ritual and Leadership in the Subud Brotherhood and the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2012), p. 60f.

¹²⁷⁸ Cf p. Also one of two recent Cham (*jawi*) translations of the Qur'ān, which represents a joint effort of nine Cham scholars from Kampong Cham, Chrang Chamres and Terengganu, relies on the *Tafsīr al-Raḥmān* as one of its six acknowledged sources (apart from four Arabic *tafsīrs*, also the *rumi* Malay *Tafsir Qur'an Per Kata* by Ahmad Hatta was consulted). 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl (gen. ed.), *Nūr al-ḍuḥā. Al-Qur'ān al-karīm wa tarjama ma'ānihi ilā l-lughat al-tshāmiyya* (Kampong Cham: Samakhum Kulliyā Ḍuḥā Islām Kambūjīyā, 2012), p. [ivf.].

¹²⁷⁹ Hairul Nizam, *Biodata Ringkas Syeikh Idris al-Marbawi* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.); al-Qari, *Kelantan Serambi Makkah*, p. 28-30.

¹²⁸⁰ Muhd. Najib Abdul Kadir et al., "Methodology of al-Marbawi in the Interpretation of Al Quran: A Study on Tafsir al-Marbawi Juzuk Alif Lam Mim", ANAS, V (2011), p. 446.

¹²⁸¹ Personal observation in a private home in Chrang Chamres, April 28th 2012; and in a surau in Phum Trea (Kampung Cham), May 15th 2012.

¹²⁸² Hairul Nizam, *Biodata Ringkas*, p. 4, 7-9.

Ahmad Patani had entertained a working relationship (see below). His own *al-Maṭba‘at al-Marbawī* (est. 1927) was moreover the most successful Malay publisher in Cairo before the Second World War¹²⁸³.

3.2. The Arabic works of the canon

As was already noted above, the Arabic works of the sample will mostly only be briefly discussed. Generally mention will only be made concerning particularities in text selection or important general trends in specific subjects of study. Additionally, issues of availability, which appear to have influenced text selection, will be highlighted. In the category of Arabic grammar (*ṣarf*, *naḥw*), specifically championed by Tok Kenali and Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang, we are encountering fairly familiar texts with a long history of common usage throughout the Muslim World, primarily different commentaries to the *Alfiyya* of (Abū ‘Abd Allāh) Ibn Malik (d. 1274), such as the one by Ibn ‘Aqīl, and the *Ajurrūmiyya* of (Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣanhājī) Ibn Ajurrūm (d. 1323), such as the so-called *Asymawi* of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ashmāwī¹²⁸⁴.

The same also goes for the sphere of *fiqh* works, where the present findings are displaying little difference to those of van Bruinessen’s survey of *pesantren* literature of Java and Sumatra, apart from the fact, that his much larger sample naturally yielded a much greater number of works¹²⁸⁵. Indeed, it appears that studies of Arabic works of *furū‘* have neither witnessed any substantial temporal changes nor noteworthy regional variation from van den Berg’s 1886 survey in Java and Madura¹²⁸⁶ either to our Kelantan-Patani sample of the 1900s-1960s or to van Bruinessen’s study of 1990. Thus, of prime importance were three clusters of commentaries (*sharḥ*), abridgements (*mukhtaṣar*) and glosses (*ḥāshiya*) built around three original works¹²⁸⁷, namely al-Rāfi‘ī’s (d. 1226) *Muḥarrar*¹²⁸⁸, Abū Shujā‘ al-

¹²⁸³ Mohammad Redzuan Othman, “Call of the Azhar: The Malay Students’ Sojourn in Cairo Before World War II”, *Sejarah*, III (1994-5), p. 109.

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. van Bruinessen, “Kitab Kuning”, p. 241f.

¹²⁸⁵ van Bruinessen, “Kitab Kuning”, p. 244-250.

¹²⁸⁶ van den Berg, *Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs*. For further reports on the same books used in the Dutch Indies 1880s-1900s see Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 143, 202.

¹²⁸⁷ Cf. van Bruinessen, “Kitab Kuning”, p. 245-248. Works of an additional fourth cluster studied in van den Berg’s time are virtually absent from van Bruinessen’s sample and entirely so from ours. van den Berg, *Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs*, p. 9-16.

¹²⁸⁸ GAL, I, p. 393. An example in our sample is Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī’s (d. 1520) *Faṭḥ al-Wahhāb* (GAL, I, p. 396 & SI, p. 682), which was taught by Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang and Tok Guru Dala. Brown lists al-Anṣārī, together with his fellow Shāfi‘is Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 1449) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (d. 1597), as the three “major formulators of the late Sunni tradition”. Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī*, p. 254.

Iṣfahānī's (d. 1197) *Taqrīb*¹²⁸⁹ and Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī's (d. 1567) *Qurrat al-'Ayn*¹²⁹⁰. This selection hardly differs from that of the “stereotyped” law lectures observed in Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje in the era of the formative generation of our network¹²⁹¹.

Apart from al-Anṣārī's *Tahrīr tanqīh al-lubāb*, which is not based on one of the foundational works of the respective clusters¹²⁹², mention must also be made of the important place held in our network – and in Islamic education in the *jawi* ecumene in general – by the aforementioned *Safīnat al-najā* of the Ḥaḍrami migrant Sālim al-Ḥuḍrī. In contrast to the entirety of major *furū'* works enumerated so far, the *Safīna* is a short primer on the basics of Islamic ritual law. In that respect it was, despite being an Arabic text and not a *jawi* one, comparably easy to approach (and memorize) for wide local audiences. Moreover, its rapid success on the local level¹²⁹³ was certainly boosted by the fact that its author was one of the highly esteemed Ḥaḍrami scholars residing in the lands of the ecumene. It was printed in Singapore in 1873 in Arabic only and then again in 1878 with a Malay interlinear translation¹²⁹⁴. By the 1880s it was firmly established in local religious education in Java and Madura (and assumingly also in the rest of the ecumene's lands)¹²⁹⁵. Although in our sample only Tok Kenali was noted to have taught the work, there are clear indications that it was actually widely used in the Patani-Kelantan network. Apart from the fact that the latter was evidently the most influential scholar of all in our sample, we also know that the *Safīna* was used for instruction in the early 20th century at places of learning focused on the teaching of introductory *fiqh* texts, such as Pondok Kampung Teluk Lur in Yala¹²⁹⁶. More significantly, as will be shown in the next chapter, the book was also invoked as a work of reference by Cambodia's highest Islamic authority, the *changvang*, in disputes over religious practice in the 1930s.

¹²⁸⁹ GAL, I, p. 492 & SI, p. 676f. Cases in point in our sample are Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī's (d. 1512) *Faṭḥ al-Qarīb* and Khaṭīb al-Sharbīnī's *Iqnā'*, both of which were taught by Tok Kenali, Tok Seridik and Tok Guru Dala.

¹²⁹⁰ Cf. n. 691. From this cluster, the author's own revised version of the work, *Faṭḥ al-mu'īn*, was prominently represented, being relied upon by Tok Seridik, Hj. Muhammad Saleh Kedah and Tok Guru Dala. Of course, also Sayyid Bakrī's *I'ānat al-ṭālibīn*, appearing in the sample only in connection with Hj. Muhammad Saleh Kedah, but evidently in wider use in the network, belongs to this cluster. Ahmad Patani not only referred to it in some of his fatwas, but he was also evidently heavily involved in its first 1300/1883 printing in Cairo, which was intriguingly effected by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī's *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*. Indeed, its fourth volume has been noted to include verses in praise of the author by Ahmad Patani. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 204f., 306.

¹²⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 203-205.

¹²⁹² It was taught by Tok Kenali, Tok Seridik and Tok Dala, and also features in van Bruinessen's survey (“Kitab Kuning”, p. 250).

¹²⁹³ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 47f.

¹²⁹⁴ GAL, SII, p. 812.

¹²⁹⁵ van den Berg, *Mohammedaansche godsdienstonderwijs*, p. 9f. A hundred years later, van Bruinessen (“Kitab Kuning”, p. 248 n. 41) encountered one Madurese and two Javanese interlinear translations of the text. It was also the most widely used book of *fiqh* in his sample after *Faṭḥ al-Mu'īn* and *Faṭḥ al-Qarīb*. *ibid.*, p. 264.

¹²⁹⁶ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 388.

In the field of *'aqīda/uṣūl al-dīn* the dominant place of *Umm al-barāhīn* and texts derived from it, already witnessed among the employed *jawi* books in this sphere, is also mirrored among the Arabic works. Indeed, all texts of the category, except *Jawharat al-tawhīd*, the well-known versified creed of the Indian Ash'ari scholar Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī (d. 1631), and a commentary to it¹²⁹⁷, are part of the large *sharḥ/hāshiya* cluster formed around al-Sanūsī's original *matn*¹²⁹⁸, which was of course also a subject of study on its own. These are the commentaries (or actually rather glosses to a commentary by the author) of Muḥammad al-Dasūqī (d. 1815) and Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (d. 1861), as well as *Kifāyat al-'awwām* by the latter's teacher Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faḍḍālī (d. 1821), which van Bruinessen describes as at least “partially based on the *Sanusi*” (i.e. *Umm al-barāhīn*)¹²⁹⁹.

Finally, a brief look on the Arabic books of *tafsīr* found in the sample is in order. In harmony with the state of affairs in other parts of the *jawi* ecumene, the *Jalālayn* was often the only work of the genre used for teaching purposes. This had already been the case at the time of van den Berg's research on Java and Madura, and Snouck Hurgronje had noted around the same time, that the Shāfi'i mufti Aḥmad Daḥlān, Arab doyen of the holy city's *jawi* community, and other Meccan scholars, relied “almost exclusively” on the works of the two Jalāls and al-Bayḍāwī and glosses thereon in their *tafsīr* classes¹³⁰⁰. Thus, the Qur'ānic commentaries on our list basically fit perfectly into the picture. The *Jalālayn* was taught by five teachers of our sample. Apart from that also the *hāshiya* of Sa'īd b. 'Umar al-Azharī al-Jamal (d. 1790), entitled *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya* and first printed at Bulāq 1275/1858¹³⁰¹, was taught by Tok Kenali (listed as *Tafsir Jamal*). Probably also the gloss of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khalwatī al-Ṣāwī (d. 1825), available in printed form from 1290/1873 onwards¹³⁰², was in circulation within the network¹³⁰³. The dominant role of the *Jalālayn* is of course even stronger brought into focus, if one considers that not only the *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd* was overwhelmingly based on this text, but that also over two thirds of those

¹²⁹⁷ Taught by Tok Kenali and Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang respectively.

¹²⁹⁸ GAL, II, p. 250f. & SII, p. 353-355.

¹²⁹⁹ van Bruinessen “Kitab Kuning”, p. 252. The same works are all also featuring prominently in his survey. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 251f.

¹³⁰⁰ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part*, p. 213.

¹³⁰¹ GAL, II, p. 145.

¹³⁰² GAL, S II, p. 180.

¹³⁰³ It has in any case served as one of four Arabic source *tafsīrs* for the above-mentioned Cham *jawi* translation of the Qur'ān recently produced in Kampong Cham. *Nūr al-ḍuḥā*, [p. v]. A recent Beirut edition of al-Ṣāwī's *hāshiya* has become the subject of controversy due to the fact that a passage, in which he compares the historic Kharijites to the Wahhābiyya of his day, has apparently been edited away. See “Tampering of Tafsir al-Sawi by the Wahhabi/Salafis”, *Salafi Aqeedah Blogspot*, November 27th 2011.

<http://salafiaqeedah.blogspot.co.at/2011/11/tampering-of-tafsir-as-sawi-by.html> (accessed December 16th 2013).

materials in al-Qadaḥī's *Tafsīr nūr al-Iḥsān*, which can be traced back to Arabic *tafsīrs*, are derived from either the original work or the gloss by al-Jamal¹³⁰⁴.

Yet, despite its predominant position, the *Jalālayn* and its glosses are not the only Arabic Qur'ānic commentaries in our sample, and by implication taught within the network. Unsurprisingly, given its well established place in the history of Southeast Asian Islam and the above-mentioned translation project for the text in Kelantan, also the *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* was employed, namely by Tok Kenali. More intriguing, however, is the fact that we find an unfortunately unspecified "*Tafsir Annasafi*" on the list of books taught by Hj. Ali Pulau Pisang at the *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah*. Indeed, both Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 1142), the author of the extremely successful Māturīdī catechism *al-'Aqā'id*¹³⁰⁵, as well as his younger namesake Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 1310) have produced a work of *tafsīr*. There can, however, be little doubt that it was the latter's *Madārik al-tanzīl* which was studied and not Najm al-Dīn's *Taysīr fī l-tafsīr*. Apart from the fact that *Madārik al-tanzīl* has enjoyed lasting popularity also in South Asia from the late 15th century until the present¹³⁰⁶, compelling evidence for its usage in our network comes from the sphere of publishing houses releasing materials, in *jawi* as well as Arabic, for the *jawi* ecumene. Thus, it is certainly not incidental that a 1328/1910 edition of al-Khāzin's *tafsīr*, complete with al-Nasafī's *Madārik al-tanzīl* printed in the margins, was financed by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and his sons¹³⁰⁷, the very proprietors of the Cairene printing press by the same name that not only employed Tok Kenali's illustrious student al-Marbawī but likewise produced on a major scale for, and distributed extensively among, the *jawi* ecumene. It may be reasonably assumed that the Ḥalabīs were safeguarding their investment by also opening up their Southeast Asian distribution channels for the dissemination of the work¹³⁰⁸. Once again it appears that the availability of

¹³⁰⁴ Mohd Sholeh Sheh Yusuff & Mohd Nizam Sahad, "Tafsir Nur Al-Ihsan by Syekh Muhammad Sa'id: An Intertextual Reading", *IJHSS*, III, 10 (2013), p. 168f.

¹³⁰⁵ It can rightfully be said that *al-'Aqā'id al-nasafiyya*, particularly through the commentary of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 1390), and al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* are together representing the by far most widely studied and commentated Sunni creeds. Cf. the truly impressive list of glosses and super-glosses to *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id al-nasafiyya* in GAL, I, p. 427f. & S I, p. 758-761.

¹³⁰⁶ Bruckmayr, "Spread and Persistence", p. 71.

¹³⁰⁷ 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin al-musammā lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī al-tanzīl wa bi hāmishihi tafsīr al-nasafī al-musammā madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyat al-Kubrā, 1328/1910), IV, p. 1.

¹³⁰⁸ Monetary gains were certainly not the least important incentive for book printers. Indeed, whereas Istanbul's booksellers have been found to have generally led modest existences, the standard of living of those who had established their own printing presses from the 19th century onwards was significantly higher. Orlin Sabev, "Rich Men, Poor Men: Ottoman Printers and Booksellers Making Fortune or Seeking Survival (18th-19th Centuries)", *Oriens*, XXXVII (2009), p. 177-190. Assumably, the experiences of booksellers turned printers in Cairo, Mecca, Bombay, Penang or Singapore were similar.

texts through printed editions and their distribution in (or into) the region was a crucial factor in the selection of texts for teaching and study.

Further support for this assumption comes from the field of hadith. Completely absent from van den Berg's survey and not well represented in our sample either, the study and teaching of this discipline has evidently remained of secondary importance to the agents of Jawization in Cambodia. Indeed, in our sample only Hj. Muhammad Saleh Kedah and the group of *kaum tua* scholars in Kampong Cham were noted to have also taught hadith collections. This is, of course, not to say that prophetic traditions were of no interest or consequence to Malay and Cambodian Muslim scholars of the day. Very much to the contrary, individual hadiths were for example regularly cited in the fatwas discussed above, just as the works of scholars such as al-Ghazālī, al-Palimbānī or Daud Patani were replete with hadith reports. It does seem, however, that such books of *fiqh*, Sufism and the like, where hadiths were deliberately put to use, rather than specific hadith collections themselves (except extremely concise ones such as the "Forty Hadiths" type¹³⁰⁹), constituted the prime media for the transmission of hadith in the ecumene in local schooling.

Hj. Muhammad Saleh Kedah and the group of Kampong Cham scholars of the late 1950s-1960s were noted to have relied upon *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī*, and on al-Nawāwī's *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* (referred to as *Ḥadīth al-ṣāliḥīn* by the interviewee) respectively, in their hadith lessons. Whereas the same cannot be said of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, compelling evidence again points to the role played by the Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and Sons Press in influencing teaching preferences in the *jawi* ecumene. Indeed, the *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī*, a selection of 700 traditions from the latter's collection by Muṣṭafā Muḥammad 'Umāra, was first published by this outlet in 1922, whereas 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī provided for the 1956 publication of *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*¹³¹⁰. As we know that also Li Musa and his co-*kaum muda* partisan Mat India were teaching hadith, and have in all probability just as all other spokesmen of the *kaum muda* in the region battled their opponents *inter alia* on the basis of hadith, which was regularly accompanied by charges of ignorance of this science against their detractors, it seems highly plausible that Hakem Tayyeb, Hj. Yahya Ibrahim and Tuon Said of Amphil (i.e. the group of teachers of our sample) have only begun their hadith lessons with the intensification of the conflict around 1960. Then the al-Ḥalabī edition would still have made a brandnew import.

¹³⁰⁹ van Bruinessen "Kitab Kuning", p. 254f.

¹³¹⁰ Muṣṭafā Muḥammad 'Umāra, *Jawāhir al-Bukhārī* (Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduhu, 1922); Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawāwī, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* (Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, [1956]).

At this point some observations are in order to re-connect the findings of our sample to religious change on the ground and the process of Jawization in Cambodia. Firstly, a number of indicators are highlighting the fact that the curricula relied upon in Patani and Kelantan as well as by exponents of the network teaching in Mecca and Kedah were faithfully reproduced by Cambodian scholars in their home country, perhaps commonly – as was already noted – with an even greater focus on the *jawi* materials of the canon. This is not only confirmed by the works taught by the Cambodian exponents of our sample from Battambang and Kampong Cham, which are fully tallying with the selections made by their Malay counterparts. It shall be further noted in this respect that Norea (Battambang) and Amphil (Kampong Cham) are not only distant from each other, but that also the ethnic make-up of the two sample communities is significantly different, i.e. predominantly Chvea in Norea and predominantly Cham in Amphil. This again seems to indicate that there were no notable differences in the course of Jawization among those local communities more strongly exposed and positively responding to it, whether Cham or Chvea.

Apart from the Cambodian section of our sample, there are naturally also other indicators for the reception and direct influence of the works of the canon on scholarly discourse and religious practice among the local Muslims. In this regard, reference has already been made to early local scholarly engagement with al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-barāhīn* as well as to direct invocations of *Sayr al-sālikīn*, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn* and *Bughyat al-mustarshidīn* in Cambodian fatwa requests. Likewise, also the intriguing discussion of the divine attributes and their proper renderings into Malay and Cham languages in *al-Fatāwā al-Faṭāniyya* was certainly a direct consequence of the study and teaching of texts of the canon such as Tuan Minal's *'Aqīdat al-nājīn* or Ahmad Patani's *Farīdat al-farā'id*. Intriguingly, friction was in that case – as has already been suggested above – probably caused by the very fact that *sifat dua puluh* texts were also part of local Islam's pre-Jawization heritage and scholarly culture¹³¹¹. Thorough engagement with books of the canon under the direction of major figures of our network is also testified to in an anecdote about Ahmad Patani's and Tok Kenali's Cambodian student Hj. Abdul Malik, which has come down to us. Thus, it is reported that the latter, of course himself by then also active as a teacher (at a Phnom Penh mosque), and his son had come to Kota Bharu in 1927 to ask Tok Kenali to teach them two specific works of the canon. These were Ahmad Patani's *Farīdat al-farā'id* and Daud Patani's *Munyat al-muṣallī*¹³¹².

¹³¹¹ Cf. VI.2.1. & VIII.3.

¹³¹² al-Ahmadi, *Tokoh dan Pokok*, p. 66.

As far as practice is concerned, there can be little doubt that it was actually affected by the study of the teachings contained in the books of the canon and presumably also often embodied by the persons teaching them. The direct and indirect references to individual books in the fatwa requests were also connected to particular ways of acting in the religious sphere, *inter alia* regarding the *qibla*, the attempted visualization of the prophet in prayer or the proper rendering of specific Arabic terms, and even the question of language choice in religious and ritual instruction. With the prominent place accorded to works specifying the details of *fiqh al-'ibādāt*, it should not come as a surprise that such elementary and - once raised - truly potentially disruptive questions of religious ritual, such as the correct direction of prayer et cetera, came to the forefront of scholarly discussions and then also intra-religious strife. As a result, more *kitab jawi*, such as Mat Sales' *Pedoman Bahagia* or Abu Talep's *Cermin Islam*, were produced to address these matters and clarify them, according to the viewpoint of the author (and possibly his faction) for wider audiences¹³¹³.

In this respect, the small but very specific handbooks on particular aspects of Islamic ritual by Daud Patani, such as *Īdāh al-bāb* and *Munyat al-muṣallī*, were certainly of considerable relevance in heightening the sensibilities for supposedly proper ritual performance throughout the *jawi* ecumene, from Patani to the Batak highlands and from Cape Town to Cambodia. Accordingly, also Bradley has suggested with reference to Daud's manuals such as *Īdāh al-bāb*, that "[t]he texts no doubt were a continued part of Islamic reform in the region"¹³¹⁴. Yet, this impetus was evidently not always met with appreciation and has therefore at times rather generated intra-community strife over correct practice. In Cambodia, for example, the wide dissemination of *Īdāh al-bāb* (and similar texts) had most probably contributed prominently and indeed eponymously to the emergence of *trimeu/kobuol* factionalism. Along the same lines, this particular case of intra-community dispute was of course on the whole only brought about by the unprecedented spread of *jawi* education and the concomitant introduction of a *jawi* canon of Islamic literature, both necessarily preceded and subsequently boosted by the growing conviction among ever-increasing parts of the community that contemporary *jawi* ways were (at least to a certain extent) worthy of emulation.

¹³¹³ Elsewhere in the ecumene not only the determination of the *qibla* but also the second major topic tackled by Mat Sales in his work, i.e. the calculation of the prayer times, has been of equally contentious nature, therefore similarly lending itself as a signifier for factional belonging. Thus, Minangkabau's Naqshbandiyya-Khālidīyya partisans were not only locally known as *kaum muda* and *kaum hajji*, but also as *kaum masa dulu* ("people of the earlier time"), due to their pronounced habit of performing the *ṣubḥ* prayer earlier than the local Shaṭṭari establishment. Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion*, p. 84f.

¹³¹⁴ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 326.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the agents, vehicles and avenues of Jawization in Cambodia and the Delta were manifold and variegated during the critical period between the late 19th century and the 1960s. Numerous Malay Islamic scholars and preachers, primarily from Kelantan and Patani, came to Cambodia to teach, either on a temporary basis or permanently, not only in or near urban centers but also in the villages of Kampong Cham, Kendal, Kampot and Chau Doc. On the other hand, a growing number of Cambodian Muslims went abroad in search for religious knowledge, joining the *jawi* teaching circles of Mecca or the al-Azhar's *riwāq al-jāwa* (i.e. the residential unit assigned to students of the ecumene)¹³¹⁵ and, in much greater numbers, attending the pondoks, suraus, madrasas and mosques of Kelantan, Patani and other places on the Malay Peninsula. Upon their return they were instrumental in the further spread of contemporary *jawi* styles of religious education and ways of religious practice, not only among the communities already exposed to Jawization but also to new frontiers such as inner Thbaung Khmum.

Despite the fact that the process just described had clearly already begun to manifest itself before the rise of figures such as Ahmad Patani, Hj. Awang and Tok Kenali, whom we have identified as main Malay anchors in a veritable network of Jawization strongly influencing Cambodian Islam during and far beyond their own lifetimes, there can be no doubt that their contribution was a major and, combined with the efforts of their most active local followers and counterparts as teachers, also a decisive one. Additionally, within this network also the framework of the Aḥmadiyya *ṭarīqa* apparently played an instrumental role for religious developments in Cambodia for some time. Main agents of Jawization in the country from among the locals were, as far as can be judged from the meagre sources available, Hj. Osman, Hj. Haroun and his son Mat Sales (all Phum Trea), perhaps the single most important figure for the spread of Jawization in Kampong Cham, Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey, Mat Sales of Phnom Penh and Mat Zayn of Norea (Battambang).

As testified to in the presented fatwas, Cambodian Muslims also kept direct contact with major Malay scholars, who may or may not have been their former teachers, in order to be able to solicit legal opinions and clarifications on doctrine and ritual as well as social practice. In this regard, also the *jawi* and, to a lesser degree, Arabic literature employed in the network and its outgrowths was shown to have played a major role. Indeed, our notion of Jawization was noted to rest to a considerable degree on the usage of a specific language

¹³¹⁵ Dodge, *Al-Azhar*, p. 202, 209.

and script, both together referred to as *jawi*. The (*jawi*) literature in question, though arguably consisting of a rather large number of works, was characterized by a large measure of standardization, therefore warranting its description as a canon of books for common religious instruction, with no noticeable major internal differentiation between Patani, Kelantan, Kedah or Cambodia. Clearly dominated by Patani authors of the 19th and 20th century, it also featured the works of foundational influences of trans-Southeast Asia Jawization, such as al-Banjārī and al-Palimbānī.

It has likewise been shown that also specific institutions and enterprises associated with the Ahmad Patani-Hj. Awang-Tok Kenali network were inextricably linked to the process of Jawization in Cambodia. These were most prominently Pondok/Surau Hj. Awang in Kota Bharu, the MUI of Kelantan with its *Madrasah al-Muhammadiyah* as main educational institution, *Pengasuh* as its press outlet and the *Meshuarat Ulama* as fatwa-issuing body, and the Meccan *al-Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā'ina/Maṭba'at al-Tarraqī al-Mājidiyyat al-'Uthmāniyya* under the direction of Ahmad Patani and his associates. This last point brings us to an important major technological factor behind Jawization in Southeast Asia as a whole and in Cambodia specifically. Indeed, printed books, besides steamships and railways (the latter clearly of lesser importance in Cambodia), played a major part in the process, and particularly in the unprecedented penetration of *jawi* books into ever new – urban as well as rural – constituencies. Accordingly, also the discussed canon of religious instruction and scholarly reference in Kelantan, Patani and Cambodia was one all too soon constituted of printed books rather than manuscripts, despite the fact that early works of the Patani scholars were of course first carried back to Southeast Asia in the form of hand-written copies, and that written notes and – as far as the modest numbers of Cham *jawi* books were concerned – also hand-written books remained important to students and teachers alike.

Although Ahmad Patani's role in the emergence of the canon has been specifically emphasized in the foregoing, also other publishers were highly active in the production and distribution of works found in our sample and, more broadly, the larger canon, which, generally speaking, apparently only differs from the former in its inclusion of yet some additional works by Daud and other Patani authors. Apart from different publishers at Singapore, which were responsible for the earliest Southeast Asian printings of works by Daud Patani, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī and al-Palimbānī, a printing press in Penang, *Maṭba'a Dār al-Ma'ārif*, must be mentioned. Founded by a Patani resident of Ḥaḍrami origin in 1954, not long after the Sulaiman Mar'i (also Mari'e) Press of Singapore, which had been

publishing books by the 19th century Patani authors for many years ceased operations¹³¹⁶, it became a prime Southeast Asian outlet for editions of Daud Patani's works¹³¹⁷. It will be remembered in this regard, that *inter alia* Li Musa was noted to have imported *jawi* teaching materials for his Cambodian network of schools from Penang. He was thus most probably a customer at the *Dār al-Ma'ārif* book store and printing press.

The longest-running publisher of our concern, however, is certainly Patani Press. Specialized in the publication of the works of later Patani writers, it has been active since 1938¹³¹⁸. Nowadays, virtually the whole canon of *jawi* books in question, including the works of the Banjārīs and perhaps also those of al-Palimbānī, is on sale in Thailand and Malaysia in the form of editions of the Patani-based *Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī*. Strikingly, also Khālid Shaykh Sālim al-Halabī, the owner of this enterprise, is of Ḥaḍrami descent¹³¹⁹, which once more testifies to the fact that Arab migrants were contributors to Jawization on several levels, including not only in the writing of Arabic and *jawi* religious literature but also in the publication of works by major *jawi* authors.

Yet, despite all these activities in Mecca and on the Malay Peninsula, the paramount role of an by now already familiar family of publishers in Cairo in supplying books for teachers and students in Patani, Kelantan and Cambodia as well as original editions for the local printing presses of Penang and Patani must be emphasized. Thus, we have already come across the *Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduhu* as well as across his son 'Īsā's linked enterprise several times in the course of this study. We have witnessed that the Ḥalabīs were not only responsible for editions of many of the Arabic works found in our sample, but had also enlisted the services of *jawi* scholars of high standing in and major influence on the Cambodian Muslim community, such as Ahmad Patani and al-Marbawī. Moreover, although this has been overlooked so far, the cooperation between Ahmad Patani (and others of his circle) and the Ḥalabīs, and not – as one would be inclined to expect – Mecca's *al-Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā'ina*, represents also the decisive link between the editions of Patani (and other) books of the canon by *Maṭba'a Dār al-Ma'ārif* in Penang and earlier Middle Eastern printings of the same texts. Indeed, already Matheson and Hooker have noted that most of *al-Ma'ārif's* publications in the field were direct reprints of works put out by a *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya* in Cairo, but had been unable to furnish any information about this publisher. As more recent reprints of these early Cairene editions are now freely available

¹³¹⁶ Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 53.

¹³¹⁷ Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 54.

¹³¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 53; Madmarn, *Pondok and Madrasah*, p. 54.

¹³¹⁹ *ibid.*

through Patani's *Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī*, it has become clear, that *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya* was also an organ of the Ḥalabīs¹³²⁰.

Even though Bradley doubts that *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya* made significant contributions to *jawi* printing prior to the First World War¹³²¹, let alone during Ahmad Patani's lifetime, its 1300/1883 edition of Sayyid Bakrī's *I'ānat al-ṭālibīn* with an Arabic poem by the former inserted in the text¹³²², is a clear indication that a working relationship between the two parties existed already at a date this early. It would only have been reasonable for this cooperation also to result in *jawi* publications. Accordingly, also the *Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī* reproduction of what was certainly the 1900 edition of *Ṣabīl al-muhtadīn* by *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, credited to 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī¹³²³, contains a Malay colophon and Arabic verses of Ahmad Patani¹³²⁴. Later *jawi* publications of the printing press were probably (but not necessarily) based on *al-Maṭba'at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā'ina* editions.

¹³²⁰ Cf. (*inter alia*) Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, II, p. 269; Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī, *Furū' al-Masā'il*, II, p. 389; Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, *Aqīdat al-nājīm*, p. 140 (all with reference to 'Īsā in connection with the *Dār Iḥyā'*, whereas in other titles mention is only made of 'Īsā as the original publisher without a press name). Yet, *Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī* also reprints original editions prepared by *Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlāduhu*. Cf. (*inter alia*) ['Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī], *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (Patani: *Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī*, n.d.), p. 35.

¹³²¹ Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 489f.

¹³²² Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā' al-Dimyāṭī, *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn 'alā Ḥall Alfāz Fath al-Mu'īn* (Cairo: *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, 1300/1883), IV, p. 188f.

¹³²³ Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd al-Allāh al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn li tafaqquh fī amr al-dīn* (Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī/ *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, [1900]).

¹³²⁴ Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, II, p. 268.

VII. The French role in Jawization and factionalism in Cambodian Islam

“[I]l a constaté qu’actuellement la religion cham s’écarterait beaucoup trop des préceptes et ces rites qui sont la base même de sa création et il a décidé de l’y ramener”. Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur le Résident-Maire de la ville de Phnom Penh (1932).

“[L]e nommé [...] et consorts allaient faire des prières dans un pagoda voisine de la sienne, manifestant ainsi son intention de créer une secte dont il serait le Chef[...] et qui serait hostile à celle qui est reconnue par S.M. le Roi du Cambodge”. Monsieur Richez, Gaston, Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3^{ème} Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh (1933).

This chapter will elucidate the role of the French colonial administration in the process of Jawization in Cambodia and in its accompanying instances of factionalism. It will be shown in the following that it was not only the stronger degree of hierarchization and standardization of the religious administration and religious education (and therefore partly also of religious authority) as such, introduced by the French for the Muslim community and for Khmer Buddhism along similar lines, which, in addition to the different mechanisms and conditions – local as well as extra-local – discussed above, propelled the spread of Jawization as well as the emergence of contending factions within Cambodian Islam. Indeed, the mentioned hierarchization could only unleash its potential for Jawization *inter alia* through a number of administrative policies carried out by the French, and due to certain specific assumptions they commonly held regarding Islam as a religion and its practices.

As far as the first point is concerned, it will become clear that the examinations for officially accredited Islamic religious teachers and their schools, as designed by the colonial authorities, rendered it virtually impossible for any representative of the component of Cambodian Islam less touched by Jawization, let alone any *kobuol* advocate of the rejection of *jawi* influence on religious education, to acquire such official license and recognition. Contrarily, the path to Muslim dignitary positions, traditionally also bound to considerations of valorizing and achieving the political loyalty of particular segments of the Muslim community distributed in specific localities, was initially not automatically blocked for members of the latter part of the spectrum of Cambodian Islam. Yet, despite the fact that certain *kobuol* dignitaries and even the *oknha khmour* of Au Russey were still office-

holders in the 1930s, the decline of the former had by then obviously already started and would prove irreversible.

Whereas the *oknha khnours* as heads of a comparably insulated community were to apparently remain more or less undisturbed by local competition to their authority, this was clearly not the case with *kobuol* mosque leaders in divided or in any case diversified communities. As was shown in various instances in chapters five and six of this study, the (by the 1900s already thoroughly) *trimeu* official leadership in Phnom Penh, for which, not least due to its subservience to the political demands of the French and the king, the maintenance of order was a main priority, did not in all cases of internal conflict in different localities automatically side with the *trimeu* faction. Nevertheless, in most known cases it did. As will be shown, the same can be said of the French authorities, despite often expressed convictions that it would be preferable not to intervene in disputes of an exclusively religious character. Moreover, against the background of the accelerating process of Jawization in the country documented in previous chapters, it was only natural that the power and authority of its discontents commonly faced a gradual decline. French ethnographic studies of Cambodian Muslims as well as the interference in traditional Islamic religious education partly informed by them played their part in furthering this process.

1. The French privileging of the *jawi* element in Islamic education

One striking feature of the French administration's policies towards Cambodia's Muslim minority was its obvious privileging of the *jawi* element in (higher) Islamic education in the country, through the process it introduced for the examination of officially accredited and registered religious teachers. The scheme devised for that purpose exhibits a clear tendency towards viewing proficiency in Malay language and *jawi* script as a necessary precondition to exercise this function. Less clear, however, are the reasons that gave rise to this conviction on the administrations part. Yet, the opinions arrived at and expressed by colonial administrator-scholars appear to have played an important role in it.

We have seen in preceding chapters that administrator-scholars such as Moura, Aymonier and others as well as professional scholars such as Cabaton and Ner, all sharing a keen interest in Cambodian Muslims, had consistently expressed the view that Malay and Arabic were the only languages of relevance in Islamic education in the country as soon as it came

down to the usage of written materials. It would only be reasonable to assume that the opinions of these experts also influenced the decision making process concerning the functioning of private schools providing education in foreign languages, although we are arguably lacking clear evidence for this. That the knowledge produced by these scholars indeed informed administrative policies has, however, become evident in connection with the overall legal status of Cambodian Muslims, Chams as well as “Malays” (i.e. Chvea), in the country.

Indeed, a royal ordinance of 1897 had, perhaps in misled anticipatory obedience towards the French and with support of the head of the colonial judiciary service, suddenly ruled that the local Chams and Malays were to be treated as foreigners and thus subject to French and not Cambodian jurisdiction¹³²⁵. As already Ner was content to note, this ruling was revoked upon the intervention of a certain Dr. Hahn, acting on the judiciary’s behalf, in 1904, when “the Muslims, Chams or Malays, were [legally] reintegrated into the Cambodian community after a period of indecision during which their status was ill-defined”¹³²⁶. What the former did not tell us, however, was the particular background to this final ruling, which goes some way to demonstrate how colonial scholarly knowledge production was deployed in adjudication and policy making.

Thus, it appears that this restoration of the pre-1897 legal status of Cambodian Muslims only came about through a law suit filed by three Muslim residents of Chroy Changvar, described alternately as *malais* or *malais chams* and including a religious functionary (Katep [*khaṭīb*] Mat), against the local *balat* (mayor). In the course of this case, which necessarily brought up the question of the proper legal status of the litigants, also the opinion of the mentioned Dr. Hahn was solicited. More importantly for our present concern, the court also consulted a number of academic works to arrive at a decision. Apart from various contributions to BEFEO and the exploration reports of de Langrée and Francis Garnier, these also included Aymonier’s *Le Cambodge* and Cabaton’s “[Nouvelles r]echerches sur les Chams”. Likewise, a report by Louis Finot, the founding director of the *École Française de l’Extrême-Orient* (established in 1901 in Saigon), addressed to the Governor General in 1900

¹³²⁵ Still in 1894 Leclère had noted that Chams and Malays were generally regarded or in any case treated as indigenous peoples and were therefore also subject to head tax. Adhémard Leclère, *Recherches sur le droit public des Cambodgiens* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1894), p. 269.

¹³²⁶ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 195. Within the Indochinese dominions of the French as a whole as well as in Cambodia, the status of the Chams (and other non-Khmer groups) continued to be subject of debate and changing legal practice until the 1920s. M.B. Hooker, *A Concise Legal History of South-East Asia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 180f.

and clarifying the regions of origin and settlement of Malays and Chams, was cited¹³²⁷. The final judgement to the case then again made reference to Dr. Hahn stating that the Malays in Cambodia had the same privileges and obligations as other Cambodians from whom they only differed in religious orientation, and that moreover, apart from a small fraction of them considered as “foreign Asiatics”, none had been born outside of the country. Following a report by the *résident supérieur* Henri de Lamothe (d. 1926), a former governor of the Senegal, to the Governor General of Indochina (dated May 23rd 1904), a notification was issued that also Chams were *assimilated foreign Asiatics* with equal status before the law and that this was to be turned into an official decree¹³²⁸. Yet, as will become evident with respect to French policies regarding Islamic education, “Malay” continued to be the most widely used label with reference to Cambodian Muslims way into the 1930s. It was thus only in 1937, and most probably again after scholarly input, that a circular of the French Resident Léon Thibaudeau (in office 1936-1941) stipulated that “the inhabitants of Cambodia designated with the name ‘Malays’ are in reality Chams, who have come to establish themselves in Cambodia after the conquest of their land” and were therefore henceforth to be designated as such in official documents¹³²⁹.

It must be noted that the problem of the legal status of Chams, Chvea and Malays had prior to the issuance of the decree of 1904 also surfaced in another court case, which revolved around a group of five “Malays” from Kampong Tralach district charged with murder¹³³⁰. Again alerting us to the commonly careless application of the labels “Malay” and “Cham” by French authorities, three persons of the group, which even included the *mesrok* (district chief) of Chhouk Sar, identified themselves as Chams. The *mesrok*, in turn, indeed appears to have been “Malay” (i.e. Chvea), thus supporting our earlier contention that central authorities at that time exhibited a tendency towards appointing Chvea (perhaps due to greater Khmer proficiency) as civil administrators in this area even in predominantly Cham villages such as Khleang Sbek and Chhouk Sar¹³³¹. The last of the accused, however, claimed upon investigation that he was a 33-year old “naturalized Malay”. Intriguingly, this

¹³²⁷ Even though EFEO had not yet been founded at the time of this report, Finot’s position as its director was duly acknowledged at court. Highly reflective of the often politically combative nature of colonial knowledge production, Finot had highlighted the dangers of neglect of scholarship in French Indochina by reference to advances in the field by rival colonial empires in his inaugural address. Strikingly, the two examples he provided were the first translation of a Khmer inscription as completed by a Dutchman and the first study of Cham grammar as produced by a German scholar. Edwards, *Cambodge*, p. 36.

¹³²⁸ ANC-RSC 12722.

¹³²⁹ Circulaire du RSC Thibaudeau à Résident Maires de Phnom Penh et Battambang, Résidents, Chefs de Provinces, Chefs services locaux”, May 25th 1937, ANC-RSC 35468.

¹³³⁰ ANC-RSC 12722.

¹³³¹ Cf. V.4.2.

individual not only bore the name Set Mat, which of course serves as a reminder of Moura's assertion of the 1880s that it was the (self-proclaimed) descendants of Malay sultans who were the holders of the hereditary *set* title in Cambodia, but was also noted to be "professor in a Malay school" in the province (i.e. present Kampong Chhnang, then Lovek).

Although it is unclear whether the person in question was indeed one of the Malay scholars settling down as religious teachers in the country or was merely emphasizing his family's proclaimed Malay descent (in other words, his Chvea-ness), the French documentation nevertheless draws attention to a crucial aspect of colonial convention regarding our present subject of enquiry. Thus, as has already become evident in chapter five, Protectorate authorities primarily and routinely regarded Islamic schools in the country plainly as "Malay" ones, thereby implicitly officially recognizing Jawization and inadvertently aiding the process. Accordingly, this attitude subsequently further contributed to the increased momentum of Jawization as regulations for private schools were drafted in accordance with a succession of decrees on the matter, issued from 1924 (or even 1911¹³³²) onwards and culminating in the guidelines for the examination and certification of Islamic teachers under the rubric of "Chinese, Malay or Burmese personnel of primary or elementary Chinese, Malay or Burmese private schools of Cambodia" in 1933¹³³³.

As per the 1933 decree, "two exams of capability reserved for Chinese, Malay and Burmese with the intention to exercise the functions of direction or teaching in respective private schools" were to be held annually in Phnom Penh, with the option for an additional second round of examinations in cases of necessity. The exams were further to be presided over by a commission, the members of which were to be nominated by the French Resident. This commission had to feature, somewhat unrealistically, "at least two French professors or French or indigenous notables characterized by knowledge of each of the Chinese dialects and Malay as well as Burmese languages". In the absence of such outstanding examiners individual notables known for their knowledge of these languages could also be appointed members of the jury¹³³⁴.

The examinations were to consist of standardized written and oral exams in the respective languages. Hereby the crucial point concerning Jawization was that the rules for the former clearly stated that the candidates had to produce a text in Chinese, Malay or Burmese

¹³³² One relevant document also contains a reference to a related decree of October 20th 1911. ANC-RSC 8592.

¹³³³ ANC-RSC 8787 (original decree); 8465 (printed and edited version evidently used for distribution to concerned government bodies). In the following references will be to the pagination of the latter.

¹³³⁴ ANC-RSC 8465, "Arrête", p. 1f.

characters (*composition d'écriture d'après un modèle en caractères chinois, malaise ou birmans*)¹³³⁵. There can of course be no doubt that it was the *jawi* script which was referred to as “Malay characters”. Similarly, the mandatory reading and explanation of a passage in the respective languages, which formed part of the oral exam¹³³⁶, must have undoubtedly also had a *jawi* text as its basis. Among the necessary documents to be submitted beforehand by the candidates of our concern to local directorates of education was *inter alia* a recommendation and guarantee of moral conduct (*cautionnement moral et garantie*) by the “Chef malais” (i.e. the *changvang* as leader of the Muslim community)¹³³⁷. Other regulations related, among others, to issues of sanitation and the minimum age of teachers and directors of private schools. Already functioning schools which had exhibited a basic willingness to comply with an earlier decree issued in 1930 were given a period of six months of delay to conform to the regulations of the notification at hand¹³³⁸.

Whereas it is neither sufficiently clear from the *arrête* of 1933 that indeed also Cham schools, and therefore Islamic schools in general, are subsumed under the label of “Malay private schools”, nor that references to “Malay characters” are necessarily denoting the *jawi* script, circumstantial evidence from other French documents are strongly supporting both these hypotheses. Only a selection of suggestive references encountered in archival sources shall suffice to elucidate this point. Firstly, also the local agents of Jawization themselves are seen in the sources as routinely conflating Malay and Islamic schools, which is easily understandable, given their full espousal of *jawi* Malay as religious supra-language and language of religious instruction. Thus a letter (dated October 17th 1935) by the Chroy Changvar-born Islamic scholar Katoeu-Ya (Yahya b. Abd al-Qadir), an early holder of the now required certificate of capability, laments the revocation of his license to establish a school in Kampong Treas (Kampong Cham) for political reasons in familiar terms. Thus, he states that he and his colleagues regretted the ban on his “teaching of the Malay language”. In that connection, he further asserted that “his instruction is in no way concerned with questions of a political nature that could disturb public order, because it always follows the

¹³³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 5. As can be gleaned from items of the documentation process, at least in Kampong Cham also the provincial “chief of the Malays” (i.e. the *oknha borates changvang*) was entitled to issue such certificates. ANC-RSC 8772. Along the same lines candidates for Buddhist ordination needed to provide the same kind of document, as issued by their village chief. Forest, “Buddhism and Reform”, p. 27.

¹³³⁸ ANC-RSC 8465, “Arrête”, p. 6.

rules of the Muhammadan religion, the Qur'ān, a book which taught nothing but the decency and morals of man”¹³³⁹.

Secondly, it must be noted that Cham language was strikingly completely absent from French considerations regarding private schooling for local non-Khmers. Indeed, also the aforementioned earlier decree of 1930, which had specified that private schools with Chinese, Burmese or Malay as language of instruction could be legally established or, in the case of existant ones, allowed to function upon completion of the introduced registration process, made no provisions for Cham language. In contrast, already a July 1932 recommendation by the Governor General, which obviously influenced the 1933 regulations, stated that the candidate should be asked to produce “calligraphic writing after a Chinese, Burmese or Malay model” during the future exams¹³⁴⁰. Although this particular formulation perhaps had specifically Chinese characters in mind, it was also at this instance certainly the *jawi* script which was referred to as the Malay model.

The confusion of French officials in the face of the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual make-up of a Muslim community commonly envisaged as a single unified one is, together with the accompanying inconsistent labelling of its members as either Chams or Malays, also evident in a correspondence between the civil service administrator of the Resident in Kampong Cham and the local director of education. Here it is noted that the two outstanding major “Malay” schools of the province “at Kompong-Trea and at Krauchmar, are directed by *Malay* scholars, who are instructing the children to read and right *Tamil*, the national language of the *Chams* of Southern Indochina and *Malaysia*”¹³⁴¹. Needless to say, even though Tamil Muslims did play a role in the Muslim community of Phnom Penh at that time, we can stay assured that it was *jawi* Malay (and not Tamil) which was taught at the respective schools.

Whereas such mislabeling of *jawi* as Tamil was most probably an isolated incident, references to the profession of “teacher of *jawi* script” (*mâitre/professeur des characters malaises*) – undoubtedly based on already prevailing usage - consistently occur in the documentary sources after the passing of the 1933 regulations¹³⁴², including in reference

¹³³⁹ ANC-RSC 8772.

¹³⁴⁰ “Circulaire de Gouverneur Général”, July 7th 1932, ANC-RSC 27006.

¹³⁴¹ “Résidence de Kompong-Cham. L’Administrateur des Services civils Résident de France à Monsieur le Chef local du Service local du Service de l’Enseignement au Cambodge”, September 17th 1931, ANC-RSC 27006. As this appears to actually refer to the two large schools of Hj. Osman and Hj. Haroun/Mat Sales in Phum Trea, the geographical information should assumingly be read as “Kampong Trea in Krauchhmar” instead. Emphases mine.

¹³⁴² A case in point is the aforementioned Moth Hj. Taos/Touos, educated in Patani and Mecca, whose outstanding language proficiency is emphasized by the administration. ANC-RSC 2619 & 8592 (documents are dating to 1933-1937).

even to individuals explicitly noted as being of “Cham nationality”¹³⁴³. Contrarily, and this is perhaps the strongest indicator of the French administration’s understanding of *jawi* as the script of Cambodian Muslims, there are also documents from the first half of the 1930s at our disposal in which reference is made to demonstrated proficiency in the “Cham characters” in connection with the certificates issued after successful examinations¹³⁴⁴. Similarly, a fatwa written in *jawi* Malay and sent to the *changvang* by an Islamic scholar from Patani is likewise described as “a letter in Cham script” by French authorities¹³⁴⁵.

It must be noted, however, that not all Islamic schools were falling under the guidelines for Malay primary and elementary schools. Indeed, smaller village Qur’anic schools initially came to be labeled as familial schools, for which official monitoring was deemed unnecessary. Thus, a report from Kampong Cham clarified that there existed no Malay private school proper in the province (*qu’il n’existe aucune école malaise ayant un caractère privé dans la circonscription*) in 1931. Instead, two different types of “small Malay schools” were found to be prevalent. The first type would be strictly religious in character and located in the vicinity of village mosques. There a “religious” would teach the “young Malays” their Arabic prayers, without them acquiring the ability to write. Thus, it was concluded that these establishments were “not schools in the proper sense of the word” and should accordingly not be interfered with. The second type, in contrast, was thought to consist of the abovementioned “Tamil” schools, each attended by 30-40 “Malay” students desiring the ability to read and write “Tamil” (i.e. *jawi*). Strikingly, the French official drafting the report expected that any future colonial intervention into the working of these two schools would be unlikely to yield the desired results. Considering the concerned “Malay” teachers to be strongly endowed with the “independent character of that race”, he predicted that they would rather refrain from teaching than complying with regulations they might disapprove of. Accordingly, the report closes with an appeal for the creation of “Tamil schools in order to instruct the Malay element [i.e. in a fashion deemed as adequate for the context of Protectorate Cambodia], which totally ignores written Cambodian [i.e. Khmer] and will continue to do so under the pretext of religion”¹³⁴⁶.

¹³⁴³ When Talos Mat of Koh Sautin district in Kampong Cham asked for an official permission to move his school from one village to another within the *srok* in 1937, he described himself as such. This did, however, not keep the French officials taking care of the matter from calling him a Malay. The local witnesses on his *acte de notoriété* (issued in the absence of a birth certificate) as well as the applicant himself signed in *jawi* (the latter merely with Ahmad). ANC-RSC 8771.

¹³⁴⁴ “Rapport” (on “Malay” schools in Chroy Changvar), October 4th 1934, ANC-RSC 8465.

¹³⁴⁵ ANC-RSC 35825 (dated May 3rd 1932).

¹³⁴⁶ “Résidence de Kompong-Cham”, September 17th 1931, ANC-RSC 27006. Also in the area of colonial medicine and hygiene the Muslims of Kampong Cham appeared to be particularly uncooperative. In the early

This piece of correspondence between French officials in the Cambodian Cham heartland of Kampong Cham and the capital is of interest for several reasons. Firstly, it shows that also non-scholarly French observers had become aware of the fact that the most important written language for Cambodian Muslims was neither Khmer nor Arabic but *jawi* Malay. On the other hand, the assertion that all Islamic village schools in Kampong Cham, except the two major institutions in Phum Trea, were exclusively devoted to memorization of the Qur’ān was evidently an exaggeration. As was demonstrated in the two preceding chapters, *jawi* materials were at that time widely used also in smaller establishments. Nevertheless, the respective remarks could also be taken as indicators of the significant degree to which Jawization made local progress in the few years elapsing between this report and Ner’s research. Likewise, the assertion that hardly any Islamic school in the area (and this certainly also concerned many places where *jawi* texts were indeed studied) prepared its students to also write in Arabic/*jawi* script was certainly correct.

Intriguingly, the report in question appears to have made a considerable impact on subsequent discussions and decisions regarding Islamic schools. Thus, the minutes of a meeting of the educational council for Cambodia in 1932 show the council fully subscribing to the view that the Qur’ānic schools in the provinces are not private schools but *écoles familiales*, whereas in the important Malay schools (again only the two institutions at “Kompong-Trea and at Krauchmar” are invoked) “only the Qur’ān and other holy books were being taught”. Based on this information, the council concluded that official schools for minority education should be established in the provincial capitals. Moreover, after reference to the presumed fact that the terms “family” and “brothers” were differently defined in the “Far East”, it was ruled that schools with up to 18 students were to be treated as unregulated familial schools¹³⁴⁷.

Both decisions were later put into practice somewhat unevenly. The envisaged Malay schools in the provincial capitals were never set up. Instead, existing Islamic schools were – with varying degrees of success – made to conform to the regulations drafted in 1933. Similarly, particularly (or perhaps only) in Phnom Penh, unregistered schools already

20th century French doctors reported the continued reliance on meanwhile forbidden traditional Cham-Malay methods of smallpox variolation, as executed by their own doctors, “to whom they are very attached”, at the expense of French vaccination programs. In regions with a much lower Cham/Chvea presence, such as Takeo, Khmer and Muslim populations both exhibited greater receptivity towards colonial medicine than the local Vietnamese and Chinese. Jan Ovesen & Ing-Britt Trankell, *Cambodians and their Doctors. A Medical Anthropology of Colonial and Post-Colonial Cambodia* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2010), p. 32, 55-58, 76 (quotation from p. 32); Laurent Joseph Gaide & Henri Désiré Marie Bodet, *La variole et les vaccinations jennériennes en Indochine* (Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1930), p. 10f.

¹³⁴⁷ “Procès-verbal de la reunion du conseil local de l’enseignement au Cambodge”, October 2nd 1932, ANC-RSC 27006.

functioning in 1933, which had less than 18 students and would therefore have fallen into the category of *écoles familiales*, were not safe from French interference into their affairs. Much to the contrary many such Chroy Changvar schools almost immediately faced closure with the introduction of the 1933 regulations¹³⁴⁸. The latter state of affairs appears to be related to the last aspect of the repercussions of the cited report from Kampong Cham, which had hinted at the stubbornness of the eminent Muslim teachers in Phum Trea. Thus, it was noted by an official in Phnom Penh that “some of these unauthorized schools are imparting education which is more or less tendentious, as is being done in Kampong Cham”¹³⁴⁹. Assumably also the abovementioned revocation of Katoeu-Ya’s license for the establishment of a school in the province needs to be viewed against this background.

It must be noted, however, that, despite all rhetoric of tendentious teachings and proposed interventions, the schools of Hj. Osman and Hj. Haroun/Mat Sales in Phum Trea apparently continued to function unmolested by the authorities into Ner’s time and beyond. Even though certificates in accordance with the 1933 or earlier regulations were evidently also issued (and sometimes revoked) to teachers in provinces such as Kampot, Kampong Thom and Kampong Cham in the late 1920s and 1930s¹³⁵⁰, it seems as if serious colonial supervision of Islamic schools was a temporary affair and nowhere as effectively carried out as in Chroy Changvar. This was certainly also related to the fact that the latter, in contrast to Muslim villages such as Chrang Chamres or Norea in Battambang, had early on legally become a town quarter and was thus directly subject to the city administration of the capital. It must further be noted that it was only 1936 that certificates for teachers obtained in Cambodia were declared to be also valid in Cochinchina and other parts of French Indochina¹³⁵¹.

¹³⁴⁸ “Rapport”, October 4th 1934, ANC-RSC 8465. This document enumerated nine schools in Chroy Changvar, complete with basic data about their directors and number of students. French authorities advocated measures to be taken against seven of these, although only one of them had more than 18 students. The two exceptions were the institutions directed by Hj. Taos, a scholar educated in Patani and Mecca (cf. V.4.2.), and Hj. Sop. The latter was the only scholar on the list already in his 60s and probably represented a more antiquated form of education, perhaps indeed entirely focused on Qur’ān memorization. As his student body had shrunken to only two persons by 1934, it was decided not to interfere with his teaching. Even though the concerned folder does not contain any evidence for the actual closure of the schools in question, Ner’s report on Chroy Changvar a few years later hardly allows any other conclusion. Indeed, he encountered only two schools there, both of which were certified. Whereas Hj. Taos’ school was certainly still operative, also the eminent Mat Sales had meanwhile opened and registered his establishment by then. While there is evidence that Hj. Sop was likewise still active as late as 1939, his endeavors went most probably unnoticed.

¹³⁴⁹ “Le Chef local du Service de l’Enseignement à Monsieur le Chef du Service de la Sûreté, à Phnom Penh”, September 22th 1934, ANC-RSC 8465.

¹³⁵⁰ Cf. ANC-RSC 31709 for schools in Kbal Romeas, Kampot (1934-1937); ANC-RSC 27286 for Tuol Lovieng, Kampong Thom (1928); ANC-RSC 31714 for Kampong Kendal, Kampot (1934-1937); ANC-RSC 26929 for Svay Khleang, Kampong Cham (1933-1934). The latter case concerns the 1934 revocation of the certificate issued to the aforementioned Patani scholar Ses Nor (alias Nihak Ninaw) the year before, after he was charged with tax evasion and identity fraud.

¹³⁵¹ ANC-RSC 31705.

As was to be expected, Resident Thibaudeau's circular of 1937, which stipulated "Chams" as the label to be officially used for the people hitherto designated as "Malays", only had a minimal bearing on the jargon of French officials concerned with Islamic schools, notwithstanding the fact that the *changvang* was now indeed at times referred to as *Chef des Cham*¹³⁵². Thus, whereas a 1938 decree once more specifying the mandatory language experts of the examination commissions listed five Chinese "dialects" and the Malay language¹³⁵³, it was soon explained by the director of the local educational service to the Resident that for the Chams one or two scholars proficient in "Cham and Arabic characters" were necessary. Again, despite the fact that Malay was now substituted by Cham, it must have been *jawi* which was meant. Accordingly, when a Chroy Changvar scholar by the name of Man Ahmad (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) was appointed to the commission upon suggestion of the Muslim "congregation" (i.e. was put forward by the *changvang*) the same year, he was noted to be responsible for Malay and Arabic¹³⁵⁴. In sum, there is absolutely no indication that Cham language was ever considered in the examinations for Muslim religious teachers, albeit the majority of candidates must have necessarily been in their majority Chams, even if immigrant Malays and Chvea should have been disproportionately represented in this sector. It is therefore evident that French attempts at regulating "Malay" (i.e. Islamic) schooling in Cambodia represented no obstacle for the process of Jawization in the country. Much to the contrary, it rather confirmed its saliency and even contributed to its further spread and increased momentum.

2. From observation to adjudication: The French as referees in intra-Muslim disputes

As was demonstrated above, the French colonial power contributed to the process of Jawization, besides infrastructural development naturally facilitating processes of de-localization such as Jawization, *inter alia* through its measures directed at the hierarchization and bureaucratization of religious authority and its policies for minority

¹³⁵² Official translation of a letter by *changvang* Amat Hj. Ismael (Hj. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad) to the Minister of the Interior and Cults (August 23rd 1939), ANC-RSC 34000. In an accompanying document again the expression *Chef des Malais* is used.

¹³⁵³ In contrast to the regulations of 1933, the Burmese language was no longer mentioned as the only Burmese school in the country (unsurprisingly located in the area of Pailin in northwestern Cambodia, where Burmese settlers were heavily involved in gem extraction and trade), had closed down in 1932. ANC-RSC 27006. It was only in 1940 that once more a Burmese from Pailin was appointed to the commission. ANC-RSC 26924. On Pailin see Takako Kitagawa, "The Emergence of Pailin. The Land of Sapphires", MRDTB, LXVII (2009), p. 109-127.

¹³⁵⁴ ANC-RSC 26922. Man Ahmad retained this position at least until 1940 as he presided over the exams of Muslim teachers also in 1939 and 1940. ANC-RSC 26923 & 26924.

education. Whereas the latter were necessarily detrimental to the interests of figures weary of or even strongly opposed to Jawization, such as the *oknha khnour* of Au Russey or the religious specialists from among the *kobuol*, this was, as has already been discussed, less so with the more ambiguous French policies towards Muslim dignitaries, even though the eventual outcomes were indeed similar. Yet, as can be inferred from the survival of the position of *oknha khnour* into present times, not to mention the completely unprecedented measure of authority over far-flung communities which it has acquired since the late 1990s (see chapter eight), French sanctioning and endorsement of pre-colonial practices in the distribution of titles has at least in this individual case also served to preserve a limited sphere of assertiveness for Islamic discursive traditions outside of the dominant trend towards Jawization.

The French role in the observation, surveillance and eventually also adjudication of intra-religious disputes within the Muslim community was of a similarly ambiguous nature. Thus, despite often voiced colonial resolution to keep aloof from internal conflicts of the Muslim community deemed to be of an entirely religious character, the French at times indeed felt compelled to act as referees in certain cases. Particularly so, when they unfolded close to home (i.e. near or in the capital and/or involving their delegate, the *changvang*) and it was felt that the situation was likely to get out of hand and lead to upheavals threatening social peace. Then, it was, besides security considerations and a desire to keep the religious leaders invested by the king and themselves in place, again colonial assumptions about “true” Islam which came into the equation.

As we are unfortunately lacking comparable extensive archival materials on disputes along the lines of *kobuol/trimeu* factionalism (the limited amount at our disposal has already been presented and discussed in chapter five), which was, however, thoroughly observed by Ner, it is contrarily an intra-*trimeu* conflict that will be scrutinized here. What follows will focus on a single exemplary case, unfolding in the period 1931-1935 (with its repercussions still being felt as late as 1939) and involving most prominently the *changvang* Hj. Tuorman (‘Abd al-Raḥmān, d. 1935), the prominent religious teacher Mat Sales of Chroy Changvar, who was identified by Ner a couple of years later as one of the actual spiritual leaders of the Cambodian Muslim community, and the lesser known Chroy Changvar scholar Hj. Kateur (‘Abd al-Qādir). Lacking the crucial aspect of entity, which would have provided it with the potential for an expansion beyond the confines of Chroy Changvar and closely related communities near the capital, it does therefore not relate to the two main instances of factionalism that we have been concerned with in this study so far, i.e. *kobuol/trimeu* and

kaum tua/kaum muda disputes. Yet, the case at hand is nevertheless highly instructive regarding the dynamics of Jawization and factionalism in Cambodia. Firstly, as can be inferred from the second opening quotation of this chapter, even the French themselves understood the actions of Hj. Kateur, one of the case's main actors, as being aimed at establishing his own faction (or, in their words, sect) within Cambodian Islam.

More pertinently, the case at hand brings together many of the main threads of this study: the role of royal and colonial authorities in valorizing religious and ethnic capital; the similarly prominent place within the community of religious scholars - Cambodians as well as visiting Malays - not invested with official positions and titles by the former; mosques as contested territory; recourse to legal opinions of scholars on/from the Malay Peninsula and in Mecca on contentious issues of ritual; the decisive function of *jawi* Malay as language of communication between the different - Cambodian as well as non-Cambodian - scholarly actors involved in these exchanges; and, finally, the reliance on specific texts of *fiqh al-'ibādāt* deemed as particularly authoritative. Thus, far from merely throwing light on French agency in intra-Muslim conflicts, the dispute of our concern also represents a microcosm of most of the dynamics identified as key features of Jawization in Cambodia. Moreover, despite playing out in Chroy Changvar, the whole affair had clear linkages to the Kampong Cham villages of Svay Khleang and Phum Trea, the second major spiritual center of Muslim life in Cambodia besides Chroy Changvar.

Already Ner briefly referred to a recent intra-*trimeu* "double discussion" in Chroy Changvar in the early 1930s, which had been carried before the Ministry of Cults. According to Ner's presentation, a local "traditionalist" faction, which advocated the Friday prayer to be held in both local mosques, was faced by a faction of "moderns" who desired to hold only one *jum'a*, which was to be alternating between the mosques. Likewise, Ner reported that the traditionalists "affirmed that only three prayers had to be recited", which their opponents considered insufficient. On both counts the "moderns" had eventually emerged victorious¹³⁵⁵. In addition, he claimed that the conflict had been finally judged by a Patani scholar, named Muḥammad Idrīs¹³⁵⁶. While generally faithful to the facts, this brief account naturally raises more questions than it answers. Even though not all details of the conflict and its protagonists will be clarified through the following analysis of archival materials, the considerable amount of relevant French, Khmer and Malay documents at our disposal

¹³⁵⁵ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 188.

¹³⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 191.

nevertheless allows us to arrive at a quite graphic picture of an emblematic intra-*trimeu* dispute in Chroy Changvar and the involvement of the French in it.

2.1. Location, protagonists and themes of the conflict

The beginning of the conflict most probably fell into the year 1931, as the first dated document relative to it was produced in the first days of 1932. Moreover, as we have witnessed that Chroy Changvar had already seen disputes over the *qibla* in the late 1920s, which were serious enough for a referral of the question to the MUI in Kelantan, the possibility can not be excluded that the case in question somehow represented a prolongation of these earlier divergences. Even though both the respective *fatwa* in *Pengasuh* as well as Ner's report seem to suggest otherwise, the village boasted three mosques by then. The mosque of Ek (actually Ek Raingsei), seat of the *changvang*, that of Kaolalom, domain of the *oknha masphty* (i.e. *mufti*), and the one of Xom Biem/Muk Dach, headed by the *oknha phakes* (i.e. *faqīh*)¹³⁵⁷.

Three different kinds of protagonists and two opposing camps can be clearly differentiated in the conflict. The first group of participants in the case consisted of a number of Cambodian Islamic scholars, who were indeed mainly divided over the question of the Friday prayer as well as the correct form of canonical prayer in general. The split separating the community of Chroy Changvar scholars at that time is most visible in the fierce opposition of a certain Hj. Kateur ('Abd al-Qādir) and his followers to the *changvang* Tuorman ('Abd al-Raḥmān) and his protégé Mat Sales (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ), which runs as a common thread through several years of French documentation of the case. Nevertheless, it appears that their conflict was only sparked due to earlier disputes - over the place of the Friday prayer and the frequency of its performance in each mosque - between the then *oknha phakes* Lep ([Abū] Ṭālib) and the *oknha masphty* Math (Aḥmad). Accordingly, the (following circumstantial evidence) perhaps earliest, but unfortunately undated, document of the case is a Malay letter, drafted by the latter and signed by 29 local supporters (all of

¹³⁵⁷ Presently (2014) Chroy Changvar has three mosques, until 2013 it was even four. Although none of the original structures have survived all three mentioned mosques had until then continued to function. The Ek mosque at the Tonle Sap is nowadays known as *Masjid Dār al-Salām* and the Muk Dach mosque as *Masjid al-Raḥma* (located right beside the Chroy Changvar Bridge over the Tonle Sap). The Kaolalom mosque at the banks of the Mekong, already in the 1970s known as *Masjid al-Azhar*, has been demolished in 2013 to make room for a new road. Also situated on the banks of the Mekong is the Kien Khleang or *Nūr al-Islām* mosque, which had not yet been established in the 1930s. Due to recent displacements of local Muslims also a makeshift floating mosque currently caters to the needs of the believers.

which did so in *jawi* it should be added), calling on the *changvang* to institute the practice of a single alternating Friday prayer for Chroy Changvar¹³⁵⁸. Also the aforementioned earliest dated document is a Malay letter of Sha'bān 26th 1351 (January 5th 1932) by Math and his deputy Tes Hj. Tales (Hj. Abū Ṭālib)¹³⁵⁹.

Thus, also Hj. Tales, who was soon to become the provisional successor to Math (d. sometime between the mentioned letter and October 25th 1932 when he was already reported deceased), formed part of the faction henceforth represented by *changvang* Tuorman and Mat Sales. The same also goes for the new *oknha masphty* Hj. Sam'ūn, appointed sometime between late February 1933 (Tales still recorded as provisional leader of the Kaolalom mosque) and October 1934 (Sam'ūn for the first time listed with this title). Similarly, the Chroy Changvar scholar Mau Senn (at times also spelled Mo Seu, which would imply the *ism* Mūsā rather than Ḥusayn), who ran his own local school near the Kaolalom mosque in the early 1930s was an opponent of Hj. Kateur¹³⁶⁰. There can be no doubt that all of these scholars were thoroughly *jawi* educated and major representatives of the *trimeu*, as is also exemplified by the fact that *jawi* Malay was their sole medium of written communication with each other. Particularly Mat Sales, as a former student of Ahmad Patani with eleven years of experience in Mecca, was sought after as mosque teacher in the whole Phnom Penh area, even though his presence and teaching at specific mosques could at times yield unpleasant consequences for the community leaders that had invited him. This, however, appears to be only befitting his status as one of the main indigenous agents of Jawization in Cambodia.

Thus, we know from the archival sources that this native of Svay Khleang in Kampong Cham first taught (and perhaps even held an official post) in Chrang Chamres, where he evidently already caused some commotion. Besides being most probably also involved in the discussed 1904 “etymology” fatwa of Ahmad Patani, he was – as will be shown below – definitely among the driving forces in the discord surrounding the questioned accuracy of the directions of prayer in the two mosques of the village in the 1920s. It will be

¹³⁵⁸ ANC-RSC 35825. It is interesting to note that in the discussed *qibla* fatwa of late 1920s Chroy Changvar, it is noted in passing that alternating Friday prayers were then already being practiced. This was, however, evidently not yet officially mandated by the *changvang* and might have been only a temporary intermezzo. In addition, the fatwa in question only speaks of an old and a new mosque, which seems to imply that one of Chroy Changvar's by then three mosques, most probably that of Muk Dach/Xom Bien, was considered to be pertaining to a separate village altogether. As will become evident below, improvements in direct communication between the different parts of Chroy Changvar lay at the heart of the growing virulence of the Friday prayer question.

¹³⁵⁹ ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁶⁰ ANC-RSC 8465; “S.A.R. le Ministre des Cultes à Monsieur le Délégué auprès du Gouvernement Cambodgien”, June 8th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825; “Monsieur Richez, Gaston, Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3^{ème} Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh”, February 20th 1933, ANC-RSC 35825.

remembered in this regard, that also this local dispute resulted in a fatwa request sent abroad (this time to the MUI in Kelantan), and that it appears to have – at least to a certain degree – occurred against the background of *trimeu/kobuol* factionalism. Between 1929 and 1931, Mat Sales must have moved to Chruy Changvar upon an invitation by the *oknha phakes* Lep to teach at his mosque. However, in the latter’s conflict over the Friday prayer with the *oknha masphy* Math of the Kaolalom mosque, they found themselves on different sides and Mat Sales consequently moved his teaching over to Kaolalom and then eventually to the *changvang*’s Ek mosque¹³⁶¹.

Strikingly, much less is to be inferred from the archival sources concerning the *changvang* Tuorman. There can, however, be no doubt that he was also a major *jawi* scholar, in all probability also partly educated in Kelantan/Patani and/or Mecca, even though he displayed an obvious tendency to regard the religious knowledge of his protégé Mat Sales as superior. As was already noted, also he relied exclusively on Malay in written communication with other scholars and Muslim dignitaries. Both his letters of appointment issued to various religious functionaries in the provinces as well as his Malay declarations relating to the conflict in question are testifying to his consistently elegant *jawi* handwriting¹³⁶². Likewise, he was also proficient enough in Arabic to have direct recourse to at least the simpler concise Arabic legal manuals of the canon enumerated above.

On the other side of the factional divide, the initial struggle of *oknha phakes* Lep was soon taken over by the remarkably stubborn and enduring Hj. Kateur. After the death of *changvang* Tuorman in 1935, he lobbied for the Kampong Cham scholar Kaloth Hj. Mathi (Hj. Muḥammad ‘Alī) as counter-candidate to Tuorman’s brother-in-law Hj. Ismail, the contending faction’s preferred (and eventually victorious) choice. Although absent from earlier documents, we may therefore assume that these two scholars had been connected to each other also during the preceding years of factional strife in Chroy Changvar. Especially so, as it was claimed in Hj. Kateur’s petition to the king that the Cham Hj. Mathi had taught “the *characters* and the principles of the *Malay* religion” for a long time in the village¹³⁶³. Similarly, another local scholar who appears to have initially supported Hj. Kateur also in his more confrontational actions, such as holding unauthorized parallel Friday prayers in 1933, was Katip Samas (also known as Imam Bou Samar), who ran his own school in Chruy

¹³⁶¹ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruy-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁶² Cf. fig. 10.

¹³⁶³ ANC-RSC, 28319 (dated March 7th 1936).

Changvar since 1922¹³⁶⁴. Just like his opponents, Hj. Kateur was likewise always able to get other scholars and particularly local believers to sign his petitions in support of his positions. Even though, as will be shown below, his methods at garnering these signatures were apparently quite dubious, he could evidently also – just like his contenders – rely on a core of “foot soldiers” of intra-Muslim factionalism.

Whereas Hj. Kateur was most probably not commanding as much respect as his opponents from amongst the highest Muslim dignitaries or Mat Sales as one of the most revered teachers in the country, it must be emphasized that he was by no means an intellectual lightweight. Born in Chroy Changvar in 1879, he had spent more than three years studying in Mecca, and before that, assumingly, an even longer period in Kelantan or Patani. According to his own account he had also served as secretary to the *oknha borates* Smanne (i.e. the aforementioned Phong Yismann/‘Uthmān) of Kampong Cham province, based in Svay Khleang¹³⁶⁵. The latter claim was, however, vehemently denied by the local police department, which, perhaps relying on information from his detractors, noted that he had lived in Chroy Changvar since birth and was moreover a former seaman then known as one of the city’s foremost hoodlums (*un des principaux voyous de Phnôm-Penh à l’époque où il naviguait*)¹³⁶⁶. Even though he might have indeed made up the story of his association with Phong Yismann, which he only brought to the French in 1936, i.e. a couple of years after the former’s death¹³⁶⁷, his scholarly credentials can hardly be doubted. Firstly, he is described in several French reports as a “bonze of the Chroy Changvar mosque”¹³⁶⁸. Of course influenced by the terminologies used for Buddhist monks, this clearly implies either fame as a teacher or an official position at a mosque such as imam or *khaṭīb*.

The strongest indicator for Hj. Kateur’s scholarly stature, however, comes from a source unrelated to French reconnaissance regarding the conflict. Thus, from the aforementioned survey on Islamic schools in Chroy Changvar, carried out in 1934, we learn that his school had by far the largest number of students of all nine establishments listed. Indeed, Hj.

¹³⁶⁴ “Monsieur Richez, Gaston, Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3ème Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh”, February 20th 1933, ANC-RSC 35825; ANC-RSC 8456. In 1936 he, however, distanced himself from Hj. Kateur’s letter to the king in favour of Hj. Mathi’s nomination as *changvang*. When interrogated by the police, he claimed that he had been deceived into signing the petition. “Le Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3ème Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh”, March 18th 1936, p. 10, ANC-RSC 28319.

¹³⁶⁵ “Hayi Katoeu à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur”, August 5th 1936, ANC-RSC 26016.

¹³⁶⁶ “Le Commissaire Adjoint du 3ème Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central de Police”, September 4th 1936, ANC-RSC 26016.

¹³⁶⁷ It will be remembered in this regard that his death precipitated a struggle among prospective successors in Svay Khleang. Cf. V.2.

¹³⁶⁸ “Le Résident-Maire à Monsieur le Commissaire Central de Police” & “Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur le Résident-Maire”, May 3rd and 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

Kateur had his own surau beside his house, where he taught 45 students, including 15 females¹³⁶⁹. Despite the fact that at least his chief opponent Mat Sales, who still served as an evidently highly demanded roving mosque teacher at that time¹³⁷⁰, must have had even more students, such appeal in an environment where perhaps a dozen of teachers vied for students, strongly supports his claims concerning his Meccan education. As he had only opened his surau in 1917 (i.e. in his late 30s), reports about his earlier exploits as a seaman may well have been true. His famous Kelantanese contemporary Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi, for example, had also only returned to religious studies and gone to Mecca after several years as a cotton trader moving between Kelantan and Singapore¹³⁷¹. Moreover, Hj. Kateur was also noted for his connections to Malay scholars from abroad¹³⁷².

The second category of protagonists in the dispute after the local scholars were, unsurprisingly given the evidence assembled in chapter six, again Malay scholars either coming to Cambodia as visiting teachers or engaging with Cambodian Muslims in centers of Islamic learning elsewhere. Thus, two Malay visiting teachers played a role in the long-drawn dispute, in addition to unfortunately not further specified “great scholars” of Mecca. The first of the involved Malay teachers was Hj. Wan Muḥammad Idrīs al-Faṭānī. Even though we are lacking any additional information on this scholar, there is, in view of the fact that the *ibn/bin* is often omitted in Malay usage, a possibility that he was a son of Pak Cu Yeh Tok Raja Hj. (Hj. Idrīs b. Hj. ‘Abd al-Karīm, d. 1935), a well known figure of the Ahmad Patani network¹³⁷³. Of course, also Tok Bermin, yet another Muḥammad (b.) Idrīs, who is likewise linked to the network and known for teaching Indochinese students, comes to mind.

In any case, Wan Muhammad Idris was a highly respected scholar in Cambodia. At the time of the conflict between Lep and Math, the two Chroy Changvar mosque leaders, he was teaching in Chrang Chamres. It was therefore assumingly his scholarly prestige and not just his status as an outsider, which led the *oknha phakes* Lep to call him over to Chroy Changvar to settle the contested issue of the Friday prayer in early 1932. After an initial legal ruling, which he apparently soon came to regard (or otherwise present) as only tentative, he went

¹³⁶⁹ ANC-RSC 8465.

¹³⁷⁰ By Ner’s time he had already established his own registered school in Chroy Changvar, whereas Hj. Kateur’s unauthorized one had assumingly been shut down. Cf. V.4.2. Another notable Phnom Penh mosque teacher, probably also still active in the early 1930s, was Hj. Abdul Malik. He was the student of Ahmad Patani and Tok Kenali who came to visit the latter in Kota Bharu for clarifications on specific *kitab jawi* in 1927. Cf. VI.1.2.

¹³⁷¹ Awang, “Hajji ‘Umar Sungai Keladi”, p. 20f.; TUSM, I, p. 278.

¹³⁷² “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁷³ Cf. VI.3.

back to Patani for further research into the question (and probably consultations with other scholars). Consequently, he only sent his final fatwa to the *changvang* in form of a letter a few weeks later¹³⁷⁴.

More shadowy, however, is the second Malay scholar implicated in the case. Indeed, the sources are merely referring to a certain *malayou* named “Mohadji-Dinn”. Likewise formerly teaching in Chrang Chamres, he had evidently been connected to Hj. Kateur. As will be shown in the following, he not only gave the latter instructions on religious practice and dogma but also supplied him with books. After his time in Cambodia, he must have moved on to teach in Saigon (and perhaps before that in the Mekong Delta). Strikingly, the French document of 1935 containing the data on this Malay scholar notes nonchalantly that he was eventually arrested in Saigon and subsequently repatriated¹³⁷⁵. Although the reasons for his arrest and deportation remain unclear, the whole episode is reminiscent of the accounts on Hj. Sulong’s alleged similarly abortive stay in Indochina¹³⁷⁶.

Some time in the second half of 1932, when the conflict had reached its first high point, Mat Sales and Tuorman took the rather exceptional step of personally travelling to Mecca to consult with some of its “great scholars”. Given the long tradition of requesting and receiving legal rulings by way of letters, this appears as a rather exceptional move to make. Possibly, it was as much intended to dissolve some of the local tension as it was to obtain superior scholarly judgements on the contested issues. We can only speculate as to who the approached scholars in the holy city were. As they were, however, most probably drawn from among the community of Malay scholars, whose numbers had meanwhile considerably decreased since the Wahhābi takeover, a few Meccan scholars with Patani backgrounds, all of them certainly during the period also teachers of Indochinese students, may be put forward. Among the most likely candidates are naturally again figures of the Patani-Kelantan network. These are primarily the aforementioned Muḥammad Nūr b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (d. 1944) and Pak Da ‘El Patani (d. 1965). Hj. Muhammad Idris of Chau Giang studied in Mecca from 1936-1938 among others with a scholar by the name of Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī¹³⁷⁷.

Finally, the third category of people involved in the conflict were individuals from the French and Khmer administration, government bodies and police forces. As far as the latter are concerned two figures were prominently implicated in both observing the dissensions

¹³⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁷⁶ Cf. VI.1.2.

¹³⁷⁷ LPD, “Hj. Muhammad Idris”.

in Chroy Changvar and deciding on strategies to quell them. These were Richez, the adjunct commissioner of Phnom Penh's third municipal district (*arrondissement*), and Boucly, his superior as commissioner of the Central Police. Yet, even the highest levels of the colonial administration in Cambodia had to concern themselves with the case. Thus, also the *résident-maire* (i.e. the colonial mayor or City Resident) of Phnom Penh as well as the successive *résidents supérieurs* Achille Louis Auguste Silvestre (1929 and 1932-5) and Henri Louis Marie Richomme (1935-6) had to directly deal with the intra-Muslim discord in Chroy Changvar.

Among the representatives of Khmer government bodies it was naturally in particular, Chea, the Minister of the Interior and Cults and his ministry, who were concerned with the intra-Muslim disputes. As these finally even became a topic for the Council of Ministers in 1935, also the Ministers of War, of the Marine and their counterpart in the Ministry of Justice had to acquaint themselves with the case before engaging in deliberations and granting approval to decisions put forward by Chea¹³⁷⁸. In addition, Hj. Kateur did not even hesitate to petition directly to the King Monivong already in the early stages of the conflict by way of a letter dated May 31st 1932, which was also signed by 22 of his supporters¹³⁷⁹. In 1936 he did so again, more controversially, to push for Hj. Mathi's appointment as *changvang*¹³⁸⁰.

Thematically, the conflict first revolved around the single issue of the appropriate way to conduct the Friday prayer in Chroy Changvar as a village with multiple mosques. Yet, as the disputes progressed, also the number and variety of charges and counter-charges among the contending factions increased. Consequently, the contested issues came to range from matters of ritual law to criminal charges and general disputes over religious authority and succession. Thus, apart from the initial Friday prayer question, also the general rules of performance of the prescribed daily prayers became a subject of debate. Likewise, the issue of establishing the correct *qibla*, with which we have already familiarized ourselves in the preceding chapter, was also locally unearthed again. All these themes from the realm of ritual law were moreover, not only brought up for their own sake, but in addition deliberately deployed to serve as proofs for alleged designs to split the community or for the introduction of new deviant teachings. As far as criminal charges are concerned, accusations of embezzlement, conspiring with a foreign nation against the French, and even

¹³⁷⁸ "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres", March 11th & April 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁷⁹ "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres", March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁸⁰ The letter is dated March 7th 1936. ANC-RSC 28319.

rape were made. Additionally, the succession to Math as *oknha masphty* and Tuorman as *changvang* was disputed against the background of the factional strife. Finally, and this is again of particular interest from the viewpoint of Jawization, the actual meaning of the Malay fatwa sent by Wan Muhammad Idris was hotly debated among the contending groups.

2.2. The development of the conflict

As was already mentioned, the initial dispute was sparked off by apparently unprecedented discussions over the congregational Friday prayer. Hereby, the main question was whether it was permissible in a village with multiple mosques such as Chroy Changvar, to hold more than one Friday prayer. At the root of these discussions laid not only a pronounced desire to comply with the prescriptions of Islamic law on the one hand and local custom on the other. Individual mosque leaders' pretensions for the performance of their "own" Friday prayers as parallel or single ones were undoubtedly also reflective of a will to power.

In the initial stages of the conflict it was first the *oknha phakes* Lep of the Muk Dach mosque and *oknha masphty* Math, his counterpart at the Kaolalom mosque, who intensely debated the matter. Whereas, the former was an advocate of the performance of multiple parallel Friday prayers in the village, the latter held the opposite view. The latter standpoint of course begged the question of where (that is, in which mosque) to hold this single *jum'a* then. The solution proposed by Math, was to perform them on an alternating basis (*pada pekerjaan bergiliran sembahyang jumat*)¹³⁸¹. Whereas our knowledge about the conflict between Math and Lep over the issue derives from government records based on testimonies by the two contenders Hj. Mat Sales and Hj. Kateur¹³⁸², two letters on the matter from Math, one calling for the institution and one for the continuation of the practice (also signed by his deputy Hj. Tales), have likewise come down to us¹³⁸³. Both were addressed to the *changvang* Tuorman as highest religious official and contain no direct reference to prior or ongoing discussions with Lep, of which the addressee must have already been aware at the time the second letter was drafted. As has already been noted, they were of course written in Malay, the preferred language of written communication of Cambodian Muslim scholars in the era of Jawization.

¹³⁸¹ ANC-RSC 35825 (undated letter to *changvang* Tuorman, most probably of 1931).

¹³⁸² "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar", March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁸³ ANC-RSC 35825.

An interesting element of the second letter is the inclusion of the Arabic formula *ilāhī anta maqṣūdī wa riḍāka maṭlūbī* (“O God, you are my purpose and your favour is what I am longing for”). Strikingly, this phrase, which clearly goes beyond the usual praises for god and his prophet customarily featured in such correspondence, is prominently employed as a ritual formula by the Naqshbandiyya¹³⁸⁴. In Southeast Asia it was apparently *inter alia* popularized through manuals written by eminent representatives of the Khālidiyya-Naqshbandiyya, such as Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī (Gümüṣhanevi, d. 1894), as well as by the latter branch’s distinctly Southeast Asian derivative composite lineage of the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* (TQN)¹³⁸⁵. Even though not primarily known as such, also Daud Patani was an adherent of the Naqshbandiyya, and the TQN’s founder Ahmad Khatib Sambas (d. 1875) allegedly took the path from him¹³⁸⁶. It has likewise already been noted that with Ahmad Patani, for whom this affiliation was assumingly secondary, and Nūr al-Dīn Sungai Keladi, also certain important members of our Patani-Kelantan network were Naqshbandis¹³⁸⁷. As far as Gümüṣhanevi’s *Jāmi’ al-uṣūl fī l-awliyā’* is concerned, it is striking that one of its early editions came out of the al-Bābī house¹³⁸⁸. There is thus a great possibility that the usage of this particular formula by a Cambodian Muslim dignitary was another direct consequence of the exposure to the specific networks we have identified as underpinning the process of Jawization in the country.

The major development occurring between the first undated letter, certainly still falling into the year 1931, and the second one dated to January 5th 1932 was that Lep, perhaps in response to Math’s petition to the *changvang*, called in Wan Muḥammad Idrīs al-Faṭānī, then teaching in Chrang Chamres, to adjudicate the matter in the presence of the *changvang*. Certainly very much to the delight of Lep and Hj. Kateur, the Patani scholar declared that it was permissible to hold parallel Friday prayers in different mosques of the village. This ruling, however, only intensified the conflict. Whereas Lep immediately began to conduct *jum’a* at his mosque again, the *changvang* refused to accept the decision, seconded by Mat Sales, who is reported to have perceived it as clearly wrong “according to local custom and

¹³⁸⁴ Thus, the eminent Ottoman Khālidi Gümüṣhanevi, whose lineage practices – somewhat unusually for the Naqshbandiyya – the vocal *dhikr*, explains in his chapter on *ādāb al-dhikr* (conventions of *dhikr*): “After that it is said among the Naqshbandiyya – in the heart or by the tongue: ‘O God, you are my purpose and your favour is what I am longing for’”. Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidi, *Jāmi’ al-uṣūl fī l-awliyā’* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2010), p. 35.

¹³⁸⁵ Laffan, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 60, 259 n. 111; Widiyanto, *Ritual and Leadership*, p. 156.

¹³⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 71.

¹³⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Aḥmadi influence appears to have been more marked in Cambodia.

¹³⁸⁸ Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī al-Naqshbandī al-Khālidi, *Jāmi’ al-uṣūl fī l-awliyā’* (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī/Maṭba’at al-Jamāliyya, 1328/1910).

the holy books of the Islamic religion”, and to have invoked the example of Chrang Chamres, where the Friday prayer was also only held at a single mosque¹³⁸⁹. Unsurprisingly, Math was likewise considerably dismayed. It was therefore certainly against this background that he sent his second letter to the *changvang*, in which he urged him and his entire mosque community not to change the practice of alternating Friday prayers but to make it permanent instead (*hamba minta pada hadirat kakanda dan sekalian jemaah kakanda janganlah berubah pada pekerjaan yang lain daripada bergiliran ini dan berkekalanlah bergiliran ini*)¹³⁹⁰. His aforementioned appeal to (a perhaps shared) Sufi spirituality was probably intended to add further weight to his petition.

Against this backdrop of increased tensions, also Wan Muḥammad Idrīs al-Faṭānī evidently began to have second thoughts concerning his decision, even if perhaps only because of his consequent loss of standing with the *changvang*. Thus, he went back to Patani, promising to send his definitive ruling to Tuorman after further research into the question at the Cambodian Muslims’ verandah of Mecca. His fatwa which he himself characterized merely as a needed document (*sahifah kehendakan*)¹³⁹¹, arrived on April 23rd 1932 and was bound to stir even more trouble. It can therefore be rightfully regarded as the direct prelude to French involvement in the affair. Indeed, the actual meaning of al-Faṭānī’s letter became the subject of intense debates. As far as the French and Khmer authorities are concerned, it is quite striking that they both appear to have consciously ignored evidence for a deliberate misreading of the fatwa by the *changvang* and his associates.

On Dhū l-Ḥijja 23rd 1350/April 29th 1932 *changvang* Tuorman endeavored to “bring together all people of knowledge [i.e. scholars] [..] to analyse and carefully study the issue of al-Faṭānī’s transmission” (*menghimpunkan segala orang yang mempunyai ilmu [..] tolong periksaan dan mutalaahkan masalah naqal daripada Wan Hj. Muḥammad Idrīs Faṭānī*). After the event Tuorman and seven scholars, including both the *oknha masphty* Math’s deputy Hj. Tales as well as his future successor Hj. Sam’ūn, added their signatures to a one sentence summary of their understanding of al-Faṭānī’s ruling, which was attached to the *changvang*’s roll call just cited. This summary made explicit that al-Faṭānī had declared that “the obligation was to hold a single Friday prayer together, and that it would be wrongful to continue its separate

¹³⁸⁹ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹⁰ ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹¹ *ibid.* As the question is not reproduced in the letter, it can indeed not be regarded as a fatwa proper. The minutes of the council of ministers erroneously give April 23rd 1933 as date for the reception of the latter. “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

performance at this time” (*wajib bersama satu jumat melainkan fasid maka pada masa itu menerus dikerjakan masing-masing*)¹³⁹². According to a testimony by Tuorman, Hj. Katur was the only scholar present who refused to sign the document. Instead, he had allegedly only read two or three lines of the fatwa before he went on to declare that the believers were entitled to perform their Friday prayers separately¹³⁹³.

Yet, as both the original Malay letter with its numerous formulaic Arabic insertions as well as its (somewhat abridged) French translation have come down to us, it is obvious that it was Hj. Katur’s reading of the text which was correct. Thus, the Patani mufti noted in his ultimate ruling (*kaul yang muktamad*) that the Friday prayer “should be conducted separately in each mosque as before in the past” (*dikerjakan jumat masing seperti dahulukala dan sediakala*). The underlying rationale to his decision was evidently his view that under the present circumstances the legal priority had to be to end the intra-community conflict rather than to comply with the letter of Shāfi’i legal manuals. In an appended explanatory statement, he accordingly stated that he had ruled in favour of separate Friday prayers “because the prevention of harm is to be given precedence over the achievement of benefit” (*karena duri al-mafāsīd muqaddam ‘alā jalbi l-manāfi’, artinya menolakkan mafasid itu didahulukandia atas menarikkan manfaat*)¹³⁹⁴. The latter is of course a well-established principle in Islamic law, which accords a prominent place to the concepts of benefit (more commonly denoted as *maṣlaḥa* rather than *manfa’a/manāfi’*) and harm¹³⁹⁵.

Two elements of al-Faṭānī’s letter have to be emphasized at this point, albeit one of these clearly pertains to the realm of minor details. Firstly, it is noteworthy that the Malay scholar refers to Chroy Changvar not as a *kampung* but as a *palei*, the Cham word for village. This not only shows that he picked up at least some Cham words during his stay in Chroy Chamres, but also appears to have served as a nod to an overwhelmingly Cham audience, notwithstanding the prominent status of Malay as scholarly language of the community. Secondly, and more pertinently, al-Faṭānī’s formulations clearly show that holding parallel Friday prayers in different Chroy Changvar mosques had been the prevailing practice in the past. This is important as this aspect is not sufficiently clear in Math’s earlier petitions, albeit also French investigation into the matter later yielded the same information¹³⁹⁶. Thus,

¹³⁹² ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹³ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹⁴ ANC-RSC 35825 (undated letter). Cf. fig. 9.

¹³⁹⁵ Ahmad al-Raysuni, *Imam al-Shatibi’s Theory of the Higher Objectives and Intents of Islamic Law* (Herndon, VA.: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2005), p. 223-231, 261f.

¹³⁹⁶ The same also goes for the discussed *qibla* fatwa in *Pengasuh* of 1929. Cf. VI.2.2.

it appears that the proponents of the single Friday prayer at Chroy Changvar (i.e. *oknha masphy* Math, *changvang* Tuorman and *tuan guru* Mat Sales) were indeed seeking to change traditional custom in the village, and, by implication, also to demonstrate their claims to authority by that. Notwithstanding this latter component of their struggle against parallel Friday prayers in Chroy Changvar, a major reason for their opposition to the practice was undoubtedly their engagement with Shāfi‘i legal works.

It was their conviction, evidently - despite his eventual setting of different priorities against the background of intra-community strife - in principle (and according to one French report also explicitly) shared by al-Faṭānī, that Friday prayers were to be held only in one mosque of a given village, except in cases where parts of the same village were separated from each other by woods with endemic wild beasts¹³⁹⁷. Two letters by Tuorman in defense of his position, drafted in 1933, make a number of interesting points in this regard¹³⁹⁸. Firstly, he claims that the idea of alternating Friday prayer was actually initially Hj. Kateur’s. As this idea appears to have entered the discussion before the latter embarked on his “all-out war” against Mat Sales and the *changvang*, this may or may not be true. More intriguingly, however, are the reasons Tuorman gives for his decision to follow this suggestion. Firstly, the local population gave its consent to the practice. Secondly, the holy book “Makoun Saphi Tonnar Chor” and others were consonant with this decision. Thirdly, deliberations with numerous Cambodian and foreign scholars had confirmed that the decision that Chroy Changvar was a single village, in which the believers were to congregate for the Friday prayer in a single mosque, either always at the same one or on an alternating basis. Fourthly, he had been conferred the direction of all Cambodian Muslims through a royal ordinance¹³⁹⁹. As a last point he refers to the aforementioned approved joint translation of al-Faṭānī’s letter, which he claims to have been likewise supportive of his position.

Only the second and the third point warrant further attention here. Concerning the latter, it is important to note that the *changvang* was reported to have nominated Mat Sales as his advisor on such matters of Islamic ritual, as he considered him more knowledgeable than himself. Testimony from Mat Sales on the issue is indeed more detailed. Thus, he reiterates that it would be permissible to have more than one mosque in extensive villages separated

¹³⁹⁷ “Rapport d’emissaire”, undated (most probably 1932), ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹⁸ Dated to March 4th and April 5th 1933, their contents are summarized in “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹³⁹⁹ Hereby he is clearly referring to the royal ordinance of 1906, issued by Sisowath upon his nomination as *changvang*. Cf. “Commissaire Central Boucly à Résident Maire”, dated May 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

by jungles inhabited by wild animals, which could render passage dangerous. As such had earlier been the case in Chroy Changvar, thereby making it difficult for the believers to make their way to the Ek mosque, the two other mosques were built in the recent past. Since then, however, the population of the village had increased considerably and communication between its parts greatly facilitated. Therefore, he and the *changvang* were now considering the legal basis for multiple Friday prayers in Chroy Changvar to have expired¹⁴⁰⁰.

The second point, with its mentioning of the obscure book entitled “Makoun Saphi Tonnar Chor”, is naturally of particular interest, given our prior attention to the role of specific books in the process of Jawization. Notwithstanding the severe phonetic deformation of the title, there can be no doubt that the work in question is the aforementioned (*Matn*) *Safīnat al-najā* of Sālim al-Ḥuḍrī. Firm evidence for this assumption can be found in one of Tuorman’s letters to the authorities of 1933. Strikingly, this Khmer language document contains a passage in Arabic on the conditions (*shurūṭ*) for a valid Friday prayer according to the Shāfi’i school of law. Upon closer inspection it turned out that this passage, which outlines that a valid Friday prayer depends on its performance (1) at the time of *ẓuhr*, (2) within the confines of a village or town (*fī khitṭat al-balad*, i.e. a permanent settlement¹⁴⁰¹), (3) in congregation, (4) by a quorum of at least forty free male resident (*mustawṭīn*) worshippers, (5) the absence of any preceding or simultaneous congregational prayer being held in the same village (*lā tasbiqahā wa lā tuqārinahā jum’atan fī tilka l-balad*), and (6) two foregoing sermons, represents a flawless direct quotation from *Safīnat al-najā*¹⁴⁰².

Needless to say, the crucial point among the six listed conditions was number five¹⁴⁰³. Even though it was the Arabic *Safīna* which was quoted, perhaps due to its extremely concise enumeration of the relevant conditions or due it being an Arabic work (and therefore automatically considered superior in nature) or both, the same argument could also be found in numerous *jawi* works then commonly consulted by Cambodian Muslim scholars. Cases in point are Arshad al-Banjārī’s *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, al-Palimbānī’s *Sayr al-sālikīn*, Daud

¹⁴⁰⁰ “Délégation de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁰¹ Cf. Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist’s Primer*, I, p. 177; Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought*, p. 130f.

¹⁴⁰² Letter dated March 4th 1933, ANC-RSC 35825; Sālim b. Sumayr al-Ḥuḍrī, *Matn Safīnat al-najā fī uṣūl al-dīn wa l-fiqh ‘alā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi’ī* (Cairo: al-Maktaba wa l-Maṭba‘at al-Maḥmūdiyya, n.d.), p. 15.

¹⁴⁰³ Ibn Rushd (*Distinguished Jurist’s Primer*, I, p. 177) only notes that this issue was disputed among the jurists. As is evident from the case at hand, it continued to be so eight centuries after his demise. Tellingly, it was also addressed in a specific (fatwa-like) work of Daud Patani, which, however, only exists in manuscript and was inaccessible to me. Bradley, *Social Dynamics*, p. 231f.

Patani's *Sullam al-Mubtadi'* and *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya* as well as Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Jāwī's *Bidāyat al-mubtadi'*¹⁴⁰⁴.

As has already been indicated above, it was the increase of acrimony and heightened severity of the intra-community strife, resulting from al-Faṭānī's futile attempt at resolving the issue, which first precipitated the involvement of French and Khmer authorities in the affair. On May 3rd 1932 (i.e. only four days after the public reading of the mufti's letter), the French were alarmed by a complaint against the *changvang* and Mat Sales, submitted by Hj. Kateur to the police commissioner Boucly with an appeal to forward it to Ministry of Cults¹⁴⁰⁵. This move not only finally drew in the state agents, but also marked the beginning of Hj. Kateur's "all-out war" against his two main opponents and the extension of the affair to include disputed issues and charges far beyond the initial question of the Friday prayer. When Boucly sent his first report on the religious dissensions in Chroy Changvar to the *résident-maire* three days later, after having personally questioned both sides in his office, the issue had already thematically expanded. Indeed, Hj. Kateur had claimed in his complaint, and reiterated in personal conversation, that his two opponents "had introduced new prayers contrary to the precepts of the Islamic religion"¹⁴⁰⁶. Intriguingly, this charge was not related to the issue of the Friday prayer, but instead concerned the performance of the prescribed daily prayers in general.

A reconstruction of the details of the latter argument is complicated by the fact that both Ner, who evidently likewise heard about this component of the disputes, and Boucly were unable to grasp the intricacies of the issue at hand. Thinking that it was primarily about the number of daily prayers, Ner noted that one faction advocated only three such prayers, whereas their contenders insisted on five¹⁴⁰⁷. Whereas the possibility cannot be excluded that the - under certain circumstances legally valid - joining of prayers, which moreover constitutes standard Shiite practice¹⁴⁰⁸, had become customary in certain Muslim circles in Cambodia at some point¹⁴⁰⁹, the actual core of the argument obviously revolved around the individual obligatory elements (*arkān* [*al-fi'liyya*], ml. *rukṅ*) of prayer.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Arshad al-Banjārī, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, II, p. 45; al-Palimbānī, *Sayr al-sālikīn*, I, p. 270; Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadi' fī ma'rifa ṭarīqat al-muhtadi'* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n. d.), p. 11f.; *id.*, *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, p. 75; [Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Jāwī], *Bidāyat al-mubtadi' wa 'umdat al-awlād* (Patani: Maṭba'at Ibn Halābī, n. d.), p. 25f.

¹⁴⁰⁵ ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁰⁶ "Commissaire Central Boucly à Résident Maire", dated May 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ner, "Musulmans de l'Indochine", p. 188.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Katz, *Prayer in Islamic Thought*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁰⁹ It will be remembered that local memory in Phum Trea attributes a switch in local religious practice from three to five daily prayers to the activities of the Kelantanese scholar Hj. Math (d. 1890). Cf. VI.1.1. This is of course also reminiscent of the eponymous three daily prayers among parts of Lombok's *waktu telu* community.

Thus, this first report claimed that, according to Hj. Kateur, Mat Sales and the *changvang* had imposed the performance of thirteen “prostrations” (fr. *lays*) during each prayer, even though previously only three prayers with three *lays* each had been performed. When questioned by Boucly, however, Hj. Kateur had to concede that the thirteen “prostrations” were actually not contrary to religious precepts, but nevertheless too demanding for the common believer¹⁴¹⁰. More specific but still not entirely clear is another exposition on the matter by Hj. Kateur from a letter of the following year, which for the first time provides us with a breakdown of the obscure thirteen “prostrations”. Thus, he explained that the five daily *samyang* (Cham for ml. *sembahyang*, i.e. canonical prayer) would consist of “five prayers, six physical exercises and two meditations”, all of which, however, derived from three main prayers, which would therefore be sufficient. Already from this description it is evident that components of canonical prayer rather than individual prayers or prostrations were meant. Accordingly, both Mat Sales as well as Hj. Ismail, Tuorman’s brother-in-law and future successor, who once in 1993 came to testify in place of his relative on the issues of the Friday prayer and the daily prayers, declared to the Ministry of Cults that each prayer consisted of thirteen “formalities”, all of which had to be completed¹⁴¹¹.

Again, one is led to suspect that the strong emphasis on the number of thirteen formal aspects of canonical prayer, as mandated and seemingly vigorously supervised by the *changvang* and Mat Sales can be traced to expositions found in specific Arabic or *jawi* prayer manuals and books on ritual law. Such works are, however, exhibiting different ways of categorizing and breaking down the obligatory elements of prayer. The *Safīnat al-najā*, for example, which had featured so prominently in the scholarly discussions surrounding the Friday prayer, lists, just like Daud Patani’s *Sullam al-Mubtadi’*, seventeen *arkān al-ṣalāt/rukn sembahyang*¹⁴¹². A number of other texts widely used in the Patani-Kelantan-Cambodia scholarly networks, however, are indeed enumerating thirteen such pillars of prayer. Most importantly, this applies among others to Daud Patani’s *Munyat al-muṣallī*¹⁴¹³, then and now representing the *jawi* prayer manual per se on the Peninsula and beyond¹⁴¹⁴. In addition this likewise goes for Daud’s *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya* and al-Palimbānī’s *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, as well as for

¹⁴¹⁰ “Commissaire Central Boucly à Résident Maire”, dated May 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴¹¹ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴¹² al-Ḥudrī, *Matn Safīnat al-najā*, p. 7f.; Dā’ūd al-Faṭānī, *Sullam al-Mubtadi’*, p. 9f.

¹⁴¹³ Dā’ūd b. Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Munyat al-muṣallī* (Mecca: al-Maṭba‘at al-Mīriyyat al-Kā’ina, 1310/1892), p. 8-11.

¹⁴¹⁴ Franis R. Bradley, “Sheikh Da’ud al-Fatani’s *Munyat al-Musalli* and the Place of Prayer in 19th-Century Patani Communities”, I&MW, XLI (2013), p. 198-214.

Safīnat al-ṣalāt, a short Arabic treatise by al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Ḥaḍramī, which was at times printed together with *Safīnat al-naǧā*¹⁴¹⁵.

There can thus be little doubt that the centrality of the thirteen obligatory components of prayer in the discussion was prompted by the fact that Mat Sales and Tuorman were determined to demonstrate their superior knowledge of specific texts on ritual law and, to a lesser degree, to enforce their teachings in their congregations. Yet, in the course of French and Khmer investigations and discussions of the case also Hj. Kateur’s contending position became associated with a specific work of Islamic law and the Malay scholar who bequeathed him with it, again bringing the role of books and scholarly contacts to Malay teachers into focus. Thus, Tuorman alleged that Hj. Kateur’s views on the canonical prayers derived from the teachings of the ominous Malay scholar Mohaji Din, who had been “secretly teaching the prayers” in Chrang Chamres for some time. In this regard he also claimed that Hj. Kateur was in the habit of hosting Malay scholars in order to personally profit from their renown. This seems to indicate that Hj. Kateur had his own scholarly network, from which he was able to recruit visiting teachers, who not only taught in Cambodia “secretly”, i.e. without an official license, but may have also served to enhance his claims to authority among the locals vis-à-vis the official religious hierarchy.

Strikingly, the *changvang* declared that his opponent’s “prayers are taken from the book entitled *Pedayatolas Muchas Tahetas Vanis Haya Toulas Muchas Tasitas*, which Hj. Kateur has kept from his teacher Mohaji Din”¹⁴¹⁶. Despite the fact that phonetic distortion is again pervasive in the transcription of this book title, we can safely identify it with the *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid* of Ibn Rushd. Concerned with providing an overview of differing positions (sg. *khilāf/ikhtilāf*) on the canonical prayers in the different Sunni schools of law, a neat enumeration of the obligatory elements of *ṣalāt* according to Shāfi’i practice is lacking in the work’s chapter on the *arkān*¹⁴¹⁷. Whereas our knowledge of the reliance of Hj. Kateur and his teacher on *Bidāyat al-mujtahid* is hardly enlightening us about the puzzling issue of the alleged “three main prayers”, Tuorman’s reference to the work is nevertheless indicative of an interesting aspect related to usage of this particular book. It might have been noticed that Ibn Rushd’s opus on comparative *fiqh* has so far been conspicuously absent from our sample of literature used for teaching in the network of our concern as well

¹⁴¹⁵ Dā’ūd al-Faṭānī, *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyya*, p. 58-60; al-Palimbānī *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, p. 183-197; al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Ḥaḍramī, *Matn Safīnat al-ṣalāt*, in al-Ḥuḍrī, *Matn Safīnat al-naǧā*, p. 28.

¹⁴¹⁶ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruī-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished Jurist’s Primer*, I, p. 133-155.

as from the discussed *fatāwā*, just as it is from the totality of Ahmad Patani's *al-Fatāwā al-Fatāniyya*, which cites no less than 89 source books¹⁴¹⁸.

Thus, it appears as if the *changvang*'s invocation of the work was only precipitated by the fact that it was definitely no work commonly studied in his scholarly circles. Strikingly, van Bruinessen noted that *Bidāyat al-mujtahid* had at first been the exclusive purview of the Minangkabau *kaum muda* and was still only rarely taught at Indonesian *pesantren* in 1990¹⁴¹⁹. In Malaya, it was assumingly also almost exclusively reformists who concerned themselves with the work. Intriguingly, a serialized Malay translation of parts of it was published from 1929-1930 under the title *Puncha Pertikaian Ulama Islam* in Penang¹⁴²⁰, then also home to major *kaum muda* organs such as *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara*¹⁴²¹. Assuming that Mohaji Din therefore also had a decidedly reformist background (and was thus most probably not of Patani or Kelantanese origin), this of course casts further doubt on Ner's categorization of Hj. Kateur's faction as traditionalists.

When the *changvang* was confronted with Hj. Kateur's complaint against his person by Boucly in 1932, he, however, made no reference to Mohaji Din and his teachings yet. Instead, he took the offensive by reminding his French interlocutor of his position of supreme authority as validated by both the Protectorate and Khmer powers. Accordingly, after admitting that he had indeed instructed Mat Sales to prescribe the "thirteen prostrations per prayer for the believers", he stressed that he was entitled to do this, as he was not just the head of the Chroy Changvar mosques but of all Muslim officiants in the country. In this respect he also took recourse to a typical metanarrative of religious change, obviously not peculiar to but likewise pervasive in the process of Jawization in Cambodia. Thus, he stated that "presently the Cham religion has strayed far from the precepts and rites that constitute the base of its creation", and that he had therefore decided to bring it back into line, a task for which he claimed to have received authorization by Sisowath's ordinance of 1906¹⁴²². Consequently, Boucly also felt compelled to draw Hj. Kateur's attention to this royal ordinance. The latter, however, bluntly responded that he and his partisans were plainly refusing to follow the *changvang* in anything related to the "new

¹⁴¹⁸ Rahimullah, *Patani Fatāwā*, I, p. 407-412.

¹⁴¹⁹ van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", p. 251.

¹⁴²⁰ Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals*, p. 14, 43.

¹⁴²¹ Gordon, *Real Cry*; Wan Suhana bt. Wan Sulong, *Saudara (1928-1941): Its Contribution to the Debate on Issues in Malay Society and the Development of a Malay World-view* (Hull: PhD. Dissertation, Univ. of Hull, 2003).

¹⁴²² In the Malay correspondence of the Cambodian Muslim scholars this authorization was naturally framed differently and the office holder was characterized as the one "who judges according to the Qur'ān and the *sunna* (*changvang yang merintah hukum kitab allah dan sunnat al-rasul allah*). ANC-RSC 35825 (undated document in support of Tuorman with several signatories [1933]).

rites”¹⁴²³ and that Tuorman was responsible for all troubles this might provoke. Having identified Hj. Kateur as a troublemaker, Boucly decided on discrete surveillance of his person¹⁴²⁴.

Despite the obvious initial support of the French for the *changvang*, Hj. Kateur’s accusation against him for having allegedly introduced new religious practices resonated with the Protectorate authorities. A few days after Boucly’s report to the *résident-maire*, the latter brought the intra-Muslim conflict in Chroy Changvar to the attention of the highest French official in Cambodia, *résident supérieur* Silvestre. In his letter, the *resident-maire* made clear that, despite the fact that he was not intent on making a judgement in a purely religious affair, he nevertheless deemed it preferable not to introduce any innovations but to stick to established practice instead (*sans vouloir porter un jugement sur l’affaire, d’ordre purement religieux, il me semble qu’il eut été préférable de ne rien innover en la matière et de se contenter des pratiques qui ont suffi à la population jusqu’à ce jour*). He further advised – for the sake of public order – that the conflict be solved as soon as possible through the Ministry of Cults, which was to invite the contending factions and to make clear to them that they had to abstain from any further quarrels¹⁴²⁵. Both these statements exhibit notably less unswerving support for “their man” (i.e. the *changvang*) than had been the case with Boucly. The suggestions of the *résident-maire* were subsequently heeded, and already the following month Hj. Kateur, Tuorman, Mat Sales and two other scholars by the names of Hj. Mau Senn (or Mou Soeu) and Sim Ly were summoned to the council of ministers by the Minister of Cults¹⁴²⁶. Whereas Sim Ly was assumingly a supporter of Hj. Kateur, the local religious teacher Mau Senn was clearly not, as has been suggested above.

Around the same time investigations and surveillance ordered by the French also yielded an interesting report, which again shows an expansion of the scope of the conflict as well as of the charges levelled against the *changvang* in particular. Moreover, it is also revealing as far as the role of the French as inadvertent supporters of Jawization and our above characterization of Tuorman as “their man” are concerned. Indeed, the report foregrounds the *changvang*’s position not only by reference to Sisowath’s aforementioned royal

¹⁴²³ In the Malay documents relative to the case both factions are castigating their opponents for the introduction of such “new rites”. Interestingly, the commonly used term was not *bidah* but *hukuman yang baharu* (lit. “new judgements”). Cf. Hj. Sam’un’s letter to Tuorman, dated Rajab 1st 1353/October 10th 1934, ANC-RSC 20811.

¹⁴²⁴ “Commissaire Central Boucly à Résident Maire”, dated May 6th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴²⁵ “L’Administration des Services Civils Résident-Maire de la Ville de Phnom-Penh à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur au Cambodge”, dated May 10th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴²⁶ “S.A.R. le Ministre des Cultes à Monsieur le Délégué auprès du Gouvernement Cambodgien”, dated June 8th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

ordinance, but additionally remarks that he was also in possession of a note by the French Resident, which attested to the fact that “he conformed to the rites of the Islamic religion in all points”. This explicit official validation not only of his authority but also of his full conformity with Islamic precepts was naturally not just an asset for his standing vis-à-vis the French in cases such as his intra-*trimeu* dispute with Hj. Kateur. Particularly, if this note had also already been issued on the occasion of his appointment in 1906, it must have likewise served as another important case of colonial endorsement of the variety of Islam soon to be known as *trimeu* (i.e. proto-*trimeu*). We may thus assume that this official endorsement was as much a means to bolster the position of the appointee, as it was an expression of colonial assumptions about “real Islam”.

In addition, we learn from the report that Hj. Kateur and his partisans had joined the alternating Friday prayers only once, namely during the time elapsing between al-Faṭānī’s first ruling and his departure. Afterwards they categorically refused to do so, which perhaps marks the actual transition of the conflict into factionalism. Indeed, Tuorman and Mat Sales declared in response that Hj. Kateur and his men may well do as they please, but warned them that in the future none of their group would be prepared to assist in funerary practices in the case of the death of any member of Hj. Kateur’s faction. Given the importance of funerary rites - both from the communal as well as from the individual point of view - in Islamic practice of the day, this statement practically amounted to excommunication from the community¹⁴²⁷. Undeterred, however, Hj. Kateur and his partisans went on the offensive. For his second complaint against Tuorman and Mat Sales, addressed to the king, Hj. Kateur reportedly went from house to house coercing residents into either signing or putting their finger print (*thang day*) onto the document. Moreover, among the “approximately forty” signatories, many later claimed that they were entirely unaware of being on the list and that the respective signatures or finger prints were forgeries, as they had allegedly been absent on that day. Of course, the number of (assumably slightly above) forty alleged supporters was not coincidental, as a quorum of forty believers would have been a main condition for a valid performance of the Friday prayer according to Shāfi’i *fiqh*. Presumably as a result of the ineffectiveness of their complaints, Hj. Kateur and his faction then resorted to more confrontational measures and on one occasion went to disrupt the Friday prayer.

¹⁴²⁷ The great importance attached to community participation in the funerary prayers was already evinced earlier in this study in connection with the respective fatwa on the issue sent to Ahmad Patani from Cambodia.

As far as the thematic expansion of the conflict is concerned, the most startling aspect of the report is the mention of another, this time anonymous complaint against the *changvang*, which certain local informants claimed to have also originated with Hj. Kateur. Evoking memories of an incident of two decades prior, this complaint abstrusely accused Tuorman of having collected money from his supporters to build a warship and facilitate the passage of Turks to Cambodia in order to combat the French. Undoubtedly an entirely baseless charge, it represents an echo of the aforementioned case of the fraudster Muhammad Effendi in 1914¹⁴²⁸ and the historical hopes of colonized Malay Muslims directed at the Ottoman Empire for support in their actual or merely envisaged struggles for independence. In this respect, it must be noted that even Ahmad Patani is reported to have vainly lobbied for military and diplomatic aid for Patani's cause at the Ottoman court¹⁴²⁹. On a final note, the report also suggests (certainly based on local informants) that the real reason behind the conflict was jealousy on Hj. Kateur's part, due to his conviction that the succession to Tuorman would fall to Mat Sales and not to him¹⁴³⁰.

As the conflict lingered on, and perhaps as a consequence of the earlier obstructions from Hj. Kateur, Tuorman turned to bar the latter from joining the Friday prayers at the Ek mosque. This prompted Hj. Kateur to submit yet another complaint to the council of ministers in August 1932, which again served to broaden the parameters of the conflict. Indeed, this time he stressed that the mosque was not the private sanctuary of the *changvang*, but had been built with the contributions of local Chams, Malays and Indians for the benefit of all Muslims. In that respect, he brought up a new charge against Tuorman, as he accused him of having embezzled a substantial sum of donations collected from the believers for the new building of the mosque. According to Hj. Kateur, constructions could, due to Tuorman's abusive conduct, only be completed thanks to additional donations made by the Indians Asmat, Karim and Mascati¹⁴³¹. The original Ek mosque had been constructed already at some point during the reign of Norodom¹⁴³², perhaps as early as the 1860s. Accordingly, the construction work in question must have related to the refashioning of the mosque as a brick building. It has already been noted (in chapter five) with reference to Chau Giang that mosques made of bricks and mortar were still a very rare sight in the late 19th century. Even the famous minaret of Svay Khleang, assumedly built in the late 1920s,

¹⁴²⁸ Cf. V.4.2.

¹⁴²⁹ Matheson & Hooker, "Jawi Literature", p. 29.

¹⁴³⁰ "Rapport d'émissaire", undated (most probably May or June 1932), ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴³¹ "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar", March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴³² "Rapport d'émissaire", undated (most probably May or June 1932), ANC-RSC 35825.

was attached to a wooden mosque. It should therefore not come as a surprise, if the *changvang* likewise still officiated in such a structure at that time. No date is given in the documentary sources for this episode. Still recently, however, local informants asserted that the mosque, now known as *Masjid Dār al-Salām*, had been built in 1930¹⁴³³, that is, only two years before the outbreak of the conflict. As indicated above, at least the person called Karim in the complaint, and more correctly Abdul Karim in later French investigative reports on the issue¹⁴³⁴, can be safely identified with the influential Tamil merchant Janab S. Abdul Karim, who also provided financial support for mosques and suraus in his native Tamil Nadu, Saigon and Chrang Chamres¹⁴³⁵.

As tensions continued to mount, and particularly the issue of the Friday prayer was still far from settled, Tuorman and Mat Sales took the rather exceptional step of travelling to Mecca in person to consult with “great scholars” there, sometime in the second half of 1932. That Mat Sales took a (second) trip to Mecca in the early 1930s was even noted by Ner¹⁴³⁶. The French sources, however, are rather mute regarding this venture¹⁴³⁷, which could have hardly been carried out without the consent of the Khmer (and French) authorities. In any case, the surveyed documentary evidence does not contain any items from or contemporary reports about Tuorman between June 1932 and February 1933, thus strongly indicating that the journey to Mecca and back fell into these eight months, and therefore conspicuously outside the pilgrimage season¹⁴³⁸. As the French were, notwithstanding his identification as a troublemaker, evidently reluctant to take legal measures against Hj. Kateur in order to avoid social unrest, they may have welcomed the trip as a way to temporarily diffuse the intra-community tensions in Chroy Changvar. As far as the *changvang* was concerned, al-Faṭānī’s fatwa had, despite the deliberate misreading of its content by Tuorman and his supporters, proven clearly insufficient to settle the dispute in

¹⁴³³ Personal communication with several elderly villagers living near *Masjid Dār al-Salām* (Chroy Changvar, August 2nd 2005).

¹⁴³⁴ “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825. These investigations also yielded the name of a fourth Indian Muslim donor to the mosque. Additionally, it was noted that Hj. Kateur had been opposed to the scheme all along, and had not only refused to make a financial contribution, but also sought to induce villagers to follow his example by claiming that the *changvang* was actually diverting the collected funds to invest it in his commercial ventures. This would indicate that animosity between the two scholars predated the events of 1932.

¹⁴³⁵ Cf. V.4.2.

¹⁴³⁶ Ner, “Musulmans de l’Indochine”, p. 166. He, however, assumed it to have constituted a second pilgrimage and apparently misdated it to 1934.

¹⁴³⁷ It is only mentioned once in relation to a petition of Mat Sales in his own defence submitted on March 16th 1933. “Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chroi-Changvar”, March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴³⁸ Dhū l-Ḥijja 1350 began in April 1932, whereas it tallied with late March the following year.

his favour. Meccan opinions, on the contrary, may have been hoped to better fulfill this task. Likewise, Hj. Kateur's embezzlement charges could also have played a role, just as the aforementioned assumption that their absence would temporarily or even permanently calm down the situation. Expectedly, Mat Sales afterwards informed the authorities that the Meccan luminaries had ruled in their favour.

Interestingly, tempers apparently did cool off in Chroy Changvar for several months in late 1932. Yet, this was only temporary. In February 1933 a distressed commissioner Boucly reported to the *résident-maire* that the conflict had broken out again, due to charges of rape, recently raised against the *oknha phakes* Lep of the Muk Dach mosque. It will be remembered in this regard, that initial disputes around the performance of the Friday prayer, had originated with discord between Lep and the *oknha masphty* Math. Lep had been arrested at the beginning of the preceding month amidst accusations of rape committed against the female guardian of the mosque, but was soon released as the accusations were considered baseless. The affair was, however, sufficient to rekindle the flames of a factionalism, which had assumedly also provided the very background to the charges in question. The alarmed Boucly warned the *résident-maire* that it would be absolutely vital to get in touch with both "clans" to prevent the resumption of last year's hostilities¹⁴³⁹.

Evidently, also the dispute around the performance of the Friday prayer had regained momentum as a result of the Muk Dach rape affair. Accordingly, Tuorman and a few of his supporters personally went to alert adjunct commissioner Richez to the fact that Hj. Kateur and his partisans had proclaimed their intention to perform parallel Friday prayers "at a mosque near the latter's home [i.e. the Kaolalom mosque], thereby manifesting their intention to create a sect, of which he would be the leader, and which would be hostile to the one recognized by His Majesty the King of Cambodia"¹⁴⁴⁰. He moreover called upon Richez to keep Hj. Kateur from putting his plan into effect. When the latter was accordingly summoned, he promised Richez to stay calm. Yet, his superior Boucly ruled that the police was in no position to forbid people from holding their prayers, but should instead observe the mosque to avoid any incidents. Consequently, Richez felt compelled to inform Hj. Kateur that he was free to do as he pleased, but nevertheless made him promise that everything would remain in order and that no incidents would result from his machinations.

¹⁴³⁹ "Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur l'Administrateur des Services Civils, Résident-Maire", February 17th 1933, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁴⁰ "Monsieur Richez, Gaston, Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3^{ème} Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh", February 20th 1933, ANC-RSC 35825.

In turn, the Khmer police brigadier Deng was entrusted with the surveillance of the “Malays” in Chroy Changvar. As per his report, around fifty worshippers performed the Friday prayer at “pagoda Ounalom” (i.e. the Kaolalom mosque) on the next Friday, whereas approximately the same number congregated at the Ek mosque. This was reportedly the first case of parallel Friday prayers in Chroy Changvar for almost a year. Afterwards over a dozen of the worshippers at Kaolalom went over to Hj. Kateur’s place. Even though Deng reported no further incidents, an Indian informant in constant interaction with the local “Malays” briefed Richez about the great discontent within the community, which he assumed could easily and rapidly lead to scandal and incidents. Deng also related particular dismay on part of Tes Hj. Tales, now interim successor to the meanwhile deceased Math as head of the Kaolalom mosque, and the majority of villagers inhabiting the part of the village at the banks of the Mekong, as the Friday prayer at their mosque had been performed without their knowledge, let alone the permission of Hj. Tales. Richez, however, assured his superior that he could rely on informants on both sides of the factional divide¹⁴⁴¹.

It must finally be noted that the reference to “pagoda Ounalom” in this document should be taken as a particular revealing “slip of the tongue”, especially so as it is far from representing a unique instance in the documentation on factionalism in Chroy Changvar. Indeed, it is highly instructive of the degree to which intra-Muslim discord was frequently framed by both Khmer and French officials along the lines of contemporary factionalism in Cambodian Buddhism, i.e. the split between the Mahanikay and Thommakay factions. Whereas customary references to Muslim places of worship as *pagode* in French or as *wat* in Khmer documents are hardly startling, the deformation of Kaolalom to Ounalom is intriguing. In fact, the Thommakay faction of Cambodian Theravada Buddhism, whose foundational dynamics bear many similarities to aspects of both the process of Jawization among Cambodian Muslims as well as of later *kaum tua/kaum muda* conflict, grew directly out of a reform wing within the Mahanikay known as the *mahanikay thmey* (“new Mahanikay”). The similarity of this designation to Malay/Cham terms *kaum muda* and *phong bhaw* in Cambodian Muslim discourse is of course striking. Of greater relevance, however, is the fact that both the headquarters of the Mahanikay as well as the nucleus and operational basis of the Thommakay was Phnom Penh’s Wat Ounalom, which was turned into an arena of intra-Buddhist factionalism, engaging the royal family as well as the French, in the 1910s

¹⁴⁴¹ *ibid.*

and 1920s¹⁴⁴². There can thus be little doubt that not only the misnomer of Kaolalom as Ounalom but also certain discursive frames had been carried over from Khmer Buddhism into observations of Muslim intra-religious factionalism. It will also be remembered that Muslim dignitaries had been nominated by the (Mahanikay) supreme patriarch (*sanghareach*) of Cambodian Buddhism until the death of *sanghareach* Tieng in 1913¹⁴⁴³.

Drawing comparisons from factionalism in Cambodian Buddhism was therefore surely not the exclusive purview of the French and Khmer authorities. Both Tuorman and Hj. Kateur were therefore certainly fully aware that the nomination of Tieng had gone hand-in-hand with the official recognition of a second Buddhist “order”, namely the Siam-influenced Thommayuth. Neither would they have been oblivious to the fact that the *mahanikay thmey* was right at the time of their confrontation in the dual - conspicuously French-aided one may add - processes of gaining ever more influence within the Mahanikay and eclipsing the Thommayuth. As Edwards has emphasized, the latter aspect was also prominently mirrored in the increasing currency of the label Thommakay for the *mahanikay thmey*¹⁴⁴⁴. By observing precedents and contemporary issues in the development of Buddhism in the country, the contenders must have easily arrived at the conclusion that, firstly, vying for French support was essential to either gain leadership within the existing order or to successfully subvert it, and, secondly, that it was far from inconceivable to establish one’s own “sect”. This, of course, casts Tuorman’s remarks about Hj. Kateur’s designs to do just that, and regarding recognition by the king, in a different light. What is more, as will be shown in the final chapter, Cambodia’s Muslims would eventually indeed be split up into two officially recognized Islamic communities with the establishment of KIS. This, however, transpired as a legacy of the less fleeting struggle between Jawization and anti-Jawization, at Tuorman’s time still playing out in the form of *trimeu/kobuol* conflict, whereas his confrontation with Hj. Kateur was a historically inconsequential, though instructive, intra-*trimeu* affair.

Expectedly, the renewal of disputes in early 1933 was also reported to the *résident supérieur* Silvestre, who was assured by the *résident-maire* that Richez had received instructions to keep public order, *inter alia* by remaining neutral in this insufficiently understood conflict of

¹⁴⁴² Edwards, “Making a Religion”, p. 63-85; *id.*, *Cambodge*, ch. 8. Huoth That, one of its chief proponents, also claimed that the group’s self-identification with *thorm thmey* (“new *dhamma*”)/ *mahanikay thmey* originated in Wat Ounalom. Anne Hansen, “Modernism and Morality in the Colonial Era” in Alexandra Kent & David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue. Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), p. 44.

¹⁴⁴³ Cf. V.4.1.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Edwards, *Cambodge*, p. 206.

an exclusively religious nature. Yet, he also stressed that ending the conflict as fast as possible was of prime importance in order to ward off serious incidents¹⁴⁴⁵. As factional discord was reintensified in the wake of the accusations against *oknha phakes* Lep, not only the issue of the Friday prayer regained its virulence among the locals. Throughout March 1933 various Khmer and French administrative bodies received petitions, reports and personal testimonies on the alternating Friday prayers, the formalities of canonical prayer and the embezzlement charges against the *changvang* from Tuorman, Mat Sales, Hj. Kateur and Tuorman's brother-in-law Hj. Ismail, most of which have already been cited or referred to above.

Even though no serious incidents were reported in the following, the conflict continued on various fronts until Tuorman's death in 1935. The archival materials from the period at our disposal are of course again only representing the tip of the iceberg. In August 1934 Tuorman petitioned the French to take legal measures against Hj. Kateur for wrongly accusing him of embezzlement. In that respect, he emphasized the damage inflicted through the charges to his standing and authority among the Muslim community, and threatened the authorities with his resignation should this situation persist¹⁴⁴⁶. In October 1934 Hj. Sam'un, Math's successor at Kaolalom, along with over sixty signatories from the mosque communities of Kaolalom and Ek (*sekalian hamba yang bermukim pada kedua-dua masjid yaitu masjid sungai luar dan dalam*), sent a *jawi* letter to Tuorman, informing him that Hj. Kateur had sent a complaint (*peraduan*) to the state tribunal (*mahkama* [kh.] "*sala mahatihay*") in 1932, in which he denounced the *changvang*, Mat Sales and all local believers performing the Friday prayers in the mode of alternation as having instituted new rites (*hukuman yang baharu*). They further bemoaned the split in the community resulting from Hj. Kateur's actions, and pleaded the *changvang* to forward their letter to highest state authorities so that they may make a just decision on the matter, which they would then abide by (*jika tuan-tuan kerajaan yang mahabesar melakukan hukum atas perkara ini bagaimana-manapun sekalian kita sedia mengaku dan ikut akan hukuman yang adil itu*). Among the signatories, all except two of which signed in *jawi*, were also the former interim head of Kaolalom Tes Hj. Tales as well as Tuorman's brother-in-law and future successor Hj. Ismail.

¹⁴⁴⁵ "L'Administration des Services Civils Résident-Maire de la Ville de Phnom-Penh à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur au Cambodge", dated February 21st 1933, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁴⁶ "L'Oknha Réachéa Thippedey Changvang Haji Tuman à Monsieur le Délégué du Protectorate auprès du Gouvernement Cambodgien à Phnom Penh", dated August 11th 1934, ANC-RSC 20811. The original Khmer version of the document was co-signed by Hj. Sam'un, head of the Kaolalom mosque.

As it seems inconceivable that the *changvang* would have been entirely unaware of the issues described in the letter, it must have clearly served some other purpose than mere information. The possibility that it was actually drawn up at the request of Tuorman himself cannot be excluded. It could, however, on the other hand also indicate that Hj. Sam'ūn and other believers of the faction associated with Mat Sales and the *changvang*, and most emblematically characterized by their performance of the alternating Friday prayers, held Hj. Kateur and his men in even greater contempt, and where trying to push Tuorman into taking action in the factional strife again. It must be noted in this regard, that Hj. Kateur had sought to thwart Hj. Sam'ūn's appointment as head of the Kaolalom mosque in 1932. The latter had been the candidate put forward by Tuorman and 150 other Chroy Changvar Muslims, whereas Hj. Kateur had himself addressed a letter to the Minister of Cults, urging for his own appointment before that year's royal *tang tok* festival, which customarily involved *inter alia* the *oknha masphy* as one of the country's highest ranking officials¹⁴⁴⁷.

As far as emerging shared conventions of *jawi* scholarship and its discursive patterns are concerned, it must be noted that the letter makes reference to factionalism and its consequences for the community in very much the same way (and even the same words) as the aforementioned *istiftā'* of *tokaley* Hj. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Hj. Yūnus Kemboja of Chrang Chamres in 1929. It will be remembered that the latter had dealt with intra-religious strife in relation to the question of the correct *qibla* in the mosques of Chrang Chamres, an affair into which also Mat Sales was implicated. The two *mustaftīs* had used the not overly common expression *berputus rahim* (lit. "lose/cut off mercy") to describe how children had broken with their parents and siblings with each other¹⁴⁴⁸. In the same vein, Hj. Sam'ūn's letter speaks of "the honour of the people and the religion having gone lost" (*jadi mehilangkan kehormatan bangsa dan ugama*), and an ensuing splitting in half of the community (*berputus-putus rahim setengah*)¹⁴⁴⁹. This expression appears neither in Marsden's *jawi* Malay dictionary of 1812 nor in Wilkinson's *rumi* counterpart of the next century, which relies extensively on Malay literature of the *silsilah* and *hikayat* type¹⁴⁵⁰. We may therefore tentatively assume that it was only current in more narrowly defined *jawi* religious literature and discourse.

¹⁴⁴⁷ "Requête adressée au Conseil des Ministres", October 25th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825; "Requête adressée à le Ministre de l'Interieure et des Cultes", November 17th 1932, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Cf. VI.2.2.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Hj. Sam'ūn to Tuorman, dated Rajab 1st 1353/October 10th 1934, ANC-RSC 20811.

¹⁴⁵⁰ William Marsden, *A Dictionary of the Malayan Language, in Two Parts, Malayan and English and English and Malayan* (London: Cox and Baylis, 1812); Wilkinson, *Malay-English Dictionary*.

In November 1934 Tuorman filed a new petition to Ministry of Cults, which also included Hj. Sam'ūn's letter, and was accordingly submitted not only in the name of the *changvang* but also in the name of Sam'ūn and all his co-signers. Primarily revolving around the issue of the Friday prayer, it demanded a decision to be taken concerning Hj. Kateur's charges against Tuorman and Mat Sales of "practicing a new cult not recognized by the Qur'ān". It also reiterated the beginnings of the conflict once more, by explaining that it had all started at a reunion of local religious scholars convened by *oknha musphty* Math, where it had been decided, in the presence of both Mat Sales and Hj. Kateur, that it was not legally valid to hold parallel Friday prayers in Chroy Changvar. Subsequently, a singular Friday prayer was performed for approximately fifteen years until the discussion resurfaced in 1931-2 with the known consequences. Additionally, the petition also demanded a solution to the embezzlement charges raised by Hj. Kateur and reiterated Tuorman's claim that it would be necessary for him to vacate the post unless measures were taken to restore his dignity¹⁴⁵¹. Obviously bent on complying with the *changvang's* demand for a definitive settlement of the issue, Minister Chea asked the French authorities to commission the agencies of competence in such matters to gather the following information: 1) the number of "reconciled" believers at both the Ek and Kaolalom mosques; 2) the number of "dissident" believers; and 3) which faction is conforming more closely to the prescriptions of the Qur'ān¹⁴⁵². Whereas the French would have evidently been quick to answer such a question in *kobuol/trimeu* conflict, in which the latter were invariably representing the good, true or, in any case, religiously educated Muslims, this naturally proved to be a conundrum in intra-*trimeu* strife. Having identified Hj. Kateur as a troublemaker and nemesis of the official appointed and recognized by themselves and the king, it was, however, the faction represented by Tuorman and Mat Sales, which eventually received their blessing in the (arguably somewhat premature) definitive settlement of the case, as French colonial officials and Khmer government officials issued their verdict on conformity with Islamic precepts.

Thus, in March 1935 the Cambodian Council of Ministers, with the explicit - and undoubtedly mandatory - approval of the new *resident supérieure* Henri Louis Marie Richomme, decided that 1) all investigations against Tuorman and Mat Sales were to be terminated; 2) that severe blame was to be inflicted upon Hj. Kateur, who was henceforth to

¹⁴⁵¹ "Requête de l'Oknha Réachéa-Thippedey 'Hadji-Tuorman' à son excellence, le Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes", dated November 7th 1934, ANC-RSC 20811.

¹⁴⁵² "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes à Monsieur le Délégué du Protectorat auprès du Gouvernement Cambodgien", November ? 1934, ANC-RSC 20811.

be prohibited from causing any new incidents and from addressing petitions to the administration; 3) that the *changvang*'s decisions regarding the alternating Friday prayers and "the number of prostrations for each prayer being fixed at thirteen" were to remain in place; and finally 4) that the relevant documents were to be transmitted to the concerned juridic bodies in order to deliver a judgement regarding Hj. Kateur's accusation (i.e. of embezzlement) against the *changvang*¹⁴⁵³. These decisions were arrived at after a thorough review of all materials relative to the case at the authorities' disposal. Only the deliberate misreading of al-Faṭānī's fatwa on the Mat Sales-Tuorman faction's part went either unnoticed or was deliberately overlooked. Concerning the embezzlement charge, it was noted that the *changvang*'s book keeping clearly testified to his honesty in the matter.

Of particular interest for our purpose is, however, a subsidiary decision of the Council of Ministers regarding Hj. Kateur's position in religious matters. Thus, it was not only expressly stated that he was henceforth to submit himself in all matters pertaining to the religious sphere to the authority of the *changvang*. What is more, it was decided that he was – under threat of merciless chastisement for any infringement – "to refrain from any consultations with foreigners, and was not allowed to take them as professors and follow their doctrines"¹⁴⁵⁴. Also this measure appears to have had precedents in French policies towards Cambodian Buddhism. Thus, against the background of Buddhist factionalism, which became at least partly associated by the authorities with scholarly contacts to and Buddhist education in Bangkok (i.e. the [serambi] Mecca of Cambodian Buddhist scholars), and amidst fears of Siamese cultural and political influence, monks were virtually barred from travelling to Siam by the French on the basis of a royal ordinance of 1909, and were then from 1916 onwards only allowed to do so after having received an official authorization, issuance of which was *inter alia* dependent upon prior completion of studies at the French-founded Superior Pali School in Phnom Penh¹⁴⁵⁵.

Neither this official reprimand from the highest state authorities nor the accompanying measures to restrict his contacts with foreign *jawi* scholars, were, however, conducive to keep Hj. Kateur from further agitation. Tuorman's victory would prove short-lived, as he died in December 1935, only eight months after the French/Khmer ruling in his favour.

¹⁴⁵³ "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar", March 11th & April 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825; "Résidence Supérieure du Cambodge, 5^{ème} Bureau: Dissensions religieuses entre Chams dans Chruï-Changvar, 6^{ème} quartier de la Ville de Phnôm-Penh", April 2nd 1935, ANC-RSC 26016.

¹⁴⁵⁴ "Délibération de la Commission Permanente du Conseil des Ministres. Objet: Dissensions religieuses entre Cham de Chruï-Changvar", March 11th 1935, ANC-RSC 35825.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Hansen, "Khmer Identity", p. 53f.; Edwards, "Making a Religion", p. 70; Forest, "Buddhism and Reform", p. 27.

Unsurprisingly, the struggle for Tuorman's succession as *changvang* provided a new opportunity to Hj. Kateur and his (by then assumingly much less prosperous) faction to further their agendas. Yet, Hj. Kateur himself had obviously disqualified himself as a candidate for the post, and behind the scenes Tuorman's brother-in-law Hj. Ismail b. Ahmad, who had already acted on Tuorman's behalf on several occasions during the latter's final years, could apparently rely on wide support among both local believers and wider Cambodian Muslim scholarly circles. Hj. Kateur and his supporters therefore decided upon putting forward the Kampong Cham scholar Kaloth Hj. Mathi (Hj. Muḥammad 'Alī) as counter-candidate. For that purpose Hj. Kateur furnished a petition on behalf of 149 believers of the Ek mosque community, all ostensibly demanding Hj. Mathi's nomination, which he sent to the king in March 1936.

We have already noted above, that this letter also contained a revealingly formulated emphasis on the fact that the candidate had for long taught "the *characters* and the principles of the *Malay* religion" to local students. Apart from this emblematic reference to the process of Jawization, however, the petition additionally stressed that he instructed his students to "respect the law of the land, love its majesty and guard the loyalty towards France"¹⁴⁵⁶. Despite these professions concerning Hj. Mathi's scholarly stature and loyalty towards the Protectorate, Hj. Kateur's efforts to have him installed as new head of Cambodia's Muslim community would come to naught in the course of the interactive decision making process between Cambodian and French administrative bodies. As Tuorman had held the position for almost three decades, the administrators engaged in a thorough review of the past and present mechanisms for the appointment of Muslim dignitaries and particularly the *changvang*, during which also the contemporary absence of any *pos* (evidently perceived as natural leaders to the Muslim community) in the country was noted¹⁴⁵⁷.

As these have already been discussed in chapter five, they will not concern us any further here. Suffice it to say that 285 members of the Chroy Changvar Ek mosque community were recorded to have solicited the nomination of Hj. Ismail as new *changvang*, that is, almost twice as many than had allegedly expressed their preference for Hj. Mathi. More importantly, also the whole body of mosque leaders of advanced age and/or holding the title of *oknha* with 7-9 *pan* of dignity had positively responded to the prospective

¹⁴⁵⁶ ANC-RSC, 28319 (dated March 7th 1936).

¹⁴⁵⁷ Cf. V.4.1.

appointment of Hj. Ismail upon consultation with the Ministry of Cults¹⁴⁵⁸. More precisely, it was ten Muslim dignitaries whose consent was sought by the Ministry¹⁴⁵⁹. These even included the *oknha khmour* Him Kak of Au Russey, a figure completely unsuspecting of any tendency towards Jawization, as well as the leaders of the *kobuol* factions in the Khleang Sbek/Kampong Luong area and in Chrang Chamres, for whom selecting one or the other *trimeu* candidate was assumingly of comparably restricted relevance. Contrarily, particularly dignitaries strongly opposed to Hj. Kateur, such as Hj. Sam'un, who later himself rose to the position of *changvang*, certainly came out in particularly strong support of Hj. Ismail.

Moreover, Hj. Ismail also had other advantages over his contender Hj. Mathi. Thus, it was emphasized that he was already known to the administrative services, was proficient in spoken and written Khmer and likewise knew French¹⁴⁶⁰. Tellingly, the location of his house, close to the Ministry of Cults, was explicitly regarded as a felicitous one, in view of his assumed abilities "to easily solve arising differences in religious outlook, as had been the case in the past". Additionally, it was duly recognized that he had acted on Tuorman's behalf on several occasions (assumingly also during the latter's absence in the second half of 1932), and stemmed from an honourable family, in which ancestors from both branches had filled positions such as *chauvay srok* (district governor), palace mandarin and mosque leader¹⁴⁶¹. This also shows that his family relations with Tuorman were representing a Cambodian Muslim elite, which was among the spearheads of Jawization.

Contrarily, investigations into the petition in favor of his counter-candidate yielded less amenable results for the French and Khmer authorities. Thus, it was soon discovered that the mastermind behind it was Hj. Kateur, characterized by the administration as an enemy of the deceased *changvang*, who had drawn an official reprimand in 1935. It also turned out that, in harmony with Hj. Kateur's habit of coercing villagers into signing his petitions or even forging signatures and fingerprints reported earlier, it exhibited many irregularities. More precisely, a substantial number of his signatories were misplaced on the list as they indeed belonged to the mosque communities of Muk Dach, Kaolalom and in certain instances even Chroy Metrey (in Kendal). Others at least claimed later on, upon questioning by the police, that they had been unaware of the actual content of the document they were

¹⁴⁵⁸ "Le Ministre de l'Intérieure et des Cultes à Monsieur le Délégué du Protectorat auprès du Gouvernement Cambodien", March 16th 1936, ANC-RSC 28319.

¹⁴⁵⁹ "Délibération de la Commission permanente du Conseil des Ministres", April 8th 1936, ANC-RSC 28319.

¹⁴⁶⁰ He also invariably signed even Khmer and *jawi* documents in elegant Roman cursive (merely as Ismail).

¹⁴⁶¹ *ibid.*

made to sign. Still other ostensible signatories were found to have already deceased or were entirely unknown to the locals¹⁴⁶².

Two other aspects of this affair must be mentioned. Firstly, it is once more instructive of the strong familial scholarly contacts between Chroy Changvar and the Mekong villages of Kampong Cham. Indeed, Hj. Mathi, was by then no longer living in Chroy Changvar but in O Tram near Stung Trang (i.e. the ferry-crossing opposite Phum Trea) and was therefore considered as pertaining to the mosque community of Phum Trea. It will be remembered in this regard, that Mat Sales had been born in Svay Khleang, a village also connected to the biography of Hj. Kateur. Secondly, upon discovering that also female Muslim names were contained in the petition, the French police officer involved in the investigations felt compelled to ask the villagers whether women were, according to Qur'ānic precepts, even allowed to involve themselves in matters of religion. The response was reportedly in the negative, "as they are even forbidden from entering the mosque"¹⁴⁶³. Again, French colonial officers and local Muslims jointly laid down orthodox Muslim practice.

Strikingly, after all the negative official attention he had drawn throughout 1935-6, Hj. Kateur still had the nerve to request the conferral of a dignitary title upon his person from the *résident supérieure* in August 1936. As already noted, it was in this letter that he made reference to his alleged earlier working relationship with Phong Yismann of Svay Khleang¹⁴⁶⁴. His request, which most probably represented Hj. Kateur's final attempt at gaining official recognition and a position of community leadership, was expectedly denied. Yet, also the new *changvang* Hj. Ismail, had to deal with an, admittedly minor, case of intra-community strife in Chroy Changvar, which likewise involved some actors already known to us. Thus, in summer 1939, police reported discord at the Muk Dach/Xom Bien mosque, which was still headed by *oknha phakes* Lep. Although the latter never figured prominently in the more advanced stages of the case of factionalism just discussed, it will be remembered that he was in its beginning in opposition to Mat Sales, Tuorman and Math on the Friday prayer issue. Also the rape charges against him in 1933 had most probably been orchestrated by some figure from the Mat Sales/Tuorman faction. Intriguingly, the commotions of 1939 not only witnessed Lep as charged with misconduct, but also Hj. Sam'ūn, one of Hj. Kateur's chief enemies, as accused of inciting the believers to quarrel. In

¹⁴⁶² "Le Commissaire de Police Adjoint du 3^{ème} Arrondissement à Monsieur le Commissaire Central à Phnom Penh", March 18th 1936, ANC-RSC 28319.

¹⁴⁶³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶⁴ "Hayi Katoeu à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur", August 5th 1936, ANC-RSC 26016.

addition, the emblematic issue of the Friday prayer was likewise at least implicitly involved. It is thus reasonable to regard them as an aftershock of these earlier disputes.

In the case at hand, hostilities erupted due to a reshuffle of the mosque committee engineered by Lep. Most problematically, he had relieved five people out of the six-person body of imams from their duties, while conferring their combined functions upon his brother Mat Re. This had prompted strong reactions from two local hajjis with family relations to the discharged functionaries. At the same time he had also begun to collect five cents from every believer, without, however, making public for which purpose the money was used. As tension in the community grew over a period of eight months, people started to boycott the mosque. On one occasion only eleven out of allegedly approximately 200 local believers showed up for the Friday prayer, which, as the local police agents were made aware of, was an insufficient number for its valid performance (according to Shāfi'i law)¹⁴⁶⁵. The most striking feature of this report is the clear implication that alternating Friday prayers were by then no longer strictly observed in Chroy Changvar or that they were now only alternated between Ek and Kaolalom, while Muk Dach had broken out of the arrangement. Whereas the new *changvang* had perhaps decided to turn a blind eye to this development, others probably had not. This most likely constituted the background to the charges against Hj. Sam'ūn, as a strong proponent of the alternation system, of allegedly stirring sedition within the the Muk Dach mosque community.

Hj. Ismail was, however, apparently able to diffuse the tension by personally engaging the community and consulting with villagers concerning the situation. Thus, he took it upon himself to visit the community and then report back to his superior, the Minister of the Interior and Cults. His successful mediation was assumingly facilitated by the fact that police and security personnel (*agents de Police et de la Sûreté*) were present at the mosque during the reunion, which clearly testifies to the seriousness with which the French and Khmer authorities were approaching intra-Muslim conflict by now. From his report, we learn that the mosque community actually only consisted of 84 male adult believers. Against this background, only eleven prospective worshippers for the Friday prayer is still a remarkably low number, but the picture is of course less drastic than was implied by French sources speaking of 200 local Muslims (which perhaps included females and children). Around forty people responded to the *changvang*'s call for discussion at the mosque.

¹⁴⁶⁵ "Rapport d'agents", July 26th 1939, ANC-RSC 34000; "L'Administration des Services Civils Résident-Maire de la Ville de Phnom-Penh à Monsieur le Résident Supérieur au Cambodge", July 27th 1939, ANC-RSC 34000.

Secondly, Hj. Ismail noted that only three people were in serious discord with the head of the mosque, namely Hj. Soub, Hj. Killy and Hj. Math, whereas the rest of the community “had not exhibited disobedience vis-à-vis the *oknha phakes*”¹⁴⁶⁶. This latter statement naturally leaves considerable room for interpretation: should non-participation in the Friday prayer be regarded as disobedience against the leader, particularly if indeed performed, at another Chroy Changvar mosque instead? Also the fact that all three were hajjis and thus by definition of elevated standing among their fellow villagers, appears significant. This is compounded by the fact that they were apparently senior villagers, and that Hj. Soub was also specified as a local religious teacher. He can therefore be safely identified with the Hj. Soub (Sop, i.e. Yūsuf) of Xom Bien on the French list of unauthorized Muslim schools in Chroy Changvar of 1934, who ran a school since 1924, which was the only one to be allowed to remain in place without the acquisition of a license, as its number of students had by then declined to merely two¹⁴⁶⁷. Numbers must have increased again since then, as the *changvang* claimed that “if some have chosen to side with Hj. Soub, it is just because he is teaching their sons and nephews”. As far as the seniority of the three hajjis is concerned, Hj. Math was recorded as father of Hj. Killy and father-in-law of Hj. Soub¹⁴⁶⁸, who must then have been already 67 years of age.

Hj. Ismail also asked the assembled believers four specific questions relative to the conflict: 1) Are you discontent with the *oknha phakes*, and if so, on what grounds? 2) Has he removed any imams from office, or barred anyone from praying at the mosque? 3) Is it true that he has exacted 5 cents from each believer on a monthly basis? 4) Has the *oknha masphy* (i.e. Hj. Sam’ūn) incited any incidents among the mosque community? Save for the three mentioned hajjis, all respondents answered negatively to questions one, two and four, which of course does not preclude the existence of misgivings not voiced in the presence of the *changvang*, who was known to be a close associate of Hj. Sam’ūn, and police and security forces. Concerning the third question, it was claimed that Lep had intended the exactions to defray the regular costs of the new electric lighting in the mosque, but had seen himself forced to abandon the plan due to disapproval from the believers. Again, as had been the case with the rebuilding of the Ek mosque with brick, mortar and masonry, the blessings of technological progress led to disunity within the community. Finally, *oknha phakes* Lep

¹⁴⁶⁶ “Preas Réachéa Thippedey Amat Hadji Ismael à S.E. le Ministre de l’Intérieur et des Cultes”, August 23rd 1939, ANC-RSC 34000.

¹⁴⁶⁷ “Rapport”, October 4th 1934, ANC-RSC 8465. Cf. n. 677.

¹⁴⁶⁸ “Preas Réachéa Thippedey Amat Hadji Ismael à S.E. le Ministre de l’Intérieur et des Cultes”, August 23rd 1939, ANC-RSC 34000.

defended his reshuffle of the local body of imams, not entirely convincingly one may add, on the grounds that the other five imams had too often been kept from their ritual duties due to their frequent absences resulting from their trading ventures. Even though eventually all those present had “consented to follow my advice and resume to celebrate the ritual ceremonies at this mosque as in the past”, Hj. Ismail believed that “this tranquility will not last long”, due to the apparent lack of respect for the *oknha phakes* exhibited by his opponents¹⁴⁶⁹.

3. Conclusion

Hj. Ismail’s handling of this latter case presents him as more skillful in conflict resolution than his predecessor. That he acted in defense of the authority of a Muslim leader, who had in the not too distant past sided - though evidently not with particular vigour - with a contending faction, also seems to imply that he sought to preserve harmonious intra-Muslim relations, especially within the dominating *trimeu* camp. Yet, Ner’s study clearly testifies to the persistence of *trimeu/koboul* factionalism in Chrang Chamres, Kampong Luong and Battambang during his tenure. This, however, appears to have played out largely without direct involvement of his persona, or of the French and Khmer authorities for that matter. Nevertheless, as one of the foremost representatives of both official Cambodian Islam and, more pertinently, of a fully Jawisated *trimeu* elite, there can be no doubt that he had little regards or sympathy for the *koboul*. Similarly, the French policies in the standardization of Islamic education and their assumptions about ritual, scholarly and social practices that conformed to Qur’ānic precepts or, in other words, about “true Islam”, clearly pro-Jawization/*trimeu* in character, congenially contributed their part to the victory of the process of Jawization in Cambodia. French colonial knowledge was therefore ironically working to detriment of localized Islamic traditions in Cambodia, whereas it played the exact opposite role in former Panduranga, where French scholarly interest in local Cham religion and efforts at preserving artifacts of cultural memory such as monuments and manuscripts helped to fortify and reinforce Cham Bani and Cham Jat identities. Yet, as will be shown in the final chapter, even though it must have seemed to Ner that a complete victory of the *trimeu* (and therefore Jawization) was imminent and inevitable in the early 1940s, what evolved in subsequent decades were, despite the rapid

¹⁴⁶⁹ *ibid.*

continuation and expansion of the process in the country until the cataclysmic 1970s, highly complex legacies of Jawization and anti-Jawization.

VIII. The legacies of Jawization and anti-Jawization: Factionalism renewed

“Cela nous a semblé provenir d’un credo bien établi au sein de la communauté Cham selon lequel les ‘langues nobles’ à savoir le Malais et l’Arabe auraient vocation à être écrites, alors que le Cham resterait réservé à la communication orale”. Jean-Michel Filippi, Recherches Préliminaire sur les langues des minorités du Cambodge (2008).

“There are hegemonic logospheres like the Arabic Muslim [...] and the English and French ones today; there are smaller, satellite logospheres where dialects, not written languages survive under the threat of expanding languages with their related civilizations. [...] here are as many ‘Islams’ with their specific traditions as there are ethno-socio-cultural and linguistic environments sharing a long historical collective memory”. Mohammad Arkoun, Islam: To Reform or to Subvert? (2006).

So far, this study has presented some of the preconditions, vehicles and paths of the process of Jawization in Cambodia, which represents a vast expansion of the hegemonic *jawi* Malay logosphere in the religious scholarly and social world of the country’s Muslims. As this expansion went hand-in-hand with a change in script, congenially resulting in a marked disjuncture between past and contemporary local Islamic literary traditions, also the very limited literary activity in Cham *jawi* can be only regarded as a counter-development with considerable reservation. It is only the transposal of individual Cham *akhar trah* texts, which could be classified as such, but also in this case *jawi* versions did not solely differ from the *akhar trah* originals in script, as the process was likewise accompanied by a Jawization of vocabulary, and assumingly frequently also content¹⁴⁷⁰. This is only natural against the background that such transposal was conducted by *jawi* scholars, as it was Malay *jawi* and not Arabic script as such, which stood patron for the adaptation of Arabic letters for writing the Cham language.

Nevertheless, the hegemonic *jawi* Malay logosphere could not completely supplant the smaller Cham and Khmer logospheres as frameworks and vehicles for the preservation and further elaboration of distinctively local Islamic discursive traditions. What is more, at least Cham did not only survive the onslaught of Jawization as language of religious instruction and discourse in oral (as suggested in the quotation from Arkoun above) but also in its written *akhar trah* form, even though solely in certain pockets of resistance, now

¹⁴⁷⁰ In this regard we have already referred to a Cham *jawi* version of the Cham epic *Sep Sah Sakei*, in which the hero of the story is no longer a Brahmanist but a Muslim Cham, whom his peregrinations are not only taking through the Cham realms of Kauthara and Panduranga but incidentally also to Kelantan and Terengganu. Cf. V.1.

functioning as safe havens and launching pads for anti-Jawization. Here, albeit no longer used in the productive sense (i.e. to produce new literature), the past reliance on *akhar trah*, a century ago already regarded as marked for extinction in Cambodia by colonial scholarship, and the preservation of some of its physical manifestations (i.e. manuscripts), has served the forces of anti-Jawization as an instrumental and highly emblematic tool in maintaining and - to a not insignificant degree - crafting a Muslim identity running counter to the legacy of Jawization. Whereas the *kobuol* as the most pronounced force of anti-Jawization in the first decades of the 20th century had disappeared as a distinctive group by the end of the colonial era, it was the then seemingly isolated community around the *oknha khmour* of Au Russey that would come to eventually epitomize and, indeed, institutionalize anti-Jawization from the 1990s onwards.

Yet, before these recent developments there were phases in the history of Islam in Cambodia, during which both Jawization - so salient a process since the late 19th century - and factionalism were overshadowed and even entirely arrested by political developments. Thus, the engaging struggle for Cambodian independence contributed its part to the dissipation of *trimeu/kobuol* conflict, just as did Lon Nol's coup of 1970 and the ensuing years of civil war and DK rule regarding *kaum muda/kaum tua* strife. DK extermination policies even brought the pronounced Cambodian *jawi* scholarly culture onto the brink of extinction. And indeed, although the latter survived both the DK era as well as the ensuing decade of isolation from the Malay World to reflower again from the early 1990s onwards, the heyday of Jawization was by then over, as it was clearly no longer the seemingly sole conceivable option for the development of local Islam (an impression that one could have easily arrived at in the mid-20th century). Now also anti-Jawization was an option again, and it became possible to (again) approach Arabic, the Islamic supra-language per se, without the intermediary of *jawi* Malay, as Arabic, another hegemonic logosphere, made its unmediated appearance in the country in Salafi guise. Likewise, also the remaining past carriers of Jawization (and new ones), however, began to exhibit an increasing degree of complexity in engaging with the legacy of Jawization. Similarly, these new multiple alternatives have precipitated a new wave of factionalism among Cambodian Muslims, which many observers have erroneously regarded as unprecedented. The present study should have served to demonstrate the contrary. This array of issues and developments will be briefly touched upon in the following overview of the legacies of Jawization and anti-Jawization, and therefore also factionalism.

1. Jawization between expansion, stagnation and near obliteration in independent Cambodia

As was particularly evident in chapter six, the process of Jawization continued well into the era after Cambodia's independence in 1953. Indeed, with the continuation of the process, it was only in the post-colonial decades until 1970 that Jawization witnessed its greatest expansion in the country, due to the activities of major local agents of Jawization scattered throughout the Cambodian provinces, such as Mat Sales Haroun in Phum Trea, Abu Talep in Chroy Metrey, Li Musa in Svay Khleang, his *kaum tua* contenders in Amphil and Chumnik, the scholars of Speu, Hj. Srong Yousos in Chrang Chamres, Hj. Sulaiman of Chroy Changvar, Hj. Math Zayn of Norea, and Hj. Ahmad in Kampot¹⁴⁷¹. Most of these continued to act as influential teachers, darwing students from far and wide, until 1970. Especially concerning Mat Sales Haroun, we have seen how his network of students represented and facilitated the spread of Jawization also into areas such as central Thbaung Khmum, far removed from the Mekong and its centers of *jawi* learning.

Yet, its expansion was first temporarily checked by the struggle for independence in the late 1940s and early 1950s and then again by the civil war between Lon Nol's Khmer Republic (1970-1975) on one side and the royalist and communist resistance on the other, as politics and military engagement came to overshadow the quest for religious learning. Contrary to the first mentioned phase of stagnation, the second one was not followed by a period of reflowering but instead by the near obliteration of local *jawi* scholarly culture at the hands of the *Khmers Rouges'* DK regime.

1.1. Islam submerged in politics: The case of Mat Sales Haroun during the independence struggle

The nearly inescapable pull of the political struggle against the French after the phase of Japanese occupation (1941-1945) is most illustratively represented by the case of Phum Trea's luminary Mat Sales Haroun, even though two contending – yet equally instructive – versions have been recorded in local memory concerning his comport during the independence struggle. According to one account, recorded by Jaspan in the late 1960s and constituting the version relayed to me by some of his surviving former students, the local

¹⁴⁷¹ Hj. Ahmad is the only scholar from this list not already discussed in detail above (in chapters five and six) or below, as I was so far unable to retrieve data about him. He was noted in the 1960s as one of the country's leading Muslim scholars, boasting ten years of education in Mecca. Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 21 n. 1. In all probability also a product of the Kelantan-Patani network, he was assumingly the main anchor for *jawi* education in Kampot province of the day.

fighters of the *Khmer Issarak* (“Khmer independence”) irredentist movement abducted Mat Sales Haroun, whom they – rightfully one may argue – regarded as one of the most influential Chams in the area, to have him write letters and propaganda pamphlets for their cause to the Muslim community¹⁴⁷². After eventually escaping from the *Issarak*, “it was agreed by the French authorities that he be permitted to go to Mecca, as it was difficult to ensure his safety if he remained in Phum Trea. He died in Mecca three months after his arrival there, of a broken heart, it is said”¹⁴⁷³.

An official publication of the Khmer Republic in the early 1970s, edited by a Cham military officer and at least in part designed to serve as propaganda for the regime, presents Mat Sales as a former hostage of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP), who was eventually allowed to proceed to Mecca following a hunger strike¹⁴⁷⁴. The plain conflation of the ICP, which of course closely cooperated but can nevertheless not be equated with the *Issarak*, highlights the political climate of polarization between forces loyal to Lon Nol’s Khmer Republic and the mostly communist opposition in early 1970s Cambodia, whereby the former were denouncing everything smacking of Vietnamese and communist influence. As a similar climate already prevailed during the time of Jaspan’s research, perhaps strongly impacting on what could and could not be said about a figure such as Mat Sales Haroun, also the contending second account about his relationship with the *Issarak* is not implausible.

Thus, according to a biography of Mat Ly (d. 2004), the highest ranking Cham cadre/politician during much of the DK (until his defection in 1978) and post-DK eras, and intriguingly a former student of Mat Sales Haroun, compiled by the Cham researcher Ysa Osman for the Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM), the former had joined the *Issarak* voluntarily together with Mat Sales and several others from among his favourite students in 1951. As the group based itself in the forests of Thbaung Khmum, Mat Ly was

¹⁴⁷² “I. Haji Mohamed Saleh”, undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2; personal communication with Imam Yunus, b. 1930, former student of Mat Sales Haroun, at Phum Roka (Kampong Cham), July 19th 2005; Hj. Saleh, born in Phum Trea in 1932, former student of Mat Sales Haroun, at Phum Trea, May 15th 2012; Muhammad Nour, b. 1929 in Phum Trea, *tuon* and former student of Hj. Mat Sales Haroun, at Phum Trea, May 16th 2012. According to Jaspan’s informants this took place shortly after the end of the Second World War and the departure of the Japanese. This would seem improbably early, as the *Khmer Issarak*, whose earliest strongpoints were located near the Thai border, only became more firmly entrenched in Kampong Cham from late 1948 onwards. Cf. V.M. Reddi, *A History of the Cambodian Independence Movement 1863-1955* (Tirupati: Sri Venkateswara University, 1970), p. 153; Ben Kiernan, “Origins of Khmer Communism”, SEAA, VIII (1981), p. 165. Still in 1952 its “mobile unit” operating in Prey Veng and Kampong Cham provinces consisted of merely 300 troops. *ibid.*, p. 171. Imam Yunus, who studied under Mat Sales for seven years, dated the abduction to 1950-1.

¹⁴⁷³ “I. Haji Mohamed Saleh”, JP, DJA (2)/1/2. Contrary to Jaspan’s information about an escape, one former student (Imam Yunus) asserted that he was set free by the *Issarak*, whereas another (Muhammad Nour) said that “the French brought him back”.

¹⁴⁷⁴ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 15f.

even assigned the duty to take care of his teacher's family for some time¹⁴⁷⁵. Had this indeed been the case, Mat Sales Haroun probably grew disaffected with the group and might have retrospectively regretted joining it, although this is not suggested by Osman, who contrarily and misleadingly asserts that both teacher and student returned from the *maquis* with independence. Of course there is also the possibility that he was sent into exile to Mecca by the French not to ensure his safety but to neutralize him as a political threat¹⁴⁷⁶. It must be noted in this regard that also many representatives of the Buddhist religious spectrum joined the *Issarak*, which, accordingly, had their own Monks' Association¹⁴⁷⁷.

After the general temporary break in the further spread and intensification of Jawization during the struggle for independence, the process regained momentum despite the demise of the emblematic figure of Mat Sales Haroun, led among others by some of his former students and the group of scholars enumerated above. Also the whole batch of Cambodian students sent to al-Azhar university in the 1960s was naturally thoroughly *jawi* educated and used the prestige and knowledge they acquired in Cairo to further its expansion¹⁴⁷⁸. That both King Sihanouk as well as the Lon Nol regime found it convenient to instrumentalize the country's Muslim community for foreign relations with Muslim countries (especially in their contest for international recognition after Lon Nol's coup), and supported its religious interests to ensure their loyalty, naturally contributed further to the delocalization of Cambodian Islam, then still primarily taking the form of Jawization. Yet, as

¹⁴⁷⁵ Ysa Osman, "Mat Ly and His Struggle for the Cham Community", *SFT*, First Quarter 2004, p. 35; Kane, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges*, p. 242. According to Corfield and Summers (*Historical Dictionary*, p. 255), Mat Ly joined the *Issarak* already in 1948.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Cham researcher Mohamad Zain Musa, who grew up in Svay Khleang in the same district and is convinced that Cham Muslims have contributed to the *Issarak* struggle for independence, argued that the group was not known for recruiting men by force in his surroundings. According to him, such was only reported about the "Khmer Vietminh", which, however, were rarely mentioned by the locals at all. Personal communication (Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia, July 11th 2012).

¹⁴⁷⁷ Kiernan, "Origins of Khmer Communism", p. 173.

¹⁴⁷⁸ In 1966 official Cambodian sources reported eleven Cambodian Muslims to be studying at al-Azhar with scholarships from the Egyptian government. Individual scholarships were also provided by the Cambodian state. "Ideals and barriers in education", JP, DJA (2)/1/2. In 1968 the Egyptian government again offered ten such scholarships. Avimor, *Histoire contemporaine du Cambodge*, p. 303 n. 1. This formed part of president Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's (d. 1970) policy of supporting movements with socialist leanings and non-aligned nations in Africa and Asia, for which purpose he also did not shy away from playing the "Islamic card", particularly so after the foundational conference of the non-aligned movement in Bandung (Indonesia) in 1955. The first scholarships for studies at al-Azhar for Muslims from the South Philippines were, for example, granted in 1958 and similar schemes for Thai Muslims were also established at that time. Birte Brecht-Drouart, "Muslim Women Leaders in the Philippines" in Susanne Schröter (ed.), *Gender and Islam in Southeast Asia. Women's Rights Movements, Religious Resurgence and Local Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 211; Hasan Madmarn, "Egypt's Influence on the Education of Thai Muslims from the Nasser Era to the Present" in Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad & Patrick Jory (eds.), *Islamic Studies and Islamic Education in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Ilmuwan, 2011), p. 29-35. Strikingly, the Cambodian delegation to Bandung included the diplomat Mau Say, a native of Kbal Romeas, one the focal points of Jawization in Kampot. Corfield and Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 255.

these two successive rival regimes were inadvertently propelling Jawization with scholarships, travel grants to Qur'ān recitation contests in Malaysia, delegations to international Islamic conferences and sometimes support for mosque building¹⁴⁷⁹, this very process would also present an obstacle to other, arguably less noble, political designs directed at the country's western neighbor, Vietnam. Thus, Jawization and its accompanying de-diasporization of the Chams in Cambodia, was to substantially undermine Cambodian schemes attempting to arouse diasporic fervor among its Chams and to foster an alliance between them and different Vietnamese minority groups, most prominently its Cham, Montagnards and Khmer populations.

1.2. Further submerged in politics: Les Kosem, Jawization and the Cham loss of diasporic consciousness

Tölölyan has defined a diaspora as “a social formation engendered by catastrophic violence or, at the very least, by coerced expulsion from the homeland, followed by settlement in other countries [...], and, crucially, capped by generations of survival as a distinct community that worked hard to maintain its old identity or to create new ones that sustained its difference from the host society”¹⁴⁸⁰. Of course, maintaining an old identity, in this regard, refers to the sustenance of a “culture and collective identity that preserves elements of the homeland's language, or religious, social and cultural practice”. Further identification is achieved through ongoing organized efforts to keep in contact with scattered kin communities as well as with the homeland, often accompanied by a ritualized rhetoric of return, itself constituting a constant practice of “re-turn”, independent from - until comparably recent times rarely achieved - physical repatriation¹⁴⁸¹.

Evidently, Cambodia's Chvea Muslims are hardly fulfilling these conditions for being labelled as a diaspora. By Ner's time they had commonly not only lost their ancestral language but also memory of their ancestral land (apart from the general view that at least their male ancestors originated somewhere in the Malay World). As by then also the distinctive cultural heritage represented by the kind of Chvea lore recorded by Leclère in the late 19th century had vanished, it was exclusively the preservation of their ancestral

¹⁴⁷⁹ Such state-sponsored activities were for example enumerated and publicly appreciated by the *changvang* Res Lah on the occasion of the the third congress of Cambodian Muslim officials in 1967. Avimor, *Histoire contemporaine du Cambodge*, p. 303 n. 1. A remarkable feat of the Lon Nol regime in that direction was the dispatch of Muslim delegates to the first congress of the Afro-Asian Islamic Organisation in Bandung in 1970. *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 67-74.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Khachig Tölölyan, “The Contemporary Discourse of Diaspora Studies”, *CSSAAME*, XXVII (2007), p. 648.

¹⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 649.

religion, i.e. Islam, which specifically marked the group as different from the Khmer populace. It should therefore not come as a surprise that certain Chvea communities are presently the only ones among Cambodian Muslims prepared to refer to themselves – without reservations – as *Khmer Islam*¹⁴⁸², a label which was invented in the course of Sihanouk’s nationalist project in newly independent Cambodia, according to which the entire Cambodian society had to fit into different categories of being Khmer. Thus, besides the “normal” Khmers, there were henceforth the official designations of *Khmer Loeu* (“Uphill Khmers”, i.e. the various Mon-Khmer and Austronesian speaking highland peoples), *Khmer Krom* (“Lowland Khmers”, i.e. those living in the Mekong Delta region forming part of Vietnam since the 18th century) and *Khmer Islam*, by way of which Chams and Chvea were lumped together¹⁴⁸³.

In contrast to the Chvea, however, Cambodia’s far greater number of Cham Muslims, had evidently combined many more of the constitutive elements of a diaspora, from a distinct language and religion to a specific script and manuscript culture to a greater degree of remembrance of the homeland and its rulers, as indicated by the preservation of traditional titles such as *po*. Yet, most of the facets of Cham culture just enumerated fell victim to their exchanges with local Khmer and Chvea, and particularly to the process of Jawization, to the inclusion of a distinctively Cham Islamic discursive tradition. This brings us to the political aspects of Jawization and to why it has proven a major obstacle to efforts at reconnecting Cambodian Chams with their kin in former Panduranga, as well as with highland populations regarded as past cohabitants in the Champa kingdoms, for political expediency. As discussed in chapter five, it was apparently only under the French that leadership of the Cambodian Cham community came to be defined almost exclusively in religious terms, a development which undoubtedly also aided the process of Jawization, whereas the time

¹⁴⁸² Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 75. In 2012 self-designations varied between the typical Chvea communities of Norea (Battambang) and Tuol Ngok (Kendal). In the former, villagers referred to themselves as Chvea, whereas in the latter, they at least initially (i.e. seemingly before they realized that their interlocutor was familiar with the term Chvea), and not even then unanimously, described themselves also as Khmer Islam. Personal communication with villagers at Tuol Ngok and Norea, May 1st 2012 and May 10th-11th 2012 respectively. As present Cambodian law likewise treats Chams, for example, only as religious but not an ethnic minority, the legally and politically correct usage of Khmer Islam was found to be endorsed by a majority of Chams when speaking in Khmer, and particularly so in official contexts. Bredenberg, “Educational Marginalization”, p. 5, 10f. This, however, does not apply anymore as soon as other languages such as Cham, English, Malay or Arabic are used. During my own fieldwork the usage of Khmer Islam label among Chams was extremely rare. The Cham directors of the www.khmerislam.com website explained their name choice as a public relations strategy vis-à-vis the Khmer majority population. Personal communication with Abdul Halim Ahmad and Maryan Karim of *Mercy International Foundation of Cambodia (Mu’assasat al-Rahmat al-‘Ālamiyya fī Kambūdiyā)*, April 28th 2012.

¹⁴⁸³ Delvert, *Paysan cambodgien*, p. 22. These terminologies were translated into law in 1954. Mohamad Zain bin Musa & Nik Hassan Suhaimi Nik Abdul Rahman, *The Cham Community Through the Ages* (Bangi: Ikatan Ahli-Ahli Arkeologi Malaysia, 2006), p. 75 n. 1.

immediately preceding and following the establishment of the Protectorate was still characterized by the activities and major leadership roles of Muslim warlords, who were, however, not necessarily detached from religious authority. In the first half of the 20th century it was then doubtlessly the *changvang*, as highest Muslim dignitary, who assumed leadership of the country's Muslim population. Contrarily, in independent Cambodia of the 1960s and early 1970s, the *changvang* Res Lah was clearly relegated to a subordinate position vis-à-vis Muslim politicians and military men. Indeed, the most important Muslim leader in the country during that period was to be the army Colonel and later General Les Kosem (d. 1976) of Koh Roka (Kampong Cham). His story and changing fates are highly reflective of the degree to which the process of Jawization served to alienate the Chams of Cambodia and the Mekong Delta from their co-religionists in former Panduranga.

As noted above, Les Kosem's grandfather had been born in former Panduranga and arrived in Cambodia only in the 1880s. There he eventually became a village *hakem* and was until his death in the 1960s known as a carrier of the Cham *po* title¹⁴⁸⁴. The rise to prominence of his grandson, however, appears to have been only conceivable against the background of Cambodian anti-Vietnamese policies, and thus even lasted, despite the coup against Sihanouk and the accompanying regime change, into the era of the Khmer Republic. Towards the end of 1960, King Sihanouk, who would four years later rationalize his ostensibly involuntary turn towards China by saying "We do not want to suffer the fate of the Champa kingdom"¹⁴⁸⁵, supported the establishment of two irredentist movements in Phnom Penh, in order to weaken Vietnam: The Front for the Liberation of Lower Cambodia (*Kampuchea Krom*) (FLKK) and the Front for the Liberation of Champa (FLC), which was founded by Les Kosem. From then on he began to climb the ranks. In 1961 he attained the important posts of military governor of Phnom Penh and commander of the military intelligence service. In 1963 he also became a key figure in the establishment of the *Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées* (FULRO), which consisted of FLKK, FLC and yet another less relevant group, and drew considerable support from Sihanouk and Prime Minister Lon Nol¹⁴⁸⁶. A few years later, he also functioned, according to a US military intelligence report, as "a key official [...] in the Cambodian supply apparatus to the Vietnamese communists", and was regarded as "apparently a manipulator of the first magnitude"¹⁴⁸⁷.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Cf. V.2.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Cited in Nazaruddin Nasution, *Indonesia-Cambodia: Forging Ties through Thick and Thin* (Phnom Penh: Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, 2002), p. 36.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 37-46.

¹⁴⁸⁷ "NSSM-152 Cambodia Military Assessment (Prepared by Ad Hoc Inter-Agency Group, Chaired by the Department of Defense for Use by the VSSG Working Group)", April 20th 1972, p. 7f. NA, 270/80/24/6 (Box 24).

To further broaden the base of FULRO, FLC was soon fused with the already well entrenched and now successfully co-opted Vietnamese Montagnards liberation movement *Bajaraka* in 1964, and accordingly renamed Front for the Liberation of the High Plateaus of Champa (FLHPC). This union as well as the FLHPC's very name are clearly indicative of the fact that, based on the (still not uncontested but then particularly expedient) assumption that historical Champa had always consisted of coastal Cham as well as uphill Montagnard populations and their respective territories, the projected liberation of Champa was not be confined to the coastal plains. It must be noted in this regard that the view of multi-ethnic Cham kingdoms has been pushed forward in the academic realm especially by the contemporary so-called "revisionist" French school of Cham studies, including most notably the Cham scholar and former FULRO member Po Dharma¹⁴⁸⁸. Although their research has undoubtedly contributed greatly to our historical knowledge about Cham-Montagnards relations and interactions, others contend that the emergence of a culturally inclusive Cham "national" discourse was only engendered by growing Vietnamese intrusiveness and is thus of comparably recent date¹⁴⁸⁹. The most comprehensive review of the evolution of Cham Studies to date frankly notes – on the basis of historical sources pointing to highly complex and at times quite violent Cham-Montagnards relations - that to assume "that the Cham[s] and the highlanders were always 'one big happy family' would be only somewhat less ludicrous" than post-1975 Vietnamese historiography with its downplaying of the course and consequences of Vietnamese expansion into Cham lands¹⁴⁹⁰. In any case, this particular view of a shared history was crucial to the goals of Les Kosem and FULRO.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Bernard Gay, "Vue nouvelle sur la composition ethnique du Campa" in *Actes du Séminaire sur le Campa organisé à l'Université de Copenhague, le 23 mai 1987* (Paris: Centre d'histoire et civilisations de la péninsule indochinoise 1988), p. 49-58.

¹⁴⁸⁹ E. Crystal, "Champa and the Study of Southeast Asia", in *Actes de la Conférence Internationale sur le Campā et le Monde Malais organisée à l'Université de Californie, Berkeley 30-31 août 1990* (Paris: Publications du Centre d'histoire et civilisations de la péninsule indochinoise, 1991), p. 65-68.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Bruce M. Lockhart, "Colonial and Post-Colonial Constructions of 'Champa'" in Tran Ky Phuong & Bruce M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam. History, Society and Art* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), p. 37. According to FULRO, the happy family of "Austrian people" (sic!, *peuples austriens*), a peculiar term coined to englobe both speakers of Mon-Khmer as well as Austronesian (or in the Khmer-influenced ideosyncratic discourse at hand, "Mon-Khmer-Polynesian") languages, was even bigger. Thus, an official document of the organization explains that "our peoples of Lower Cambodia, Champa and Kambuja-North [...] have since 1223 allied themselves in the form of a racial confederation of the time". Notwithstanding different languages and dialects all the peoples in question "are brothers and friends in one single system". Le Haute Comité du FULRO, "Historique", September 20th 1964 (document distributed on the occasion of the *Conférence des Peuples Indochinois*, Phnom Penh, February 1965), p. 3f.

The central FULRO command post was established in Cambodia's Mondulkiri province¹⁴⁹¹. Other minor bases and, importantly, some of its material and financial support networks were likewise located on Cambodian soil¹⁴⁹². After a reshuffle of its high committee in November 1965, Les Kosem assumed the role of vice-president in the organization, using the name of the deified Cham king Po Nagar as his alias, thereby stressing his belonging to a *po* lineage. While laying claim to royal descent was of course an expedient thing to do for Les Kosem, especially so in dealing with Chams in former Panduranga and the highlander constituencies of FULRO, we have seen that the *po* label had lost most of its relevance among all those Chams more strongly exposed to or adopting Jawization. The latter were also comparably unlikely to fully subscribe to the idea of Cham-Montagnards unity.

In 1965 a controversial *History of the Cham People* was released. Its authors, Dorohiem ('Abd al-Raḥīm) and Dohamide ('Abd al-Ḥamīd) originated from Chau Doc and were therefore representatives of Jawization, just as was the case with the entire Association of Cham Muslims of Vietnam (directed by Dohamide), which acted as the book's publisher, and drew its ranks exclusively from Cham and Chvea (*jawa kur*) Muslims of Saigon and Chau Doc¹⁴⁹³. The virtually sole connection of the association to Chams in former Panduranga, were its proselytizing ventures among the local Bani, which led to the Jawization of a minority of its members and the emergence of the *cam baruw/cam jawa* community in Phan Rang¹⁴⁹⁴. Even though the authors note the historically close ties between Chams and Montagnards, "they do not appear eager to include the other peoples within the [Cham] kingdom's domain". Moreover, they considered the culture of Champa as irretrievably lost, describing the present role of its past kings as that of "ghosts" in Cham Bani and Jat religious life¹⁴⁹⁵, which they obviously disapproved of.

Les Kosem and his followers declared the book to be a piece of South Vietnamese propaganda, and it similarly aroused negative reactions among FULRO members in former

¹⁴⁹¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "The Highlanders of South Vietnam. A Review of Political Developments and Forces", June 1966, NA, CIA-RDP80T01719R000300010003-8, p. 70; Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 64, 73.

¹⁴⁹² Charles Meyer, *Derrière le sourire khmer* (Paris: Librairies Plon, 1971), p. 270.

¹⁴⁹³ Dorohiem & Dohamide, *Dan-toc Cham luoc-su* (Saigon: Tac-gia xuất-ban, 1965); "Contemporary political organization of the Cham in Vietnam", hand-written undated sheet, JP, DJA (2)/1/3; Nguyễn Minh Quang, *Religious Problems in Vietnam* (Hanoi: Thế Giới Publishers, 2001), p. 68-70.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Cf. II.1. Contrarily, the Vietnamese Chams in FULRO were represented by a Cham Jat from Phan Rang, named Jaya Marang. Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 125. He also used the medium of traditional Cham folksongs with new nationalist lyrics to rally people to FULRO's cause with lines such as: "Whenever I raise my eyes and see our temple towers, I'm bewildered, [...] may all Cham of our generation become conscious of the fight to defeat the Yuen [i.e. a derogatory term for Vietnamese], [...] all of us want to unite - Cham, Roglai, Jarai, Ede, Churu - as children of one womb". "Modern Songs and Marches of Champa", undated typescript (after 1972), JP, DJA (2)/1/1.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Lockhart, "Colonial and Post-Colonial Constructions", p. 14f.

Panduranga¹⁴⁹⁶. Despite the fact that both authors indeed held official positions in Saigon¹⁴⁹⁷, Dohamide was, however, reported to have had inclinations towards Cham autonomy, albeit not along the lines envisioned by Kosem and his Cambodian supporters¹⁴⁹⁸. Moreover, parts of the supposed Vietnamese propaganda tract reportedly had to be deleted from the manuscript, as the political authorities took offence at its negative depictions of Minh Mang's violent policies of assimilation directed against the Chams¹⁴⁹⁹. In any case, the controversy around the book is clearly illustrative of a main dilemma of Les Kosem's plight. Whereas he still took pride in presenting himself as a descendent of the last Cham king¹⁵⁰⁰, traditional Cham practices of connection to the homeland in the religious and cultural sphere had been on the wane amongst most Cambodian Chams since more than half a century, whereby Jawization had naturally played an important role in the whole process. Relevant examples are the discarding of *akhar trah* script for *jawi*, which, of course, largely disconnected diasporic Chams from their distinctive religious and historical literature, and the gradual disappearance of the *po* and *ong* (for Muslim religious functionaries) titles, as well as of the *muk kei* ancestor cult (which also among Cham Bani involves *inter alia* Po Nagar) and the *rija* dance rituals.

It is against this background that we must consider certain assertions regarding Cham religious practice in Cambodia by Po Dharma, who stayed in the country as a FULRO member in the period 1968-1972. Contrary to the evidence presented in this study, he claimed that during that time, the majority of Cambodian Chams (dubbed "traditionalists" as opposed to the "orthodox") were still preserving manuscripts in *akhar trah*, using Cham as a written language (also employing *akhar trah*?) and practicing the *rija* dance ritual¹⁵⁰¹. Although particularly in the ritual sphere Jawization had at that date - especially in areas at a distance to centers of Jawization, such as those of Thbaung Khmum bordering Vietnam, where Po Dharma probably spent much of his time - certainly not yet succeeded in

¹⁴⁹⁶ Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 90f.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Dorohiem was director of one of the bureaus of the Ministry of Ethnic Minorities. "Autobiography of Nara Vija", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁴⁹⁸ "Contemporary political organization of the Cham in Vietnam", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Personal communication with Abdul Halim b. Ahmad, nephew of a *Bani* imam and son of one of the first *Cham Jawa* of Phan Rang (Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012).

¹⁵⁰⁰ He also gave his family genealogy to M. A. Jaspán in the late 1960s, according to which the great-grandfather of his own grandfather Li Les, who arrived in Cambodia as a child, had allegedly been the last king of Champa, strikingly referred to as Po Nagar. Untitled & undated hand-written sheet, JP, DJA (2)/1/3. As has already been noted, Po Nagar is a deified Cham king and in this capacity one of three main figures in Cham Brahmanist ritual. Aymonier, "Chams and their Religions", p. 33. Actually, the last recorded ruler of Panduranga was Po Phauk Tha. Po Dharma, *Le Pānduranga*, I, p. 105-118. According to Les Kosem's brother, the family instead descended from Po Rome, another major deified Cham king. Personal communication with Les Sary, brother of Les Kosem, Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012.

¹⁵⁰¹ Po Dharma, "Notes sur les Caṃ", p. 107-111. Cf. II.1.

obliterating practices such as *rija* (and has not done so entirely today), these were assumingly by then much less commonly performed as Po Dharma seemed to suggest. Tuon Him, born 1942 in Kor (Thbaung Khmum) and a prominent religious scholar with no reservations to talk about traditional Cham practices, commented that in his childhood there had still been some elderly people able to read *akhar trah*, and that he had then also heard about *rija*, but never once witnessed it actually being performed¹⁵⁰². Such was perhaps the transition to Jawization in many villages of Thbaung Khmum.

As far as the crucial change of script associated with Jawization is concerned, FULRO circles had the exact opposite agenda and began to publish manuals for the study of Cham script for consumption in former Panduranga (i.e. Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan)¹⁵⁰³. That Cambodian Chams were not equally targeted is in itself revealing. Moreover, also Po Dharma had to concede that even Bani newcomers from Vietnam (perhaps arriving with FULRO) were observed as regarding local “Malays” as exemplary Muslims and therefore as “prone to listen to their instruction – which is delivered in Malay [...] – and to submit to their rules”¹⁵⁰⁴. Thus, FULRO activity may have ironically even exposed some Cham Bani otherwise barely touched by it in their home regions to the very process of Jawization that hindered the (mental) re-turn of many Cambodian Chams towards their kin in former Panduranga. Contrarily, as noted in chapter two, in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan the revival of *akhar trah* since the 1970s apparently resulted precisely from the combined factors of the awakening of Cham national and cultural consciousness through FULRO and the threat posed to local Bani and Jat religion and culture by the emergence of the *cam baruw/cam jawa* group through the Jawization of a minority of Bani¹⁵⁰⁵.

It must also be mentioned in this regard that the *kaum muda* leader Ly Musa presented Jaspan with a (Malay) *jawi* manuscript, containing a brief history of Champa, in 1967, i.e. right at the time when Les Kosem carried out his endeavours and an old roving Cham

¹⁵⁰² Personal communication (Chrang Chamres, May 8th 2012). As *rija* is conventionally linked by scholarship to the traditional *mak yong* dance theater of Kelantan and Patani, also the latter’s fate in the era of Jawization is naturally of interest. Hallmarks in this respect are the efforts at bringing *mak yong* performers into line with *jawi* scholarly culture of Tengku Temenggong Long Abdul Gaffar (1879-1935, a son of Sultan Muhammad II, under whom the Kelantan’s pondok system began to flourish), who is said to have required people involved in *mak yong* to attend religious classes at the Masjid Muhammadi on certain occasions, and the ban on its performance (as well as local shadow plays and other related genres) by the *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party) shortly after their electoral victory in Kelantan in 1990. Rahimudin & Sutung, *Makyung*, p. 7; Michael G. Peletz, *Islamic Modern. Religious Courts and Cultural Politics in Malaysia* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2002), p. 229.

¹⁵⁰³ M. A. Jaspan, “Recent Developments among the Cham of Indo-China: The Revival of Champa”, *AAF*, I (1970), p. 174.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Po Dharma, “Notes sur les Cam”, p. 105.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Cf. II.1.

storyteller, claiming to have been born in Panduranga, travelled through Kampong Cham narrating stories in ancient Cham¹⁵⁰⁶. Whereas the latter was clearly representative of pre-Jawization traditions, Ly Musa and his *jawi* text were clearly not, thereby indeed testifying to the prolonged existence of divergent parallel Islamic discursive traditions – characterized by their degree of exposure to and receptiveness of Jawization – also in Kampong Cham. Yet, as had been the case with the contribution of Dohamide and Dorohiem to the study of Cham history, the content of the *jawi* manuscript in question would have hardly pleased Les Kosem. Evidently based on a modern (most probably Thai) work on the history of Siam and surrounding countries, the account ends with the fall of Vijaya to the Vietnamese in 1471 or 2014 according to the Siamese Buddhist calendar (*pada tahun 2014 buddha yu'en melanggar masuk sampai Gerung Wijaya*), and thus conspicuously excludes any engagement with Bani-Jat traditions or with later Cham history (including Cham-Montagnards cooperation) in Panduranga. In fact, the text further notes that Champa thus became part of the Vietnamese state in 1471 and has remained so until today (*sehingga tanah air campa pun berubah menjadi negeri yu'en, sampai sekarang ini*). Furthermore, it describes the Chams as a Malay people (*bangsa campa yang asal bangsa melayu*)¹⁵⁰⁷. It is presumably not a coincidence that the only contemporary *jawi* text known to us presents a very different picture of Cham history than FULRO's discourse, or Cham *akhar trah* manuscripts preserved in Cambodia for that matter, which are commonly replete with Bani and Jat views of (particularly Pandurangan) Cham history.

All this is not to say that Les Kosem was entirely unable to enlist Chams of Cambodia and the Delta, including individual Muslim religious scholars, for his endeavours. A case in point is Ton (i.e. *tuon*) Ai Lieng, a Cham from Chau Doc and influential FULRO member, who functioned as vice-president of the *Provisional Government of the High Plateau of Champa* (formed in October 1964), likewise under a pseudonym featuring the *po* title. In 1967 and 1971 he was elected senator, representing, however, only the Chams of Saigon and the Mekong Delta in this capacity¹⁵⁰⁸. Generally, however, it appears as if, particularly in Cambodia, Les Kosem commanded respect primarily as a political leader of the local Chams. Moreover, his important position in Cambodian political life and his prestige as

¹⁵⁰⁶ Cf. n. 714.

¹⁵⁰⁷ "Cham history: Ms. shewn [*sic*] to me by Tjegu Ly Musa", typescript dated January 2nd 1967, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Jasan, "Recent Developments", p. 173; Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 112, 128, 140; "Autobiography of Nara Vija", JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

representative of the modern oriented (Francophone) Muslim elite¹⁵⁰⁹ turned him into a natural community leader, partly at the expense of its religious leaders.

Two pieces of arguably anecdotal evidence may suffice to illustrate this point. In the words of Les Sary, Les Kosem's brother and companion, the latter was on good terms with the religious leaders. Yet, it was them who had to court him and not the other way around¹⁵¹⁰. This seems to be supported by the fact that the CIA listed Les Kosem as "Referent for FULRO and *Muslim Affairs*" in Cambodia in 1967¹⁵¹¹. By the early 1970s he was officially listed as counselor to the *changvang* Res Leh¹⁵¹². In 1966, however, the al-Azhar educated son-in-law of Mat Sales Haroun, who had characteristically already visited the Chams of the Mekong Delta but not those still inhabiting the former homeland in Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan, described Les Kosem to Jaspán in Phum Trea "as a father" (of the Chams) on one hand, but declined to comment on the issue of Champa's liberation on the other¹⁵¹³. Needless to say, the overall Cambodian political climate of the time would have, perhaps in contrast to the local surroundings, generally favored openly welcoming such prospects. Against this, Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, a former FULRO fighter and associate of Les Kosem from Phum Trea, has argued that the religious leaders, including those of Trea, were all favourably disposed towards the fight for Cham liberation (in Vietnam) and that also FULRO had broad support within the Muslim community¹⁵¹⁴. Anything but such an in principle positive disposition towards political prospects of alleviating the situation of their kin in the ancestral homeland would come as a surprise. Yet, there remains the fact that interest by Cambodian Chams to reconnect with their "compatriots" in former Panduranga has been and still is minimal, whereas interaction within the orbit of Jawization encompassing Cambodia, the Mekong Delta, Tay Ninh and Saigon is common, though not always free of friction¹⁵¹⁵.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Jaspán noted that the most prominent persons described to him as part of "Les Elites Chams" in 1966-7 were "Skeikh Abdullah" (i.e. *changvang* Res Lah), the Chrang Chamres Azhari Hj. Srong Yousos, Hj. Karim of Siam Reap (cf. V.4.2.) and his brothers in Prek Pra and Phonm Penh (all of them hajjis) and Les Kosem. "Ideals and barriers in education", undated typescript, JP, DJA (2)/1/2.

¹⁵¹⁰ Personal communication (Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012).

¹⁵¹¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Intelligence Information Cable: Decision of Tribal Autonomy Movement (FULRO) to reject validity of results of 25-26 June 1967 Pleiku Conference of Montagnard Representatives", August 11th 1967, p. 9.

<http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?UV@Zf.s65lbEYLHilhGg3oTj2RvOR69lL0jr7djkF79jhfWvuPCLTLWGRps.zY15uhtfazn9POEY9y fR66ik2uDssR0phS8.vjEA8ktMk.@ddoyQ.nQOHA/0410584005.pdf> (accessed January 16th 2012). Emphasis mine.

¹⁵¹² *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 36.

¹⁵¹³ "Phum Trea: Inf. Suleiman bin Youssouf", typescript dated December 12th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁵¹⁴ Personal communication with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik and Les Sary (Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012).

¹⁵¹⁵ Cambodian and Vietnamese Chams from the Delta and Tay Ninh living in the USA have been described as generally "not getting along that well". In Washington State, Vietnamese and Cambodian Chams have established separate villages near Seattle and Olympia respectively. Personal communication with Jay

Although Cambodian efforts at directing FULRO's activities in Vietnam continued well into the first half of the 1970s, Les Kosem's priorities shifted almost immediately after the FULRO patron Lon Nol ousted King Sihanouk with the coup of April 18th 1970. After the declaration of general mobilization to fight the Cambodian communist insurgency, Kosem's loyal men were integrated into the regular Cambodian army with the creation of the 5th Special Brigade (5BIS[-FULRO]) of the armed forces, coinciding with Kosem's promotion to the rank of (Brigadier- and then in 1972 full) General¹⁵¹⁶. Locally also known as the "Cham brigade" or the "Muslim brigade", only one of its four battalions consisted of Montagnards and Khmer Krom, whereas the remainder was made up of Cambodian Muslim Chams. Whether all of the latter had indeed already been involved with FULRO is questionable. In any case, 5BIS differed clearly from FULRO in its religious connotation and the role of Islam as unifying factor. Within FULRO religion had played merely a marginal role as only its Cham members (and these also not in their entirety) had been Muslim¹⁵¹⁷, whereas 5BIS was clearly defined by its Cham/Muslim character by all observers¹⁵¹⁸. With Ustaz Hassan even one of Cambodia's few graduates of al-Azhar was to be found among its commanders¹⁵¹⁹. The battle-related deaths of his colleagues in leadership positions were mourned with large public funerary processions, such as upon the demise of Lieutenant Colonel Ros Sman (Uthmān b. 'Abd al- Ra'ūf) in 1971, and the (unfinished) construction of a Great Mosque of Phnom Penh was begun, far from the Muslim suburbs of Chrang Chamres, Chruy Changvar and Prek Pra, in the center of the town in the vicinity of the army barracks¹⁵²⁰. Les Kosem also personally donated a *minbar* to the mosque of his native village, Koh Roka¹⁵²¹.

Les Kosem's Muslim profile was also reinforced by the fact that his other main task under Lon Nol, besides the command of 5BIS, which soon made a name for itself as particularly

Willoughby (Reston, VA., April 15th & October 6th 2013). Also the limited number of Vietnamese Chams in Phnom Penh appears to have full acceptance only from parts of the local Muslim community.

¹⁵¹⁶ Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 136f.

¹⁵¹⁷ Personal communication with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik (Phnom Penh, April 30th 2012).

¹⁵¹⁸ Thus, official Khmer Republic publications speak of "the 5th Brigade [...] which consisted largely of Khmer Islam troops" and of *la 5^e Brigade d'Infanterie Musulmane*, a former Indonesian ambassador to Cambodia of the "Islamic Brigade" and a US war photographer of the "Cham Brigade". *The Struggle Continues. An Illustrated Magazine on Cambodia*, I, no. 8 (February 1975), p. 32 (ANC Box 601); *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 56; Nasution, *Indonesia-Cambodia*, p. 52; Doreen Chen, "Fall of Phnom Penh Comes to Life in Photographer's Eyewitness Testimony", CTM, January 28th 2013, <http://www.cambodiatribunal.org/2013/01/28/fall-of-phnom-penh-comes-to-life-in-photographers-eyewitness-testimony/> (last accessed March 4th 2014).

¹⁵¹⁹ Dato Ahmad Nordin, "Fate of Muslims in Kampuchea", IH, III, nos. 6&7 (October/November 1977 – Shawal/Zulkaedah 1397), p. 11.

¹⁵²⁰ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 57f.; personal communication with former 5BIS member Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik (Phnom Penh, May 12th 2012).

¹⁵²¹ Personal communication with Les Sary (Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012); "Koh Roka Village, in Srok Kompong Siem", typescript dated December 19th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

vigorous counter-insurgency force¹⁵²², was to establish diplomatic relations with Muslim (majority) countries, both personally as well as via delegations of Cambodian Muslims¹⁵²³. As many Muslim (and specifically Arab) states had reacted negatively to the ouster of Sihanouk¹⁵²⁴, this “Muslim diplomacy” of Lon Nol’s Khmer Republic sought to draw support for the new regime by creating awareness of the local situation, particularly the communist threat and its corollary, the repression of Islam and local Muslims. Delegations were not only sent to other states but also to the first congress of the Afro-Asian Islamic Organisation in Bandung in 1970, which eventually adopted a resolution “concerning the restoration of the religious liberties of the Cambodian Muslims” in the face of communist aggression¹⁵²⁵. One of Les Kosem’s closest associates, 5BIS battalion commander Chek Brahim (d. 1975), was enlisted as researcher on Cambodian Islam in 1973¹⁵²⁶, despite the fact that US military advisors had substantially different duties in mind for him, having put him on a list of officers “particularly proficient in tactics and the command of men” earlier that year¹⁵²⁷. Although not explicitly acknowledged in the work, the brochure *Le Martyre des musulmans khmers* (published in English as *The Martyrdom of the Khmers Muslims*), which *inter alia* comprehensively listed and graphically depicted communist killings of religious leaders and destruction of mosques¹⁵²⁸, was a fruit of his endeavors¹⁵²⁹.

In addition, two Chams of Siam Reap, Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth (b. 1944) and his brother Abul Gaffour Peang Meth, served the Khmer Republic as ambassador to the US and as official translator for Les Kosem respectively. The staff of the Khmer Republic’s Foreign Ministry also included three Muslims¹⁵³⁰. Abdul Gaffar’s activities in the field resulted *inter alia* in a contribution focusing on the plight of the local Muslim for the UN, which encapsulates the basic argument of Cambodian “Muslim diplomacy” in the following words: “Those who know the fate of the Khmer Moslems cannot but wonder what certain Arab delegations were doing at the United Nations when they voted in support of the seating of

¹⁵²² Michael Vickery, *Cambodia 1975-1982* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), p. 12. Note that the brigade was not split up as the author asserts.

¹⁵²³ Avimor, *Histoire contemporaine du Cambodge*, p. 18; Po Dharma, *Du FLM au FULRO*, p. 141.

¹⁵²⁴ Norodom Sihanouk, *War and Hope. The Case for Cambodia* (New York: Panthea, 1980), p. 59. A complete contemporary list of states recognizing Sihanouk’s political alliance with the future DK regime in 1974 is to be found in “GRUNK Representative Interviewed” (Marburg, *Antiimperialistisches Informationsbulletin*, May 1974, p. 22-25), JPRS-TSEA, no. 494 (August 15th 1974), p. 5f.

¹⁵²⁵ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 67-74.

¹⁵²⁶ Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 23.

¹⁵²⁷ “Chief, MEDTC to MG Sosthene Fernandez, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces Khmer Republic”, January 4th 1973, NA, 270/80/24/6 (Box 12).

¹⁵²⁸ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 7-28.

¹⁵²⁹ “The Confession of Chek Brahim”, DC-CAM, D02687; personal communication with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, former 5BIS member and distant relative of Chek Brahim (Phnom Penh, May 12th and 14th 2012).

¹⁵³⁰ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 54, 71; Corfield & Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 1f.

the so-called Sihanouk government controlled by the Communists”¹⁵³¹. In the end, “Muslim diplomacy” would prove, very much to the dismay of Sihanouk, particularly successful with Malaysia and Indonesia¹⁵³². Yet, despite the forging of diplomatic ties with other constitutive states of the *jawi* ecumene, the war-stricken years of the Khmer Republic (1970-75) were not the time for the expansion of Jawization in Cambodia, as the *Khmers Rouges* had already begun to specifically target Islamic scholars, teachers and *hakems* in certain areas as a prelude to the extermination policies pursued by the DK regime from late 1975 onwards. Nevertheless, even publications such as Chek Brahim’s *Le Martyre des musulmans khmers* are testifying to the resilience of Jawization in the country. Thus, two included photographs of “Qur’ānic schools” in Prek Pra and Chroy Changvar are showing blackboards with *jawi* Malay and not Arabic writing on them¹⁵³³. Also the shift of political focus from Cham diasporicity to the religious component of Cambodian Muslim identity was arguably more in tune with the realities of Cham life in Cambodia after decades of Jawization than attempts to arouse diasporic fervor for foreign affairs. It should therefore also not come as a surprise that FULRO, the remnants of which remained active in Cambodian jungles way into 1992, developed in a different direction after its Cambodian Cham element was split from the organization. Thus, Rade (an Austronesian Highlander language) became the *lingua franca* within the guerrilla group, and, despite the continued reliance on FULRO’s star-and-crescent flag, it was the Highlanders’ adherence to (predominantly evangelical) Christianity which came to function as common denominator in religious terms¹⁵³⁴.

1.3. Jawization on hold: the extermination of religious scholars and community leaders under the DK regime

Shortly before the fall of Phnom Penh to the *Khmers Rouges* on April 17th 1975, Les Kosem fled Phnom Penh, only to die – officially of natural causes – shortly afterwards in Malaysia in 1976¹⁵³⁵, evidently leaving many of his close Cham associates, including Chek Brahim, who

¹⁵³¹ Peang-Meth, “Islam – Another Casualty”, p. 255.

¹⁵³² “Sihanouk discusses his plans for Cambodia” (interview in *Revolution Africaine*, Algiers, June 8th-14th 1973, p. 20-22), JPRS-TSEA, no. 421 (August 1st 1973), p. 7f.; personal communication with Les Sary (Phnom Penh, April 29th 2012). Les Sary also claimed that his brother entertained good relations with the Saudi king Fayṣal (assassinated in 1975), the future king Fahd (d. 2005) and the Egyptian president Anwār al-Sādāt (assassinated 1981). Cooperation with Indonesia and the US resulted in special tactics trainings for Cambodian troops, including two dozens Muslim soldiers of 5BIS, at Batu Jajar in Indonesia. Kenneth Conboy & Kenneth Bowra, *The War in Cambodia 1970-1975* (London: Osprey, 1989), p. 17, 46; personal communication with Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, former trainee in Batu Jajar (Phnom Penh, May 12th 2012).

¹⁵³³ *Martyre des musulmans khmers*, p. 44, 47.

¹⁵³⁴ Nate Thayer, “The Forgotten Army”, FEER, September 10th 1992, p. 16-22.

¹⁵³⁵ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 69. Les Sary described the causes of his brother’s death as obscure. Personal communication (Phnom Penh, May 14th 2012).

was killed at the infamous interrogation and torture center S-21, prey to the fatal revenge of the new state of Democratic Kampuchea (DK)¹⁵³⁶. Initially, Cambodian Muslims living in those districts of Cambodia where they are numerically strongest (e.g. Krauchchhmar in Kampong Cham, Kampong Tralach in Kampong Chhnang), which incidentally also coincided with some of the most heavily US bombed areas of the country (by itself a major incentive for joining the revolution)¹⁵³⁷, at least partly flocked to the revolutionary forces during the fight against the Khmer Republic¹⁵³⁸. And this most probably in more substantial numbers than were to be found among the ranks of Lon Nol's army¹⁵³⁹.

Yet, it was only in the Eastern Zone, which comprised the major Cham agglomerations along the Mekong in Kampong Cham and Kratie provinces that a revolutionary Islamic movement was set up and allowed to function for some time. Intriguingly, its leader Sos Man had not only a long history of close cooperation with Vietnamese communists since his days in the *Khmer Issarak*¹⁵⁴⁰ but also religious credentials. Indeed, he "was widely recognized as an elder with a distinguished background in Islam"¹⁵⁴¹. He reportedly continued to practice his faith, but "began to preach openly about Communism" in 1973, whilst bemoaning that Muslims "devoted to much time to religious matters"¹⁵⁴². As already mentioned, his son Mat Ly (d. 2004), who was to become the highest ranking Cham in DK as well as – after his desertion and triumphant return to Cambodia with the Vietnamese

¹⁵³⁶ Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 20, 23-30.

¹⁵³⁷ Kane, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges*, p. 55-57.

¹⁵³⁸ Whereas this is well established for Krauchchhmar and other Eastern Zone districts, there is comparably little evidence for Kampong Tralach. However, the singular report of a whole district of revolutionary Chams in Kampong Chhnang province, could hardly point to any other *srok* than Kampong Tralach. Vickery, *Cambodia 1975-1982*, p. 195. Chhouk Sar commune, with its strong Muslim communities around Au Russey, was already taken over by *Khmers Rouges* forces in 1970. Until the 1973 ban on religion in the Southwest Zone, local Muslims were willingly lending them support. Kiernan, *Pol Pot Regime*, p. 259. As far as Kampong Tralach as a whole is concerned, it has been mostly overlooked that it houses one of the country's strongest Cham communities. Ser, So & Eng, *Cambodia: Cham Identities*, p. 23. In the late 1960s it was estimated that 20 per cent of the district population were Cham and that these accounted for 16 per cent of the country total. "Cham in Kg. Tralach Region", typescript dated October 30th 1966, JP, DJA (2)/1/3.

¹⁵³⁹ Apart from 5BIS, which evidently featured a large number of men from Kampong Cham, only the 15th brigade, commanded by the president's brother Lon Non, seems to have encompassed a significant number of Chams, many of which were, apparently, outstanding soldiers. "Chief, MEDTC to MG Sosthene Fernandez, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces Khmer Republic", January 4th 1973, NA, 270/80/24/6 (Box 12). It shall be noted, that this brigade was based at the capital and presumably drew many of its members from the wider Phnom Penh area (including the large Muslim villages on the city's fringes). Conboy & Bowra, *War in Cambodia*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Corfield and Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 400; Kiernan, "Orphans of Genocide", p. 8-10.

¹⁵⁴¹ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴² Peang-Meth, "Islam – Another Casualty", p. 254.

invasion of 1979 – in the succeeding People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK)¹⁵⁴³, had even been a student and close associate of Mat Sales Haroun¹⁵⁴⁴.

The revolutionary Islamic movement was, however, disbanded already in 1974 as the policy of abolishment of religious practice was also starting to take shape in the Eastern Zone of the revolutionary administration. Sos Man was purged and confined to a village¹⁵⁴⁵. Given their close identification with Islam for their identity, the DK ban on religion, alongside its negation of Cham ethnicity¹⁵⁴⁶, enforced communal eating with no respect for dietary taboos (i.e. abstention from pork; in fact, cases of coerced consumption – as decisive test of trustworthiness – are widely reported) and measures for the Khmerization of the entire Cambodian society, provoked resistance among the Chams. After a minor rebellious outbreak in Phum Trea in 1974, two Cham rebellions occurred during Ramadan (September) 1975 in two other villages of Krauchhmar, Koh Phal and Svay Khleang¹⁵⁴⁷. As popular uprisings against DK were in general extremely rare, i.e. only two other cases on comparable scale are known for the whole period (1975-1979)¹⁵⁴⁸, these were certainly troubling incidents for the zone as well as the central leadership. Thus, they may have strongly contributed to DK’s subsequent targeting of Cambodian Muslims and specifically Chams as a whole.

As we have seen, neither Phum Trea nor Svay Khleang were average Cham villages, but rather major centers of religious education and important nodes of Jawization (and in Svay Khleang’s case likewise of Islamic reformism). Also Koh Phal housed a major figure of Mat Sales Haroun’s scholarly network with Ahmad Syarhi¹⁵⁴⁹. We may thus assume that, notwithstanding the revolutionary predilections of some of their villagers, including certain major Islamic scholars, religious sentiment and the practices associated with it, were particularly strong in these villages, whose prominence had come to rest on their reputation as centres of Islamic learning. It should therefore not come as a surprise that desperate reactions against the ban on religion should have arisen just there. The DK

¹⁵⁴³ Corfield and Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 255; Kane, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges*, p. 242f.; Raoul Jennar, *Le clés du Cambodge (Faits et chiffres, Repères historiques, Profils cambodgiens, Cartes)* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1995), p. 136f., 226.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Cf. VIII.1.1.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Kiernan, “Orphans of Genocide”, p. 10.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Despite frequent appeals by local cadres to Cham Muslims to take up the fight against the “imperialist-puppet regime” of Lon Nol, lest they would end up as the Champa kingdom did, the official party line, heavily enforced as the DK regime progressed, is well captured in a quote from an official document of 1978: “The Cham race was exterminated by the Vietnamese”. Accordingly, there could also be no such thing as Chams in DK Cambodia. Quote from *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Kane, *Dictionnaire des Khmers rouges*, p. 322f.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Cf. VI.1.2.

repression of the revolts in Svay Khleang and Koh Phal was devastating. Both were depopulated and the latter was even burned down. Only 183 former residents of Koh Phal, making up merely ten per cent of the original population, survived the DK period. Also the survival rate of Svay Khleang villagers is estimated at around a mere ten per cent¹⁵⁵⁰. Moreover, these massacres constituted only the first highpoints of DK persecution of the country's Muslims.

Between the takeover of April 17th 1975 and the Vietnamese invasion of December 1978 – January 1979, accompanied by the victorious return to Cambodia of the dissident *United Kampuchean Front for National Salvation* (FUNSK), which included Mat Ly and the Cambodian strongmen of the next decades (i.e. Heng Samrin and present prime minister Hun Sen), DK rule caused, according to different estimates, the deaths of a third up to a half of Cambodia's entire Muslim population, and of 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians on the whole. Whereas the DK prohibition of religious practices affected all religious groups in the country equally, Khmer Cambodians were naturally not subjected to an explicit (or in some regions at least implicit) ban on their language, nor did they face cases of organized dispersal of villages to the same degree or found themselves – in a time of chronic food shortage – forced to eat meat they considered forbidden to consume¹⁵⁵¹. This is, however, not the right place to contribute to the already abundant discussion of if and why Chams or Muslims in general were singled out collectively for persecution by the DK regime¹⁵⁵². These questions will at last be dealt

¹⁵⁵⁰ Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 59, 81.

¹⁵⁵¹ Kiernan, "Orphans of Genocide", p. 30-33; Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 1-7; Howard J. De Nike, John Quigley & Kenneth J. Robinson (eds.), *Genocide in Cambodia. Documents from the Trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 316-319, 366-370, 530. Intriguingly, it was Mat Ly, who served as prosecutor in this showtrial, which tried the accused fugitives *in absentia* and was set up by the PRK regime in 1979.

¹⁵⁵² Whereas Vickery has argued that Chams were neither on a general basis specifically targeted nor have suffered disproportionately under DK, most other observers hold contrary views. Kiernan and Osman are both attesting collective persecution on ethnic and religious grounds, yet differ significantly concerning the death toll among Chams (one third vis-à-vis more than half of the Cham/Muslim population). Michael Vickery, "Comments on Cham Population Figures", BCAS, XXII, no. 1 (1989), p. 31-33; *id.*, *Cambodia 1975-1982*, p. 194f.; Kiernan, "Orphans of Genocide", p. 30-33; *id.*, "The Genocide in Cambodia, 1975-1979", BCAS, XXIII, no. 1 (1990), p. 35-40; Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 1-7. Persecution on ethnic grounds is ruled out by Thion and, emphatically, by Heder. The latter rather points to DK's class thinking, in which "ethnic stereotyping was fitted into a paradigm of class". Serge Thion, "Genocide as a Political Commodity" in Ben Kiernan (ed.), *Genocide and Democracy in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge, the United Nations and the International Community* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), p. 173; Steve Heder, "Racism, Marxism, Labelling, and Genocide in Ben Kiernan's *The Pol Pot Regime*", SEAR, V, no. 2 (1997), p. 111-117 (quotation from p. 115). Sher, however, has aptly noted that the employed label "petty bourgeois" was not used to refer to a distinctive class, but was rather denoting opportunistic tendencies leaning towards bourgeois views and lifestyles. Interestingly, Heder himself notes that the decisive change in DK general line (in his view towards "accelerated socialist revolution") occurred in September 1975. Generally excluding the religious aspect from his considerations, he, however, fails to acknowledge that also the infamous Cham rebellions - most obvious signs of Cham refusal to comply with DK policies - had taken place that same month. Sacha Sher, *Le Kampuchéa*

with in 2014 at the UN-funded *Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia* (ECCC), where the surviving DK top leaders are facing genocide charges in its case 002/2. Suffice it to say, that the apparent disproportionately high death toll among Chams and Chvea was not plainly caused by ethnic hatred, but arose from a combination of factors. Among those, their, apparently among the different Cambodian groups most pronounced, reaction against the ban on religion, which made them liable for being collectively labelled as counterrevolutionary, was certainly instrumental. Likewise, their plain geographical distribution had adverse effects. Starting in May 1978 and known as the greatest single atrocity of the DK era (ca. 100000 dead within six months)¹⁵⁵³, the purges of the Eastern Zone, whose cadres and population came to be largely regarded as party enemies, unfolded in the very region of the country with the greatest Cham population.

Undoubtedly, however, the regime specifically targeted two types of people from among Cambodia's Muslim community: firstly, those formerly involved (or suspected of having been formerly involved) with the Lon Nol regime, and particularly with FULRO and 5BIS, and, secondly, religious teachers and (perceived) community leaders (*hakem* and *hajjis*). The extermination policy against the latter is shockingly evident from statistics. Thus, Muslim officials of the PRK estimated that only twenty out of 113 *hakem*, 25 out of 226 deputy *hakem* and 38 out of approximately 300 Muslim religious teachers, survived DK rule. All except twenty of the country's 113 pre-DK mosques were destroyed¹⁵⁵⁴. Numerous copies of the Qur'ān as well as other Arabic and *jawi* books were collected and burned by *Khmers Rouges* cadres or buried by the community to save them from destruction¹⁵⁵⁵. Even though the numbers of deaths in these statistics might well be slightly inflated, as scholars who had managed to flee the country, many of which only returned (if ever) in the early 1990s, were certainly not recorded, it is obvious that almost entire generations of *jawi* scholars perished in the less than four years of DK rule. No such systematic killings were directed against Buddhist monks under DK¹⁵⁵⁶.

des "Khmers Rouges": *essai de compréhension d'une tentative de révolution* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), p. 110; Heder, "Racism, Marxism, Labelling", p. 113 n. 23.

¹⁵⁵³ Ben Kiernan, "Wild Chickens, Farm Chickens, and Cormorants: The Eastern Zone under Pol Pot" in David Porter Chandler & Ben Kiernan (eds.), *Revolution and its Aftermath in Kampuchea* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Council, 1983), p. 138.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Front d'Union pour l'Édification et la Défense de la Patrie Kampuchéenne, *La communauté islamique au Kampuchea* (Phnom Penh: n.p., 1983), p. 15.

¹⁵⁵⁵ In Svay Khleang an impressive number of religious books was confiscated, even though some, including a copy of *Tafsīr al-Jalāyn*, complete with hand-written notes in *jawi*, were buried and only retrieved in 1979. Osman, *Cham Rebellion*, p. 17, 91.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Ian Harris, *Buddhism under Pol Pot* (Phnom Penh: DC-Cam, 2007).

The *changvang* Res Lah and his famed deputy Hj. Sulaiman Shukry were killed¹⁵⁵⁷. His second deputy, Hj. Math Sleh Slaiman, and three of his advisors were either killed or died from other causes, just as also the greater part of major scholars of the period discussed in chapter six did not survive the regime. These included, among many others, such major transmitters and sustainers of Jawization as Muhammad Kachi in Chumnik, Mat Saleh Haroun's son-in-law Sulaiman b. Yusuf and others in Phum Trea, Ismail Flahi in Speu, Hj. Yusuf Awny in Kampong Thom (all former students of Mat Sakes Haroun), the *kaum muda* leaders Li Musa and Son Ahmad in Svay Khleang, Math Zayn in Norea, Srong Yousos in Chrang Chamres, and Abu Talep and his group in Chroy Metrey¹⁵⁵⁸.

Evidently, Muslim religious education and infrastructure had to be rebuilt from scratch after the civil war and the destruction of the DK era. The new PRK regime and its direct successor with another name, the *State of Cambodia* (SOC), were, however – against the background of the Cold War and the Chinese-Soviet split within the Eastern Bloc – widely regarded as a Vietnamese puppet. As a result, the country was subjected to international isolation throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, as Western and non-socialist Arab states, and even Indonesia and Malaysia (although the latter was arguably the first country in the region to seek a dialogue with Vietnam), voted consistently for – or in any case not against – the seating of the ousted DK regime as legitimate representative of Cambodia at the UN¹⁵⁵⁹. After four years of voting to the benefit of DK (and then the alliance between the *Khmers Rouges*, Sihanouk and the non-communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front, which was known as the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and established in 1982) between 1979 and 1982, Cambodian seating credentials were no longer part of the UN assembly's agenda¹⁵⁶⁰, thus leading to a prolongation of the politics of isolation towards PRK by the West and its allies.

Largely cut off from vital exchange with the Malay and Muslim Worlds, efforts at rebuilding community life in the religious realm thus made only limited headway during the period. A crucial difference to their experiences under DK was, however, that the PRK regime not only generally allowed religious practices, but even used the country's Muslim minority as a

¹⁵⁵⁷ Hj. Sulaiman Shukry was not only an important religious official but also a renowned teacher. Thus, Les Kosem's brother went to study with him in Chroy Changvar. Personal communication with Les Sary (Phnom Penh, May 14th 2012).

¹⁵⁵⁸ Osman, *Oukoubah*, p. 122-124; personal communication with Tuon Him, former student of Ismail Flahi, in Chrang Chamres, May 13th 2012; with Man Seu (Hj. Musa b. Sulaiman, Deputy Province Imam of Battambang), a student of Abu Talep and his circle of scholars before his deportation to Battambang together with them, in Damspey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Michael Haas, *Genocide by Proxy: Cambodian Pawn on a Superpower Chessboard* (New York: Praeger, 1991); Eva Mysliwiec, *Punishing the Poor. The International Isolation of Kampuchea* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1988).

¹⁵⁶⁰ For a complete list of credentials votings see *ibid.*, p. 158-160.

showcase to demonstrate its tolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities as well as to denounce DK as an illegitimate genocidal regime¹⁵⁶¹. Mat Ly as high-ranking official facilitated early support for the reconstruction of Cambodian Islam through the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), both headquartered in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia)¹⁵⁶². Part of the assistance provided by these two organizations was allocated to the purchase of books in Arabic and (certainly *jawi*) Malay¹⁵⁶³. Religious books, primarily Qur'ān copies but also *jawi* works, were initially imported from the Vietnamese Muslim community¹⁵⁶⁴. It was, however, only the UN-monitored transitional period of 1992-1993 and the subsequent normalization and slow pacification (remnants of the Khmers Rouges continued their fight until 1998) of the country¹⁵⁶⁵, that once again allowed for intensive contacts with the Muslim and Malay Worlds, which had in the meantime undergone a significant Islamic resurgence and witnessed a considerable accompanying diversification of transnational Islamic trends and their local expressions. Thus, Jawization in Cambodia quickly regained momentum from the early 1990s onwards. Yet, on the other hand, the unprecedented activities of international Islamic organizations and movements from the Persian Gulf, South Asia and Turkey, also provided for the fact that Jawization (and anti-Jawization) was no longer the sole and self-evident path for the development of Islam in Cambodia and its makers.

1.4. The revival and progress of Jawization in the post-DK era

The revival and continuation of the process of Jawization in Cambodia in the post-DK era generally followed three different, though closely interrelated, patterns. Firstly, Cambodian Muslims resurrected their scholarly and educational ties to Patani and Malaysia, and there in particular to Kelantan. Likewise, Malaysian state agencies, educational institutions and

¹⁵⁶¹ Caroline Hughes, *UNTAC in Cambodia: The Impact on Human Rights* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1996), p. 22, 27.

¹⁵⁶² Seddik Taouti, "The Forgotten Muslims of Kampuchea and Viet Nam", *JIMMA*, IV, nos. 1 & 2 (1982), p. 3-13.

¹⁵⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 13 n. 10.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Vu Can, "An Aspect of Reborn Kampuchea: The Community of Surviving Muslims", *VC*, VIII, no. 4 (1982), p. 29; Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 85; personal communication with Imam Saly (Ali b. Musa, b. 1937 in Takeo), former Imam of *Masjid Nūr al-Ihsān* in Chrang Chamres (Chrang Chamres, July 14th 2005).

¹⁵⁶⁵ Hughes, *UNTAC in Cambodia*; Trevor Findlay, *Cambodia: The Legacy and Lessons of UNTAC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). The UN mission also temporarily brought significant numbers of soldiers and policemen from Muslim majority countries, including among others Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Egypt, into the country. Their exchanges with local Muslims at time resulted in financial and technical aid in mosque building/repair. Thus, Bangladeshi soldiers donated to maintain and expand the mosque of Stung Thmey (Siam Reap) and their Indonesian colleagues raised money for the construction of a new mosque of Prek Tapeou in Takhmau (Kendal). Personal communication with Musa Soleh, province imam of Siam Reap (Stung Thmey, July 15th and 16th 2005); with *toun* Muhammad bin Abdulwani (Prek Tapeou, August 2nd 2005).

Islamic NGOs and socio-religious movements of different persuasions came to concern themselves heavily with Muslim aid to Cambodia and Muslim affairs in the country, whereby mosque and school building as well as teaching and the distribution of religious literature and sacrificial animals were major fields of activity. Secondly, the Muslim religious leadership and administration, as represented by the Muslim members in the new Department of Ethnic and Religious Minorities and especially the Mufti of Cambodia and his province imams throughout the country, came to be prominently staffed with surviving *jawi* scholars of the pre-DK period. Thirdly, Jawization was also propelled by the streams of Muslim refugees to Malaysia in the late 1970s and 1980s. There they were subjected to state directed Islamization programs such as mandatory religious education. Moreover, the great majority of Cambodian refugees chose to settle or were settled in Kelantan and Terengganu, some of the last bastions of *jawi* also outside of religious studies in the country, where *jawi* has been turned into an obligatory subject of public schooling again. Subsequently, the Cambodian Muslim diaspora in Malaysia, which sustains strong relations with its country of origin since 1992, has exerted an important influence on their native (or ancestral) communities. It is this latter aspect that we will turn to now.

The flow of Muslim refugees from Cambodia to Malaysia began on a limited scale in the early phases of the civil war under the Khmer Republic and – while only gaining momentum from the Vietnamese invasion of 1979 onwards – persisted into the late 1980s as Cambodia continued to be plagued by the conflict between the PRK regime, the remnants of the *Khmers Rouges* and the non-communist opposition. Between 1975 and 1988 almost 11000 Muslim refugees from Cambodia were placed in refugee camps in the Pengkalan Chepa area of Kota Bharu. These camps were administered by *Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia* (PERKIM, Muslim Welfare Organization Malaysia), a NGO combining welfare and *dakwah*, which was founded in 1960 by the then Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman (d. 1990) and directed at helping “new brothers” (i.e. converts to Islam and Muslim migrants) in financial and religious matters¹⁵⁶⁶. Under the aegis of PERKIM the refugees received education in Islam, Malay language, culture and custom before they were allowed – once camp authorities were satisfied with their language proficiency and Islamic knowledge (or, indeed, rather practice) – to work and trade outside of the camps¹⁵⁶⁷. Also in the South of the

¹⁵⁶⁶ <http://www.perkim.net.my/>. Despite its ostensible focus on Muslims on one hand and Malaysia on the other, the organization is domestically also explicitly targeting non-Muslims and likewise carries out activities among Muslim communities abroad, whereby Cambodia has turned into a preferred field of activity.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Abdul Hamid, “Understanding the Cham Identity”, p. 236f.; Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 99-101. Part of these refugees were only hosted by PERKIM until they had found other states (such as the

country, in the Pekan area of Pahang and Tanjung Minyak of Melaka (and assumingly elsewhere), PERKIM was heavily involved in the settlement and religious education of Cambodian Muslims¹⁵⁶⁸. The founder of the village of Bukit Datuk was officially recognized as the community leader by the Melaka branch of the organization¹⁵⁶⁹.

PERKIM's program of Malayization and Jawization was, particularly in Kelantan, further enhanced by the introduction of a guardianship/sponsorship scheme, whereby individual guardians/sponsors were to sponsor and care for a Cambodian migrant or a family¹⁵⁷⁰. In Kota Bharu, also the old connection between Cambodian Muslims and the local MUI appears to have played a role. The village of Bunga Emas, which constituted one of the earliest settlements of Cambodian Muslims in the country, was built on land rented out by the MUI¹⁵⁷¹. Elsewhere local authorities have supported the establishment of *jawi* madrasas with Malay and Cambodia-born teachers. Examples whose names are already highlighting the migrant character of much of their constituencies are the *Maahad Terbiah Lil Muhajirin* in Bachok (Kelantan) and the *Madrasah Al-Muhajirin* in Bukit Datuk (Melaka). Similar schools are found in Bukit Payong (Terengganu) and Sekukuh and Pulau Keladi in Pahang¹⁵⁷². Thus, even though Malaysia-wide the role of *jawi* in religious education has been weakened over the past decades, the exposure of Cambodian Muslims to *jawi* materials appears to be disproportionately strong due to their heavy concentration in Kelantan and Terengganu and their overall close association with religious agencies and organizations. Moreover, as was the case in earlier intense periods of Jawization marked by Kelantanese-Cambodian exchanges, Cambodian Muslims are not in all cases students but at times also renowned local teachers themselves. Thus, a Cambodian Cham recently even rose to the position of

USA) granting them refugee status. Costs were covered by the UNHCR. PERKIM, "19th PERKIM Annual General Meeting. PERKIM Grows from Strength to Strength" & "PERKIM News", IH, IV, nos. 5&6 (1979), p. 5 & p. 24.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Personal communication with villagers of Sekukuh and Pulau Keladi (both Pekan, Pahang), the largest "Cambodian" villages of the state (Pulau Keladi, July 15th 2012); with Kul Ahmad and Radiah, former residents of Sekukuh (Kampot, May 6th 2012). Whereas the original population of Sekukuh predominantly hails from Kampot province (with lesser numbers from Preah Sihanouk and Koh Kong), that of Pulau Keladi stems mostly from Norea (Battambang).

¹⁵⁶⁹ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 105.

¹⁵⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 102. The great majority of the approximately 130 families in Bunga Emas have their origins in Battambang province (particularly Norea). Around 30 families came from Khleang Sbek (Kendal) and lesser numbers from Kampong Chhnang province (especially from Sala Lek Pram and other villages of Kampong Tralach). Personal communication with Muhammad Ali, born in Khleang Sbek (Kendal), at Bunga Emas (Kampung Penambang, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, July 20th 2012); with Asyari and Nasir, born at Norea Kraom and Norea Loeu respectively (Bunga Emas, July 26th 2012).

¹⁵⁷² Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 103, pl. 8&13; personal communication with villagers of Sekukuh and Pulau Keladi (both Pekan, Pahang) (Pulau Keladi, July 15th 2012).

director of the Nilam Puri (Kelantan) branch of the University of Malaya's *Akademi Pengajian Islam* (Academy of Islamic Studies)¹⁵⁷³.

Contrarily, two Cambodian Muslims have made negative headlines as leaders of a violent deviant sect (*ajaran sesat*), which was crushed after an attack on a police station in Batu Pahat (Johor) in 1980, during which fifteen policemen were injured. The leaders of the attackers, which consisted of five Cambodians and fifteen Malays (eight of which, including the leaders, were killed), were a certain Mohammad Nasir Ismail and a certain Lamin, who called themselves “Imam Mahadi” (i.e. *mahdī*) and “Nabi Isa” (prophet Jesus) respectively, and had arrived in the country as refugees in 1975. Although the main leader was reported to have spoken good Malay, their alleged teachings are in many respects, despite certain ideosyncratic particularities, reminiscent of Cambodian Cham traditions of the pre-Jawization phase, which had by then largely but evidently not completely disappeared. Sometime before the incident, the community had established a secluded camp to meditate and perform *wird/rātib*. According to the group's teachings, facing the *qibla* in prayer was not important and also Friday prayer was not an obligation as even at home, turning in whichever direction, the Muslim in prayer was already facing the divine. As a result, its adherents stopped attending the Friday prayers. Furthermore, the leaders of the group taught that it was not necessary to recite the *fatīḥa* during the dawn prayer, as only the *qunūt* would be sufficient. Dressed in all white (as devoted adherents of KIS still do today) and regarding themselves as the only true Muslims, they denounced others as *munafik* (hypocrites)¹⁵⁷⁴.

Muslim labour migration from Cambodia to Malaysia (and in particular to Kelantan), often merely on a temporary basis, continues unabated – both legally as well as illegally¹⁵⁷⁵. Presently, Cambodian Muslims and their descendants are found in all peninsular states and estimated to number around 60000 people¹⁵⁷⁶. For some of them engagement in Muslim community life in Cambodia, particularly in the realm of mosque building and the establishment or support of religious schools, has become an important part of relating to

¹⁵⁷³ Guérin, “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque’”, p. 45.

¹⁵⁷⁴ UM, October 17th, 18th & 20th 1980.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Guérin, “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque’”, p. 37f.; personal communication with Shukry, former and aspiring contract worker in Malaysia (Phum Trea, May 15th 2012); with Math Abdul Rahman, former owner of a firm hiring contract workers to Malaysia (Phnom Penh, May 12th 2012). The latter claimed to have sent over 10000 industrial and plantation workers and housemaids (Buddhist as well as Muslim) to Malaysia. The fact that he is now running the Cambodia's first *ḥalāl* bakery is indicative of another aspect of Malay influence on Cambodia, namely the almost complete Halalization of Muslim consumption as pioneered in Malaysia. Johan Fischer, *Proper Islamic Consumption. Shopping among the Malays in Modern Malaysia* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁷⁶ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 98.

their native land¹⁵⁷⁷. Thus, besides the Cambodian Muslim community in the US, it is that of Malaysia, which apparently plays the major role in such intra-community funding from abroad¹⁵⁷⁸. Although certain Cambodian Muslim refugees in Bunga Emas (Kota Bharu), who had been less exposed or resistant to Jawization in their native communities in Kampong Tralach, have returned to their old ways after leaving the camps, as highlighted by their revival of the defining practice of praying only once a week¹⁵⁷⁹, temporary labour migration to Malaysia has generally on the contrary contributed to the Jawization of similar communities in Cambodia. Thus, it has been, for example, besides increased interaction with villages historically more receptive of Jawization, put forward by villagers in Kampot as a reason for the recent shift towards accepting the five daily prayers as obligatory instead in Thvi and other Muslim villages in proximity to the provincial capital¹⁵⁸⁰.

Malaysian activity among local Muslims in Cambodia since the early 1990s has been far too extensive to be discussed here thoroughly, as impressive number of federal as well as state government agencies, NGOs and socio-religious movements have been involved in such. Usually combining humanitarian aid and *dakwah*, these have greatly contributed to the revitalization of Jawization in the country¹⁵⁸¹. We will thus discuss only a few selected cases of particular importance. Besides the at best semi-autonomous PERKIM, also the officially state-run *Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia* (YADIM, est. 1974)¹⁵⁸² has been active in Cambodia, often in cooperation with other Malaysian institutions or organizations, focusing *inter alia* on the building of wells in destitute rural areas in combination with religious lectures¹⁵⁸³. Another important player, connected to both PERKIM and the Saudi Arabia-based *Muslim World League*, is the *Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia and the*

¹⁵⁷⁷ A similar boom in investments from abroad for religious building projects has at the same time also been documented for the Khmer Buddhist spectrum. John Marston, "Clay into Stone: A Modern-Day Tāpas" in *id.* & Elizabeth Guthrie (eds.), *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004), p. 187-189.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Personal observations during fieldwork in Cambodia in 2005, 2009 and 2012.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Personal communication with Asyari and Nasir, born at Norea Kraom and Norea Loeu respectively (Bunga Emas, July 26th 2012).

¹⁵⁸⁰ Personal communication with villagers and religious scholars in Thvi and Kbal Romeas (Kampot), May 6th 2012.

¹⁵⁸¹ The spectrum of Malaysian donors active in the field also includes NGOs not primarily religious in nature. Thus, for example, the mosque of Boeung Ta Prom (Preah Sihanouk) was – as can be inferred from its name (*Masjid Yayasan Belia Malaysia*) built with funds from *Yayasan Belia Malaysia* (Malaysian Youth Foundation), established in 1980 by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Personal communication with Imam Ahmad Ali b. Ansri (Boeung Ta Prom, July 27th 2005).

¹⁵⁸² John Funston, "Malaysia" in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (eds.), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia. A Contemporary Sourcebook* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2006), p. 55.

¹⁵⁸³ Cf. for example the report of a "humanitarian mission" (*misi kemanusiaan*) to Roka Po Pram (Kampong Cham), whose participants I met in Phnom Penh.

http://www.pis.edu.my/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=913:misi-kemanusiaan-kemboja-2012-membumikan-erti-kasih-sayang&catid=113:highlight-latest (last accessed March 12th 2014).

Pacific (RISEAP), which was founded at a joint conference of the two mentioned organizations in Kuala Lumpur in 1980, characterizes its work as being “in the service of Muslim minorities” and has taken Cambodia as one of its member states¹⁵⁸⁴. Since 1991 the organization has dispatched Cambodian Muslim scholars, who have graduated from institutions of religious learning in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia to organize classes in Cambodia (and to a lesser degree in Vietnam). Some of these scholars eventually decided to settle down permanently in Cambodia again¹⁵⁸⁵. Among them were al-Ustādh Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Rahmān, a graduate of the Faculty of Sharia of the Imām Muḥammad Āl Sa’ūd University (al-Riyāḍ), who has recently formed part of the scholarly committee for the first Khmer translation of the Qur’ān¹⁵⁸⁶, and Sulaiman Ibrahim of Phum Trea, who – as leader of the Cambodian branch of the Tablīghī Jamā’at (TJ) – was to become one of the most influential figures in Cambodian Islam.

Unsurprisingly, also organizations from Kelantan are active in Cambodia. Here specific mention must be made of *Yayasan Islam Kelantan* (YIK, Islamic Foundation of Kelantan), an organ of the state government founded in 1974. YIK is particularly representative of contemporary cooperation between Malaysian and Cambodian organizations in the realm of religious education. The most ambitious project in this regard is the network of *Madrasah al-Nikmah* (or *SMU al-Ni’mat al-Islāmiyyat al-Thana’iyya*) secondary schools run since 1999 by the Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation (CMDF, est. 1997), for which the Mufti of Cambodia, Sos Kamry, has acted as prime patron and advisor since its inception, and which unites the great majority of Cambodian Muslim politicians and militarymen in its committees¹⁵⁸⁷. The *Madrasah al-Nikmah* schools are modelled on those operated by YIK in Kelantan and employ the same religious curriculum, which is itself in turn based on that of al-Azhar’s secondary school for foreign students (*Ma’had al-bu’ūth al-islāmiyya*)¹⁵⁸⁸. The curricula are provided by YIK as part of its nonmonetary support. The best-qualified students of the network are eligible to continue their education in Malaysia, where they also have the possibility to qualify for further studies at al-Azhar. In 2005 fifty-seven graduates were studying on scholarships in Malaysia and in 2006 ten at al-Azhar (or other Middle Eastern universities). In 2004 the network already boasted fourteen schools, making

¹⁵⁸⁴ <http://www.riseap.org/>

¹⁵⁸⁵ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Aḥmad Yaḥyā (gen. ed.), *al-Qur’ān al-karīm wa tarjama ma’ānīhi ilā l-lughat al-kambūdiyya* (Phnom Penh: Jam’iyyat al-Taṭwīr al-Mujtama’ al-Islāmī bi-Kambūdiyyā, 2011).

¹⁵⁸⁷ Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation (CMDF), *Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation Serves the Muslim’s Community* (Phnom Penh: CMDF, 2004); <http://thecmdf.org/en/>

¹⁵⁸⁸ On this institution see Madmarn, “Egypt’s Influence”, p. 31f.

it the largest of its kind in the country¹⁵⁸⁹. Despite a heavy educational focus on Arabic, it is obvious that the *Madrasah al-Nikmah* system sprang from and continues to nourish intense contacts to Malay Islam.

According to Blengli, 22 per cent of its teachers have received their education in Malaysia, South Thailand, Vietnam or Indonesia¹⁵⁹⁰. The educational background of those of its teachers born before the DK era and educated solely in Cambodia is often reflective of the resilience of the networks of Jawization discussed in chapter six. Thus, a present teacher from Kampong Cham at the *Madrasah al-Nikmah* network's *Nūr al-Islām* school in Chroy Metrey (Kendal) has, for example, studied under Peang Ponyamin, a son of Mat Sales Haroun's student Ahmad Syarhi of Koh Phal. Himself a student of his father and Muhammad Kachi, Ponyamin had in the 1980s drawn students from different provinces such as Kampong Cham (Phum Trea, Chumnik and other places), Kampot, Preah Sihanouk (Sihanoukville), and even from the Vietnamese *jawi* circuit (Chau Doc, Tay Ninh and even Phan Rang), before he embarked on a political career¹⁵⁹¹. Presently, Ponyamin is a member of the CMDF council committee, in which products of *jawi* education (though not necessarily religious leaders) are strongly represented.

Below the level of such major secondary schools, it is particularly the ordinary religious village schools, which still continue to teach classical *jawi* works, often starting with Malay versions of the *Muqaddam*, and to attach great value to the learning of the Malay language, as I could observe during fieldwork in eight different Cambodian provinces. Senior teachers in such schools, which likewise often have received or continue to receive some kind of support from Malaysia (such as donations in books or money), are often surviving former students of the major Cambodian scholars discussed in chapter six, or are in some other way linked to the pre-DK *jawi* scholarly networks. Besides Ponyamin, central figures in the revival of *jawi* education in Cambodia after the DK regime were undoubtedly Man Seu in Battambang as well as Zakariyya Adam and Mufti Sos Kamry in Kampong Cham. A similarly important role was played by the two Kampong Cham-born al-Azhar graduates Muhammad Hasan and Tuon Him, who had both studied under students of Mat Sales Haroun. Each of

¹⁵⁸⁹ Björn Atle Blengli, "Muslim Metamorphosis: Islamic Education and Politics in Contemporary Cambodia" in Robert W. Hefner (ed.), *Making Modern Muslims. The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), p. 189f., 194.; Bruckmayr, "Cham Muslims of Cambodia", p. 11; *id.*, "Phnom Penh's Fethullah Gülen School", p. 232f. In 2012 the network had 12 schools with an apparently substantial number of changes in locations since 2004. CMDF, *CMDF Serves*, p. 10; "Pendidikan di SMU al-Ni'mah al-Islamiyah", PGMK, January 22nd 2012, <http://gurumuslimkemboja.blogspot.co.at/2012/01/pendidikan-di-smu-nimah-al-islamiyah.html> (last accessed March 15th 2014).

¹⁵⁹⁰ Blengli, "Muslim Metamorphosis", p. 194.

¹⁵⁹¹ Asyari b. Adam, b. 1973 in Stung (Kaong Kang, Ponhea Kraek, Kampong Cham), teacher at *Nūr al-Islām* school (Chroy Metrey, May 17th 2012).

these five scholars has literally taught hundreds of students since the end of the DK era, and especially the first three are strongly representative of classical *jawi* curricula, whereas the two latter have acquired more of a Salafi outlook in certain respects¹⁵⁹². Moreover, the resilience of Jawization in Cambodia beyond the DK divide can easily be demonstrated with reference to their formative religious education in the country before DK and the careers of these men in the post-DK era.

Man Seu (Musa b. Sulaiman), born 1953 in Chroy Metrey (Kendal), had studied in his native village with Tok Kenali's student Abu Talep and his local circles of scholars. After surviving the DK regime as a deportee in Battambang, he chose to remain there, teaching hundreds of students in Damspey. A close friend of the Mufti Sos Kamry, he now serves as deputy province imam of Battambang¹⁵⁹³. Zakariyya Adam, born 1950 in Kbop (Svay Khleang, Kampong Cham), had been a student of Ly Musa and had witnessed the latter's initial confrontations with the *kaum tua* first hand as a child¹⁵⁹⁴. In the 1980s he not only taught at both at the religious and public schools of Kbop and Prek Kout in Svay Khleang, whereby his religious lessons drew students from all over Krauchhmar as well as from other districts. In addition, he also acted as roving teacher-preacher and served the PRK regime as secretary of education in Krauchhmar district from 1984-1987. Later on, he held the post of Deputy Mufti, before he was appointed as Secretary of State in the Ministry of Religion and Cults¹⁵⁹⁵. Presently he is a member of the Cambodian parliament, Vice Chairperson of the initiative "Malay and Islamic World to Cambodia", member of the Malaysian *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (i.e. the state-run institute for Malay language and culture, est. 1956) and Secretary General of the *Cambodian Islamic Center* (CIC, located in Chroy Metrey, Kendal), the largest Islamic school in the country¹⁵⁹⁶.

Sos Kamry (Kamaruddin bin Yusuf) was born in Speu (Kampong Cham) in 1950 as son of the village imam Yusuf b. Abu Bakr. Besides attending the local elementary and secondary public schools, he also studied not only under his father, but also under the whole circle of eminent scholars in his native village. These included most prominently Mat Sales Haroun's illustrious student Ismail Flahi and the second-generation Patani-Cambodian scholar Hj. Li Patani (Hj. 'Alī b. 'Abbās al-Ṣabrī al-Faṭānī). Moreover, clearly testifying to Speu's above-

¹⁵⁹² This became evident in numerous discussions with the two scholars in Phnom Penh and Chrang Chamres respectively during April and May 2012.

¹⁵⁹³ Personal communication with Man Seu, Dam Spey (Battambang), May 11th 2012.

¹⁵⁹⁴ William Collins, "The Muslims of Cambodia" in Hean Sokhom (ed.), *Ethnic Groups in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study, 2009), p. 93f.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 83-88; Mohamad Zain, "History of Education", p. 95-98.

¹⁵⁹⁶ <http://thecmdf.org/en/article/about-us/organizational-structure/supreme-council-committee-scc.html> (last accessed March 15th 2014).

mentioned role as one of the centers of *jawi* education in Kampong Cham, Sos Kamry also took the chance to study with no less than four other teachers residing there. Already at the age of twenty-two he began a dual career as a teacher, working at the local public school and privately giving lessons on Islam. Sufficiently educated in Khmer language and manners to disguise himself as Khmer, he also survived DK rule as a teacher of Khmer. Between 1979 and 1996 he resumed his dual role as public school and religious teacher at Pothi En village in Kampong Cham. Due to the initial chronic shortage of Islamic books, he took it upon himself to copy a number by hand. Tellingly, these not only included the Qur'ān but likewise al-Marbawī's Arabic-(*jawi*) Malay dictionary¹⁵⁹⁷.

In 1996 he was appointed to the post of Mufti of Cambodia. Before he had even completed his first intended five year term, Prime Minister Hun Sen and King Shihamoni changed his appointment into one for life¹⁵⁹⁸. Highly skilled in Malay, he is not proficient in spoken Arabic¹⁵⁹⁹, but has produced several books in Cham *jawi* distributed in photo-copied form. As was already noted, his *Mai We' Drai Sembahyang* of 2009 also represented the first such book to be properly printed in Cambodia¹⁶⁰⁰. In addition, he was the founder of the *Madrasah al-Nikmah* network. Both Speu and Pothi En, villages closely connected to his biography, are nowadays boasting schools of the network. When the large Islamic school of Chroy Metrey run by the transnational Saudi Arabian NGO *Umm al-Qurā* was shut down by the government following a hint from the CIA in relation to terrorism charges against foreign elements from its truly international staff in 2003, Sos Kamry assumed control of the institution and – as general director – reopened it as the *Cambodian Islamic Center* in 2004 with an all Cambodian body of teachers¹⁶⁰¹. In 2006, he estimated the number of his students that have become imams, religious teachers or functionaries or teachers in public schools at somewhere between 150 and 300 people¹⁶⁰². In his function as Mufti, he also prepares and distributes (not necessarily relied upon) Friday sermons in Cham *jawi*¹⁶⁰³.

Imam Muhammad Hasan was born in Koh Phal (Kampong Cham) in 1940 and received his formative Islamic education with *tuons* in his native village as well as in three other Kampong Cham locations, most notably with the *kaum tua* leader Muhammad Kachi in

¹⁵⁹⁷ “Catatan Perjalanan Ibnu Hasyim”, November 14th 2011, <http://melayucham.blogspot.co.at/2011/11/catatan-perjalanan-ibnu-hasyim.html> (last accessed March 16th 2014).

¹⁵⁹⁸ <http://mufticambodia.blogspot.co.at/2010/08/personal-background.html>; personal communication with Tuon Him (Chrang Chamres, April 28th and May 8th 2012).

¹⁵⁹⁹ Personal communication (Phnom Penh, July 20th 2005).

¹⁶⁰⁰ Cf. VI.1.2.

¹⁶⁰¹ Bruckmayr, “Cham Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 17f.

¹⁶⁰² Jay Willoughby, “Muslim Cambodia”, IHOR (March/April 2007), p. 54.

¹⁶⁰³ Bajunid, “Place of *Jawi*”, p. 138.

Chumnik. From 1963 to 1968 he studied at al-Azhar. Upon his return he first taught for two years in Kratie province until the outbreak of the civil war kept him from continuing to do so. After the DK era he took up teaching again and was appointed to the prestigious position of imam of the so-called International Dubai Mosque of Phnom Penh, which was built in 1994 – far from the city’s Muslim suburbs - on the exact spot of the abortive Great Mosque of Phnom Penh of the Lon Nol era. Since then he has been teaching girls and boys at the mosque and the adjacent Islamic school. For his Friday sermons, he often used the medium of Malay. He also stresses the ease with which Cambodian Muslims can study Islam through the Malay language, due to its proximity to Cham¹⁶⁰⁴. In early 2012 he began to teach the Qur’ān at the mosque between *maghrib* and *ishā’* on the basis of the first Cham *jawi* translation of the text¹⁶⁰⁵.

Tuon Him (Ibrahim b. Tukang Basih), who went to al-Azhar together with Muhammad Hasan, was born in Kor (Kampong Cham) in 1942. He studied in Kor, Speu and Phum Trea with scholars such as Ismail Flahi and Muhammad Kachi. Upon his return he taught Islam until deportation under the DK regime. In 1979 he went to Phnom Penh and became the sole Cham member appointed to the newly established PRK Department for (Ethnic and Religious) Minorities (*choeunchiat pieh tech*). After the creation of a Ministry of Religion and Cults in 1992¹⁶⁰⁶, Tuon Him began to serve there until 1997. He was also, together with Sos Kamry, appointed (semi-official) Deputy Mufti in 1993 but then withdrew from his office four years later out of protest, as it became evident that the new appointee to the position of Mufti – now invested with full governmental and royal recognition – would not ascend his post through elections but by decree. Presently, Tuon Him continues to act as roving teacher, particularly in rural Kampong Chhnang, under the umbrella of the Organization for the Protection of Muslims in Cambodia (*Hay’a Ri’āyat al-Muslimīn fī Kambūdiyā*), directed by Les Sary (brother of Les Kosem) and the Chau Doc Cham Harul Saleh, who has studied at the Islamic University of Medina from 1973-1980. In addition, Tuon Him also teaches female secondary school and university students at his home in the evenings. Exhibiting a locally

¹⁶⁰⁴“Catatan Perjalanan Ibnu Hasyim”, November 14th 2011, <http://melayucham.blogspot.co.at/2011/11/catatan-perjalanan-ibnu-hasyim.html> (last accessed March 16th 2014).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Personal communication with Imam Muhammad Hasan (Phnom Penh, April 30th & May 14th 2012).

¹⁶⁰⁶ Ian Harris, “Buddhism in Cambodia since 1993” in Pou Sothirak, Geoff Wade & Mark Hong (eds.), *Cambodia: Progress and Challenges since 1991* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), p. 323.

otherwise rarely encountered vivid interest in past Cambodian Muslim scholarship he is moreover conducting independent research on Mat Sales Haroun and his students¹⁶⁰⁷.

Reviewing the exemplary careers in the official religious hierarchy and ongoing teaching activities of these major surviving products of the pre-DK networks of Jawization (and specifically those of the first three) it should not come as a surprise that much of its dynamics persisted despite the cataclysmic DK period. Also outside the exchange programs of the *Madrasah al-Nikmah* network, the practice of pursuing religious education Kelantan, Terengganu and Patani has been revived on a significant scale. In 2003, 169 Cambodian students were registered at schools and universities in Kelantan. At the same time, the number of their compatriots studying in pondoks in South Thailand was estimated at one hundred, whereas seven others were then attending Yala Islamic College¹⁶⁰⁸. Thus, also a number of works of the canon of Jawization reviewed above are still in use in Cambodia. Cases in point are Daud Patani's *Munyat al-muṣallī* and *Iḍāḥ al-bāb*, and the Malay *tafsīrs Nūr al-iḥṣān* and *Tafsīr al-raḥmān*. Also an observation made by Collins in the mid-1990s is quite revealing in this regard. Thus, he noted that “[t]he most frequently expressed reason for an interest in Patani among the Cambodian Muslims is that the most widely available and respected Qur’anic commentaries used by both Chvea and Cham communities are by a learned *ulama* named Sheikh Daud”¹⁶⁰⁹. We are of course aware who this Daud was and that – as in earlier Frech scholarship – “Qur’anic commentary” must not be understood in a literal sense but rather as a generic reference to Islamic literature. More recent research even yielded spurious oral accounts claiming that the Patani luminary had sought refuge in Cambodia and subsequently taught there¹⁶¹⁰.

As the first introductory quotation to this chapter suggests, many Cambodian Chams, let alone Chvea, which are commonly feeling an even stronger attachment to things Malay, are likewise still regarding (*jawi*) Malay as a superior language fully worthy of being locally written and functioning as gateway to Arabic and its script. Despite the ever growing currency of Arabic among the young, it is thus also no wonder that *jawi* Malay works similarly continue to figure prominently among *hakem*, imams and religious scholars as guides for the proper performance of rituals. Indeed, having traced the progress of Jawization in Cambodia throughout the 20th century, reports such as the one by Collins,

¹⁶⁰⁷ Personal communication with Tuon Him (Chrang Chamres, April 28th, May 8th and 13th 2012); with Harul Saleh (Chrang Chamres, April 28th 2012).

¹⁶⁰⁸ Guérin, “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque””, p. 46.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 68.

¹⁶¹⁰ Guérin, “Les Cam et leur ‘véranda sur La Mecque””, p. 39.

which describes how a Cham imam brings a (*rumi*) Malay manual for marriage ceremonies in response to enquiries about Cham family customs¹⁶¹¹, are hardly reflective of rupture and a loss of culture resulting from the community's sudden arrival in the age of globalization from the early 1990s onwards, but rather of continuity.

By the same token also the present writer had the chance to witness a *jawi* Malay text on the subject fulfilling the same function during a (inter-religious) wedding ceremony in Siam Reap. Hereby, the pull and prestige of the Malay logosphere and its vehicle (i.e. *jawi* script) was even more pronounced as there was no indication that the imam, a former student of Sos Kamry and graduate of the *Sekolah Menengah Islam Al-Amin* (al-Amin Islamic Secondary School) in Gombak (Kuala Lumpur)¹⁶¹², would have been in need to have such a manual at his disposal for the occasion. Contrarily, it was rather used as an additional artifact to render the ceremony complete, and as such certainly fulfilled a more instrumental function for the assembled family members and witnesses than for the officiant. Its role as paraphernalia was made explicit, when the blank sheet behind the backcover was used to write down and sign the marriage contract. Similarly, the handshakes concluding the marriage contract were exchanged above the book laid out on the floor (see fig. 14)¹⁶¹³.

At Prey Thnorng Cheung in Kampot, a village until now hardly influenced by Jawization, and accordingly *inter alia* still associated with the practice of praying only once a week (seemingly rightfully so, as less than ten persons, including two elderly hajjis and one young student at a TJ school in Sonkhla/Southern Thailand on a return visit, appeared for the *maghrib* and *ishā'* prayers on a normal weekday), I could observe another ritualistic usage of a Malay text. Thus, an elderly villager read aloud – with some difficulty – from a *jawi* biography of the prophet using a portable flashlight on the *serambi* of the mosque between *maghrib* and *ishā'*¹⁶¹⁴. The impression that this served ritual or ostentatious rather than educational purposes was supported by the fact that nobody else was paying attention. The new seemingly oversized mosque of the village (or rather village section) had typically been built only in 2006 thanks to the initiative and funds from a former villager, who had

¹⁶¹¹ Collins, *Chams of Cambodia*, p. 66. The book in question, for which the author only gives an English title, was undoubtedly Muhammad Ali Quthb, *Mutiara Perkahwinan Menurut Ajaran Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Haji Abdul Majid, 1989). The author is actually Egyptian, but the Malay translation of his work has already seen multiple print runs and editions in Malaysia.

¹⁶¹² Personal communication with Musa Soleh, province imam of Siam Reap (Stung Thmey, July 15th and 16th 2005). He is of course teaching Malay, besides the Qur'ān, in his school, which was established via a donation of the ruling CPP party.

¹⁶¹³ Personal observation in Stung Thmey (Siam Reap), July 16th 2005. As this took place in the earliest stages of my research, which then still had a different focus, I failed to note down the title of the book. It is, however, most likely (also given the colour of the cover) that the book in question was Daud Patani's *Iḍāḥ al-bāb*.

¹⁶¹⁴ Personal observation in Prey Thnorng Cheung (Kampot), May 5th 2012.

migrated to the US at the time of the Cambodian wars. Since around the same time, also subtle and slow changes in religious practice were perceptible in the community, according to observers from nearby villages. This was reportedly most evident in a growing disposition towards performance of the daily prayers, but had so far only little impact on distinctive pre-Jawization community rituals such as lavish wedding ceremonies, commonly regarded as peculiar in surrounding historical centers of Jawization such as Kbal Romeas, including processions with the groom mounted on a horse, song and dance¹⁶¹⁵.

The assumption that such marriage rituals were once widespread throughout the country but had fallen into disuse under the influence of Jawization, is strongly supported by the fact that a 78-year-old informant described the long gone wedding celebrations of his youth in Chumnik (Kampong Cham), involving bearers of the now likewise mostly extinct *po*, *kai* and *set* titles, in the same terms to Collins in the mid-1990s¹⁶¹⁶. That both the destruction and killings of the DK era and the dynamics of Jawization before and after the cataclysmic 1970s conspired to weaken pre-Jawization Islamic discursive traditions and practices, is similarly evident from another report collected by the same author. Thus, the elderly Kampong Cham villager relating his version of the story of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (discussed in chapter four)¹⁶¹⁷, explained that the sole preserved *akhar trah* manuscript of the legend in the village (owned by his grandfather) had been lost during the bombings of the Lon Nol era. Moreover, scholars from Phum Trea had repeatedly arrived in the village around 1980 and “given sermons in the mosque condemning and rejecting all these teachings” associated with the story, such as staying in a state of constant prayer (instead of praying at set times) and therefore disregarding the importance of facing the *qibla*¹⁶¹⁸.

Apart from the extensive efforts of Malaysian state agencies and NGOs and surviving *jawi* educated scholars such Sos Kamry and others in the official leadership of the community on national, provincial and village levels with no specific attachments to transnational Islamic

¹⁶¹⁵ Sos Kriya (Zakariyya b. Yusof), scion of a family of religious scholars of Kbal Romeas (Prey Thnornng Cheung, May 5th 2012). Processions of the bridegroom to the bride’s house, first for engagement (including the presentation of betel leaves and sweets) and then for confirmation, were also – until quite recently – commonly held by Peninsular Malays. Umayah, *Assimilation of Bangkok-Melayu*, p. 107f.; Amran Kasimin, *Istiadat Berkahwinan Melayu. Satu Kajian Perbandingan* (Kualam Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malayisa, 1989), p. 19-22. Among the Malays of Bangkok, who have witnessed a gradual loss of language over the last thirty years, the conclusion of the marriage contract (ml. *akad nikah*), the exact Malay wording of which was so hotly debated in the first decades of the 20th century in Cambodia, is in certain circles, despite a growing reliance on Arabic formulas, constituting one of the last occasions on which Malay is used.

¹⁶¹⁶ Collins, *Cham of Cambodia*, p. 65. As Collins duly notes in this connection, traditional “Cham” music is nowadays only preserved among the KIS of Au Russey (and in similar circumstances evidently in Prey Thnornng Cheung and other Kampot villages hitherto largely outside the domain of Jawization).

¹⁶¹⁷ Cf. V.1.

¹⁶¹⁸ Collins, *Cham of Cambodia*, p. 65.

movements, also one of the latter has played a major role in sustaining and even expanding linkages to the Peninsular Malaysia and Southern Thailand. Indeed, notwithstanding its South Asian Ḥanafī origins¹⁶¹⁹, the TJ as the world’s largest transnational *da’wa* movement has arrived in Cambodia in the era of Islamic reconstruction with a decidedly *jawi*/Malay Shāfi’i face¹⁶²⁰. Undoubtedly, this aspect facilitated its fast rise to develop into a mass movement within Cambodian Islam, and into by far the single most important of its kind, within less than two decades¹⁶²¹. As was noted, it arrived in Cambodia with Imam Sulaiman Ibrahim, a native of the Jawization center of Phum Trea, who also featured in RISEAP’s religious education programs in Cambodia. He returned to Cambodia in 1989, after almost two decades of exile, which first brought him to Vietnam, Thailand and the USA. Having received his formative education in his village, he reportedly also studied in Vietnam in the 1970s and then in Egypt in the 1980s. In the second half of the decade he settled down in Kota Bharu, married a local wife, began to teach and became involved with the TJ. After his return to Cambodia, where he has functioned as the leader of the local TJ ever since, he first preached in Chumnik (Kampong Cham), but soon moved his activities to Phum Trea¹⁶²². There he built the vast *Madrasa Ḥāfiẓ al-Qur’ān* in 1992 with the help of local Muslims having studied in Malaysia and/or having migrated to the US¹⁶²³. It is commonly regarded as the first new Islamic school established after the DK regime¹⁶²⁴. As imam of Phum Trea, Sulaiman Ibrahim was likewise instrumental in the construction of Cambodia’s largest mosque in the village, which began in 2000¹⁶²⁵. It is thus no exaggeration to say that

¹⁶¹⁹ Muhammad Khalid Masud (ed.), *Travellers in Faith. Studies of the Tablīghī Jamā’at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Thomas Gugler, *Mission Medina. Da’wat-e Islāmī und Tablīghī Ġamā’at* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2011).

¹⁶²⁰ In contrast to earlier stages in the narrative, the dual label “*jawi*/Malay” will henceforth be used for the remainder of this study, as the relevance of *jawi* works within what was earlier known as the *jawi* ecumene has naturally declined in comparison to the first half of the 20th century through Romanization in Indonesia and Malaysia. Even though this decline was less steep in Cambodia and its traditional prime points of reference in the Malay World (Patani, Kelantan and Terengganu), Malay religious literature either used in Cambodia or by Cambodian Muslims abroad, can nowadays no longer be reduced to *jawi*.

¹⁶²¹ Blengli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 184-187.

¹⁶²² Collins, “The Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 94f. The author claims that Sulaiman Ibrahim had studied in Phan Rang during his years in Vietnam, which seems rather implausible. Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik, who knew him from childhood and met him in Chau Doc after his own escape from Cambodia in 1975, has denied this, besides stressing that Sulaiman Ibrahim had never been to Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan (i.e. former Panduranga). He also claimed – less convincingly – that the future leader had already been involved with TJ by then. Personal communication (Phnom Penh, May 14th 2012). Abdul Nasir’s latter assertion appears to be unlikely, not least due to the fact that also Kelantan’s first TJ *markaz* (center) was only established in Kota Bharu in 1974. Around the same time, also the *markaz* at Yala in Southern Thailand was founded. Farish A. Noor, “Pathans to the East! The Development of the Tablighi Jama’at Movement in Northern Malaysia and Southern Thailand”, *CSSAAME*, XXVII (2007), p. 15f.

¹⁶²³ Collins, “The Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 94f.

¹⁶²⁴ Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 73, 89.

¹⁶²⁵ Bruckmayr, “Cham Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 13f.

Phum Trea, as one of the undisputed major centers (if not the major center) of the Muslim spiritual and educational geography in Cambodia since at least the early 20th century, has been taken over by the TJ¹⁶²⁶. Although, this monopolization of Islamic discourse and practice is not locally uncontested, indeed smaller mosques have been established in different village sections, such as Phum Trea Buon (i.e. the administrative entity denoted Phum Trea village number four – *buon*), allegedly against the will of the TJ leader, locals tend to claim that “nowadays everybody here is affiliated in some way to the TJ, even if not actively participating”¹⁶²⁷.

From Phum Trea, the TJ spread throughout the country, first establishing major centers (*markaz*) in Prek Pra (Phnom Penh), Kbal Romeas (Kampot) and Au Chrov (Preah Sihanouk), then in Prey Pis (Kampong Chhnang) and most recently also in Tuol MOUNG Thmey near Norea (Battambang). Besides Sulaiman Ibrahim, its main leaders are Ustaz Mat Nou (Muhammad Nur), director of the school in Phum Trea, Dr. Tin Abdul Koyum and his brother Hj. Faisal in Prek Pra, Muhammad Ali, founder and director of the *Nūr al-Hidāya* school in Kbal Romeas, his younger brother Zainal (Zayn al-Abidin), founder and director of the *Ma’had al-Muhājirīn* in Au Chrov, and General La Lay, the police chief of Takeo province. The network of Cambodian TJ schools and centers under the direction of these leaders is characterized by intensive internal networking and close relations to major TJ centers in Yala in Southern Thailand and in Kuala Lumpur, and is likewise reflective of the salience of Jawization within the TJ on two different levels. Regarding domestic and transnational networking clear patterns can be discerned. Domestically the school at Phum Trea stands on top of the hierarchy, whereas transnationally graduates of Phum Trea and other *markaz* schools are to proceed either to the Tablighi *Dār al-‘Ulūm* in Sri Petaling (Kuala Lumpur), the option favored by Muhammad Ali and his brother Zainal, or to the *markaz* at Yala in Southern Thailand. Individual students are even known to have afterwards pursued further studies at the movement’s main center *Markaz Niḡām al-Dīn* in Delhi or at its counterpart in Pakistan at Raiwind. In this respect, the importance of the Yala center for the transnational mission of the TJ can hardly be overestimated as it is, after the national centers of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the fourth largest in the world¹⁶²⁸. Moreover, also the movement’s activities in Cambodia are considered the responsibility of its Thailand chapter¹⁶²⁹.

¹⁶²⁶ *id.*, “Cambodia’s Phum Trea as Mirror Image of Religious Change”, ISIMR, XX (2007), p. 48-49.

¹⁶²⁷ Personal communication with Shukry (Phum Trea, May 16th 2012). Other villagers between roughly 20 and 80 years of age have expressed similar opinions.

¹⁶²⁸ Farish A. Noor, “The Tablighi Jama’at as a Vehicle of (Re)Discovery: Conversion Narratives and the Appropriation of India in the Southeast Asian Tablighi Movement” in R. Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea

Thus, apart from the South Asian connection, the network of the Cambodian TJ is a typically *jawi*/Malay one. Dr. Abdul Koyum (b. 1943)¹⁶³⁰, Hj. Faisal and Gen. La Lay are of an older generation and have therefore, just like Sulaiman Ibrahim, pursued classical *jawi* education in their youth. As far as the younger generations of teachers and students are concerned, a few concrete examples may suffice to demonstrate how the network connects. The Tablighi education of Ustaz Mat Nou of Phum Trea essentially consisted of seven years in Yala. Likewise, also many other teachers at the centers in Phum Trea, Prek Pra, Prey Pis and Tuol Mong Thmey have studied there. Those at Au Chrov and Kbal Romeas have in turn been mostly educated first at Phum Trea and then at *Dār al-'Ulūm* Sri Petaling. Zaynal of the *Ma'had al-Muhājirīn* has, besides Phum Trea, also studied at al-Azhar, whereas his brother currently splits his time between Kbal Romeas and Bunga Emas (Kota Bharu), where he owns a house¹⁶³¹. Even though at least at Phum Trea many Arabic books are reportedly part of the curriculum, the evident strong focus on exchanges with Malaysia and Southern Thailand and the overt emphasis on Qur'ānic memorization at the TJ schools guarantees that – following the classical pattern of Jawization – Malay and not Arabic is the foreign language in which students are acquiring proficiency in the schools¹⁶³². This was substantiated by several encounters with former students at Cambodian TJ schools and Yala, who spoke very good Malay but virtually no Arabic. It has even been suggested that a

(eds.), *Islamic Connections. Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 199; Liow, “Muslim Identity, Local Networks, and Transnational Islam”, p. 1404.

¹⁶²⁹ Alexander Horstmann, “The Tablighi Jama’at, Transnational Islam, and the Transformation of the Self between Southern Thailand and South Asia”, *CSSAAME*, XXVII (2007), p. 39.

¹⁶³⁰ Abdul Koyum studied medicine and then worked as a doctor in Phnom Penh from 1965-1975, survived evacuation from the city under DK posing as Khmer and subsequently joined FUNSK and then the *People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia* (i.e. the direct forerunner of the ruling party CPP), where he was initially the most prominent Muslim member after Mat Ly. He also supported the PRK regime as a main witness to DK atrocities committed against Cambodia's Muslims at the Revolutionary Tribunal of 1979 as well as in official publications on the plight of the community of the 1980s. Personal communication with Dr. Abdul Koyum (Prek Pra, April 29th 2012); De Nike, Quigley & Robinson, *Genocide in Cambodia*, p. 139f., 317-320; Front d'Union, *Communaute islamique*, p. 45-47; Le Conseil National du Front d'Union du Kampuchéa pour l'Edification et la Défense de la Patrie, *L'Islam au Kampuchéa* (Phnom Penh: n. p., 1987), p. 61; Corfield & Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 2.

¹⁶³¹ Personal communication with Ustaz Mat Nou (Phum Trea, July 31st 2005 & May 15th 2012); Hj. Faisal (Prek Pra, July 21st 2005); Abdul Koyum (Prek Pra, April 29th 2012); Zaynal (Au Chrov, July 27th 2005 & May 4th 2012); Muhammad Ali (Bunga Emas, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, July 20th 2012); Mat Ali, teacher at *Nūr al-Hidāya* school (Kbal Romeas, May 6th 2012; Kampong Cham, May 15th 2012); Ahmad, graduate of the school in Prey Pis (Phum Chongka, Kampong Chhnang, May 9th 2012); Ilyas, graduate of the school in Yala (Norea Loeu, Battambang, May 10th 2012); students of the *markaz* at Tuol Mong Thmey (Battambang, May 11th 2012); Zakariyya, TJ group leader from Takhmau (Kendal) and attendee of *markaz* in Nizām al-Dīn, Raiwind and Bangladesh in the course of *khurūj* (i.e. preaching missions) (Chroy Changvar, May 16th 2012).

¹⁶³² In the Au Chrov *markaz* also English was taught by a senior student. Personal communication with Ramzy (Au Chrov, July 27th 2005). Since then English education seems to have been expanded. Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 192.

school such as *Ma'had al-Muhājirīn* would provide us with a “glimpse on what we believe were the curricula introduced to Cambodia in the 1940s”¹⁶³³, and earlier we may add.

Thus, the continued emphasis on Malay/*jawi* in TJ education represents one aspect of the movement’s role as a prolongator of the dynamics of Jawization. Its other main component in this regard is its remarkable ability to also draw senior scholars and elderly Muslims having undergone classical *jawi* education before the 1970s into its fold, notwithstanding the youthful character of most of its supports and parts of its leadership. Indeed, particularly senior scholars educated under *kaum tua* representatives in the 1950s and 1960s have demonstrated a tendency to not only generally support the activities of the TJ but also to actively participate through engaging in the movement’s defining obligatory preaching missions (*khurūj*), despite both their advanced age and the fact that it represents a departure from established Islamic practice in Cambodia in a number of respects. Cases in point are the *khurūj* missions with their strict discipline and structure, the propagation of the *niqāb* for females and flowing robes and turban (instead of the traditional *sarong* and *kopiah*) for men, and its standardized evening addresses (*bayān*) and readings (*ta’līm*)¹⁶³⁴. Thus, scholars such the 80-year-old Tuon Ismail of Kampong Kendal (Kampot), who has studied with the *kaum tua* scholars of Phum Soai and Amphil in Kampong Cham from 1957-62, still takes it upon himself to go on *khurūj*¹⁶³⁵. Tuon Rosad of Phum Trea, almost the latter’s age, recently even went on preaching missions to Pakse and Luang Prabang in Laos¹⁶³⁶.

A few reasons can be identified for the TJ’s appeal in Cambodia also to senior Muslims with thorough religious education, which stands in stark contrast to the prevailing (and generally easy to substantiate) view that movements of religious revival are “largely [..] generational phenomena”¹⁶³⁷. Strikingly, most of these are related to the process of Jawization and the local history as well as present reality of intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia. Firstly, the espousal of and entry into the Cambodian TJ is evidently facilitated for the people in question by their own background in *jawi* education. Secondly and closely related to the first point, their memory and personal experience of *kaum tua/kaum muda* conflict appears to predispose them to see in the movement a viable force to confront the

¹⁶³³ *ibid.*

¹⁶³⁴ Muhammad Khalid Masud, “The Growth and Development of the Tablīghī Jamā‘at in India” in *id.* (ed.), *Travellers in Faith. Studies of the Tablīghī Jamā‘at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 25-28.

¹⁶³⁵ Personal communication during one of his preaching missions (Kampong Treach, Kampot, May 5th 2012).

¹⁶³⁶ Personal communication (Phum Trea, May 15th 2012).

¹⁶³⁷ Olivier Roy, *Holy Ignorance: When Religion and Culture Part Ways* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 215.

Salafi challenge, which representatives of the local *jawi* tradition have been constantly exposed to in the country since the early 1990s. Indeed, intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia in the 1990s and 2000s has been essentially - though not exclusively - a TJ versus Salafi affair¹⁶³⁸, and is therefore clearly perceived as an echo of the past *kaum tua/kaum muda* struggle by many who had lived through it. Thus, the TJ as guardian of the role of *jawi*/Malay in religious education, adherence to the Shāfi'i school of law and many of the practices it (ostensibly) mandates, as well as of cherished traditional religious practices and festivities, particularly *mawlid* ceremonies, naturally represents a compelling alternative and much less of a departure from old ways¹⁶³⁹. In addition, also the disruptions of community life and lasting legacies of the killings under DK have certainly predisposed many villagers for new forms of socio-religious association, just as actively taking part in activities such as weekly *markaz* (used here not in the sense of a locality but rather referring to meetings at centers of the movement, which are lasting from Thursday evening until at least the Friday prayer) and *khurūj* is likely to instill elderly members of the community with an enhanced sense of belonging and social relevance.

Even though Blengsli recently noted that “the leaders of the Dakwah Tabligh [i.e. TJ] in Cambodia tend to downplay their influence, while the movement’s grassroots activists tend to overestimate it”¹⁶⁴⁰, there can be no doubt that it currently represents the country’s largest Muslim movement. It is certainly true that, even if one excludes KIS and new Muslim groups such as the local Ahmadis and Shiites from the count, many Cambodian Muslims, including the official Muslim leadership, are remaining outside the factional identities of Salafism and Tablighism. Yet, just such a dividing line running through the community is perceived by many, particularly so by villagers disaffected by Salafi intrusion into their religious lives, although the situation has recently calmed down after a phase of intense strife between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s. Thus, senior TJ supporters in Tuol Ngok (Kendal), where a TJ-receptive mosque directly faces a Kuwait-financed Salafi mosque, broke present intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia down to a neat factional categorization of us (i.e. “normal” Muslims, including the TJ) vs. them (i.e. Salafism) by saying that “out of 400 mosques in Cambodia, the *mawlid* is not performed in only 50 of

¹⁶³⁸ Agnes De Féo, “Le royaume bouddhique face au renouveau islamique”, CO, LXXVIII (2005), p. 112f.; Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 188f.; Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 90f.

¹⁶³⁹ A particularly instructive example for such dynamics is Hj. Aḥmad al-Fusānī (1902-1996) of Patani, where the situation is quite similar to Cambodia. From the 1960s onwards a strong partisan of the *kaum tua*, he came to espouse the TJ late in his life. After having joined a forty-day *khurūj*, he wrote *Khulāṣat al-da'wa wa wuḍūh al-adilla* as his final work in 1404/1984. UBP, p. 232-241. On Salafi-TJ activities, contest and conflict in Southern Thailand see Liow, “Muslim Identity, Local Networks, and Transnational Islam”, p. 1396-1414.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 185.

these [just like at the one across the street]”. Hence “they would never go to the Kuwait [i.e. Salafi] mosque¹⁶⁴¹. Indeed, performance or non-performance of the *mawlid* has now taken over the emblematic function in local factionalism earlier fulfilled by the usage of specific marriage formulas in *kobuol/trimeu* strife, the holding of alternating or parallel Friday prayers in our intra-*trimeu* case of 1930s Chroy Changvar, or the audible pronunciation of the *niyya* and performance of the *talqīn* over the dead in *kaum tua/kaum muda* conflict. Hereby TJ has come to champion the performance of the *mawlid*.

The relevance of the movement is also mirrored by its backing through a number of important CPP-affiliated Muslims¹⁶⁴² as well as by the fact that Imam Sulaiman Ibrahim nowadays features, besides Mufti Sos Kamry and a Malaysia-based Cham businessman and major donor, in the three-person High Honorable Presidency of the CMDF with its comprehensive linkages to Muslim politicians and high ranking police officers and military men¹⁶⁴³. As is also the case in Southern Thailand, TJ chapter leaders in the villages are often developing into parallel authorities to the *hakem* and imams appointed by the mufti¹⁶⁴⁴. Thus, it should have become evident from the foregoing that the TJ as - for the time being - largest Islamic movement in the country serves as a carrier and sustainer of many of the defining aspects of Jawization. Yet, it must likewise be noted that it also departs from it in one important respect. It will be remembered in this regard that we have identified the change of script from *akhar trah* to *jawi* among Cambodian Chams for writing in their native language as one significant component of the process. Despite its heavy focus on Malay/*jawi* in education and networking with other Southeast Asian TJ chapters, the movement has seemingly made no efforts at guarding Cham language as an element of local Muslim culture or at distributing translations of its canonical literature in that language. As the prime goal of TJ preaching and teaching is to reach all Cambodian Muslims, it is rather Khmer which has been selected for these purposes, as not all local believers are Cham speakers and knowledge of the language is in urban settings also declining among the latter.

The importance and implications of this decision must be emphasized, as the reading of passages of canonical texts (*ta’līm*) and delivering of educational addresses (*bayān*) to the community, following the *maghrib* and ‘*ishā*’ or other canonical prayers, should be regarded,

¹⁶⁴¹ Personal communication (Tuol Ngok, *Nūr al-Salām* mosque, May 1st 2012).

¹⁶⁴² Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 203 n. 37.

¹⁶⁴³ <http://thecmdf.org/en/article/about-us/organizational-structure/high-honorable-presidency-hhp.html> (last accessed: March 19th 2014). In 2004, Sos Kamry had still functioned as sole patron and advisor of the organization above the presidency. CMDF, *CMDF Serves*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Horstmann, “The Tablighi Jama’at, Transnational Islam, and Transformation”, p. 33.

besides the *khurūj*, as the defining practices of the movement. Thanks to local activists and the impressive number of local and foreign TJ groups ploughing the country on *khurūj*¹⁶⁴⁵, *ta'lim* and/or *bayān* are these days held every evening at the great majority of Cambodian mosques, save those clearly affiliated with Salafism and/or Arab NGOs¹⁶⁴⁶. Hereby the *ta'lim* is nowadays invariably based on the Khmer (language and script) translation of Mawlānā Zakarīyā Kāndhalawī's (d. 1982) massive *Faḍā'il-e A'māl*¹⁶⁴⁷, which has completely supplanted the Malay translations used out of necessity earlier. This Khmer translation was produced by Dr. Abdul Koyum, who began working on it upon his retirement in 2000. Basing his translation on four different translations of the Urdu original, namely Malay *jawi*, Malay *rumi*, French and English, he was only able to complete this endeavor in 2005. Consisting of seven separate works, which are corresponding to those of the "official" Karachi edition of 1987¹⁶⁴⁸, each of these seven parts of the Khmer *Faḍā'il-e A'māl* was successively printed and distributed to the community¹⁶⁴⁹. Once the whole set was complete, the respective parts were at times fragily bound together in one bulky volume, sometimes using left-over book covers of Malay versions. As *khurūj* groups are advised to carry the book(s) with them, it is no wonder that the individual copies one encounters are usually already worn out.

Currently, the next (compared to the *Faḍā'il* clearly secondary) canonical work of the movement to be translated into Khmer is *Muntakhab al-aḥādīth*, a hadith collection compiled by Mawlānā Muhammad Yūsuf b. Ilyās Kāndhalawī (d. 1965), the second *amīr* (leader) of the TJ¹⁶⁵⁰. Likewise consisting of several thematic parts, several hundred copies of the translation of the first chapter (*bāb*) are already in circulation. Whereas this has been produced upon the request of Imam Sulaiman Ibrahim by a group of young TJ activists from Takhmau (Kendal), the translation of the remaining parts has now again been entrusted to Dr. Abdul Koyum¹⁶⁵¹.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Such groups from abroad are mostly from Southeast or to a lesser degree from South Asia. Yet, I also once encountered a group from Palestine in Chrang Chamres' km 8 mosque. Personal observation (July 8th 2009).

¹⁶⁴⁶ Personal observation in mosques in the capital as well as in the provinces of Kendal, Kampot, Preah Sihanouk, Kampong Chhnang, Battambang and Kampong Cham, 2005, 2009 and 2012.

¹⁶⁴⁷ On the compilation, structure and content of this seminal work of 20th century Islam see Muhammad Khalid Masud, "Ideology and Legitimacy" in *id.* (ed.), *Travellers in Faith. Studies of the Tablighī Jamā'at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 81-85; Gugler, *Mission Medina*, 139-144.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Masud, "Ideology and Legitimacy", p. 83-85. This naturally also tallies with Malay and Indonesian versions. Farish A. Noor, "Women as the Constitutive Other? The Place and Meaning of 'Woman' in the Worldview of the Tablighi Jama'at" in Susanne Schröter (ed.), *Gender and Islam in Southeast Asia. Women's Rights Movements, Religious Resurgence and Local Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 272-275.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Personal communication with Dr. Abdul Koyum (Prek Pra, April 29th 2012).

¹⁶⁵⁰ Masud, "Growth and Development", p. 13-17.

¹⁶⁵¹ Personal communication with Dr. Abdul Koyum (Prek Pra, April 29th 2012) and two members of the Takhmau group (Chroy Changvar, May 15th 2012).

The Cambodian TJ's full espousal of Khmer language for its purposes in spoken and written form, despite the frequently expressed fears of some of its followers, teachers and preachers of pollution by the Khmer majority population, fits well with an observation made by Roy regarding movements such as the TJ: "Islamic neo-fundamentalism had no difficulty in adapting to foreign languages; it uses Arabic as a sort of religious marker that serves to give emphasis to a speech in English or French by peppering it with incantations or non-translated expressions"¹⁶⁵². Arguably, such a mostly symbolic, ritual function of Arabic corresponds with much of "traditional" Islam in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the non-Arabic speaking Muslim World. Yet, on the other hand, the Tablighis' espousal of Khmer language and script for its religious discourse, something unthinkable a few decades ago, goes to show that just as the religious and cultural changes subsumed under Jawization locally had a particular main vehicle (Malay and *jawi*), the local manifestation of this brand of globalized Islam has its own. Although still closely connected to the Malay/*jawi* models increasingly dominating Islam in Cambodia since the late 19th century, this clearly represents a departure. Whereas the Tablighis are, through their routines of reading from the movement's canonical texts, contributing to the spread of a certain standard of Urdu in India and Pakistan¹⁶⁵³, and fulfilling the same role in Southern Thailand with Malay, their Cambodian counterparts have assigned this task almost completely not to a so-called "Islamic" language but to Khmer.

Outside of Cambodia's TJ, efforts at producing and publishing Cham *jawi* books and translations have been successfully undertaken, whereby initially Malaysia, and then also Kuwait, has played an important role. As was noted, in 1990 the first Cham *jawi* work to be published, was *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī bi l-Lughat al-Tshāmiyya / Fiqh Tuei Bahasa Cam* by the Kampong Cham scholar Ḥusayn (b.) Ya'qūb. A product of the educational outgrowths of the Mat Sales Haroun network in Thbaung Khmum and then a refugee in Malaysia, it was the Office of Muslim Minority Affairs of the *Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia* (ABIM, Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement, est. 1971), which was responsible for the publication of his work. In 1999 a mimeographed (*jawi*) *Qamus Melayu-Cam* was compiled and distributed by Yusuf b. Muhammad, a Vietnamese Cham, in Kuala Terengganu¹⁶⁵⁴. In 2009 the Cambodian Highest Council of Islamic Affairs (i.e. the Muftiate) under Sos Kamry released its aforementioned Cham *jawi* prayer manual *Mai We' Draï Sembahyang*. The work was actually printed in Malaysia and represented a collaboration of the Muftiate with the *Yayasan Taqwa*

¹⁶⁵² Roy, *Holy Ignorance*, p. 105.

¹⁶⁵³ Gugler, *Mission Medina*, p. 103.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Bajunid, "Place of *Jawi*", p. 124, 144.

(Devoutness Foundation) of the *Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan* (i.e. the government-run religious council of the federal territories of Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya and Labuan, est. 1974).

In 2011 the first full Cham *jawi* and Khmer (language and script) commentated translations of the Qur'ān were published under the general editorship of the Kampong Thom-born Cham politician Ahmad Yahya by his Cambodian Muslim Community Development Organization (*Jam'iyat al-Taṭwīr al-Mujtama' al-Islāmī bi-Kambūdiyā*)¹⁶⁵⁵, in collaboration with the Kuwaiti *Al-Hay'at al-Khayriyyat al-Islāmiyyat al-'Ālamiyya* (International Islamic Charitable Organization)¹⁶⁵⁶. The translation committee for the Cham *jawi* version consisted, besides Ahmad Yahya, of twenty-two members. Among these ten are marked out as graduates from Middle Eastern universities, primarily the Islamic University of Medina (IUM, est. 1961) and the *Kulliyat al-Da'wa al-Islāmiyya* (College of Islamic Da'wa in Tripolis, Libya, est. 1974), and are thus clearly young scholars, who have profited from scholarship programs of international Arab and – to a lesser degree – local NGOs. The remainder are all – assumingly primarily *jawi* educated – religious teachers in Kampong Cham (Chumnik, *khum* Svay Khleang, Phum Soai), save for two *tuon* from Kampong Chhnang and Kendal¹⁶⁵⁷.

Then in 2012, the *Samakhum Kulliyā Duḥā Islām Kambūjīyā* (Association of the Cambodian Dawn of Islam Insitute) in Kampong Cham, the mother organization of which has branches and schools in Malaysia, Cambodia and Vietnam and appears to be related to Kelantan's ruling *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party)¹⁶⁵⁸, published yet another commentated Cham *jawi* full translation of the Qur'ān in 2012. Here the committee consisted of nine scholars. Its head 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl is merely marked out as leader (kh. *protean*) of the committee, whereas all others are *ustādhs* from/in villages of Kampong Cham, save for one, who is noted to be based in Terengganu, though of Cambodian origin¹⁶⁵⁹.

¹⁶⁵⁵ A returnee from exile in the US and with the royalist FUNCINPEC party from the very outset, he later joined the Sam Rainsy Party, whose eponymous founder had left FUNCINPEC to engage in “real oppositional politics”. Corfield & Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 6f.; Benny Widyono, *Dancing in the Shadows. Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge, and the United Nations in Cambodia* (Lanham, M. D.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), p. 178-181. Before the 2007 elections, however, he finally defected to the CPP, stating that his declared goal of working for the uplifting of the Cham community through his own political commitment could only be put into practice by affiliation to the ruling party. His NGO can be regarded as a counter-organization to CMDF, to which most other Muslim CPP politicians are affiliated. Personal communication with Ahmad Yahya (Phnom Penh, July 9th 2009).

¹⁶⁵⁶ The establishment of this organization was directly inspired by the eminent Qaṭar-based Egyptian scholar Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī (b. 1926), who still serves on its board. Jonathan Benthall and Jérôme Bellion-Jourdan, *The Charitable Crescent. Politics of Aid in the Muslim World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 41.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Yahyā, *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm Lang Tuei Bahasa Cam*, p. vf.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Cf. <https://ms-my.facebook.com/madrasahkuliahdhuha> & <http://wantarmizi.blogspot.co.at/p/aqiqah-qurban-di-kemboja.html>.

¹⁶⁵⁹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Nūr al-ḍuḥā*, p. [iii].

As was already mentioned in passing, the committee also provides a list of four Arabic and two Malay *tafsīrs* used as references, including the *Tafsīr (Pimpinan) al-Raḥmān*¹⁶⁶⁰.

In Malaysia the press of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) in Bangi published a *Qamus Melayu-Cam* in *jawi* in the same year. This dictionary will undoubtedly serve as the definitive reference for Cham Muslims in the orbit of Jawization for years to come, thereby also reinforcing the connection of Cham *jawi* users in Cambodia and Vietnam to Malaysia, while users of *akhar trah* in Binh Thuan and Ninh Thuan are known to still primarily consult Aymonier and Cabaton's Cham-French dictionary of 1906, besides Moussay's Cham-Vietnamese-French dictionary of 1971¹⁶⁶¹. The UKM *Qamus* was compiled in cooperation by two Chams of Cambodian and two of Vietnamese origin, all of which certainly have a firm grounding in *jawi* education. The Cambodian side is represented by the Cham historian Mohamad Zain (b.) Musa, a grandson of the eminent *oknha borates* Phong Yismann of Svay Khleang, and Ahmad Hafiz Osman, who graduated from the IUM and additionally has a doctorate from the University of Malaya (Kuala Lumpur). As far as the Vietnamese Chams involved are concerned, Arifin Musa has a B.A. in the field of Sharia from the International University of Africa in Khartoum, whereas Yusuf (b.) Muhammad is the scholar already previously mentioned as compiler of an earlier mimeographed Malay-Cham dictionary. Also in this case, he appears to have played the leading role in the production of the work, as it is explicitly noted in the introduction that – due to his instrumental role in the compilation process – it was the Vietnamese style of Cham *jawi* – which is described as slightly differing from its Cambodian counterpart – that was adopted for the dictionary¹⁶⁶².

Thus, it should have become evident from this section that the process of Jawization reflowered again in the aftermath of the cataclysmic DK era. Yet, as has already been suggested at various instances in this chapter, it has not only done so with an increasing degree of complexity, but has also ceased to represent the only major avenue for religious

¹⁶⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. [iv].

¹⁶⁶¹ Lidauer, *Cham in Vietnam*, p. 96f.; Gérard Moussay, *Dictionnaire cam-vietnamien-français* (Phan Rang: Centre Culturel Cham, 1971).

¹⁶⁶² Muḥammad Zayn, Yūsuf, Aḥmad & 'Arifin, *Qāmūs Melāyū-Ĉam*, p. [vi]. Even though there are certainly regional variations between Cambodian and Vietnamese versions of Cham *jawi*, it must also be noted that even in Cambodia no entirely consistent system, particularly in the field of vowels where Cham has much more than Malay, has surfaced so far. Thus, the Muftiate's *Mai We' Drai Sembahyang* generally makes less orthographic distinction between Cham vowels through diacritics than Ahmad Yahya's Qur'ān translation and is also less rich in diacritical symbols. The vowel and diacritics register of the latter is also not matched by the UKM dictionary. Among the consonants not found in Malay *jawi*, variant renderings between the *Qamus* and the Qur'ān translation, which may indeed reflect regional variants are *tā'-hā'* and *pā'-hā'* versus *tā'-ḥā'* and *pā'-ḥā'* for *th* and *ph* respectively. Also in this case, the Qur'ān translation orthographically differentiates more vowels and even consonants (e.g. *cā'-ḥā'* for *chh*) than the *Qamus*. Cf. the tables in *ibid.*, p. [xiv-xvii]; Yahyā, *al-Qur'ān al-Karīm Lang Tuei Bahasa Cam*, p. if. Likewise, also the *Nūr al-duḥā* translation has its *jawi* particularities, such as the reproduction of *ph* with a *fā'* type letter with a dot below it.

change among Cambodian Muslims, as alternative paths have unfolded themselves before the country's Muslim community. It is these divergent paths locally encountered and appreciated particularly by young Cambodian Muslims since the early 1990s, which we will accordingly turn to now.

2. Contending paths and the emergence of a new factionalism

2.1. The path of Salafi Arabization, its networks and canons

The most important path within contemporary Cambodian Islam clearly diverging from Jawization is represented by Salafism. This global Islamic trend likewise arrived in the country only on the heels of the UN-monitored elections of 1993. It was introduced by and is still primarily associated in Cambodia with a number of transnational Islamic NGOs. Most of these are headquartered in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, and many of them are related to the Saudi Arabian Muslim World League (*Rābiṭat al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī*, est. 1962). All of these organizations have invested heavily in mosque and school building, scholarships for Islamic studies at Middle Eastern universities and hajj bursaries. Other important players from the Persian Gulf in the reconstruction of Islam in Cambodia from the early 1990s onwards were and still are the Dubai businessman ‘Īsā b. Nāṣir b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sirkāl and one of his associates, whose activities appear to be more narrowly focused on mosque building (twenty of them throughout the country in the 1990s) and hajj bursaries, and are therefore much less associated with the spread of Salafism. As a result of the combined efforts of these players, Cambodia became dotted with so-called “Kuwait” and “Dubai” schools and mosques in the course of the 1990s¹⁶⁶³. The international cast of teachers in these schools, which had been the cause of some controversy and – in one case in 2004 – also of a counter-terrorist crackdown, has meanwhile been replaced by local graduates of Middle Eastern universities (above all from the IUM), who had been able to profit from the necessary scholarships provided by the organizations involved.

The from the viewpoint of this study crucial point of departure from Jawization does not lie in the Salafis condemnation of many hitherto commonly accepted religious practices, many of which have already been the objects of fervent criticism from the local *kaum muda*, but rather in the educational sphere. As this study has endeavored to elucidate, (*jawi*) Malay had increasingly served as the prime language of religious instruction and scholarship for the

¹⁶⁶³ De Féo, “Royaume bouddhique”, p. 107-110; Bruckmayr, “Cham Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 12f. ; Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 187-189.

majority of Cambodian Muslims throughout most of the 20th century. In the face of the gradual decline and eclipse of the *kobuol* faction, the only general exceptions to this trend with a certain measure of longevity were only those villages eventually coming to form the KIS community, as a late institutionalization of anti-Jawization, plus a few others. Yet, in contrast to the post-DK revival of *jawi* and Malay in average village schools as well as in institutions of Muslim learning linked to the Muftiate, TJ and various Malay NGOs, the Arab-funded Salafi school networks are completely bypassing Malay, as Khmer and Arabic (and sometimes now also Cham) are the only languages taught at these schools. Whereas Arabic is studied thoroughly, Malay is commonly only of relevance for graduates in as far as it may serve one as a business language but not one of religious scholarship or instruction.

These schools and their Cambodian carriers are therefore clearly representing an anti-thesis to Jawization, even though theirs is not a negative reaction towards the process as was/is the case with the *kobuol* faction and the present KIS community. It can thus be concluded that it has become outside of Cambodian anti-Jawization circles – for the first time in many decades – conceivable, and for some even completely normal, to pursue sophisticated Islamic studies in the country without mastering Malay. What is more, for the products of this education system, the link to the canon of Jawization outlined in chapter six has definitely been broken, just as the earlier adoption and discursive elevation of *jawi* script and Malay language and custom had severed the links of most Cambodian Chams to their distinctive Islamic discursive tradition as preserved in *akhar trah* texts and oral traditions. Whereas the role of Arabic has arguably also increased via schools such as the CIC or the *Madrasah al-Nikmah* network, Arabization is much more decisive in the Salafi institutions and networks.

In Islamic education in Cambodia, the two most important organizations behind the spread of Salafism and the complete Arabization of religious scholarship are both from Kuwait. Of these, the *Jam'iyyat Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmiyya* (Revival of Islamic Heritage Society – RIHS, est. 1981) has been active in the country since 1996¹⁶⁶⁴. In 1999 the organization was already involved in the education of 1300 pupils in the country¹⁶⁶⁵. By 2005 it was operating eight major Islamic schools with integrated curricula (i.e. Islamic and national secular curriculum), and a teacher training center, which is prominently located on the grounds of

¹⁶⁶⁴ The organization's origins are lying in the political Salafi milieu. It has, however, received state patronage and has accordingly been supportive of the Kuwaiti regime in times of political crisis. Its first chairman Khālid al-Sulṭān took over the leadership of the recently founded *al-Tajammu' al-Islāmi al-Salāfi* (Salafi Islamic Gathering) party in 2000. Falah Abdullah al-Mdaires, *Islamic Extremism in Kuwait. From the Muslim Brotherhood to al-Qaeda and Other Islamist Political Groups* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 34f., 49f., 121-123.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Guérin, "Les Cam et leur 'véranda sur La Mecque'", p. 54.

the Chrang Chamres km7 (*Nūr al-Iḥsān*) mosque, with an annual budget of over half a million dollars¹⁶⁶⁶. Its headquarters as well as the country's largest boarding school are located at Chum Chao on Phnom Penh's airport road. The latter's name, *Ma'had al-Shaykh al-Albānī*, testifies to the strong presence of the so-called "neo-Ahl al-Ḥadīth" strand, inspired by the eminent Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1999), within loyalist Kuwaiti Salafism¹⁶⁶⁷.

The second important Kuwaiti organization in this regard, which has reportedly begun to take the lead from RIHS in local activities in recent years¹⁶⁶⁸, is the *Jam'iyyat al-Iṣlāḥ al-Ijtimā'ī* (Social Reform Society – SRS, est. 1963). Albeit from the outset linked to the Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood¹⁶⁶⁹, it has moved close to Salafi positions and is in any case undoubtedly perceived as a Salafi (as opposed to traditional Shāfi'i) organization by its detractors as well as its supporters in Cambodia, where it is usually plainly referred to as *al-Iṣlāḥ*¹⁶⁷⁰. It began its operations in the country in 2007 based on the cooperation with a local partner organization, namely the *Jam'iyyat al-Barakat al-Khayriyya bi-Kambūdiyā* (Cambodian Al-Barakah Charitable Association). By 2013 it had built 56 schools and 178 mosques throughout the country¹⁶⁷¹.

In order to provide a brief glimpse on the workings and characteristics of the Salafi networks and their departures from Cambodian *jawi* Islam we will now have a closer look on two exemplary figures from the RIHS network. In 2005 almost a quarter of the Cambodian teachers at RIHS schools had studied abroad (primarily in Saudi Arabia), whereas almost a fifth had themselves already graduated from local RIHS or other Arab-funded schools¹⁶⁷². These percentages have doubtlessly further increased since then as the organization's institutions are preferably staffed with internal graduates. In addition, some of these have found work with the embassy of Kuwait in the country and have established their own organizations which are furthering the spread of Salafism and Arabization at the expense of older *jawi* traditions. Sales Salas (Ṣalāḥ Ṣālīḥ) of Kbp (Svay Khleang, Kampong Cham), for

¹⁶⁶⁶ Blengli, "Muslim Metamorphosis", p. 187f., 195.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Stéphane Lacroix, "Between Revolution and Apoliticism: Nasir al-Din al-Albani and his Impact on the Shaping of Contemporary Salafism" in Roel Meijer (ed.), *Global Salafism. Islam's New Religious Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 77f.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Personal communication with *ustaz* Muhammad Hasan (b. 1979), graduate of and teacher at the RIHS school at Chum Chao (Kbal Romeas, Kampot, May 5th 2012). This appears to be in accordance with its global performance as it is listed as the "highest spending charity" of all on a Forbes list of Middle Eastern charities in 2012.

Cf. <http://english.forbesmiddleeast.com/details.php?row=1553&list=35> (last accessed March 25th 2014).

¹⁶⁶⁹ al-Mdaires, *Islamic Extremism in Kuwait*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Personal communication with both kinds of people in O Trav (Preah Sihanouk), where the organization is currently building a school (May 4th 2012); with TJ supporters and Salafi detractors in Tuol Ngok (Kendal, May 1st 2012).

¹⁶⁷¹ <http://islahcambodia.org/en/> (last accessed March 25th 2014).

¹⁶⁷² Blengli, "Muslim Metamorphosis", p. 195.

example, has studied at the RIHS teacher training center in Chum Chao and then at the Faculty of Sharia of the IUM on a RIHS scholarship. He is the founder and director of the *Cambodian Islamic Youth Education and Training Organization (Hay'a Tarbiyya wa Tadrib al-Shabāb al-Islāmī fī Kambūdiyā)*, which runs a student dormitory with compulsory instruction in Arabic and Islam in Phnom Penh. Its teachers are likewise mostly graduates of the IUM, teachers at the al-Albānī Islamic Highschool in Chum Chao and at the same time also employees of the embassy of Kuwait¹⁶⁷³. Sales Salas and Sa Salim, one of the other teachers, have also formed part of the translation committee for Ahmad Yahya's Kuwait-funded Khmer translation of the Qur'ān¹⁶⁷⁴.

In 2012 the library of his student dormitory did not contain a single Malay title. Even though books particularly cherished in Salafi and Wahhābi circles such as Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) Qur'ānic commentary *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya* (held in Arabic and English) or *Aysar al-Tafāsīr* by Abū Bakr al-Jazā'irī (b. 1921)¹⁶⁷⁵ are balanced with material such as *al-Bayān fī madhhab al-Imām Shāfi'ī* of Abū Ḥusayn al-Imrānī al-Yamānī (d. 555/1160), al-Suyūṭī's *Durr al-manthūr* or Wahba al-Zuhaylī's (b. 1932) *al-Fiqh al-islāmī wa adillatuhū*¹⁶⁷⁶, the library's holdings, which are certainly representative also for other institutions of the network, were made up exclusively of Arabic books, save for one English and two Khmer titles¹⁶⁷⁷.

As a second exemplary figure of the RIHS network we may refer to Muhammad Hasan of Kampot province. Born in 1979 in Kbal Romeas, which – together with its sister village of Kampong Keh – has functioned as the main center of Jawization in the province in Ner's day and still does so to a certain degree today (the sister villages are *inter alia* housing a *Madrasah al-Nikmah*, a school of the Malaysian-Cambodian *Akademi Imam Syafie* and the TJ *Nūr al-Hidāya* school), he was only instructed in Malay in his earliest stages of Islamic education in the village between the age of seven and ten, when he studied a Malay version of the *Muqaddam* and basic *fiqh* texts. Afterwards he successfully applied for the RIHS school at Chum Chao and was then in 1999 sent to study in Medina for twelve years, where he first

¹⁶⁷³ Personal communication with a group of students living at the dormitory (Phnom Penh, April 27th 2012).

¹⁶⁷⁴ Yaḥyā, *al-Qur'ān al-karīm wa tarjama ma'ānihi ilā l-lughat al-kambūdiyya*, p. vii.

¹⁶⁷⁵ This work was commissioned by the president of the IUM as a Salafi counterpart to the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Johanna Pink, "Tradition and Ideology in Contemporary Sunnite Qur'ānic Exegesis: Qur'ānic commentaries from the Arab World, Turkey and Indonesia and their Interpretation of Q 5:51", *WI, L* (2010), p. 18f.

¹⁶⁷⁶ The author is an eminent Syrian *mufassir* and legal scholar. The mentioned work is *inter alia* also used among Indonesian traditionalist scholars. *ibid.*, p. 17f.; Fealy & Hooker, *Voices of Islam*, p. 307-310.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Personal observation (Phnom Penh, April 27th 2012). The Khmer titles were a brief history of the *rāshidūn*, published by the SRS and the globally widely distributed Salafi 'aqīda of the famous former Saudi Arabian Grand Mufti ('Abd al-Azīz b. 'Abdallah Bin Bāz (d. 1999), which was published by the Cambodian partner of the SRS through a donation from the emir of Qaṭar. *Mukhtaṣar Sīrat al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn* (Phnom Penh: Jam'iyyat al-Iṣlāḥ al-Ijtimā'ī - al-Kuwayt, 2011); ['Abd al-Azīz b. 'Abdallah Bin Bāz], *al-'Aqīdat al-ṣaḥīḥa wa mā yuḍāduhā* (Phnom Penh: Jam'iyyat al-Barakat al-Khayriyya bi-Kambūdiyā, 2011).

attended school and then the IUM. Nowadays he is himself a teacher at Chum Chao, which currently has over 800 students¹⁶⁷⁸. His impressive private collection of Islamic books is also entirely in Arabic and of similar make-up as the one just discussed, with the exception that it naturally features more advanced legal texts and fatwa collections. Assumably just as representative for the reading and referencing tastes of other teachers of the network, it contains, for example, the *fatāwā* of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328)¹⁶⁷⁹ and of Bin Bāz (d. 1999), al-Albānī's most important patron in the Saudi Arabian scholarly establishment¹⁶⁸⁰. In addition, he keeps and highly regards a standard text of the IUM's Faculty of Sharia, which we have already encountered as being used (even if only rarely) in Cambodia in the 1930s in our discussion of intra-religious strife during the period, Ibn Rushd's *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*. It should have become evident from these two examples that the teachers in the Cambodian Salafi educational networks¹⁶⁸¹, and even more so their present students, were/are at best peripherally exposed to Malay/*jawi* in their religious studies. Moreover, their canon of Islamic literature has only very limited points of convergence with the local canon of the era of Jawization, even in the sphere of Arabic books. This also has some bearing on religious practice. Practices such as the study and memorization of the *sifat dua puluh* are denounced as un-Islamic or at least not prophetically validated, let alone mandated. As has already been noted also the performance of *mawlid* celebrations (as most emblematic and fierce point of controversy), various practices associated with Sufi spirituality and blind

¹⁶⁷⁸ Personal communication with *ustaz* Muhammad Hasan (b. 1979), graduate of and teacher at the RIHS school at Chum Chao (Kbal Romeas, Kampot, May 5th 2012).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Actually the collection entitled *Magmū' fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya* is not a real fatwa collection as it also contains many different treatises and not just legal rulings of the author. Hallaq, "From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*", p. 32.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Lacroix, "Between Revolution and Apoliticism", p. 65-67.

¹⁶⁸¹ Apart from these formal NGO-linked networks there are also more informal ones. A case in point is the one of the nowadays Phnom Penh-based pioneering Vietnamese IUM graduates Abdul Halim Ahmad and Harul Saleh, whose studies in Medina took place already from 1973 to 1980. Abdul Halim, who functioned as co-translator of the first Vietnamese Qur'an translation, had been personally sent by Bin Bāz to the US in the 1980s to work among Indochinese Muslim refugees. In Cambodia he is now working for the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Islamic Affairs on the basis of yearly contracts to teach *tawhīd* (a euphemism for explaining what is perceived as un-Islamic practice or doctrine and what is not) through weekly *da'wa qāfila* (*da'wa* caravans), primarily to rural Kampong Chhnang. In these endeavors, which are also invariably having an aid component (such as the construction of wells) he is often joined by Tuon Him. In addition, Abdul Halim selects candidates for hajj bursaries and international Qur'an recitation competitions. In 2012 Harul Saleh was specifically engaged in teaching correct funerary rituals - as we have seen always a critical issue in religious change - in Chrang Chamres. Personal communication with Harul Saleh (Chrang Chamres, April 28th 2012); with Abdul Halim Ahmad Nguyen (Chrang Chamres/Phnom Penh, April 28th and May 17th 2012); Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm & 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Njūyan (trans.), *Thiēn Kinh Qur'an* (Medina: Majma' al-Malik Fahd li-Ṭabā'at al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf, 1423/2002).

adherence to a given school of law (i.e. Shāfi'ism) are discouraged or even explicitly attacked as *bid'a*¹⁶⁸².

Just like al-Albānī, however, the majority of Cambodian Salafis does not hold the wearing of a facial veil as obligatory for Muslim women. Yet, it does seem that this stance has more to do with the realities of Cambodian Muslims as a minority and the local contest with the TJ, which strongly encourages usage of the *niqāb* and even made it compulsory for female students attending its schools, than with al-Albānī's stance on the issue. The confrontation between the Salafis and the heirs of Jawization, particularly the TJ, has taken the form of outright factionalism of the quality we have witnessed in the 1930s and then again in the 1950s and 1960s (i.e. the *kaum muda/kaum tua*) conflict. Until forceful intervention through the muftiate in 2006, this new factionalism likewise frequently resulted in divided families and villages, the establishment of counter-mosques (cases in point being, among many others, Chumnik in Kampong Cham, Tuol Ngok and Khleang Sbek in Kendal, O Trav in Preah Sihanouk, Phum Buon in Koh Kong – all villages where contending mosques have emerged in close proximity to each other)¹⁶⁸³, related mosque boycotts and at times even the physical separation of contending congregations within one and the same village mosque (epitomized by provisional walls inside the mosques of Phum Soai and Peus Pi in Kampong Cham and alternating mosque occupation for prayers in Mak, Stung Trang). In the worst cases the conflicts even led to violence, including the stabbing of an imam – suspected of Salafi leanings – in Phum Poeuh in Krauchmar district (Kampong Cham)¹⁶⁸⁴. Notwithstanding the severity of this new factionalism, the present study should have gone some way to show that this kind of intra-community strife is, contrary to the views of many

¹⁶⁸² Cf. Liow's enumeration of contentious issues in Southern Thailand, which expectedly largely coincides with Cambodian discussions. Also the Salafis rejection of the *sifat dua puluh*, so important to the canon of Jawization, is naturally a cause for concern among their opponents in both countries. Liow, "Muslim Identity, Local Networks, and Transnational Islam", p. 1405.

¹⁶⁸³ Also Chrang Chamres is somewhat divided in so far as opponents of Salafi influence of the km7 mosque congregation have turned away from it to perform Friday prayers only at the TJ-associated km8 and km9 mosques. Imam Saly (Ali b. Musa, b. 1937 in Takeo), former Imam of *Masjid Nūr al-Ihsān* in Chrang Chamres km7 (Chrang Chamres, July 14th 2005); with Abdul Halim Ahmad (Chrang Chamres, April 28th 2012); Stephen O'Connell and Bou Saroeun, "Arabian zealots pour dollars into 'purifying' Cham", PPP, July 7th 2000. <http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/arabian-zealots-pour-dollars-purifying-cham> (last accessed March 26th 2014).

¹⁶⁸⁴ De Féo, "Royaume bouddhique", p. 112-114; Blengli, "Muslim Metamorphosis", p. 187-189; Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, *Cham Community*, p. 90; Kok-Thay, *From the Khmer Rouge*, p. 50; personal observation in Tuol Ngok, O Trav and Phum Buon in 2009 and 2012. Just as researchers reported to have at times found it hard to move between the divided *abangan* and *santri* communities in rural East Java in the 1950s for being suspected by each side of sympathizing with the other, similar situations arose also during my research. In Phum Buon, where the contending mosques are located right besides each other, I was asked to justify my choice of starting enquiries at one of them and not the other (July 7th 2009).

observers, far from unprecedented, and can therefore not be solely blamed on the agency of external forces (i.e. NGOs from the Gulf and the TJ) and contemporary globalization.

The government-supported pacification measures of the Mufti included the introduction of mandatory membership of *hakems* and imams in the ruling CPP¹⁶⁸⁵. Whereas, as indicated above, particularly TJ-Salafi factionalism still persists, the situation has calmed down, not least due to the fact that, as one observer has commented, “the country’s mosques have by now mostly been allocated [among the contending factions]”¹⁶⁸⁶. Likewise, also the emergence or, in any case, greater visibility of other contending paths within Cambodian Islam have contributed to a rapprochement between the Salafis and Mufti Sos Kamry, who had earlier distanced himself from their camp by referring to himself as a *khalafi*¹⁶⁸⁷. It is these other contending paths, which are similarly departing both from earlier patterns of Jawization that we will turn to now.

2.2. The Ahmadiyya, a new Sufi lineage and the Shiite revival of pre-Jawization Cham traditions

The first other contending Islamic path to arrive in the country was the Indian Ahmadiyya movement, which was founded by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad (d. 1908) in 1888 and split into a Qadian and a Lahore faction in 1914¹⁶⁸⁸. The Qadiani Ahmadiyya began its operations in Cambodia – with official permission from the Ministry of Cults and Religion – in 1995¹⁶⁸⁹. Initially directed from Thailand through by a Swiss Ahmadi, the mission in Cambodia was soon entrusted to adherents of the movement from Indonesia¹⁶⁹⁰, which once constituted one of the most successful areas of proselytization for the group¹⁶⁹¹. Apparently specifically targeting rural Muslim villages in the past hardly exposed to Jawization, the Ahmadiyya managed to “convert almost 22 villages” to its brand of Islam until 2005, primarily distributed in Kampong Chhnang, Kampot and, to a lesser degree, in comparably secluded

¹⁶⁸⁵ Blengsli, “Muslim Metamorphosis”, p. 188f. Also the Buddhist clergy is an instructive example of CPP co-optation and control. Markus Karbaum, *Kambodscha unter Hun Sen. Informelle Institutionen, Politische Kultur und Herrschaftslegitimität* (Münster: LIT, 2008), p. 150f.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Personal communication with Alberto Pérez-Perreiro, researcher of the Cambodian Center for Cham Studies (Phnom Penh, May 2nd 2012).

¹⁶⁸⁷ Personal communication with Abdul Halim Ahmad (Phnom Penh, May 17th 2012).

¹⁶⁸⁸ Simon Ross Valentine, *Islam and the Ahmadiyya Jama'at. History, Belief, Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

¹⁶⁸⁹ O'connell & Bou Saroeun, “Arabian zealots”.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Personal communication with Rafiq A. Tschannen, former *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Thailand (1989-99), e-mail, April 19th 2012; with Hasan Basri, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia until 2005, e-mail, April 23rd 2012; with Fajar Ahmad, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia (Chroy Changvar, May 8th 2012); Maulana Ehsan Salim Sobari, “Second Jalsa Salana Jama'at Ahmadiyya, Cambodia”, AGC, XXXIII, no. 8 (2005), p. 7f., 11.

¹⁶⁹¹ Iqbal Singh Sevea, “The Ahmadiyya Print Jihad in South and Southeast Asia” in R. Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea (eds.), *Islamic Connections. Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), p. 138.

communities of Kampong Cham, Kratie, Stung Trang and Ratanakiri. Since then, however, counter-preaching from various actors has resulted in a dwindling of numbers. Presently, the movement has only six mosques (three in Kampong Chhnang and one each in Kampot, Kampong Cham and Stung Trang)¹⁶⁹². Others, such as the one of Svay Pakao, which is even included in a photo book on Ahmadi mosques throughout the world¹⁶⁹³, are nowadays, despite having been built by the Ahmadiyya, no longer associated with the community.

Even though the present *amīr* has denied that less Jawized villages that constituted the prime target, or either way the prime field of success, for the Ahmadi mission, fieldwork has supported this assumption. The first indicator is already the geographic distribution of present and former Ahmadi villages, with strongpoints in areas also exhibiting major KIS concentration such as Kampong Tralach district in Kampong Chhnang and Kampot province. It will also be remembered in this regard that one of the most emblematic survivals of pre-Jawization Islamic discursive traditions in Cambodia are the practices of either performing prayer only once a week or leaving its performance to religious specialists (i.e. imams and others) alone. In the movement's main center of Khnai Koko in Kampong Tralach, the village still comprises people adhering to the former practice, whereas the local Ahmadis have switched to accepting the five daily prayers as obligatory¹⁶⁹⁴. In the religiously and intra-religiously likewise highly diversified setting of Kampot, many non-Ahmadi villagers have stressed the fact that the Ahmadis are praying *loē'a* ("good", i.e. not just once a week as is done by other villagers) and that their activities have thus contributed to the spread of this practice. The same informants also related that the Indonesian Ahmadi missionary in Kampot joined a group of pilgrims to the shrine of Imam San in Oudong to conduct *da'wa* there at the ritual center of the KIS community¹⁶⁹⁵.

The Ahmadiyya leadership in Cambodia has mostly been represented by Indonesian missionaries, who have shown themselves prone to marry local Muslim women (if not already married) and quick to learn the local languages Khmer and Cham. Hasan Basri, the former *amīr* of the community, has authored several Indonesian language books (naturally in *rumi* script), some of which he personally translated into Cham and Khmer. Despite the

¹⁶⁹² Personal communication with Hasan Basri, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia until 2005, e-mail, April 23rd 2012; with Fajar Ahmad, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia (Chroy Changvar, May 8th 2012)

¹⁶⁹³ The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, *Ahmadiyya Muslim Mosques Around The World. A Pictorial Presentation* (n. p.: Ahmadiyya Muslim Community USA, 2008), p. 121-123.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Personal communication with Fajar Ahmad, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia (Chroy Changvar, May 8th 2012).

¹⁶⁹⁵ Personal communication with Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman) and his wife (Prey Thnong, Kampot, May 5th 2012); with *ustaz* Muhammad Hasan (b. 1979), graduate of and teacher at the RIHS school at Chum Chao (Kbal Romeas, Kampot, May 5th 2012); with Kul Ahmad (Kampot, May 6th 2012). Four out of five former Ahmadi villages in Kampot were reported to have meanwhile opted out of it.

intimate links to Indonesian Ahmadis, the activities of the movement can in no way be regarded as a prolongation or modulation of the process of Jawization as it rests on significantly different networks, canons and doctrines. Moreover, the fact that it has shown itself to be most successful and resilient in villages, which have remained more or less outside of the sphere of influence of Jawization and had thus preserved ways and practices otherwise associated with the *kobuol* or present-day KIS, makes its local manifestation rather a representation of the complex legacy and afterlife of anti-Jawization.

Also organized Sufism has made a comeback in Cambodia, yet along markedly different lines than in the pre-DK era, when – as was shown – Malay Aḥmadiyya-Idrīsiyya and, to a lesser degree, Naqshbandiyya lineages had played a major role in the process of Jawization. Both of the latter have evidently not survived the civil wars and DK. Indeed, memory of the Aḥmadiyya has been obliterated – by the passage of time and the extermination of its representatives – as well as overshadowed by the activities of the Ahmadiyya movement to such a degree that it is only the latter with which local Muslims are nowadays familiar¹⁶⁹⁶. Thus, the only *ṭarīqa* known to be active in Cambodia today is the Naqshbandiyya. Its renewed presence is, however, in no way related to the *jawi* networks of the pre-DK era. Strikingly, it was a proselytizing Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya lineage from Bangladesh which came to establish itself in Andoung Chrey in Rolea Bier district of Kampong Chhnang province in 2003. Its shaykh is Muhammad Mamunur Rashid, who is linked to the *Hakimabad Khanka-e Mozaddedia* in Bhuigar (Narayangonj, Bangladesh), and is now operating his world-wide mission between Cambodia and Bangladesh¹⁶⁹⁷. In Andoung Chrey, Mamunur Rashid and his followers have built a roadside store, housing for the shaykh and several Bangladeshi families and their own mosque.

Albeit keeping contact with the local Muslims in neighboring O Saondan, where they also join the Friday prayer, as well as in other places such as Chrang Chamres, Chams and Chvea are, somewhat surprisingly, not their prime target group for gaining adherents. Instead, as *bay'a* (pledge of allegiance) to the shaykh and thus admittance into the path is *inter alia* made dependent on the adoption of the Ḥanafi school of law, they are in contrast preferably inducting Khmer converts into a complete package of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi and Ḥanafi Islam. Instruction for the disciples, two hundreds of which have allegedly already been

¹⁶⁹⁶ During my fieldwork in Cambodia in 2012 virtually every respondent assumed that I was talking about the South Asian movement when I invoked the *ṭarīqa*. In Kelantan, however, where it is still active, the situation was different.

¹⁶⁹⁷ <http://www.hakimabad.com/>. Also the Berkeley Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya Sufi Center belongs to his lineage. <http://www.meetup.com/Berkeley-Sufi-Center/>. The shaykh also has a impressive collection of *Lonely Planet* guidebooks at his house in Cambodia.

made around Andoung Chrey and in Phnom Penh, is delivered in Khmer¹⁶⁹⁸. It is obvious that this new contemporary manifestation of organized Sufism in Cambodia has no relation whatsoever to those Sufi lineages involved in the process of Jawization in the past.

Finally, it must be mentioned that also Shiism has recently made inroads into Cambodia's Muslim community, partly owing to the local activities of transnational Shiite organizations such as the Iranian *Majma' Jahāni Ahl al-Bayt* (Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly) and the center of the Imam al-Khoei Foundation (*Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Khū'ī al-Khayriyya*) in Bangkok¹⁶⁹⁹. The first Shiite mosque was established in Vihear Sambour near Roka Popram in Kampong Cham only in 2010¹⁷⁰⁰. From there Shiism has also spread to Ratanakiri province. Individual Shiites, who had been sent on scholarships to study in Qum, are also known to reside in Chrang Chamres¹⁷⁰¹. Incidentally, and highly representative of the present *da'wa* contest in Cambodia, the instrumental figure in the introduction of Shiism into Cambodia, a native of Vihear Sambour near Roka Po Pram in Thbaung Khmum, had earlier been selected for a scholarship program of the RIHS to study in Medina, where he stayed for seven years. Yet, for unknown reasons he left Saudi Arabia before completing his studies at the Faculty of Arabic Language and Literature (*Kulliyat al-Lughat al-'Arabīyah*) of the IUM. Conversely, he is said to have then studied in Qum, assumingly under yet another scholarship program¹⁷⁰². There he most probably attended the *Madrasah-yi Hujjatiyyah*, where, for instance, also nearly all Indonesian students in Iran have been studying since 1982¹⁷⁰³. Present Cambodian students in Qum may otherwise also be attending the *International Center of Islamic Studies* (*Markaz-i Jahāni-yi 'Ulūm-i Islāmī*), which represents a combination of *ḥawzah* (i.e. a traditional Shiite seminary) and university explicitly aimed at educating non-Iranian students.

The most startling aspect of the emergence of the Cambodian Shiites is their relationship to pre-Jawization local Muslim traditions. Again the geographic location of Cambodia's cradle of Shiism, namely the area around Roka Po Pram, is intriguing in this respect. We have seen that this area was the site of the mid-19th century *set-led* rebellion against king Ang Duong.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Personal communication with Muhammad Hamid and Muhammad Jahirul Ashraf, Bangladeshi disciples of shaykh Mamunur Rashid (Andoung Chrey, May 9th 2012). On the afternoon of my visit eight Khmer children were being taught the Qur'ān and Arabic script on the basis of *Muqaddam*-style books.

¹⁶⁹⁹ <http://www.ahl-ul-bayt.org/en.php/page,Unit4486.html> (last accessed December 5th 2013); personal communication with Elvire Corboz (Rutgers) and Mirjam Künkler (Princeton), Princeton, October 4th 2013.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Kok-Thay, *From the Khmer Rouge*, p. 48.

¹⁷⁰¹ Personal communication with Fajar Ahmad, *amīr* of the Ahmadiyya in Cambodia (Chroy Changvar, May 8th 2012).

¹⁷⁰² Personal communication with *ustaz* Muhammad Hasan (b. 1979), a former co-student of the person in question (name withheld) in Medina (Kbal Romeas, Kampot, May 5th 2012).

¹⁷⁰³ Zulkifli, "Seeking Knowledge Unto Qum: The Education of Indonesian Shi'i *ustadhs*", *IISAS Newsletter*, XXXVIII (2005), p. 30.

In the course of the crushing of this rebellion large numbers of Cham were deported from the area to the region northwest of Phnom Penh, where parts of this community of deportees would – since at least the early 20th century centered around the figure of the *oknha khnour* of Au Russey – prove resistant to the overall process of Jawization in the country to eventually form the nucleus and leadership of the KIS community. Traditions and practices nowadays regarded as characteristic of KIS have, however, also survived into the post-DK era in certain areas of Kampong Cham, particularly Roka Po Pram and its surroundings. Thus, it has been shown that it was both the last known village in the whole province to preserve an *akhar trah* manuscript, these days only treated as an unapproachable historical curiosity by the villagers, and to preserve the grave of a former Cham king (Po Brahim) still regarded as spiritually responsive by locals, despite the heavy pressure of religious scholars (*jawi* educated and others) to abandon the practice¹⁷⁰⁴.

We may therefore justifiably speculate that – as among KIS – also other traces of pre-Jawization local Islamic discursive traditions have been retained to some degree in the area, to the inclusion of the traditions (and practices) ascribing a prominent role to ‘Alī¹⁷⁰⁵. Whereas this aspect has to await further research and will therefore remain well-founded speculation for the time being, it is already known that the Shiite leader of Vihear Sambour, which most likely even represents the village referred to in Cham chronicles as Sambour as – besides Roka Po Pram – second location associated with the outbreak of the 1858 rebellion, is bolstering his claims to religious authority by reference to his proclaimed *set* (*sayyid*) status¹⁷⁰⁶. As was already noted, just like to *po* title also that of *set* has lost most of its appeal and therefore currency among the great majority of Cambodian Muslims, except in regions less or only recently fully exposed to Jawization. It thus seems that Shiism arose in Cambodia just at the right location, which exhibits a combination of two specific factors: a comparably high degree of preserved pre-Jawization traditions and the absence of a strong institution validating and protecting them, a function that is fulfilled by KIS in the areas west of the Tonle Sap (Kampong Chhnang, Pursat and Battambang) and in Kampot.

Also Cambodian Shiism can therefore not be regarded as being firmly built on the foundations of Jawization but rather on the revival of local traditions not fully absorbed by it as well as on the influence of new transnational impetuses. Malay/*jawi* appears to have played next to no role in its emergence and transmission. These were rather facilitated and

¹⁷⁰⁴ Cf. V.1.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Cf. V.1.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Personal communication with Alberto Pérez-Perreiro, researcher of the Cambodian Center for Cham Studies (Phnom Penh, May 2nd 2012).

influenced by oral Cham traditions, Arabic and Persian religious instruction for its foreign-educated leadership and Khmer-based efforts at spreading Shiism beyond the confines of Vihear Sambour and its surroundings to Ratanakiri and urban areas where target groups are not necessarily Cham-speaking. Thus, the first piece of literature produced by the community – perhaps intended as a counterpart to the TJ’s *Faḍā’il-e A’ māl* – is a bulky tome of 360 pages in Khmer language (and script), entitled *Vithiaya Imamah* (“The Authority of the Imamate”)¹⁷⁰⁷. Strikingly, this book makes full use of the different speech levels (or socio-linguistic registers) of Khmer. Thus, actions of the imams related in it are given in so-called “royal language”, i.e. the speech level otherwise reserved for talking about/to venerated figures such as kings or Buddhist monks, which necessitates the employment of specific verbs, pronouns and even names of body parts, otherwise not used in either formal, informal or intimate settings¹⁷⁰⁸. It must also be noted in this regard that “royal language” also plays an important part in Cambodian medium possession practices, which are closely associated with local Theravada Buddhism. In this context the usage of “royal language” marks the transformation of a human medium into a member of the spirit world (*gru boramey* – “teacher of perfection”)¹⁷⁰⁹. Due to the widespread and at times inter-religious nature of these practices, it can be assumed that the author(s) of this first piece of Shiite literature in Khmer language were also not unaware of such specific functions of this socio-linguistic register. Incidentally, as will be shown below, the constitution and official recognition of KIS in the 1990s was also related to an unprecedented revival of traditional Cham ancestor (*muk kei*) possession cults, which are nowadays – as far as we know – the exclusive domain of KIS (and recent breakaway villages). It is this group, which represents a late institutionalization of remarkably resilient anti-Jawization tendencies that we will turn to now for the last part of this chapter.

3. The institutionalization of anti-Jawization: The *Kan Imam San* and its formation

Since 1998, the state of Cambodia recognizes two separate Islamic communities. One, which we may refer to as the Muslim mainstream and – despite the pervasiveness of new impetuses just discussed – as heirs to Jawization, is placed under the authority of the

¹⁷⁰⁷ *Vithiaya Imamah* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.). I am indebted to Alberto Pérez-Pereiro (Phnom Penh) for making a copy available to me.

¹⁷⁰⁸ For an overview of the existence and workings of distinct speech levels in many East and Southeast Asian languages see Cliff Goddard, *Languages of East and Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 215-220.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Bertrand, “Medium Possession Practice”, p. 151f.

Cambodian *Highest Council for Islamic Religious Affairs* and its head the Mufti of Cambodia. The other, known as the *Kan Imam San* (KIS – Assembly/Community of Imam San, or *Islamic Community Kan Imam San* for international audiences), is under the leadership of the *oknha khnour* (or *ong g'nur* – “venerable master” in Cham) at Au Russey in Kampong Tralach (Kampong Chhnang). Given this arrangement and what has been reiterated in this study so far, one cannot help but suspect that Ner’s three distinct factions of the 1930s (i.e. *trimeu* – Jawization, *kobuol* – anti-Jawization, and Au Russey Cham “hyper-traditionalists”) have eventually canalized into these two respective entities. The Au Russey community and KIS have been referred to already quite often in the course of this study. It is nevertheless worthwhile to present a comprehensive overview of its particularities and the dynamics of its institutionalization as a distinct officially recognized Muslim community. Indeed, this process not only sheds light on the resilience, adaptiveness and prolonged inherent entitvity of local Islamic discursive traditions of the pre- and early Jawization eras, making KIS the institutionalized epitomy of anti-Jawization. In addition, the case of KIS is all the more important as it represents a unique instance in Southeast Asia, as a pre-Jawization Islamic discursive tradition that has received such official recognition and therefore also protection. As has already been noted, this was not the case with the *waktu/wetu telu* on Lombok or Javanese *kebatinan* movements and other manifestations of *abangan* Islam on Java. Even though such seems generally to be easier to achieve in Muslim minority contexts, the relevance of this development could be compared with an eventual (still today highly unlikely) official recognition of the Alevis as a distinct Islamic community by the Turkish state. Undoubtedly, it was a combination of many factors and not a self-evident development which led to this result. The apparently most decisive of these factors will be briefly discussed below as the dynamics behind the formation of KIS will be traced.

Currently KIS consists of approximately 38,000 members in around 40 villages with 50 affiliated mosques and *suraw* in five different provinces, whereby the strongest concentration is found in Kampong Tralach district of Kampong Chhnang. When broken done to the provincial level the following picture emerges for the 50 KIS establishments: twelve in Kampong Chhnang, ten in Pursat, fifteen in Battambang, one in Kendal and twelve in Kampot, the only of the mentioned areas not lying on an axis stretching west of the Tonle Sap from Kampong Tralach to Southern Battambang province¹⁷¹⁰. Albeit the Kampot villages

¹⁷¹⁰ Ser, So & Eng (*Cambodia: Cham Identities*, p. 23) spoke of forty villages and 53 mosques/*suraw* in 2011, based on an interview with the *oknha khnour* Kai Tam in 2010. He himself gave the number of 38 villages in 2009 and the above provincial breakdown of fifty KIS establishments in 2012. Personal communication (Sre Prey village, Au Russey commune, July 11th 2009 & May 13th 2012).

in question have only joined KIS at a later date and are representing a specific case in a couple of respects, it can be said that the majority of affiliated villages are exhibiting a more or less coherent religious identity with specific constitutive practices and omissions, shared temporalities and a common imaginary regarding Muslim (and specifically Cham) culture in Cambodia, which is clearly at variance with the historically evolved culture of Jawization and its different present-day outgrowths and contending paths¹⁷¹¹. Many of these constitutive or defining practices and omissions (from the point of view of most other Islamic groups in Cambodia) have apparently been prevalent elsewhere in Cambodia (and Panduranga for that matter) as well, but have been obliterated in most places in the course of Jawization, whereas others appear to have only acquired a standardized form and their characteristic as such in the course of the ongoing struggle between Jawization and anti-Jawization.

The most emblematic and controversial of these practices and omissions, clearly differentiating KIS from the Muslim mainstream in the country, is their practice of only praying once a week, i.e. at the time of the congregational Friday prayer, something of course strongly reminiscent of the practices of the Bani in former Panduranga and the *waktu telu* on Lombok¹⁷¹². It is for this reason that they are also called *kaum jumat* (“Friday People”, notably a Malay expression) by other Cambodian Muslims. Instead of a sermon proper (ar. *khutba*), the ceremony features a lecture out of one of three different manuscript scrolls (*katapa*) in all Arabic, kept specifically for that purpose¹⁷¹³. The pilgrimage to Mecca is not considered among the group. In turn, pilgrimages to the annual *mawlid* celebrations at the shrine of the eponymous Imam San (d. late 19th century), which is located on a hill near the old Khmer capital of Oudong, are functioning as the most important religious festivity of the far-flung community. In line with its self-proclaimed status as *cam sot* (“Pure Chams”), *jawi* script, Malay language, its literature and religious practices associated with them are roundly rejected, as the group heralds its position as last preservers of old Islamic manuscripts written in Cham script. Indeed, the latter have developed into the group’s most highly valued cultural artifacts as well as into prime tools of communal identity formation¹⁷¹⁴.

¹⁷¹¹ “The ‘imaginary’ of an individual, a social group, or a nation is the collection of images carried by that culture about itself or another culture”. Arkoun, *Rethinking Islam*, p. 6.

¹⁷¹² Cf. n. 426.

¹⁷¹³ A fourth specimen has been destroyed at some point. Personal communication with *oknha khnour* Kai Tam (Sre Prey, Au Russey, May 13th 2012).

¹⁷¹⁴ Agnes De Féo, “Les Chams sot, dissidence de l’islam cambodgien”, CO, LXXVIII (2005), p. 226-235.

We will return to this pronounced trait of anti-Jawization shortly. Before that it must also be noted that a strong link to the Cham past in Panduranga is conspicuously maintained by the on-going correspondence with the ancestor spirits (*muk kei*) by way of mediums particularly relied upon for healing rituals. The latter practices have received a strong impetus from the atrocities during the rule of the Khmers Rouges (1975-1979), the following civil war (1979-1997), and the omnipresence of physical and mental suffering in their aftermath. In fact, there has been an unprecedented revival of these possession cults¹⁷¹⁵. In addition, the *muk kei* also have to be invited to the *rija* dance ritual¹⁷¹⁶, which was likewise already practiced in Panduranga and then also in Cambodia (including in more remote areas of mid-20th century Kampong Cham), but nowadays likewise appears to be the exclusive domain of KIS (and recent breakaway) villages¹⁷¹⁷. Another such ritual particularity among KIS is – befittingly, given its place in *trimeu/kobuol* factionalism – the wedding ceremony, as will be shown below. Yet, notwithstanding these similarities (just enumerated and others) to Bani practices, KIS cannot be plainly equated with Bani Islam. Apart from the fact that the history and make-up of the community is obviously more complex than that, there is no complementary Cham Brahmanist community in Cambodia (interaction with which is evidently an important aspect of Bani identity) just as there is no Imam San among the Bani.

Despite the important place of the shrine of Imam San in Oudong, to which a small number of individual aging members of the community chooses to retreat for some time (more or less) late their lives¹⁷¹⁸, the undisputed center of the community is Au Russey, and has been so for the nucleus of the community since at least the late 19th or early 20th century at the latest. Thus, we have discussed it at several instances in different capacities in the course of this study, *inter alia* as important destination of the deportees of the mid-19th century, as major repository of *akhar trah* manuscripts in the late 19th century as well as today, as seat of one among many Muslim dignitaries accorded the *oknha* title by the court, and as a rather isolated place inhabited by what Ner has dubbed “hyper-traditionalist” in order to

¹⁷¹⁵ Ing-Britt Trankell, “Songs of Our Spirits: Possession and Historical Imagination among the Cham in Cambodia”, *AE*, IV (2003), p. 31-46; Ovesen & Trankell, *Cambodians and their Doctors*, p. 124f.

¹⁷¹⁶ Thành Phần, “*Kut* (Cemeteries) of the Cham in Ninh Thuận Province” in Tran Ky Phuong & Bruce M. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cham of Vietnam. History, Society and Art* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), p. 338.

¹⁷¹⁷ Cf. VIII.1.2. Personal communication with Imam Kai Tam (Svay Pakao, Ta Ches, Kampong Tralach, May 13th 2012).

¹⁷¹⁸ Currently it is one male and three female believers, one of which has been staying at the hill for roughly 30 years. Personal communication with Ong An Ji Kay, the male *zuhhād* of the group (Oudong, May 1st 2012). In 1966 it was five males and four females, including the sister of the then *on g'nur*. All of them came from Au Russey villages. One year later four of them had returned to their homes. Among the merely two new arrivals of the year was one man resident Pursat originating from Au Russey. Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 316f., 322.

differentiate them from the *kobuol* (whom he labelled as simply “traditionalist”) in the 1930s. Nevertheless, a few pertinent observations are in order concerning how it could develop into the centre of a newly established and quite far-flung formally organized religious community. Tracing at least some of the mechanisms of and preconditions for this development should be particularly desirable given Stewart’s injunction that, rather than studying ostensible purities and mixtures, we should focus on the crucial moments in which people begin to claim purity as well as on the specific backgrounds and timeframes of such developments or, in other words, on their entirety¹⁷¹⁹.

Firstly, the geographical distribution of KIS villages is relevant. Save from the late-joining villages in Kampot, the whole array of the northwestern axis from Oudong and Kampong Tralach to Battambang is located in areas where *kobuol/trimeu* conflicts (or the presence of “hyper-traditionalists”) were noted by Ner in the 1930s. While the locations are, as was emphasize above, in no way identical, the overall area was precisely the same. It may thus be reasonably assumed that, apart from Au Russey itself, Ner only came to visit those Muslim villages in the region more strongly exposed to Jawization, where such exposure first led to *kobuol/trimeu* conflict and then finally to the eclipse of the *kobuol*, whereas other villages were not challenged by or markedly less responsive to Jawization to the same degree. It is thus evident, that Au Russey, by becoming a spiritual centre, was able to draw such villages traditionally sceptical of Jawization into its orbit, despite the presence of villages pertaining to the Muslim mainstream in their vicinity. Yet, this applies only to this specific area to the West of the great Tonle Sap Lake and River, which is somehow detached from the other centres of Muslim life in Cambodia, particularly major settlements and centres of religious learning in the Phnom Penh area and Kampong Cham. Accordingly, both latter locations are – like most other provinces – presently devoid of KIS affiliates. Assumably, in times of intra-community strife and crisis, Au Russey with its reputation as last bastion of traditional Cham scholarship and religious culture, to the inclusion of *akhar trah* manuscripts, must have lent itself quite well as a rallying point. This, of course, especially applies to those at odds with forms of Islam associated with the spread of *jawi* models and already cultivating a discourse centred on allegedly pure contending traditions, i.e. *kobuol* anti-Jawization.

¹⁷¹⁹ Charles Stewart, “Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture”, paper presented at „Rituale als Ausdruck von Kulturkontakt. ‚Synkretismus‘ zwischen Negation und Neudefinition“ Interdisziplinäre Tagung des Sonderforschungsbereichs 619 „Ritualdynamik“, Internationales Wissenschaftsforum Heidelberg, December 3rd-5th 2010; *id.*, “Creolization, Ritual and Syncretism”, p. 10.

The *on g'nur* and the Au Russey community had not only preserved a tangible connection to the Cham homeland via an elsewhere forfeited manuscript tradition. In addition, the role of the *on g'nur* was, as we have seen, initially clearly a political as well as religious one, and is nowadays (again) effectively claimed as such. In fact, the Khmer title, *oknha khnour* (from which its Cham equivalent most certainly derives¹⁷²⁰) is said to have been bestowed on the leader of the local Chams by An Duong. At least by the 1920s this position represented official authority over a specific group, defined by religious practice and not geographical distribution, which seems to have been a special case among the local Muslim dignitaries holding the *oknha* title¹⁷²¹. Thus, regarding the nomination of Katep Kak as new incumbent in 1926, it was duly noted that he was to “administer the Chams belonging to the mosque of Au Russey East and those of the same religion, who are practicing the religious rites of their Cham master San”¹⁷²². The reference to the “mosque of Au Russey East” clearly implies that even within this commune religious practice was not uniform at that time. A preceding document tellingly cites different prayer rites prevailing in the two “pagodas” of Au Russey as the reason for restricting the mandate of the *oknha khnour* to the Eastern mosque¹⁷²³. The latter certainly being a reference to the practice of praying only on Friday.

It is doubtful whether the *oknha khnour* was still an officially nominated position after Cambodian independence. We may therefore henceforth speak of a dormant prestige or resource, which could, among other things, be reactivated and reclaimed by the (now no longer state-sanctioned) incumbents and their followers¹⁷²⁴. The current community leader Kai Tam claims to be the eight incumbent since the office’s institution. In his oral genealogy of *on g'nurs*, all of which have resided in Au Russey commune, the Katep Kak of French documents is listed as the fifth holder of the title. The tenure of Kak’s successor Sam Saly already fell into independent Cambodia, as he was met by Baccot in the 1960s¹⁷²⁵. Kai Tam’s predecessor, the first officially recognized Kan Imam San leader, was his uncle Ly Man. For the formation of the community under Ly Man, the tragic history of DK Cambodia appears to have played an important role, as scores of displaced Chams from the region felt drawn to the traditional, now revived, regional Cham centre after the Vietnamese invasion in 1979.

¹⁷²⁰ The highest-ranking Bani religious functionary on the village level is called *po gru*. In Binh Thuan a supreme figure known as the *on yew* is chosen from among the *po gru* (such a position is, however, absent in Ninh Thuan). Yasuko, “Study of the Almanac”, p. 332f. Both do not appear to represent the origin of the *ong g'nur* title.

¹⁷²¹ Cf. V.4.1.

¹⁷²² ANC-RSC 25336 (dated June 21st 1926).

¹⁷²³ ANC-RSC 25336 (dated May 27th 1926).

¹⁷²⁴ Personal communication (Sre Prey, Au Russey, July 11th 2009).

¹⁷²⁵ She refers to him as Saly Sem. Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 72.

Subsequently, those who had lingered there at this time acquired prestige within the nascent community¹⁷²⁶, to the formation of which the same people have undoubtedly greatly contributed.

Similarly, the aforementioned expansion of *muk kei* possession cults is related to these particular circumstances. In the 1960s, Au Russey was – undoubtedly at least partially due to Jawization – allegedly the last commune with a coherent system of *muk kei* mediums (already then often called *neak kei* in parallel to the Khmer ancestor spirits *neak ta*), although its remnants were still also to be found in other Muslim communities across Cambodia¹⁷²⁷. It does therefore not come as a surprise that a revival of the cult also started just there. Despite the striking fact that the *on g'nur* and the imams are keeping a certain distance to these rituals, which are explicitly taking place outside the mosques, there appears to be, on the other hand, implicit approval. The unifying potential of these practices, which are moreover well suited to a narrative of pure Cham tradition, was certainly not lost on the religious leadership. Indeed, the *neak kei* cult is, besides the *mawlid* of Imam San, one of the main features linking Au Russey to distant villages in Pursat and Battambang province¹⁷²⁸. Compared with a French ethnographic survey in Au Russey of the 1960s, which reported explicit disbelief in and even hostility towards these rituals by the local imams¹⁷²⁹, there seems to have emerged a new leniency towards and even (re-) appropriation of them, which is certainly, at least in part, owing to considerations of group cohesion¹⁷³⁰.

Thirdly, there are the issues of *akhar trah*, elsewhere the most illustrative casualty of Jawization, the preservation of manuscripts and the particular style and method of education associated with them. In the 1960s, there were apart from the *on g'nur*—then seemingly not much more than a village authority—very few people literate in Cham script even in Au Russey. Starting, most probably, immediately after the Vietnamese ousting of the DK regime, and greatly boosted by the struggle for official state recognition, the community is currently in the midst of an unprecedented revival of interest and education in the script under the direction of the *on g'nur*. The latter is significantly aided in these endeavors by extra-community actors such as the US embassy in Cambodia and the *Documentation Center of Cambodia* (DC-CAM), both of which are involved in manuscript

¹⁷²⁶ Trankell, “Songs of Our Spirits”, p. 39.

¹⁷²⁷ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 112.

¹⁷²⁸ Trankell, ‘Songs of Our Spirits’, 42-43.

¹⁷²⁹ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 115, 120.

¹⁷³⁰ Personal communication with Alberto Pérez-Perreiro, researcher of the Cambodian Center for Cham Studies and director of the *akhar trah* education project of the US embassy (Phnom Penh, May 2nd 2012).

preservation, the distribution of digitized copies and – in the embassy’s case - schemes for instruction in *akhar trah*, including the production of textbooks.

Whereas the makers of these textbooks are deliberately trying to avoid religious content - which they admit to be very difficult to achieve, given the culturally-cum-religiously-loaded quality of most extant *akhar trah* texts – due to the fact that their programs are per definition not exclusively targeting the KIS community¹⁷³¹, these developments have also yielded important results for religious education within the latter. The first step in this regard was the distribution of a self-produced edition of an important *akhar trah* manuscript, which was scanned and afterwards photocopied and cheaply bound, to all those villages of the community, where religious classes are being held¹⁷³². Such self-made books are also used for the *mawlid* ceremony celebrating the memory of Imam San¹⁷³³. As to the nature and content of these works, it must be noted that the former, plainly known as *Git*, contains very large portions in Arabic, including, for example, an enumeration of the Arabic letters, all the short suras of the Qur’ān (Q 1 and Q 78-114 [in reversed order] and Q36 [Ya Sin]), the formulas to be uttered during canonical prayer, the appropriate formulas of intention (*niyya*, *uṣallī*) for the prayers as well as for the washing of the corpse and other basic devotional formulas¹⁷³⁴. It is therefore clearly a *muqaddam*-style book in *akhar trah* and the peculiar *kūfī*-like Arabic script also known from other (but not all) Cham manuscripts exhibiting this combination of scripts. The text used for the *mawlid* of Imam San at his shrine (as well as for the one of the prophet, which is celebrated in the villages at the appropriated date), is all in Arabic and nothing else but the famous *mawlid* panegyric *Sharaf al-ānām* (with its name transformed into *peul nam*)¹⁷³⁵. The latter is of course a widely distributed text in Muslim Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean World in general, and was – usually in a compilation together with other specimens of the genre - also among the first Islamic texts to be printed in Southeast Asia (in Surabaya)¹⁷³⁶.

More peculiar to KIS are, however, the fifteen *akhar trah* texts of a massive (947 pages) 2011 edition of digitized manuscripts published by KIS with aid from the US embassy. All of these texts, many of which are stories revolving around ancestors or prophets, are containing

¹⁷³¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷³² Personal communication with *oknha knour* Kai Tam (Sre Prey, Au Russey, July 11th 2009).

¹⁷³³ Ser, So & Eng, *Cambodia: Cham Identities*, p. 24, 26.

¹⁷³⁴ Kai Tam (ed.), *Git* (Au Russey: Kan Imam San, 2009).

¹⁷³⁵ Personal communication with *oknha knour* Kai Tam (Sre Prey, Au Russey, July 11th 2009); Abdul Halim Ahmad (Chrang Chamres, May 1st 2012). On the text see Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 52f.

¹⁷³⁶ Nico Kaptein, “An Arab Printer in Surabaya in 1853”, BKI, CXLIX (1993), p. 356f.; Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books*, p. 340f.

only very few injunctions in Arabic or often even none at all (save for the *basmala*). All but one of the original manuscripts were drawn from collections in the *khum* of Au Russey and Chhouk Sar (here particularly from *phum* Andong Tramoung), with one having been preserved in a village of Southern Battambang province¹⁷³⁷. This not only testifies to the important role of Kampong Tralach district, where texts are, for example, also still kept in the former KIS village of Svay Pakao in Ta Ches commune¹⁷³⁸, as major repository of *akhar trah* manuscripts, but also hints at the instrumental role of these manuscripts and their script in community formation. Now (again) serving as highly valued cultural artifacts of a distinct religious community, a number of manuscripts have also resurfaced in other affiliated villages. A particular ritual usage of *akhar trah* manuscripts is also represented by the annual *Mamun* festivity in Au Russey. On this occasion the descendants of Pandurangan *po* families stage a possession ritual associated with the reading of preserved Cham royal chronicles and remembrance of the homeland and the migration to Cambodia¹⁷³⁹.

Finally, the way the figure of Imam San has been appropriated by the community now named after him, and the combination of this appropriation with the claims to traditional authority just described, are noteworthy. The *mawlid* at the shrine of Imam San, attendance of which (besides praying only once a week) nowadays serves as a criteria for belonging in KIS¹⁷⁴⁰, seems to have been a rare occasion linking believers from disparate Muslim communities all over Cambodia, and was therefore clearly not the exclusive domain of the future KIS. However, judging from their historical reports and oral traditions, Imam San was nevertheless a figure that was specifically associated with Muslim tradition in the crucial area to the West of the Tonle Sap. Yet, as we have seen, this also applies to Kampot. Moreover, we are left with two quite different images of Imam San. On the one hand, there is the presently pervasive KIS narrative, the (Cham) Imam San of which came together with the first *on g'nur* Ban from Champa (i.e. Panduranga)¹⁷⁴¹, whereby certain accounts have him temporarily staying at Chumnik in Kampong Cham before moving to Central Cambodia¹⁷⁴². On the other hand, there is the nowadays almost forgotten aforementioned narrative of Imam San as a Malay scholar and ascetic, who had at first settled in Kampot and then

¹⁷³⁷ *Proachum*, p. i.

¹⁷³⁸ Personal observation and communication with Imam Kai Tam at Svay Pakao and *Oknha Khmour/Ong G'nur* Kai Tam and Yousos Tum at Sre Brey (Au Russey), July 9th 2009 & May 13th 2012.

¹⁷³⁹ Also the *set*, the second category of title-holders outside of KIS mostly disinherited from their prestigious positions within the Muslim community by Jawization, are playing a role in this ritual. Emiko Stock, "Parce que Champa et Cambodge ne faisaient qu'un...Lorsque les esprits s'emmêlent pour tisser la trame d'une histoire passée sur le métier d'une 'intégration' présente", *Udaya*, VIII (2007), p. 243-277.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Personal communication with *Ong Khmour* Kai Tam at Sre Brey (Au Russey), July 9th 2009 & May 13th 2012.

¹⁷⁴¹ *ibid.* (May 13th 2012).

¹⁷⁴² Stock, "From Tuolngok to Ta Ngok".

moved on to the Kampong Luong/Oudong area. Both traditions correspond in ascribing royal favour to Imam San, the factuality of which is, of course, also testified to by the location of his shrine near the graves and stupas of several Khmer kings. KIS traditions are much more elaborate in their descriptions of the wonders worked by Imam San before and for the king¹⁷⁴³, whereas the earliest French report (by Moura), still dating to the saint's lifetime, clearly supports claims about his alleged (ethnic) Malay origins¹⁷⁴⁴.

The comparable detachment of both the areas of the future *kobuol*/future KIS axis and Kampot from Muslim affairs in centres such as Phnom Penh or the Mekong *chamkar* villages in Kampong Cham seems to have played a part in their not being fully drawn in by expanding Jawization. We have already noted a number of similarities in the field of ritual in these two regions nowadays commonly regarded as oddities by other Cambodian Muslims. Moreover, visiting the *mawlid* near Oudong seems to have been of particular centrality to the ritual life of certain Muslim communities in Kampot, with their local *zuhhād* tradition, and their counterparts from the axis in question. Even though lesser numbers of pilgrims from Chroy Changvar and even Kampong Cham also made the annual trip to Oudong in the 1960s, it was only among the the Au Russey group, that it appeared to constituted a central practice to outside observers¹⁷⁴⁵. This disproportionate involvement of Au Russey and other villages with similar tendencies, in their majority subsequently to become part of the KIS community, surely influenced the way rites were conducted, thus further alienating Cambodian Muslims already exposed to the counter-current of Jawization. Even today, however, the *mawlid* constitutes almost the sole occasion, at which the adherents of KIS engage - in a religious framework - with other Cambodian Muslims, some of which are still attending the festivity¹⁷⁴⁶. Thus, for the group the choice of Imam San - the Muslim saint recognized even beyond the increasingly rigid boundaries of the community - as official eponym and historical point of reference, seems to serve as a claim to a distinctively Islamic legitimacy. That is, one not merely grounded in the *cam sot* narrative of faithful preservation of traditions connected to a Cham homeland in former Panduranga, but in a shared history of Islam in Cambodia¹⁷⁴⁷.

¹⁷⁴³ Collins, "Muslims of Cambodia", p. 63f.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Cf. V.3.1.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 323-326.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Personal communication with Kai Tam (Sre Brey, Au Russey, July 11th 2009); Tourman ('Abd al-Rahman) and his wife (Prey Thnorng, Kampot, May 5th 2012); Sam Sou, at Thvi (Kampot), May 6th 2012; Kul Ahmad (Kampot, May 6th 2012).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Also as far as the quest for official state recognition was concerned, the figure of Imam San naturally lent itself to argue for a historical precedent for such recognition. Indeed, in connection with Imam San's alleged

It is quite striking in this regard that the community claims that its particular form of marriage ritual had been introduced by no one else but Imam San. We need not reiterate the crucial and highly emblematic role played by controversy around the proper performance of this ritual in *kobuol/trimeu* conflict at this point. Suffice it to say that this explicit attribution to the eponymous figure of the community is certainly an echo of these discussions. Whereas the KIS of today employs neither the wording of the *kabul hamba* nor *terima* formulas that have come down to us, it is clear that their way of performing the act, which is entirely in Cham, is much closer to the *kobuol* than the *trimeu* model. It also has preserved the intriguing feature of the usage of 'Alī and Fāṭima as ceremonial names for groom and bride, which has also been documented for Bani Islam, but fell victim to Jawization and war-induced obliteration in most Cambodian Muslim communities¹⁷⁴⁸. Thus, it seems that also the historical memory of the controversies surrounding the marriage ritual formed part of the mechanisms by which a larger group of opponents of Jawization was drawn into the fold of the nascent community centred on Au Russey, instead of taking the majority's course of steadily - if slowly and/or unevenly - gravitating towards the sphere of strongly Malay influenced Cambodian Islam.

As far as the timeframe for the formation of the community is concerned, the following can be stated. Instances of a cautious (re)assertiveness of Au Russey as a religious centre, and of positive responses to these ventures from different villages, were already noted in the late 1960s in connection with the construction of the village mosque of Kendal (also located in Au Russey commune). Then, the *on g'nur* had shown himself very pleased by the fact that money for the endeavour not only originated from the commune under his direct authority, but also from other more or less distant villages¹⁷⁴⁹. This episode seems to testify to the beginnings of the formations leading to the establishment of the later formalized community. Yet, many of the specific conditions described above were only generated by the tragic history of Cambodia from 1970 into the 1990s.

In that respect, two further issues should be considered. With the significant influx of the transnational Islamic charities and movements from the Arab Peninsula, Malaysia and South Asia, primarily investing their money into the establishment of mosques and

relationship with Ang Duong and Norodom, KIS is certainly most vocal in pointing to a historical role of Cambodian Muslims as defenders of the Khmer kings.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 232-234. In Svay Pakao, which recently broke away from KIS, this was practiced until the advent of DK. In other villages, who had abandoned it, it was probably revived in the course of the establishment of KIS. Personal observation and communication with Imam Kai Tam (Svay Pakao, May 13th 2012).

¹⁷⁴⁹ Baccot, *On G'nur et Cay*, p. 89-90.

religious schools and promoting their own Islamic agendas, the pressure on allegedly deviant groups greatly increased¹⁷⁵⁰. Against this background, those Cambodian Muslims regarding their beliefs and practices as being threatened by the transformations within the local Muslim milieu had more reason than ever to join forces. This, however, was, after arduous lobbying, which involved considerable resources, eventually only possible through official recognition by the state. For the achievement of this goal such tangible resources as the preservation of a distinct script and the appropriation of a historical figure taken by the court as epitomizing the historically amicable relationship between Khmers and Chams were certainly important assets. Also the Buddhist precedent has undoubtedly played a role in this regard, as with the return of the monarchy as a stake-holder in the affairs of the country's religious administration also the official recognition of two different strands of Buddhism was reintroduced. Thus, King Sihanouk appointed new Supreme Patriarchs for the Mahanikay and Thommayuth Buddhist Orders in 1991¹⁷⁵¹, just as he later personally did regarding the Mufti and the *Oknha Khmour* in 1998. Likewise, a figure from the CPP was instrumental, namely the then National Assembly Member for Kampong Chhnang Kong Sam Oul (b. 1936), who was surely aware of the fact that the supporters of the future KIS were not a negligible constituency¹⁷⁵². It has, moreover, been noted – though with reference to Cambodian Buddhism – that in the years immediately following the major transformations in the aftermath of the UN-mission and the re-opening of the country “the state was not entirely clear about what its role should be in relation to [...] new nongovernmental bodies”, including religious ones¹⁷⁵³. This prevailing confusion, combined with a new consideration of issues of rights, would have also made the 1990s an ideal time to argue for a separate religious identity as was successfully done by KIS.

As elsewhere, reification in formal organizations introduced greater rigidity and more clearly defined boundaries between both parties concerned, and, among the KIS, a new formalized orthodoxy/-praxy and mechanisms for safeguarding it. At present, the community is virtually endogamous as far as intermarriage with the Cambodian Muslim mainstream is concerned. Despite such measures the group is currently facing the

¹⁷⁵⁰ De Féo, “Royaume bouddhique”; Bruckmayr, “Cham Muslims of Cambodia”.

¹⁷⁵¹ Venerable Khy Sovanratana, “Buddhist Education Today: Progress and Challenges” in Alexandra Kent & David Chandler (eds.), *People of Virtue. Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Moral Order in Cambodia Today* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), p. 258f.

¹⁷⁵² Personal community with Abdul Halim Ahmad (Phnom Penh, April 28th 2012). Kong Sam Oul was one of the first prominent non-socialist members of FUNSK and the CPP. He was elected to the National Assembly for Kampong Chhnang in 1993 and then again in 1998. Michael Vickery, *Kampuchea: Politics, Economics and Society* (London: Pinter, 1986), p. 49; Corfield & Summers, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 231f.

¹⁷⁵³ Marston, “Clay into Stone”, p. 190.

breakaway of whole villages, often due to the convincing efforts of local and foreign Muslim NGOs, which are at times explicitly tying financial aid to demanded changes in ritual observance (e.g. discarding the defining practice of praying only once a week)¹⁷⁵⁴. On the other hand, there has also occurred an unexpected growth of affiliation to the community. Responsible for this were the twelve villages in Kampot, which have joined the young community a few years after its consolidation. This is particularly striking, as the primarily Chvea Muslims of Kampot would from a distance hardly have appeared as likely candidates for an alliance with a group claiming to be “pure Chams” (*cam sot*). Moreover, not even all of the villages in question are following the otherwise defining practice of the single weekly prayer¹⁷⁵⁵, though – as we have seen – many of them do. Undoubtedly, however, the many shared practices and the common history of lesser exposure or even active resistance to Jawization have provided a suitable basis for this alliance, whereas the joint ritual practices at Oudong have certainly facilitated exchanges between those involved. Thus, this case could provide us with a window onto similar mechanisms at work during the earlier formation of KIS. In fact, it seems that it was mostly disaffection with the rapid post-1992 changes among the Cambodian Muslim mainstream, going far beyond the earlier dynamics of Jawization, which brought about the turn towards the newly assertive *on g'nur* and his community. Such disaffection in the face of large-scale religious change was presumably also an important factor in the earlier joining of the Au Russey and *kobuol* remnant factions. That KIS is characterized by a strong degree of anti-Jawization – not just in a metaphorical but rather in a literal sense – can be easily illustrated by a few concrete examples, which again point us to the significant and emblematic role played by and ascribed to language use and script by the different factions. Indeed, as a corollary to its understanding as representing pure (Cambodian) Cham Islamic (discursive) tradition, the KIS leadership has explicitly charged the Cambodian Muslim mainstream for having abandoned Cham ways and adopted “the custom of the Jawi” instead. In this respect, particularly the adoption of *jawi* script and consequential loss of *akhar trah* has been identified as “the most important

¹⁷⁵⁴ Personal communication with *on g'nur* Kai Tam (July 11th 2009). Such recent conversions of whole villages (at times excluding parts of the elderly) are known from several cases in Battambang and Kampong Chhnang provinces. Not far from Au Russey, the same happened in the village of Svay Pakao, where the inhabitants followed the decision of the *hakem*, who had earlier been invited on the hajj by an Arab NGO. Reminiscent of the *cam jawa* in Ninh Thuan, the *hakem* and a few other individuals that are still able to read the Cham script continue to study and even copy manuscripts, though these are now viewed from an altered perspective. Accordingly, the village leader was content at having established that the prophetic traditions found in translation in one of the manuscripts were indeed authentic. Personal communication with *Hakem* Kai Tam & Mon Kriya (Svay Pakao, Kampong Chhnang province, July 11th 2009).

¹⁷⁵⁵ Personal communication with *on g'nur* Kai Tam (Sre Brey, Au Russey, July 11th 2009).

indication of this rejection of Cham custom” and as undermining their identity¹⁷⁵⁶. This bemoaned loss of Cham script of course has a factual basis. Whereas, as has been shown, at least individual *akhar trah* texts were still preserved also in Kampong Cham in the 1960s, no surviving manuscripts are presently known to exist – save for one battered specimen from Roka Po Pram, meanwhile inaccessible to the villagers due to its script - outside the domain of the KIS northwestern axis. In the Mekong Delta and Tay Ninh, where still a number of manuscripts of Cham *jawi* renderings of earlier *akhar trah* texts are preserved, and the teaching of Cham *jawi* has been (optionally) pursued in public schooling with approval of the Vietnamese Ministry of Education since the late 1990s, many Chams nowadays reportedly refuse to recognize *akhar trah* and claim *jawi* as their original script¹⁷⁵⁷. Unsurprisingly, Jawization also had linguistic consequences among Cambodian Cham-speakers. Presently, the adherents of KIS are regarded as a separate dialect group within Cambodian (or Western) Cham, naturally not least due to its lesser usage of Malay loanwords¹⁷⁵⁸. Connected to the KIS narrative of cultural loss and departure from Cham Islam due to change of script and logosphere in religious education and scholarship is also the assertion that Cham *akhar trah* translations of religious texts were exclusively made of Arabic and never of Malay originals¹⁷⁵⁹, which resonates with past *kobuol* assertions that their religious education had always consisted entirely of Cham and Arabic instruction. The latter view, which epitomizes anti-Jawization in its ideosyncratic attempt to extricate any element of Malay influence from the evolution of Islamic *akhar trah* literature, arguably has much less factual basis. Indeed, there is significant evidence to the contrary, even if one leaves aside the fact that many Cham texts, such as most of the *akayet* (ml. *hikayat*) genre, appear to have been derived from earlier Malay versions. Only two examples with a particular relationship to this study shall be referred to here in this respect. It has already been noted that the community has also preserved Cham versions of texts of the *sifat dua puluh* type¹⁷⁶⁰. As the latter appears to represent a distinctively *jawi* genre of texts inspired by and built on the *Umm al-barāhīn*, it would seem highly improbable, though not entirely inconceivable, that the *akhar trah* Cham *Siphuat dua pluh* should have been derived from the

¹⁷⁵⁶ Collins, “Muslims of Cambodia”, p. 63-68.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Phu, “Development of the Jawi-Cam script”, p. 2f.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Jean-Michel Filippi, *Recherches Préliminaire sur les langues des minorités du Cambodge* (Phnom Penh: UNESCO, 2008), p. 51; Ueki, *Prosody and Intonation*, p. 31-33.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Personal communication with *Hakem Kai Tam* (Svay Pakao, Kampong Chhnang province, July 11th 2009).

¹⁷⁶⁰ Cf. VI.2.1.

Arabic original. Also the summary of the text given to me by one of its possessors suggests otherwise¹⁷⁶¹.

Things are even more obvious with respect to another comparably widely distributed *akhar trah* text. It has also already been mentioned that one of the manuscripts gathered by Jaspan in Phum Trea in the late 1960s is highly illustrative of the transition from *akhar trah* to Malay *jawi*, as it is the only known Cambodian manuscript containing both a main text in the former and an appendix (by a different hand) in the latter¹⁷⁶². The main body of the manuscript, which is most likely from the mid-19th century and thus the early phase of Jawization, consists of an unidentified Sufi treatise¹⁷⁶³. It is of course of significance that this testimony to the transition from one script and scholarly culture to another was acquired by Jaspan nowhere else but in Phum Trea, one of the historical main centers of Jawization. After showing copies of the manuscript to the *oknha khnour* and other *akhar trah*-literate scholars in Kampong Tralach, it has, however, become evident that it is not – as far as the main text is concerned – a unique manuscript. Much to the contrary it represents a treatise still frequently relied upon and thus instantly identified by my respondents with the name *Bayan syarik* (*bayān sharīk*)¹⁷⁶⁴. Numerous (*jawi*) Malay conjunctions and particles in the text, such as (*karena*) *katanya* (“[because] it is said”), *artinya* (“which means”) or *dan* (“and”) and *maka* (employed to introduce a new sentence) are distributed throughout the text, particular following Arabic injunctions or quotations¹⁷⁶⁵, thus providing us with firm evidence of a Malay and not an Arabic original.

Whereas the somewhat peculiar title *Bayan syarik* (one would rather expect proofs [sg. *bayān*] against the existence of a *sharīk* [usually used in the sense of ascribing partners to god]), has done little to get us closer to a firm identification of a Malay original, it must be noted that there is one intriguing text that indeed has a similar title and – as far as could be

¹⁷⁶¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁶² The growing disjuncture in the sphere of literary heritage between the KIS heartlands and the hotspots of Jawization in the Mekong villages of Kampong Cham at the time is, however, likewise illustrated with reference to specific texts. Thus, Jaspan has also reported that the narration of the Cham *kobuon* (poetry of moral admonition) of *Muk sruh palei* by an aged roving Cham *raconteur* claiming Pandurangan origins proved difficult to understand for (and appeared to be largely unknown among) the inhabitants of Svay Khleang. Around the same time, Baccot strikingly noted that *Muk sruh palei* was “seemingly the best known [book] among the Chams of Au Russey”. M.A. Jaspan, “The Kabuon: A Particular Genre of Cham Literature”, typescript (first draft of unpublished article), p. 3-5. JP, DJA (2)/1/1; Baccot, *On G’nur et Cay*, p. 102. The text invokes both the *muk kei* as well as the notion of (Cham) custom (*adat*) being confirmed by law (*hukum*). “Kabuon Muk Soh Pelai. The Discourse of Muk Soh Pelai”, undated typescript, p. 4f. JP, DJA (2)/1/1.

¹⁷⁶³ Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, p. 41; *ibid.*, “Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: Addenda et Corrigenda”, p. 306.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Personal observation and communication with Imam Kai Tam at Svay Pakao and *Oknha Khnour/Ong G’nur Kai Tam* and Yousos Tum at Sre Brey (Au Russey), May 13th 2012.

¹⁷⁶⁵ SEA 39, fols. 3v-93r *passim*.

inferred from a summary by Shaghir Abdullah – content¹⁷⁶⁶. This is *Bayān shirk* (ml. *syirki*) *li-ilāh al-haqq al-malik*, composed in 1813 by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Siantan, a scholar of the Natuna Islands, which we have encountered as base for the exiled Siak Sultan Shah Ismail, who had envisaged the conquest of Ha Tien in the 18th century. Strikingly, we also know that a certain Wan Muhammad Patani of Natuna came to stay in Cambodia for some time in the mid-19th century¹⁷⁶⁷. It would therefore not be inconceivable that this Malay text, still extant in manuscript at the Malaysian National Library and characterized as “explaining the nature of *shirk* and *tawhīd* according to the opinions of the people of truth in Sufism (*syirik dan tauhid menurut pandangan ahli hakikat dalam tasawuf*)¹⁷⁶⁸ could have directly reached the Cambodian Muslim community not long after its composition. It would therefore certainly not represent Pandurangan heritage. Yet, upon closer inspection even one of the texts collected for the 2011 KIS collection of manuscripts, which were certainly selected due to their perceived specifically Pandurangan background, was found to contain *jawi* Malay injunctions, though assumingly held to be Arabic by its present users, such as *kata Imām al-Ghazālī raḥmata [sic] allāh didalam Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*¹⁷⁶⁹. Thus, the anti-Jawization stance of KIS clearly necessitates the deliberate obliteration of perceived Malay pollutions of pure Cham Islam, just as Jawization precipitated the purging of Cambodian Islam of many of its local particularities in its drive for homogenization within the *jawi* ecumene.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, “Syeikh Abdullah Muhammad Siantan”, UO, September 17th 2007, http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2007&dt=0917&pub=Utusan_Malaysia&sec=Bicara_Agama&pg=ba_02.htm (last accessed April 6th 2014).

¹⁷⁶⁷ *id.*, “Manuskrip Melayu Pattani: Hubungan Pattani, Natuna, Kelantan, Terengganu dan Kemboja” in *Kolokium Peradaban Melayu Kawasan Timur Tengah* (Kota Bharu: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Wilayah Timur, 2001), p. 6f., 12.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *id.*, “Syeikh Abdullah Muhammad Siantan”.

¹⁷⁶⁹ “Kitap niang malah” in *Proachum*, p. 606.

Conclusion

This study has elucidated and analyzed the gravitation to and constitutive participation in a homogenizing trans-Southeast Asian Islamic discursive tradition, with its main vehicles of Malay language and the *jawi* (and *pegon*) script, by a continually increasing number of Cambodia's Muslims between the late 19th century and the early 1970s. Through this process, which we have called Jawization, large parts of the country's Muslim community came to form part of what Laffan has aptly defined as a *jawi* ecumene, gradually encompassing co-religionists in the present nation states of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, (Southern) Thailand, the Philippines and, evidently, also Cambodia and Vietnam. It has further been argued that the largely contemporaneous phenomenon described as Santrization on Java, was – just as our Cambodian case – but one regional variation of this larger process of Jawization unfolding in all of Muslim Southeast Asia.

For Islam in Cambodia it was, however, contact to and interaction with the scholarly and social worlds of Patani (understood in its wider geographical sense), Kelantan and surrounding areas such as Terengganu, and their extensions to Mecca and Cairo, that were decisive. Indeed, despite the many particularities of the Cambodian case, most importantly the fact that most of its exponents were not themselves speakers of Malay as a first language, the intense networking with these areas, as depicted in this study, strongly suggests that one more or less coherent sub-circuit of circulation in the process of Jawization was constituted by the Kelantan-Patani-Cambodia triangle. This is also supported by the largely coinciding time frames for such major internal developments such as the emergence of *kaum tua/kaum muda* strife, which occurred much earlier in Sumatra, Java and the Malayan Straits Settlements than in this triangle. Moreover, students of Islam from the area appear to have only rarely pursued their studies outside of its confines, but were often widely travelled in search of knowledge within it. Even in Mecca, their main *jawi* teachers were again invariably in their majority drawn from Patani and Kelantanese families.

Zooming out to a wider Muslim World-centered perspective, it has been argued that the process of Jawization in Southeast Asia and its accompanying hegemony of written religious discourse in the Islamic supra-language of Malay (and to a lesser degree for some time also Javanese) is a parallel development to very similar contemporaneous processes of regional homogenization by way of other Islamic supra-languages. Hereby, the most illustrative

comparative case is undoubtedly so-called Ashrafization in South Asia, in which the spread of Urdu as language of religious instruction and written Islamic discourse has first - by depriving an Arabic and Persian-literate scholarly and political elite of its privileged position - represented a “democratization” of the local Islamic sphere, but soon established its own hegemonic homogenizing expression of Islam at the expense of numerous other local Islamic discursive traditions. This point directly leads us to the second main focus of this study, namely the intra-religious strife generated by Jawization (and similar processes), and its frequent canalization into factionalism. In this respect, the dichotomies between *putihan/santri* and *abangan* in Javanese or *waktu lima* and *waktu telu* in Sasak Islam were clearly having veritable counterparts in Cambodia in the factional identities of *trimeu* and *kobuol*.

In contrast to the two former cases, however, anti-Jawization tendencies in Cambodia have even, quite strikingly, managed to achieve a late institutionalization and state recognition in the late 1990s in the form of KIS. At the same time, Jawization has effectively lost its monopoly over the development of Cambodian Islam, not only because local forces of anti-Jawization have acquired official recognition and an institutional base, but because the field has again expanded and diversified. This is most visible in the local spread of a Salafi Islam almost completely bypassing Malay by fully focusing on Arabic as language of religious study. Thus, also the new intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia is no longer one between forces appreciative of Jawization on the one hand and defenders of an ostensibly pure local Islamic discursive tradition on the other. By now it is localized *jawi* tradition itself, which feels threatened by an encroaching hegemonic Arabic logosphere and its expression in Salafi practice.

The question must be asked why factional identities such as *trimeu/kobuol*, *putihan/abangan* or *waktu lima/waktu telu* have not also emerged elsewhere in Southeast and South Asia and particularly not in Kelantan and Patani for that matter. It is Stewart’s notion of entitivity that it is crucial here. Many different factors contribute to the existence or absence of the quality of entitivity, including geographical location and distribution. Although, as we have seen, the spread of Jawization in Cambodia was, despite its overall pervasiveness throughout the country in the first decades of the 20th century, by then also not as undisputed in other regions as colonial scholarship would have led us to believe, a *kobuol* factional identity only emerged along a specific northwestern axis of Muslim villages stretching from north of Phnom Penh to Battambang. In addition, also Cambodian political history, more precisely the deportations of large numbers of Kampong Cham Muslims to

areas northwest of Phnom Penh in the mid-19th century, was of crucial importance for the long-term development of Cambodia's anti-Jawization currents. It would likewise appear in this respect that localized Islamic discursive traditions with a predominantly oral basis had some important disadvantages when compared with ones also possessing a distinctive literary heritage in their own scripts, as was the case with Javanese, Sasak, Cham and Bengali Islam. Even though such scripts and their literatures were commonly also among the first victims of homogenizing processes *inter alia* characterized by the spread of adaptations of the Arabic script, they could in the long run also function as important tools for community defense and formation. In addition, the dynamics of religious homogenization and opposition to it are, of course, most visible where not just traditions but also logospheres and scripts are clashing.

Likewise, the existence of past or present figures of religious and/or political authority, or at least endowed with some form (historic, religious and/or social) of symbolic capital, is surely important for the development of entitivity. Just as the Javanese *priyayi* aristocracy and its particular relationship with the *abangan* segment of the population was of relevance to the preservation of distinctively Javanese Islamic discursive tradition, so was also the figure of the *oknha g'nour* in Au Russey. Arguably, also the role of the Agha Khan for those parts of the South Asian Khodja community, by the way also heirs to a distinctively local Islamic pre-Ashrafization/Urduization discursive tradition recorded in its own languages (particularly Gujarati) and the *khokkī* script, which eventually chose to side with him, was a similar one¹⁷⁷⁰. In the Malay Sultanates of Kelantan and Patani (and many others), in contrast, the situation was different, as the rulers themselves turned into important agents of Jawization against the background of the colonial encounter, *inter alia* by active support for a considerable expansion of religious schooling and the institutionalization of religious authority. Local Islamic traditions in these areas were moreover incidentally those of the Islamic supra-language Malay itself and therefore seemingly easy prey to Jawization's drive for homogenization, which not necessarily led to their rapid complete disappearance but undoubtedly manifested itself in a lack of entitivity. The emergence of intra-Jawization and intra-Ashrafization factions, such as Barelwis, Deobandis and Ahl-e Ḥadīth in South Asia, and *kaum tua/kaum muda* (most pronounced in their Indonesian institutionalized manifestations as *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah*), are best, though certainly not exclusively, understood as echos of such submerged divergencies.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment*; Michel Boivin, *L'aghâ khan et les khojah. Islam chiite et dynamiques sociales dans le sous-continent indien (1843-1954)* (Paris: Karthala, 2013).

For the spread of Jawization in Cambodia and the concomitant establishment of the hegemony of the Malay logosphere over local religious education, and - as we have seen in the case of the marriage ritual - to a certain degree even over Islamic ritual spheres, it was undoubtedly the networking with Patani-Kelantan Malay teachers in their home regions as well as in Mecca, which was decisive. The central nodes for Jawization in Cambodia were, however, located as much in Patani, Kota Bharu, Mecca and Cairo, as in Phum Trea, Chau Giang, Chroy Changvar and many of the smaller centers of Islamic learning in Indochina. As was shown, pondoks, fatwas, books and, in certain instances, also specific *ṭarīqas* were instrumental in the process, whereby the large Ahmad Patani-Tok Kenali-Hj. Awang network and its major local outgrowth, the network of Mat Sales Haroun, can be safely regarded as the single most important channels for the expansion of Jawization. As far as books are concerned, the relevance of the contemporary full-scale adoption of printed needs be emphasized. Indeed, both Jawization in Southeast and Ashrafization/Urduization in South Asia were greatly boosted by it. Just as *jawi* printing came into full swing from the 1880s onwards, also the beginnings of the great expansion of Urdu publishing and the emergence of a new corpus of Urdu literature are dated to the same decade¹⁷⁷¹.

Finally, also the colonial contribution to its success must be stressed again. Many examples have been provided for the way the French regarded the local agents and products of Jawization and not anybody else as the true local Muslims, thereby sometimes deliberately, more often inadvertently, aiding their ascendancy. This, however, was hardly peculiar to the French. We may therefore finally once more draw a comparison with Ashrafization in South Asia, and more precisely with British religious policies there. Tellingly, a British ethnographic survey of 1884 classified the degree of Islamization, or in other words the Muslimness, of various Muslim groups of perceived “Hindu origin” according to specific variables, one of which was purity of Urdu speech¹⁷⁷². It is thus hoped that the present study has, despite its narrow focus on the Muslim community of a country otherwise not associated with the history of Islam at all, contributed to our understanding of major far-reaching processes of religious standardization in the Muslim World since the 19th century.

¹⁷⁷¹ Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India. Deoband 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982), p. 199-210.

¹⁷⁷² Richard M. Eaton “Sufi Folk Poetry and the Expansion of Indian Islam”, *HOR*, XIV (1974), p., 127 n. 34.

Illustrations

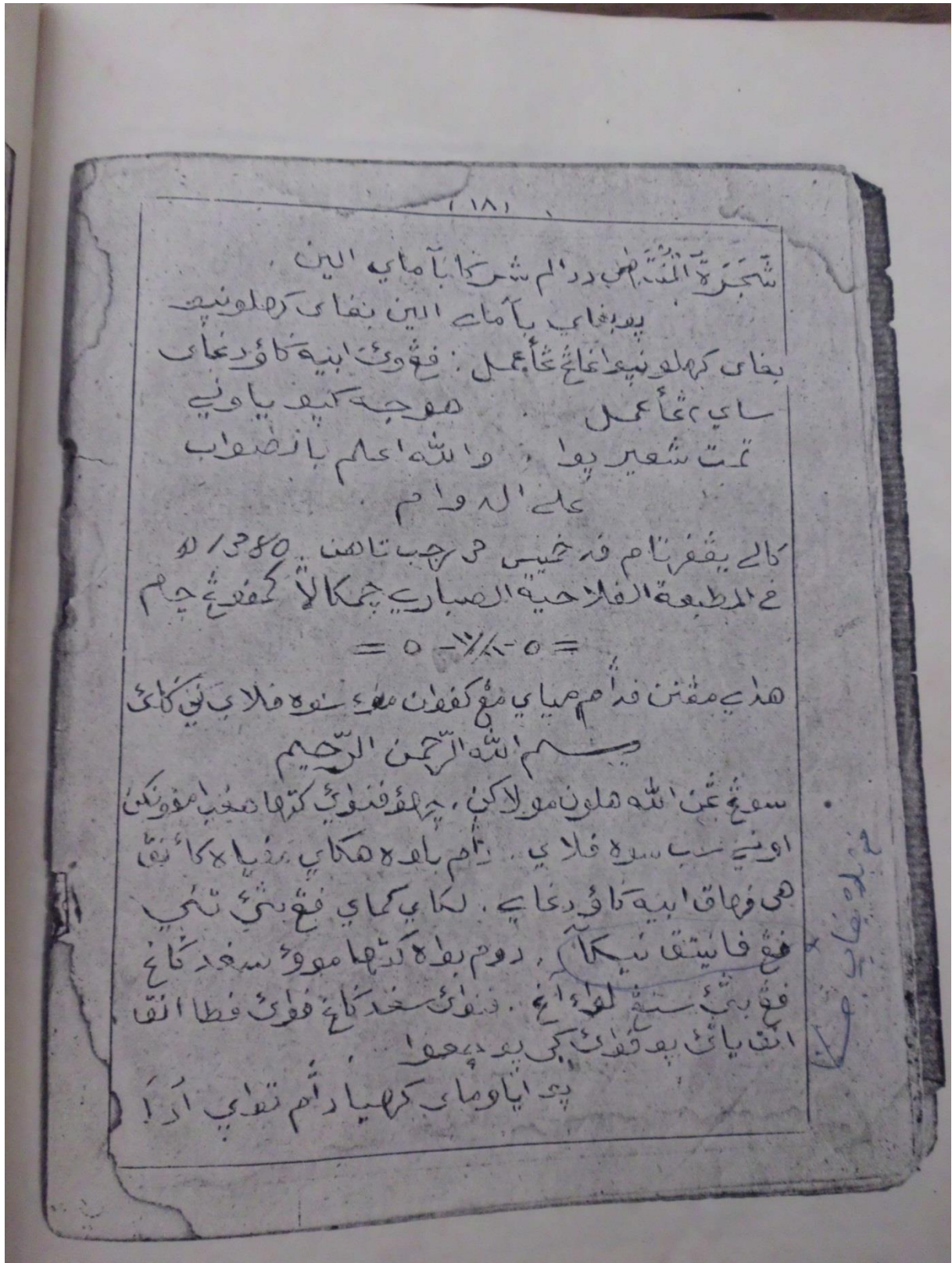


Figure 2. Cham jawi version of Muk Sruh Palei by Abu Talep of Chroy Metrey (private collection of Tuon Him, Chrang Chamres, Phnom Penh). Source: author.

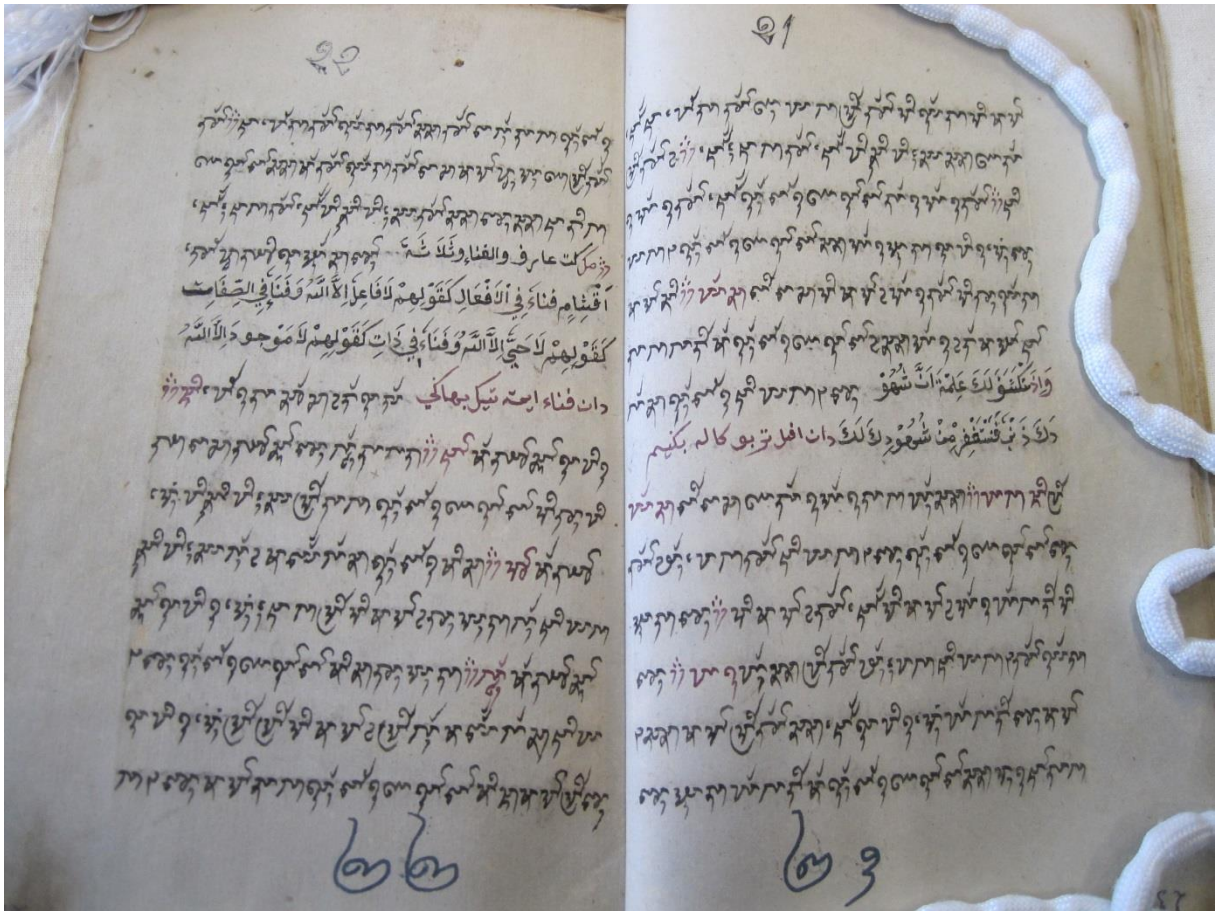


Figure 3. Akhar trah text *Bayan syarik* with Arabic passages and Malay insertions (in violet ink). SEA 39, Hull History Centre. Source: author.

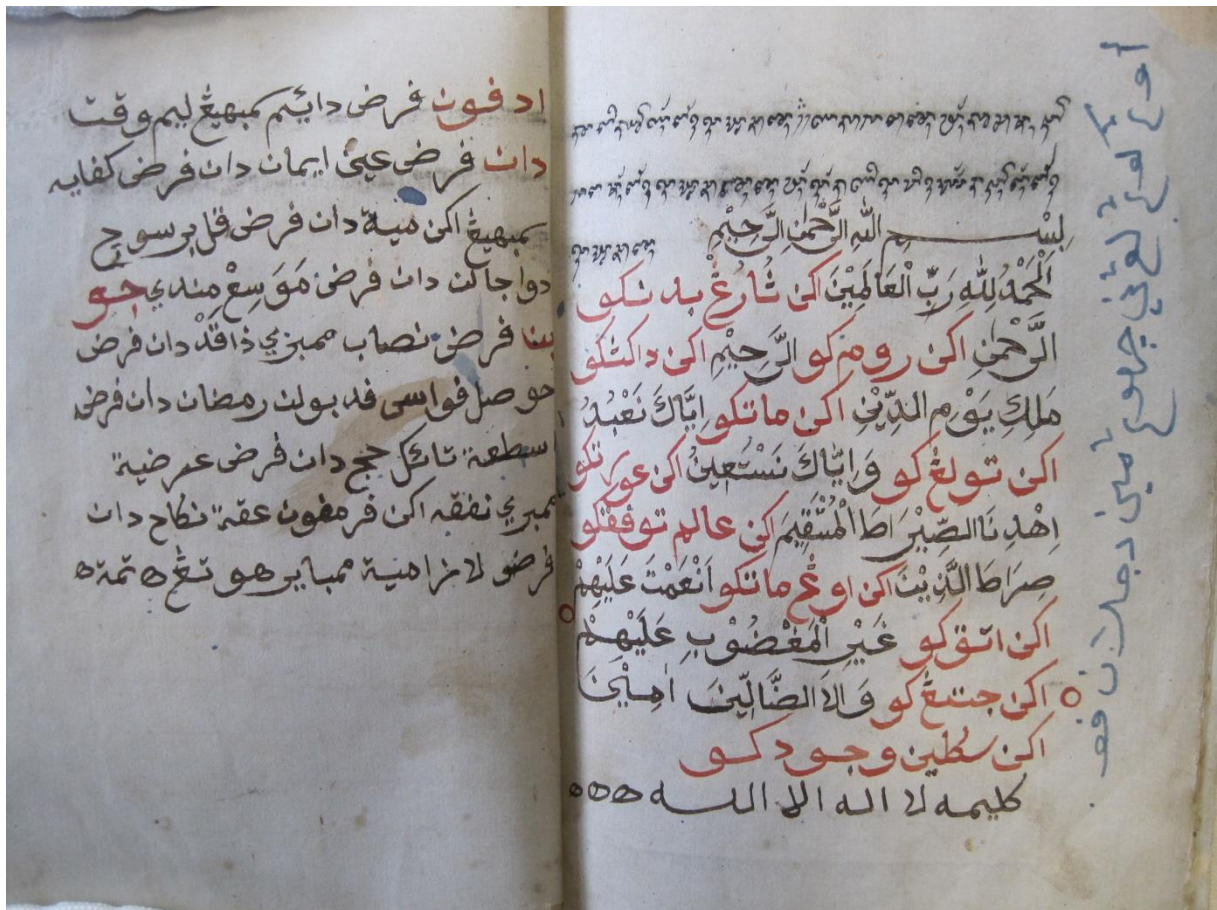


Figure 4. Akhar trah, Arabic, jawi and Cham jawi (in blue ink on the margin) writing side by side. SEA 39, Hull History Centre. Source: author.



Figure 5. Epitaph of Mufti Hj. Math in Phum Trea (Kampong Cham). Source: author.



Figure 6. Alleged royal Cham grave in Tay Ninh (Vietnam). Image provided by Jay Willoughby.

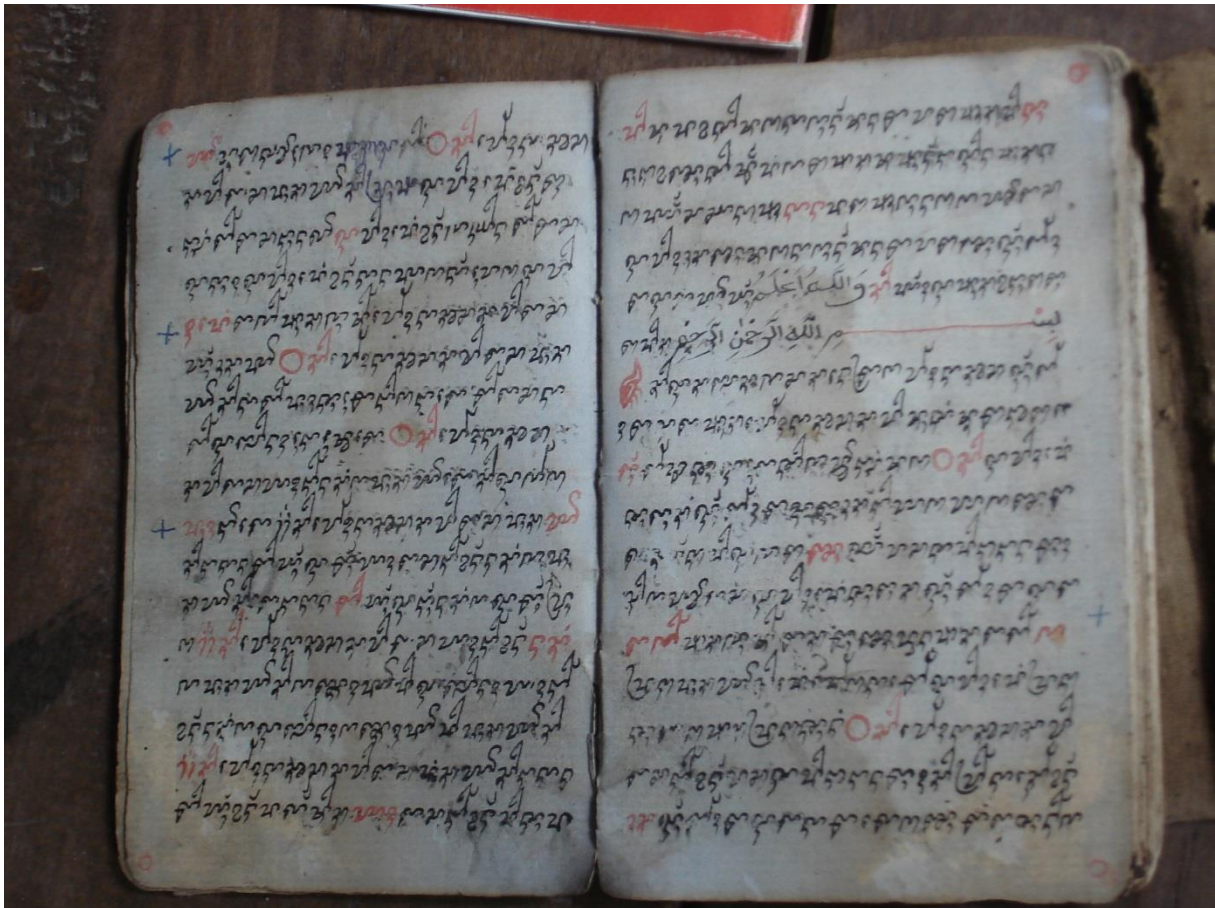


Figure 7. Cham manuscript from the collection of former KIS hakem Kai Tam (Svay Pakao, Kampong Chhnang). Source: author.

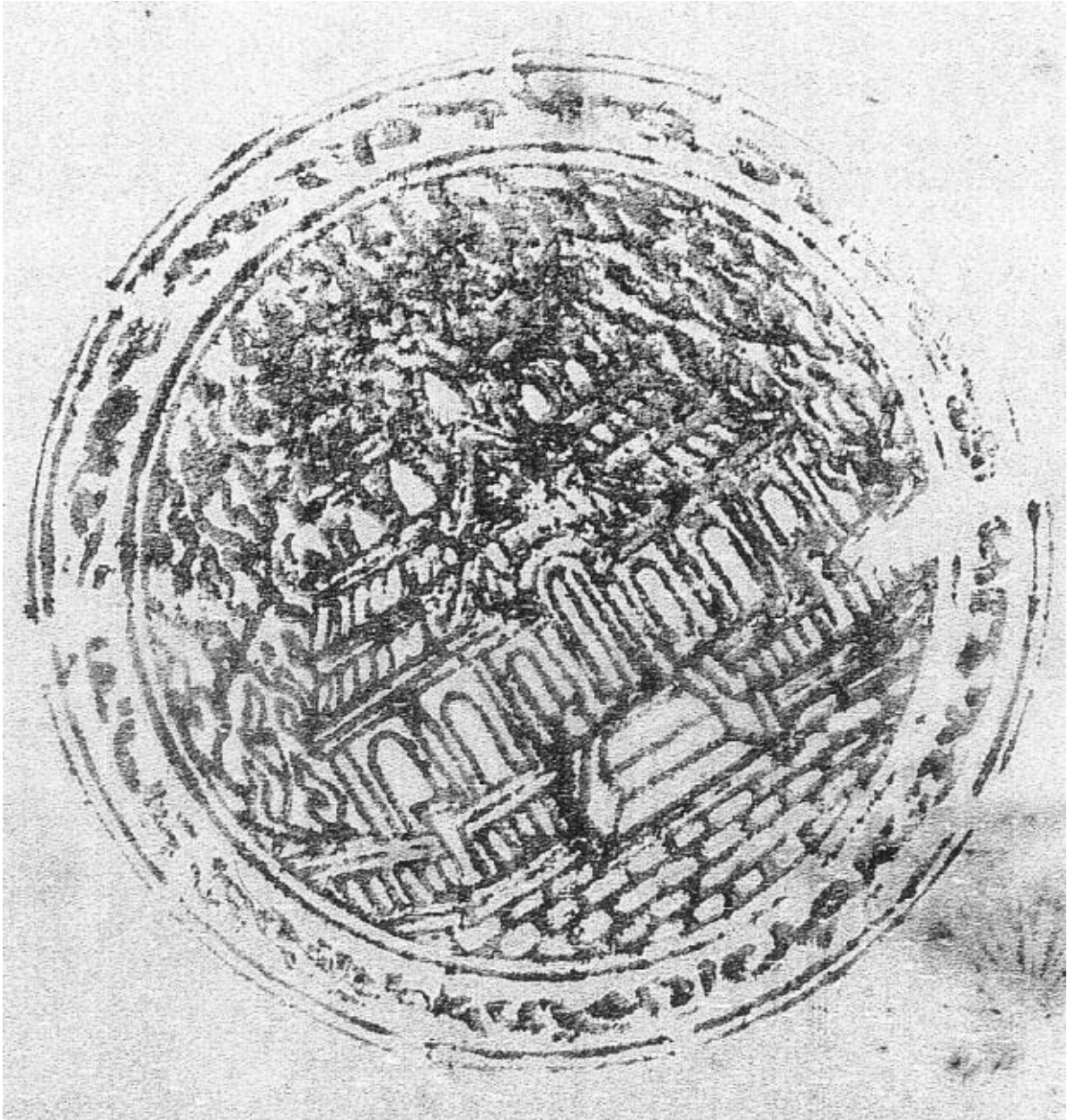


Figure 8. Seal of a Cambodian Muslim dignitary. Source: ANC-RSC 27688.

بالعباد
يا رحما

سلام الله على الدوام ما دامت الليالي والايام
رائع لئلا تنال صحيفة كهداخذ مجلس اوم يقطع
توان الحاج عبد الرحمن حروي بقوادعك سبحة
امين وبعد المذكور كل الحقير الحاج وان محمد ادرسي
خطاني مشاكك كندا ابهنا فصل علي حروي بقوادعك
قوله يعقود ذكره كان جمعة ما سيق سفره دملوك
وان سدا بالكل والسلام على من اتبع الهدى كسر سلام
فرحنا كباي ابهنا والحاضرين كثير السلام
الحاج محمد ادرسي امين

يعني ذكره كان جمعة ما سيق كما في الامين

أشرف
أشرف
أشرف

كان ذكره في المناسد مقدم على جلب المتأخر
أشرف
أشرف
أشرف

Figure 9. Fatwa of Wan Muhammad Idris Patani on the Friday prayer issue. Source: ANC-RSC 35825.

10-3/34

فد

کیت حاج عبدالرحمن جعفری قاضی مسجد جرړی جغتو
اداب ستوجه دامن سورة فرشتا کا یما فوله اورا فتح
فد کفعتی تکلوال فایت خوده مشکو کاشیه
نما ابو بکر یوسف جدی حکم دان فی سیلان
جدی امام فد کفعتی تکلوال ایت بول سیرغا
دینسین ادا



Figure 10. Letter of appointment to Muslim dignitaries in Pursat. Source: ANC-RSC 30364.

លេខ	ឈ្មោះស្រុក	ឈ្មោះ	លេខ	ឈ្មោះស្រុក	លេខ	ឈ្មោះស្រុក
១៣	ស្រុក-ថ្មប	ឈ្មោះ	១	យាយភិប	១៧	
១៤	ស្រុក-សេក	ឈ្មោះ	២	សាម៉ង់	៥០	
១៥	ស្រុក-ដល	ឈ្មោះ	៣	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
១៦	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៤	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
១៧	ស្រុក-ថ្ម	ឈ្មោះ	៥	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
១៨	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៦	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
១៩	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៧	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២០	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៨	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២១	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៩	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២២	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១០	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៣	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១១	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៤	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១២	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៥	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៣	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៦	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៤	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៧	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៥	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៨	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៦	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
២៩	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៧	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣០	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៨	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣១	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	១៩	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣២	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២០	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៣	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២១	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៤	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២២	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៥	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៣	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៦	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៤	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៧	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៥	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៨	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៦	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៣៩	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៧	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤០	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៨	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤១	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	២៩	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤២	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣០	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៣	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣១	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៤	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣២	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៥	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៣	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៦	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៤	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៧	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៥	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៨	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៦	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៤៩	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៧	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	
៥០	ស្រុក-ថ្មត	ឈ្មោះ	៣៨	សាម៉ង់ស៊ីយា	២៤	

Figure 11. Petition for the nomination of HJ. Sulaiman as *hakem* of Norea (Battambang). Source: ANC-RSC 30380.



Figure 12. Tuon Muhammad Nour (former student of Mat Sales Haroun) and his wife (Phum Trea, 2012). Source: author.



Figure 13. Les Sary (brother of Les Kosem) and former FULRO/5 BIS member Abdul Nasir bin Abdul Malik (Phnom Penh, 2012). Source: author.



Figure 14. Ceremonial conclusion of a marriage contract involving a Malay book (Siam Reap, 2005).
Source: author.



Figure 15. Former deputy mufti Tuon Him and his son (Chrang Chamres, 2012). Source: author.



Figure 16 Surau Hj. Awang (headquarter of the Ahmadiyya *ṭarīqa*) in Kampung Atas Banggol (Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 2012). Source: author.



Figure 17. Descendants of Cambodian Muslim migrants studying the *Muqaddam* at Surau Bunga Emas (Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 2012). Source: author.

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Abstract

Since the 19th century Islam among Cambodia's Muslim minority has witnessed profound changes. One of the most salient and illustrative aspects of these changes was the adoption of Malay language and its adaptation of the Arabic script, known as the *jawi* language and script respectively, as main language of religious instruction and scholarship among a community of speakers of the Cham and Khmer languages. This greatly enhanced place of Malay both accompanied and provided a necessary basis for an unprecedented expansion of Islamic schooling in the country. Secondly, it was a symbol of the full immersion of an important and steadily growing segment of Cambodia's Muslims in an emerging trans-Southeast Asian Muslim scholarly culture and its social manifestations predicated on the common usage of *jawi*. Thus, the historical process of religious change among Cambodian Muslims under study is being referred to as *Jawization*. Based on an assumed intimate link between culture and language, it is argued that the Southeast Asian-wide unifying and homogenizing role of *jawi* was, however, also potentially disruptive in nature as it entailed the marginalization of Islamic discourses and literatures in other local languages. This study traces the spread of *Jawization* and resulting intra-Muslim factionalism in Cambodia since the late 19th century by elucidating the local and regional religious, political, technological and social configurations behind it. In this respect it pays particular attention to the existence of scholarly networks linking Cambodian Muslims to co-religionists from/in Malay centers of learning on the Malay Peninsular and the Middle East, and the role of books, magazines and fatwas in communication between them. In addition, it likewise highlights the resilience of local opposition to the changes associated with *Jawization* as having eventually led to the establishment of two distinct officially recognized Islamic communities in the country.

Abstract

Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert hat der Islam der muslimischen Minderheit Kambodschas signifikante Wandlungsprozesse erfahren. Einen der bemerkenswertesten und augenfälligsten Aspekte dieser Wandlungen stellt die Annahme des Malaiischen und seiner Adaption der arabischen Schrift, bekannt als *jawi* Sprache und Schrift, als Hauptvehikel in den Bereichen der religiösen Bildung und der islamischen Gelehrsamkeit unter den lokalen muslimischen Cham- und Khmersprechern dar. Diese derartige Aufwertung des Malaiischen beförderte bzw. ging einher mit einer steten Expansion des islamischen Bildungsbereiches im Lande. Des Weiteren symbolisiert sie das graduelle Aufgehen relevanter und in beständigem Wachstum begriffener Teile der kambodschanischen muslimischen Gemeinde in einer aufkeimenden trans-südostasiatischen Gelehrtenkultur und ihrer sozialen Manifestation auf Basis einer gemeinsamen Verwendung des *jawi*. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache wird der behandelte Prozess religiösen Wandels unter den Muslimen Kambodschas in der vorliegenden Studie als *Jawisierung* bezeichnet. Vor dem Hintergrund der Annahme, dass Sprache und Kultur sich als eng verwoben darstellen, wird allerdings hierbei auch eine potentiell und faktisch konfliktreiche Facette dieser südostasienweit einenden und homogenisierenden Rolle des *jawi* postuliert. Dies vor allem deshalb, weil sie zwangsläufig mit der Marginalisierung islamischer Diskurse und Literaturen in anderen Sprachen der Region einherging. Die vorliegende Studie zeichnet die Genese des Prozesses der *Jawisierung* und der aus ihm resultierenden innerreligiösen Konflikte in Kambodscha ab dem späten 19. Jahrhundert anhand lokaler und regionaler religiöser, politischer, technologischer und sozialer Konfigurationen nach. Dahingehend liegt ein besonderes Augenmerk auf der Existenz von Gelehrtennetzwerken, welche die kambodschanischen Muslime mit malaiischen Glaubensbrüdern auf (bzw. aus) der Malaiischen Halbinsel und im Nahen Osten verbanden, sowie auf der Relevanz von Büchern, Zeitschriften und Fatwas im gegenseitigen Austausch. Beachtung findet darüber hinaus auch die Resilienz gegenläufiger lokaler Strömungen, welche sich schließlich in der offiziellen Anerkennung zweier getrennter islamischer Glaubensgemeinschaften in Kambodscha manifestieren sollte.

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