This journal issue has been printed on FSC-certified paper and cover board. FSC is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organization established to promote the responsible management of the world's forests. Please see www.fsc.org for information.

Copying

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Organizations in the USA that are also registered with the C.C.C. may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of U.S. Copyright law) subject to payment to the C.C.C. of the per copy fee of \$12.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. Code 0022–4634/06.

ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA, is authorized to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organizations authorized by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or from the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

Articles appearing in the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies are abstracted or indexed in America: History and Life; Biography Index; Humanities Index; Historical Abstracts, Part A: Modern History Abstracts; Historical Abstracts, Part B: Twentieth Century Abstracts; Recently Published Articles (American Historical Association); ABC POL SCI; Petroleum Abstracts; Geographical Abstracts; Human Geography; International Development Abstracts; International Political Science Abstracts; Index of Islamic Literature.

Cover image: Journal of Southeast Asian Studies (2020 – Volume 51, Issue 1 and 2)

Annually, on the eve of the ninth Chinese lunar month, the Nine Emperor Gods descend to Earth to bring blessings to their temples and devotees. Representing spiritual manifestations of the seven visible stars (and two invisible stars) which form the 'Big Dipper' in the constellation of Ursa Major, they are held to be the sons of the goddess Doumu. They remain on Earth until their collective birthday on the ninth of the ninth lunar month. Their festival is celebrated in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand, and culminates with a procession of spirit mediums possessed by Chinese deities who escort them in intricately carved palanquins to the sea from where they ascend to the heavens.

The cover photo illustrates a Thai spirit medium who has been possessed by the Mahayana Buddhist Bodhisattva, Guanyin, and has been dressed in appropriate robes to escort the Nine Emperor Gods back to the sea in Hat Yai, Thailand.

Cover image courtesy of Dr Fabian Charles Graham. He is currently a Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Bell & Bain Ltd, Glasgow.

Volume 51 Number 1 and 2 June 2020

Journal of SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

Contents

1 Editorial Foreword

Articles

- 5 Ambiguous fear in the war on drugs: A reconfiguration of social and moral orders in the Philippines Anna Bræmer Warburg and Steffen Jensen
- 25 'Madat makan orang'; opium eats people: Opium addiction as a public health issue in late colonial Java, 1900–1940 Abdul Wahid
- 49 Healing the whole: Questioning the boundaries between medicine and religion in Rakhine, Western Myanmar Céline Coderey
- 72 Spirit mediumship and the state in mainland Southeast Asia: A comparative perspective Frik Cohen
- 95 A Vietnamese literary riddle from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Hoàng Sĩ Khải's Tủ' Thời Khúc K.W. Taylor
- 114 Pham Quỳnh, borrowed language, and the ambivalences of colonial discourse Yen N. Vu
- 132 The epistemological shift from palace chronicles to scholarly Khmer historiography under French colonial rule Theara Thun
- 154 Creolised Confucianism: Syncretism and Confucian revivalism at the turn of the twentieth century in Java
 Oiyan Liu
- 175 When was Melaka founded and was it known earlier by another name? Exploring the debate between Gabriel Ferrand and Gerret Pieter Rouffaer, 1918–21, and its long echo in historiography
 Peter Borschberg
- 197 Birds of a feather: Anand Panyarachun, elite families and network monarchy in Thailand Yoshinori Nishizaki
- 243 The Second World War Japanese Occupation of Singapore Gregg Huff and Gillian Huff
- 271 Review Article
- 284 Book Reviews



Published for the National University of Singapore

Cambridge Journals Online

For further information about this journal please go to the journal web site at: journals.cambridge.org/sea



