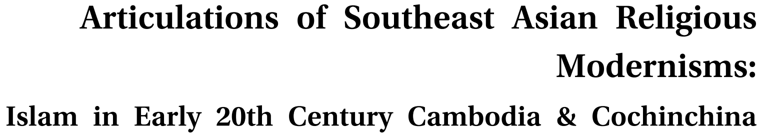

Articulations of Southeast Asian Religious Modernisms:

Islam in Early 20th Century Cambodia & Cochinchina

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[*Abstract*]

This article is about the emergence of Islamic modernism among Cham Muslim communities in Cambodia and Cochinchina during the early 20th century. Based on a combined critical reading of existing scholarship, historicized first-hand anthropological accounts, as well as archival sources from the National Archives of Cambodia and the Vietnam National Archives II, it argues accounts of modernists in these sources were either (1) cast through a French colonial reading of a Buddhist state lens and (2) cast through a Malay lens, based upon the Kaum Muda/Kaum Tua divide. First, it proceeds with a historical explanation of the emergence of Islam and the discourse used to describe Muslim communities in Vietnamese, French, and Cham language sources. Then, it turns the narrative toward an examination of the emergence of the "Kaum Muda" or "New Group" of reformist-minded modernist Muslims in early 20th century Cambodia. Delineating the networks of these intellectuals as they stretched across the border through Cochinchina, also highlights a pre-existing transnational element to the community, one that well predates current discussions of twenty-first-century transnationalism. Through

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a combination of the study of multiple language sources and historical methods, the article highlights the importance of polylingualism in the study of the history of Muslims in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Islam, Kingdom of Cambodia, French Indochina, Cochinchina, Reformism

Ⅰ. Introduction to the Islam of the Cham: Until the 20th century

Scholars of Southeast Asian religions have produced an incredible breadth of studies that have delineated standard religious practices as a form of regional identity. They tend to see all of the following as common, region-wide, characteristics of traditional Southeast Asian religions: Ancestor worship and veneration; an emphasis on practice over belief; popularization of spirit possessions and belief in ghosts or spirits; emphases on sacred spaces and sacred time; the development of individual and communal ethical codes; the maintenance of sacred rites of protection, healing and transformation; cosmic dualism; and syncretism. Additionally, there is an in-depth body of literature that has already studied the development of modernist/traditionalist discourse as articulated throughout the Southeast Asian Buddhist world, as well as in the Islamic world of Island Southeast Asia. Few studies, if any, have argued that an emerging modernist-traditionalist discourse is a unique aspect of "Southeast Asian Religion," writ large, that must be set within its deep assessment of Southeast Asian history, culture, and languages. This paper takes on just that angle, drawing evidence from the microcosm of early 20th century colonial Cambodia into connection with the macrocosm of regional dynamics. It, therefore, seeks to contribute uniquely to the scholarly study of Southeast Asian religion, history, and modernisms.

Soon after the *Hijra* [622 CE], Arabic and Chinese source materials record the “Champa Sea” as an integral avenue between Arabia and China. Five Arabic texts (7th–13th centuries), Tang [618 – 960 CE], and Song [960 – 1280 CE] dynasty records all suggest very

early Islamic influence in the area. Nearly contemporaneously, a large community of Chamic *Hui Hui* moved to Hainan in the 10th century. They are not ethnolinguistically related to China's contemporary *Hui* minority, although both *Hui Hui* (also: Utsat) and *Hui* derive their names from the same classical Chinese character.[1] Hence, the character *Hui* in pre-colonial times should be interpreted to mean anything from "Persian" to "Arab" to "Muslim" and even "resembling Muslims" (Manguin 1979: 258–59, Ali 1991: 124; Houben 2003: 153; Zain Musa 2004: 47; Ba Trung Phu 2006; DeFeo 2007; Ba Trung Phu 2008: 28; VNA II: Hồ sơ 3001). The evidence suggests that there was at least some form of Islamic practice in what is now Vietnam and Cambodia by the 10th century. Similarly, there is a Cham history of a *Po Ualah* who traveled to Mecca in the 10th century and returned to rule at least a portion of the Champa civilization. The reign of *Po Ualah* is the origin of a particular religious community: the Cham Bani according to many local interpretations. Until recently, the Bani were viewed as a form of "syncretic Islam," although fieldwork by the author (2013-2014) suggested that not all "Bani" identify as Muslims. Between China and Arabia, "being Muslim" was rooted in local, rather than global, interpretations.

The Chinese character *Hui* also took on new meanings in a Vietnamese context where it is pronounced *Hồi*. *Hồi* became the root for the word "Islam" (Vn.: *Đạo hồi*) and "Muslims" (Vn.: *người theo hồi giáo*). Additional local variations of *Hui* appear as *Hồi Hồi,* a common name for the "Bani" in 1940's and 1950's Vietnam. As in Chinese, reduplication of a Vietnamese term can either add or reduce emphasis. For example, *Đã đã* means "a very long time ago, " and *nhỏ nhỏ* means "rather small." The case of *Hồi hồi* in 1950's Vietnamese society appears to be the latter of the two, although scholars have hypothesized about possible Shīah origins to the Bani (Cabaton 1906: 31; Ba Trung Phu 2006, 2008) as well as the possibility of Sufi and Buddhist influences (Thành Phần 2013). Deeper examinations of *ta'rikh* Arabic historiographical material and Cham manuscripts may make it possible to more clearly delineate early Islamic influences, giving greater insight into the cacophony of

[1] The character is: ⊡

individual practices among mainland Southeast Asian Muslims today. Although the clear majority of Muslims in Vietnam and Cambodia today are Cham Šāfi'ī Sunnī practitioners,[2] Variations of interpretation of Islamic jurisprudence allowed for the individual *Cam Biruw*, Malay, Indonesian, Bawaen, Cham Islam, Khmer Islam, Tablighi Jamaat,[3] One can find Salafī, Sufī, Ḥanafī, Šāfi'ī, Sunnī, and Shīa influences throughout Muslim and non-Muslim communities in these two states. All potential historical evidence suggest that this significant variation developed most distinctly in the 20th century, concurrent with urbanization and increasing migrations of Middle Eastern, African and Indian Muslims to mainland Southeast Asia.

By comparison with other colonial affairs, French archival sources in the NAC and VNA II [XIXth c. – 1950s] make scant mention of Muslim populations. When they do, they rely predominantly upon the previous taxonomy of French colonial administrator, Chamophile, and orientalist Etienne Aymonier. For Aymonier, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochinchine (Saigon, Tây Ninh, and An Giang provinces) were of a single cultural space. Here, all Cham were Muslim; the second largest Muslim population were Malays. There were also many Cham-Malay families. Meanwhile, the areas that are now Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận in Annam were a separate cultural space. Privately, Aymonier even advocated reviving sovereign Cham political power here as a "buffer state." Finally, Aymonier reported that the Cham were divided between "Brahmanists”–known alternatively as *Bà la môn* in Vietnamese or *Cam Jat* in Cham–and the *Bani*. In his view the Bani were not necessarily Muslims, although they did perform some "adulterated practices," while the "Brahmanists” were also called *akaphiér* or *kafir*, a Cham term derived from the Arabic for “non-believer,”[4] sans the pejorative connotations in the local context (Aymonier 1891: 20 –24, 27, 38; Zain Musa 2004: 49).

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[2] There are four schools of Sunni Islam: Ḥanafī, Malikī, Ḥanbalī, and Šāfi'ī. Only the Shafi'i is indeed popular among Southeast Asian Muslims (Riddel 2001: 54–55).

[3] The Tablighi Jamaat, who originated out of the Uloom Deobandi offshoot of the Hanafi school, arrived in Cambodia via Kelantan (Malaysia) in 1993.

[4] From Ar.: *Kafir* - /*kfr*/ “to cover.” This should not be confused with the term *kufur*, an Arabic and Malay world, which means “without thanks,” as has been done in some recent publications and online essays in the field of Cham Studies.

There have been some claims that the Cham community in late 19th and early 20th century Cambodia was split between "Bani and Murni," although these claims are contested by other assertions that the term "Bani" only became popular in Cambodia in the 1950's. Furthermore, they have relied upon a citation of Etienne Aymonier's primary sources, and a critical rereading of the sources provides no evidence that Cham in Cambodia used the term "Murni." Some credence may be added to the claims that this term was used, given that the meaning of the word is "pure" in Malay. However, there is yet no confirmable written use of the word from the sources that secondary scholarship cited (see: Zain Musa 2004: 51; Zain Musa 2011: 89; Aymonier 1890: 145–46; Aymonier 1891, 1893, 1900). The term may have been upstreamed, that is, read back into history by later scholarship. Stockhof (2008) admits that he may be accused of the same in his assertions of reading *Bawaen* (from the island of Bawaen, Java Sea) identity in the colonial records of Malay Muslims of Saigon, although he, at least, attempts to back these claims with citations of oral historical evidence. Indeed, there is scant proof of any community other than "Malay Muslims" near Saigon before the 20th century.

One account suggests Malay Muslims first migrated to the Saigon delta area in the 1850's. Then, *Masjid Al-Rahim* at what is now Nam Kỳ Khởi Nghĩa Street was constructed with a land grant to “Indian Muslims” in 1863 although it took 22 years to complete the project (1885) (Goucoch divers 2995, 1933). It was the city’s first mosque. Another migration of Malays, some supposedly from Bawaen Island, appeared throughout the 1880's and 1890's (Stockhof, 2008: 34–46). Until the mid-20th century, however, there were few Cham Muslims, if any, in the vicinity of the city. Rather, most Cham Muslims were concentrated in the “Cham-Malay” communities of Cambodia, Tây Ninh, and Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc. Rare late 19th and early 20th century documents suggest that the Cham in these areas at the time had a sound knowledge of Indic-based Cham script and only a scratch knowledge of Jawi. However, "Malayization" was persistent and the Cham of Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh today often report that they have "lost" the Cham script, preferring "Jawi Cham."[5] Later, "Cham Rumi"[6] As they

Islamicized in the 19th century, the Cham at Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc and Tây Ninh became known as "New Cham"[7] (EM Durand, 1903; Phan Văn Dốp 1993: 129–32, 162; Trần Nam 'Tiến 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hẳn 2005: 101; Phú Văn Hẳn 2013: 26). Their Imams were subordinate to the ORMTCC[8] outside Phnom Penh because there was no Mufti-like figure in Cochinchina or Annam, until Mufti Hj. Omar Ali was raised to the position in the 1960's. This development was one factor in the increased complexity of the taxonomy "Cham religions in Vietnam," which seem to have multiplied during the 20th century.

The combined analysis of Aymonier (1891) and Sakaya (2013) demonstrates that the Cham community in Vietnam developed a more complex internal taxonomy of religious identity over 100 years of discourse. Sakaya (2013) clarifies that Aymonier's (1891) single category of Hindu-influenced "Brahminists/Bà la môn/Cam Jat" is now considered to be two types: 1) *Cam Jat* – those Cham who only practice ancestral worship and 2) *Cam Ahiér* – Śiavite-Hindu influenced Cham. Sakaya (2013) also classifies two communities influenced by Islam: 1) *Cam Awal* or "Bani"[9] – Hindu, Muslim, ancestral worship and folk belief practitioners – and 2) *Cham Islam* – Šāfi'ī Sunnī Muslims. I do not wish to propose that either Sakaya's or Aymonier's classifications are "wrong" or "inaccurate." I do, however, want to argue that differences reflect profound social changes, as well as critical discourses between Islam and the state in the middle of the twentieth century. For example, two new terms appear in VNA II archival documents as of the 1950's and 1960's describe the Bani as "Old Islam"[10] and the Cham Islam as "New

[5] "Jawi Cham" is script derived from Malay-Jawi, which is a mundane Arabic script adapted by the Malay language. Cham and Malay Jawi forms are slightly different.

[6] Romanized Cham developed after Malay Rumi was fully standardized in the mid-late 20th century.

[7] C.: *Cam Biruw*

[8] The Oknha Reachea Montrei Thippedy Chruoy Changvar (ORMTCC) was essentially the senior cleric in Cambodia.

[9] Sakaya (2013) uses the terms *Awal* and *Bani* interchangeably. However, as previously mentioned in this article, members of the Bani community tend to state that the *Awal* are only the cleric class, while the *Bani* are the believers.

[10] Vn.: *Hồi giáo cũ*

Islam."[11] These distinctions directly parallel earlier Malay language differences between conservatives[12] and reformists/modernists[13] who made waves in the beginning of the 20th century around the Gulf of Thailand zone, with intense religious debates reaching Siam by the 1930's and Cambodia by the 1950's. The arrival of the Kaum Muda in Cambodia was, therefore, a critical precursor to a later shift in discourse in Vietnam.

Ⅱ. Kaum Muda Arrive in Cambodia

Imam Tuan Hj. Ali Musa (Ly Mousa) [b. 1916– d. 1975] and Imam Hj. Mohammed Ahmed India (Son Math) [d. 1975] were two of the most critical members of the Cham Muslim community in Cambodia and therefore two of the first executed by the Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge) regime in 1975. They were also two of Cambodia's most prominent "Kaum Muda" figures who advocated "reformism."[14] Cham, Malay, Cham-Malay, and all other Muslims in pre-colonial Cambodia were known under the blanket term *Cam-Jvea* (Mak 1988). It follows that Khmers may have recognized Islam as "*Sasana Cam-Jvea.*" The term means "Religion of the Cam-Jvea," which we may conclude was dominantly Islam, given the socio-historical context. By the 20th century, Islam would have been classified as a "Religion of the Others," as opposed to "Khmer Religion" (i.e. Theravada Buddhism). By the 1940's, to be specific, "Mahanikaya" Theravada Buddhism was considered the "National Religion," as colonialist and royalist forces partnered in an attempt to stave off "Thai-Thammayuti reformism" (Hoeffel 1932; Edwards 2007: 15; Jammes 2013).[15] Because reformism and modernism were associated with anti-colonial sentiment, it would be no surprise that

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[11] Vn.: *Hồi giáo mới*

[12] M.: *Kaum Tua*

[13] M.: *Kaum Muda*

[14] Ar.: *al-ʾIṣlāḥ*

[15] Hansen (2007: 116) notes that the fear was that the Dhammayuti–which was founded by King Monkut–would have significant influence and a "deluge" of monks were studying in Bangkok, although this path is better characterized as a "steady trickle."

the French colonial stance was anti-Islamic reformism, following the general policy of being anti-Buddhist reformism. Regardless, this did not equate to a "pro-Cham" and "anti-Malay" stance throughout the colonial period.

Much colonial policy seems to have "overwritten" the Cham Muslim populations of Cambodia, ignoring them or, perhaps intentionally, not granting them the same recognition as other minority groups. Education policy set in 1924 mandated only “state-narratives” of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The Cham were therefore classified as a “conquered people” by the French, whose history was covered only under the “victories of the Lê dynasty” section of the history curriculum. Language policy set in 1933 recognized Tieu Chieu, Hakkanese, Akha (“Burmaine”), Malay, and Arabic minority languages, but not Cham (NAC Box 438: 13; NAC Box 745, RSC File 8465). These policies would have implicitly encouraged a “Malayization” and “Islamicization” of the Cham population in colonial Cambodia. Then, perhaps due to a recognition of this trend, and, in a seeming rhetorical turn, French Resident Superior Thibaudeau foolishly declared that *all* “Malays” living in the Kingdom of Cambodia were “in reality Cham who were installed in Cambodia after the conquest of their country” (NAC Box 3674, RSC File 35468).

Thibaudeau’s claims were laden with political implications. If all “Malays” were “in reality Cham,” his declaration disassociated them from the Malay world, staving off an apparent trend of increased, and potentially anti-colonial, Malay influence in late colonial Cambodia. Based on the analysis of a precious series of Resident Superior of Cambodia (RSC) documents at the NAC, scholars have widely hypothesized about degrees of “Malayization” and “Jawization” during the 1930's and 1940's (Guérin 2004; Farouk 2008: 70–73; Bruckmayr 2013; Weber 2013). Granted that there may have been more historical documents that were destroyed by the civil war, the Khmer Rouge, or that simply, they have all been lost to time, a close examination of the RSC collections suggests that "actual Jawization," measured by literacy in Jawi was minimal at best. Based on an analysis of public petitions, the broadest evidence of sample literacy among mosque educated males, a mere 10% of

men, at most, could affix their signatures. Only two pages of legible Jawi can be found in the RSC (NAC) collections, among several thousand in the NAC as a whole on the "Cham, Malay, Cham-Malay, and Muslim" populations. This does not mean that there was no Malay influence. However, it does indicate that any influence was "top down" descending from the intellectual elite. Regardless, there was a discernible increase of Kaum Muda-like discourse that emerges in 1930's and 1940's Cambodia that originated from across the Gulf of Thailand. The location and timing of these origins are critical since it would later allow the Bani group in Vietnam and the Kaum Imam San group in Cambodia to represent “local” or, in contemporary times “indigenous” adaptations of Islam, as opposed to “foreign Malay” or “foreign Arabic” forms.

The Kaum Muda/Kaum Tua divide appeared in Muslim communities in British Malaya and Singapore as early as 1906.[16] Kaum Muda leaders Shiek Tahi Jalauddhin and Muhammed Yuno relied upon print outlets such as *Al-Iman* (1906 –), *Nercha, Utusan Melayu,* and *Lembaga Melayu* (Singapore), as well as the *Al-Iknhwan* magazine of Syed Sheik al-Hadi (1925 –) (Pulao Penang) to spread their ideas regarding reforms. In response, the Kaum Tua published *Lidah Benar* out of Selangor, debates spread through Cham-Malay communities in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, and Baan Krua, Bangkok. Cham had been in these communities since the 17th century when a Cham-Malay lineage merged into the royal line of the Sultanate of Kelantan and up to three brothers of the Champa sovereign, Po Saut arrived in the royal court of Narai at Pata Ku Cham, Ayutthaya. From the 17th to the 20th century, a network of royalty, traders, teachers, texts, and philosophies forged connections between Kota Bharu (Malaysia); Baan Krua (Thailand); Battambang, Kampong Cham, and Phnom Penh (Cambodia); as well as Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc, Tây Ninh, Phan Rí, and Phan Rang. Each large

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[16] Rashid Rida, founder of *The Lighthouse* (*al-Manar*). The Kaum Muda looked up to him as the predominant "modernist" reformer. He used *al-Manar* to advocate the teachings of Mohammed Abduh [1849-1905]. These included several criticisms of Sufi practices, which were widespread throughout Southeast Asia (Abaza 1998: 96).

town and rising urban center became its node of Islamic influence (Ner 1941: 164; Scupin 1988, 1989, 2000; Zain Musa 2004: 51; Weber 2005; Zain Musa 2008: 61; Zain Musa 2011: 90–92; Noseworthy 2013; NAC Box 745; NAC Box 811).[17]

The Kaum Muda arrived in Baan Krua, Bangkok in 1926 with the teachings of Minangkabau Malay teacher Ahmad Wahab and Thai-Indian/Pakistani teacher Direk Kulsiriwad. Kulsiriwad's Kaum Muda stances were as simple as favoring translation of the Qur'an into Thai and studying a reformed set of *ḥadīṯ*–collections of phrases or sayings with the tacit approval or disapproval of the prophet Mohammed. Translation in the Malay world was not limited to "producing a faithful rendering of the original text alone, but at the time created a very free rendering, seeing fit both to reduce and expand the original, drawing on various Arabic commentaries as the occasion demanded" (Ridell 2001: 185). So, we can expect that translation in Baan Krua followed this model and was viewed skeptically by Siam's *Chularajamontri* Tuan Suwannasat, who took a Kaum Tua stance in *Rua Sunnī Islam* (1935). Nevertheless, the Kaum Muda continued to spread and at least one "Thai Muslim," possibly actually Malay or Cham in origin, traveled from Baan Krua through Cambodia, to Mỹ Thơ in the Mekong Delta to teach in the 1930's. There were also several teachers who travelled from peninsular Malaysia to Cambodia (Scupin 1988, 1989, 2000; Riddel 2001: 211; Zain Musa 2004: 51; Gilquin 2005: 116; Zain Musa 2008: 61; Zain Musa 2011: 90–92; NAC Box 745; NAC Box 811). The Kaum Muda's influence was spreading.

Although French civil servant and ethnographer Marcel Ner (1941: 187) objected to referring to the ORMTCC as the "Mufti" of Cambodia, as archival evidence suggests that the ORMTCC was indeed a "Mufti-like"–if not actual "Mufti"–position, held at the time by Hj. Ismael. As the ORMTCC Hj. Ismael, like Siam's Mufti-*Chularajamontri* and the head clerics of Selangor, initially took a Kaum Tua-like stance. Admittedly, it is only through later scholarly implication that these stances were "Kaum Tua-like" (since

[17] Sheik Daud bin Abdalla bin Indris al-Fatani even reportedly took refuge in Cambodia, fleeing the expansion of Siam in the 19th century (Guérin 2004: 39)

we have no record of Kaum Muda having a direct role in Cambodia until the 1950s). However, we can suggest an earlier presence of modernist and reformist tendencies through NAC records that recorded, through a Buddhist, Khmer and French lens, the presence of "Thammayuti Muslims."[18] Buddhicization is a greater trend in the colonial record at the time. *Haj* is replaced by records of "journeys to *Jetavana*"–the famous school where the Buddha gave many lectures in northern India. Knowledge of *fiqh*, *sharī'ah,* and *ḥadīṯ* were rephrased as "Muslim precepts" or "Muslim Vinaya." Mosques were registered as *Wat* or *Vihear* in Khmer, although they were simultaneously classified as *Mosquée* in French. Additionally, clerics were given Khmer titles. *Hakem* were given the title *Takaley* and Imam, *Mekhum* (NAC Box 2968; NAC Box 3052, RSC 27641; NAC Box 3310, RSC 30380). The *Mekhum* held the additional responsibility of collecting paddy land tax for funds to be filtered upward through the *Takaley,* the *Balat,* and the *Oknha*–all the way to the Khmer monarch (NAC Box 3052). Even as the Kaum Muda influence began to spread, the Muslim community was incorporated into a Khmer royal and French colonial state complex. By comparison, the process of state incorporation would not be paralleled among Muslim communities in Vietnamese territories until the post-colonial period.

As a new precedent to the spread of legal reform, a case came before the office of the ORMTCC in 1924. As of April 24, Malays [and Chams] living in the 6th quarter of Phnom Penh [Chruoy Changvar] noted that their religion dictated that a corpse should be laid tranquil at death and that no procedures should be made to mummify or conduct autopsies on the dead body. All 97 male signatories, signed a petition supporting the juridical ruling against autopsies.[19] The responding correspondence from Dr. Bouvaist to the mayor of Phnom Penh stated that the procedure was merely a

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[18] Thammayuti Buddhists were reformist Buddhists in Thailand. Therefore, "Thammayuti Muslims" seems to have clear implications.

[19] The "front" signatures were remarkably uniform, suggesting a scribe was used. Followed by increasingly rough Jawi, then 'xxxs' and 'thumbprint' signatories for the back pages. See: Petition to the resident superior in Phnom Penh: Dated: April 24, 1924. In NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

routine test of the femoral lymph nodes to ensure that bacterial infections, such as the plague, were not spreading in the city. The doctor assured the mayor that the test had been going on for some years and that all the Europeans, Indians, Muslims, Annamites, Cambodians, and Chinese in the city were being subjected to it. He further assured the mayor that this was not a unique requirement specific to the inhabitants of the 6th quarter [Chruoy Changvar] and that it was principally for research.[20] However, three days later, more than 300 Cham Muslims addressed the Council of Ministers increasing their demands, stating that the administration should additionally consider the removal of acupuncture, the practice of autopsy, and the inspection of "intimate parts" from the repertoire of acceptable medical practices. The issue was then forwarded directly from Minister of the Interior and Cults, Phanuvong, to the office of the Resident Superior.[21] A final response letter by Dr. Bouvaist recorded that for internments, Muslims resorted to alcohol ["beer," but more likely rice wine] when they massaged the stomach to clean the bowels and to remove the intestines and liver quickly. It reiterated the argument that Muslims should follow the request of Dr. Bouvaist as these were the only means of conducting research on bacterial infections and detecting whether the plague was present in the cadaver.[22] Although the stance of the community had been clear, and the colonial administration had maintained its resolve, it is also evident that the community at Chruoy Changvar maintained a relatively conservative stance about Muslim burial practices.

The state's partnering with Muslim clerics created a traditional institution similar to the Kaum Tua in Malaysia or Siam. Under the ORMTCC in Cambodia, as many as 13 *Oknha* regents were considered conservative. The most important were Oknha Reachea Phakdei Montrei Sop (9 stripes of dignity – the highest available to Muslim clerics) and the Oknha Reachea Res Hj. Sen. Nevertheless,

[20] See: Letter from Dr. Bauvaiste to the Resident Mayor of Phnom Penh No. 22, April 22, 1924. In NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

[21] An Un-numbered document from the office of the 2eme, dated 28 April 1924

[22] No. 152. Bulletin de Soit Communique. Date 28, April 1924 – Signed by Dr. Bouvaiste. All documents from this case can be found in NAC Box. No. 138. RSC No. 1347. Classification S. 41; S. 9. Autopsie de cadavres des Morts Chams.

support for reformism spread through Kandal province in 1929. Five years later, in Battambang, a similar debate resulted in the appointment of Hj. Salai Man to *Hakem* and Hj. Sam Sou to *Imam* of Masjid Naparat Boum Bo Chantrea, based on their superior knowledge of *ḥadīṯ* and *sharī'ah,* in contrast to the previously "uneducated" heads of the mosque (NAC Box 653; NAC Box 3310, RSC File 30380). Haji Salai Man was one of only six *hajis* in Battambang and the widely traveled. He had studied in Mecca, visited the Dutch East Indies, Kota Bharu, Penang and other parts of British Malaya. There was another "reader,"[23] also a *haji* who had spent two years in Kota Bharu, but it appears that Sam Sou was the most discernible Kaum Muda-leaning figure. By 1948 his curricula included lessons in Islamic brotherhood selflessness; recitation; *ḥadīṯ;* jurisprudence (fiqh); Arabic and Malay languages; and Sufism. The entire curriculum influenced by 19th-century Patani scholar Mohammed bin Ismael Daud Al-Fatani (Ner 1941: 171; Blengsi 2009: 179; Kiernan 2010: 177).

By the 1940's there were many *islahī* reformists and modernist Cham Muslim clerics. Three key figures were Haji Osman of Kampong Trea, Kampong Cham; Hj. Abdulrahman of Chroy Changvar; and (later: Mufti) Hj. Omar Ali of Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc, An Giang province, Vietnam. Occasionally, however, their tendencies were reformist without necessarily being modernist. For example, Hj. Abdulrahman and Omar Ali would go on to become senior patriarchs of Cambodia and Vietnam, respectively, and a later generation would refer to them as "Kaum Tua." However, once in the Vietnamese sphere, Omar Ali would swing back to a "modernist/reformist" stance. There were also many Cham and Malay Muslims of Cambodia who studied in Peninsular Malaysia at the time. Hj. Mathsales (Muhammed Salih of Chruoy Changvar), for example, spent 11 years in Mecca, by repute, held two certificates from Kelantan, corresponded with Sheik Ahmad bin Muhammed Zain Mustafa Al-Fatani [b. 1856 – d. 1908] and composed his sacred commentary on calculating the proper direction for prayer based on the stars during Ramadan.[24] Another "Mat Sales" was an old rival of

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[23] Ar.: *khaṭīb*

[24] This work is recorded by Bruckmayr (2013) as "M. Soleh Kamboja, *Pedoman*

Hj. Osman, but had spent ten years in Kelantan and developed a mixed curriculum with his father, Hj. Roun to contest Hj. Osman's purely religious curriculum (Ner 1941: 157–87; NAC Box 3310, File 30364; NAC Box 3310 File 30285; VNA II: Hồ sơ 31692).

Moving outward from Phnom Penh toward Kampot, in the 1940's, one would have found a community that was under greater Malay Muslim influence than in the center of Phnom Penh. Kampot's population had been mostly Malay until the end of the 19th century, although Cham increasingly moved there from Kampong Cham and Kandal by the mid-20th. By the 1940's there was a significant Cham and Cham-Malay population here, although most of the clerics were still Malay *guru* from Kelantan and Terengganu such as Tuk Guru Nik Daud bin Nik Mat, who travelled to Cambodia to spread Islam; a Malay community from the Kaum Muda stronghold of Singapore moved to nearby Phnom Penh. Consequentially, senior Cham *grus* in central and southern Cambodia studied in Malaysia, like Haji Abupaka of Phum Soai (six years in Kelantan). There were also up to 30 Cambodia-Cham who had been students of Tuk Kenali Mohammed Yusuf [d. 1933], himself a student of Shiek Ahmad Al-Fatani [d. 1906/8]. There were also some Cham, such as a teacher in Svay Chrum (nearby Chruoy Changvar), who had been to Kelantan, "but still knew a bit of Cham letters," and Hj. Males Mohammed, the senior patriarch of Prek Pra, who taught in both languages. However, the overwhelming influence in Kampot was Kaum Muda-leaning (Ner 1941: 157, 165–69; Bruckmayr 2013: 27–28).

The spread of the Kaum Muda influence and an increase in unregistered *surau* in Cham, Malay, Khmer, and Thai Muslim communities helped the Kaum Muda make early inroads into Cochinchina (Vietnam) in the 1930's and 1940's. Populations began to move around increasingly among Battambang, Kampong Cham, and Chruoy Changvar, spreading *dakwa* invitations to reform, as well as moving toward Cham communities in Vietnam. The Malay community of Châu Đốc increased their influence in Saigon, constructing the new *Jamia Masjid* at what is now 641 Nguyễn Trãi

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Bahagia pada Menyatakan Sukatan Waktu dan Masa, Kota Bharu 1934."

Street in 1932. The next year, a debate over the spending habits of the *Masjid Al-Rahim* attracted the attention of colonial officials tracking Malay influence. After they had resolved the debate, construction plans began on a nearby mosque: *Masjid Đông Dư* was built in 1935. In the 1940's, following Malay connections, Cham and Cham-Malay families from Châu Đốc began to urbanize. First, they built bamboo and thatched houses nearby Cầu Kho Bridge in the Nancy area, District 1. Then, larger migrations arrived between 1945 and 1946, especially since Cham families entered the southern war against France on September 9, 1945. New Cham Muslim neighborhoods emerged nearby Gia Định and Chợ Lớn (Goucoch 1933; Nguyễn Văn Luận circa 1960: 1; Phan Văn Dốp 1993: 129, 131–32, 162; Trần Nam Tiến 2005: 127–35; Phú Văn Hẳn 2005: 101; Phú Văn Hẳn 2013: 26). As reformist and Malay influence additionally spread into *Cochinchine*, Imam Tuan Hj. Ali Musa (Ly Mousa), a Cham from Kampong Cham, returned to Cambodia from Malaysia and became the leader of the Kaum Muda in Cambodia.

Musa [b. 1916 – d. 1975] was born and raised in the village of Ampil, Khum Peuh, Srok Kroch Chmar, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia. He was the oldest of three boys and four girls in his farming family and so when a Thai-Muslim named Hj. Ismael offered to become his benefactor, he left to study in Bangkok, and later on, in Pattani. In Pattani, he became the classmate of Pek Yeh, from nearby Phum Poeuh, Kroch Chmar, Kampong Cham, and Imam Hj. Mohammed India (also from Kampong Cham). Pek Yeh had studied in Kota Bharu (1936) before arriving in Pattani, while Ahmed India received a BA from Kelantan before he had received his MA from the Uloom Deoband, Uttar Pradesh, India. Ahmed India's association with the Deoband may have been a primer for the influence of the Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) in Cambodia, two generations of students later (from 1993 onward) since the TJ were themselves a Deobandi offshoot. Both India and Musa, however, were most clearly both reformists and Kaum Muda-modernists. In 1948, Musa returned to Cambodia, before founding the *Sankum Ly Mousa* in 1953 and the first “state-school” to teach Islam in Phum Prek Krot, Svay Khleang, Kampong Cham. Ahmed India then partnered with Musa, after he returned in 1955/56. The school was

initially only funded by profits from rice fields, but later on became one of the most influential in Cambodia. Many of the elite figures of the 1970's onward were educated here or were otherwise tied to Musa and India's school via their teachers (Zain Musa 2004: 51; Zain Musa 2008: 60–64; Blengsi 2009: 180; Zain Musa 2011: 89–92).

The teachings of Ali Musa appear to be better recorded than those of Ahmed India. He was a reformist and modernist. More specifically, he argued that there were 23, not 25, messengers (Ar.: *rasūl*), supported the translation of the Qur'an, and studied a selection of *ḥadīṯ* with which his elders were not familiar. Omar Ali of Moat Chrouk/Châu Đốc changed his position. He aligned with Tuan Kachik of Chmin and Tuan Hj. Ali of Speu, as the three, issued a *fatwa* that India, Musa, and their colleagues were *kafir*, in the Arabic–not in the Cham–sense of the term. They also proclaimed that Musa's keeping a dog at his home was *haram*. Since Norodom Sihanouk had just founded the state-religion of "Khmer Islam," a formal Qur'anic debate was held in 1955. As they had done in Selangor and Bangkok, state aligned clerics took a Kaum Tua-like stance, proclaiming that this was right for "Khmer Islam." There were two reactions. First, the community built side by side Muda/Tua *surau* prayer halls. Second, in response to the ethno-nationalist notions that were included in Khmer Islam, several Cham leaders, mostly Kaum Muda oriented, founded a Cham Islam movement. The central claim to Cham Islam was that the Cham could maintain their piety while also keeping their Cham ethno-linguistic identity. Cham Islam spread rapidly between the nodes of Battambang, Phnom Penh and Kampong Cham, before moving across the border to Tây Ninh, An Giang, and Saigon, backed by refugee immigrations of Cham Islam believers fleeing from the Second Indochina War in Cambodia (Zain Musa 2004: 51; Zain Musa 2008: 60–64; Blengsi 2009: 180; Zain Musa 2011: 89–92; Phú Văn Hẳn 2013: 24). Whereas Khmer Islam became the "state-Islam" in Cambodia, Cham Islam was on its way to becoming the official "state-Islam" in the Republic of Vietnam, a development that hinged upon the internal discourses of the Cham community.

Ⅲ. CONCLUSIONS

Islam had an influence on the Cham population in what is now Vietnam and Cambodia as early as the 11th century. Many different schools of Islamic jurisprudence developed, although differences were often simplified in both Cham and non-Cham sources. Anti-colonial Islamic modernism and reformist schools of jurisprudence that were popular in turn of the century Egypt and the Levant influenced Malay Islamic schools, which in turn brought reformism and modernism to 20th century Cambodia. However, when the modernist and reformist tendencies arrived, they were either 1) cast through a French reading of a Buddhist state lens or 2) cast through a Malay lens, based upon the Kaum Muda/Kaum Tua divide. However, modernism and reformism were not, on the ground, so simplistic. Single figures tied to the office of the Oknha Reachea Thippedy Chruoy Changvar (the equivalent of the Mufti of Cambodia) frequently changed positions depending on the debate at hand. Nevertheless, the British Malaya-state vision that interpreted Islamic modernism as an easy divide between "conservatism" and "reformism," was additionally applied in French colonial Cambodia.

Over time, the insistence by French and Khmer Royal officials that Islamic communities increasingly institutionalize, for their purposes of surveillance, in fact, may have had the opposite impact that French colonial officials intended. The legal discourse and institutionalization, both encouraged by the French for colonial surveillance, reified "reformist" and "modernist" tendencies of Muslim communities in Cambodia. The long-term impact of this reform, in an even greater irony for Muslims living in Cambodia, was that various trends of jurisprudence increasingly became divided along ethnic lines by the 1960's, leading to another split: between Khmer Islam and Cham Islam. Islamic modernism and reformism as discourses were hence coopted by colonial and royal authorities, but both simultaneously worked to undermine authorities. Nevertheless, the discourse of modernism also eventually weakened the position of Cham Muslims in Cambodia as they were no longer viewed as partnered with the Khmer Royalty and hence, considered a threat to the "Cambodian-ness" of society.

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