

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA AND SOME PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD

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1. THE ADVENT

The question often raised is: 'whether Islam came to Indonesia from Arabia, the subcontinent of India, or China? Firstly, it is not a question of 'or' but of 'and': Muslims from these *and* other countries, but more so from the different parts of the archipelago itself, contributed to the growth and development of Islam in what is now known as Indonesia. However, the *first* to bring Islam to the Indonesian shores, and further north to China were the early Arab Muslims. On the basis of available historical record, it would be reasonable to conclude that their intransit visits and temporary halts, first most probably on the coastlines of Sumatra, took place in the 1st century of Hijra (7th A.D.), while the more frequent and longer visits as well as permanent settlements came during the 2nd H./ 8th century A.D.

These early visits and settlements which became more numerous with the passage of time, were the result of the expertise of Muslim navigators and sailors as well as the dynamism of Muslim merchants and traders who not only followed the ancient sea-trade route from the Middle East to China, but charted the coastlines more accurately and made voyages safer than before, so that within the first two centuries of Hijra this old sea route developed into an Ocean Highway for international trade and commerce.

Historically, the process of Islam becoming the faith of most of the peoples of Malaysian/Indonesian regions, went through two main stages. The first stage consisted of the early contacts and initial introduction and acceptance of Islam mainly in the port towns and coastal belts. This was achieved during the long period of five centuries beginning from the 1st A.H./ 7th A.D. century and extending to the 5th A.H./12th A.D. century. The second stage of more extensive propagation and universal acceptance of Islam, not only in the coastal belts but also into the interior, commenced from the 6th H./13th A.D. century.

So far, the main attention of historians and other writers has remained centered on external factors, that is the muslim pioneers and preachers coming from abroad. The role played by the early native faithfuls and the small indigenous Islamic communities has not yet been fully studied. Secondly, it is also to be realized that in this process of Islam coming

to Indonesia the learned, the pious, the Sufi saint and the devoted preachers appeared essentially at the second stage. At the initial stage, it was the simple, straightforward and exemplary behaviour of the first arriving Muslims firm faith, sincerity of purpose, honesty in business dealing whose sense of justice and equality in human relations, sympathy for the poor and charity in the name of Allah, and their community conduct both inside the Mosque and outside in the market had a direct impact on the local population. Those who came in contact with them were so much impressed and inspired by their clean living and honest dealings that they were motivated to embrace the same faith of Islam which guaranteed justice and equality and a worthwhile role in the Islamic community. This was in direct contrast with their previous experience of the formal priest directed religious rites, or the superstitious-ridden rituals of paganism.

The Geographical Viewpoint

The statement that Islam came to Indonesia from Arabia, the sub-continent of India and China, is correct only to the extent that it is accepted as a broad generalization. However, it is too broad a generalization to be comprehended easily. So far as China is concerned, the first Muslims who came from there to the Indonesian coastal belts were mainly of the Arab stock; they had settled down earlier in the Chinese port towns but were later displaced from there in the wake of some fateful events (such as Haung Chao's rebellion in 878 A.D.) and migrated to the Indonesian port towns. So far as the ethnic Chinese Muslims were concerned, they came much later as part of embassies and trade missions, or with some Muslim Chinese dignitaries and navigators (such as the great Admiral Cheng Ho who visited Indonesian shores in 1413); however, it is doubtful if they settled down here in any large numbers. Beside China, the early Muslims (the Arab Muslims first, and then both the Arab and Persian Muslims) also settled in some other maritime countries beyond the straits of Malacca, such as *Sanf* (Champa/Annam) and *Sila* (Korea). They also found safe refuge in the Malaysian-Indonesian lands in times of crises.

From the side of Arabia, early Islam came all along the sea route followed by the Muslim navigators and merchants. However, those early Muslims came to Indonesia not only from Arabia but also from other coastal regions — such as Oman, Iraq, Iran, the present Pakistani provinces of Baluchistan and Sind, the Indian coastal regions (mainly Cambay, Gujrat, Konkan, Malabar and Coromandal), Ceylon and the eastern coast belt of Bengal (both of India and Bangladesh). The periods of their advent, however, differed. The Arab Muslims were the pioneers during approximately the first two century of the Hijra (7th/8th A.D.). Thereafter both the Arab and the Persian Muslim sailors, merchants, researchers and religious scholar

led the way during the next four or five centuries (2nd–5th H/8th–12th AD). Lastly, in addition, came the Muslim sailors, merchants, religious scholar and Sufi saints from the Hindostan Subcontinent (Pakistan–India–Bangladesh) mainly during the period extending from 6th to 11th H. (13th to 18th A.D.) century.

An exclusive emphasis is usually placed, in some circles, on the role of Muslims from Arab lands, or from two or three regions of the Hindostan Subcontinent (such as Gujrat, the Coromandal and the Tamil speaking parts of South India, and Bengal) in the growth of Islam in Indonesia. This is contrary to historical facts. On the other hand, the role played by the Muslims from Persia (Iran), or the coming of Muslims from the maritime provinces of Pakistan (Sind and Baluchistan) has not yet been fully recognized. This does not imply their distinctive role in terms of ethnology but a distinction from the point of geography; for, irrespective of being Arabs, Persians, Sindhians or Indians, they were essentially Muslims in their pioneering efforts of bringing Islam to Indonesia. Moreover, there were many among the early Muslim navigators and traders who hailed from Persia but they were actually of Arab origin.

The Persian Muslims. Beginning from the 2nd H./8th century, the Persian Muslims along with the Arab Muslims played a significant role in trade and travel along the Middle East–China Ocean Highway. Early in the 9th century, the Persian port of Siraf developed into an important entripot for maritime trade and commerce with Sind, Hind, Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia and the destinations beyond, up to China. The two famous merchants/sailors, Sulayman al-Tajir (237/851 A.D.) and Abu Zaid (303 H./916 A.D.) who have left more detailed accounts of their early voyages and visits (25, 1) to the Far East, both belonged to Siraf. Sulayman says that ships for China used to take their cargo at Siraf. The ships of the Persian Muslim merchants had reached China as early as 671 A.D. when the Chinese I, Ching, according to his own statement, travelled in a ship which belonged to 'Po-Sse' (Persian). Also the contemporary Chinese priest from Yang Chao had noted the existence of a large settlement of 'Po-Sse' (Persian Muslims) in the island of Hainan in 748 A.D. According to the records of the Sung Dynasty, the emissaries of the King of Java who arrived at the royal Chinese Court in the year 992 A.D. were dressed like Persians. The Chinese sources amply confirm that both the Arab and the Persian Muslims played an important role in carrying on trade between the south seas and China in the 10th century A.D. According to Muhallibi, Kalah on the west coast of the Malaysian Peninsula was inhabited by Muslims from Persia and India by the end or the tenth century (9). A Muslim town in Siam founded later (the recorded reports about which date from mid-14th to mid-18th century) was called by its Persian name 'Shahr-i-Nao'

(after a town of the same name in Iran). This was the same *Shahr Nawī* of Hamza Fansuri who died before 1607 A.D. (5):

Mamza is originally of Fansur

He acquired his existence in the land of Shahr Nawī.

'Fansur' of Hamza is the same town/locality of Barus on the West Coast of Sumatra, which was so named by the early Muslims (Arab/Persian) who had their first settlements in Barus (Bharoach) on the coastline of Gujrat in India. (From 7th century A.D. onwards, Barus had been, for Muslims, the next important port on the Indian coastlines after the port of Debal in Sind). Tombstones from the Barus—Fansur area, carrying both Arabic and Persian inscriptions, confirm that the Arab/Persian Muslims were settled there in the long past. Was it against this background of Fansur-Barus that Hamza had said (5):

Bukanya 'Ajimi lagi 'Arabi-

Senantiasa wasil dengan Yang Baqi

(He is not a Persian, nor he is an Arab

But he is constantly united with the Everlasting One).

Beside Barus on the West Coast of Sumatra, Tombstones with Persian inscriptions from the Samudera-Pasai area on the East Coast also confirm that Persian Muslims had settled there long ago. Besides, a number of personal and place names, originally Persian, are current in the Indonesian Muslim society to this day. All available evidence shows that the preponderance of the Persian Muslims was not less than that of the Arab Muslims in their role as carriers of commerce and Islamic culture to the countries situated on the sea-trade route to China. The study of styles of scripts used by them, has even led one modern scholar to conclude (though erroneously) that "The Malay Archipelago like India first received Islam from the Persians whose place was later taken by southern Arabs....." (19).

The more convincing evidence comes from the continuous use in the Indonesian society, since early times, of some key Persian words representing important navigational, commercial-cum-administrative, and cultural concepts.

Thus :

- a) *Nakhuda* (the Captain) and *Mu'allim* (the Navigator), professional terms for the two key figures in early Muslim navigation continue to be used to this day.
- b) So also *Bandar* (port) and *Shahbandar** (Master of the port), the former representing the development of maritime facilities, and the latter the most important institution invested with administrative, political and diplomatic functions in the context of international commerce, international law and international diplomacy.

c) *Pahalwan*, which ordinarily meant a man of great physical strength and power, was used in its more significant meaning of a 'hero' in the Indonesian society. It is being used in that sense to this day.

The continuous use of these words representing key concepts testifies as much to the international character of the early Muslim sailors and merchants and their impact in the archipelago, as it reflects the international dimensions of Indonesian historical past.

Muslims from the maritime provinces of Pakistan. Sind came under the fold of Islam as early as 712 A.D. Being a maritime country, with its historical port of Debal becoming the first important Muslim town and an important trade emporium, the Sindhian sailor and merchant followed the ocean highway to Malaysia, Indonesia and China. Though no direct evidence to this effect has come to light so far, there is ample indirect recorded evidence which can be regarded as conclusive. Strangely enough, it comes from the domain of Sufi poetry of 17th/18th century. This poetry composed in Sindhi language has, among others, one specific theme called 'Samudri' the context of which is the sea trade, the main destinations of which were the ports of Indonesia. No specific details are recounted, because the objective of the Sufi poet was to express himself allegorically to convey moral and spiritual ideas. Despite all the symbolization, some specific names and practices have come under reference. Thus, 'Bandar' or 'The Port' (referring to Samudera or Perlak) becomes the most important destination. Probably, the very name of 'Samudera' suggested 'Samudri' to be the name for this poetic theme. *Bandarshah*, that is *Shahbandar*, is specifically mentioned as having the power to 'exempt the merchandise carried by the incoming ships of the Master (the Ruler) from taxes'.

Jani je jahaz Khe dhani jo dhago

Ten The Bandarshah bakhshiyo lahze me ligo (24)

(Those whose ships have the Master's ribbon (colour)

The Shahbandar immediately exempted them from tax payment)

(Shah Abdul Latif)

'Perlak' is mentioned by name, and it is said that the (Sindhian) sailors/merchants have not returned in time and their wives are anxiously awaiting their arrival, perhaps because they have gone even far beyond Perlak:

Perlakan pare thiya teni ja bhatar (23)

(Their husbands are (perhaps) far beyond Perlak)

*Shah Inayatullah)

Java comes under frequent reference as a land of promise and plenty, so much so that many of the merchants would settle down there permanently and never return.

Jugan ja jug thiya tian na motyo ko (24)

(Epochs have elapsed but no one returned from there)

(Shah Abdul Latif)

All this would show that the Sufi poets of Sind of the 17th/18th century, particularly Shah Inayatullah (d. 1719) and Shah Abdul Latif (d. 1752), were well aware of the sea-trade between Sind and the Indonesian ports of Sumatra and Jawa, which had flourished in the past and which had continued on (though much diminished) up to their own times.

Also the possibility of the Muslim sailors and merchants from the maritime province of Baluchistan frequenting the shores of Malaysia and Indonesia cannot be ruled out. Reference may be made to the close similarity between the topical construction of the classical Balochi ballads of the 15th/16th century and the traditional Melayu ballads.

Classical Balochi Ballads

– Chakar (Cakar) Sha'ar or Sha'er:

A war ballad of Chakar, the leader of the Rind tribe and their allies in the war against the Lashari tribe and their allies.

– Bivaragh Sha'ar : Bivaragh's ballad about the above war.

– Miran Sha'ar : – do –

– Nodhbandag Sha'ar : – do –

– Rehan Sha'ar : – do –

– Shahzad Sha'ar : – do –

– Nawab Jamal Khan Wafat Sha'ar, about the death of Nawab of Jamal Khan.

- Phirai Warnai Sha'ar, about Youth and Age.

Traditional Melayu Ballads

- Sha'er Singapura Terbaker or Sha'er Singapura di-makan Api, composed by Abdul Malik in February 1830 on Singapura Fire.
- Sha'er Bah Singapura, about the fire of Singapore. (The word *bah* is more frequently used in the Sindhi language of Pakistan).
- Sha'er Raja Haji, about Raja Haji Buginese Prince who attacked the Dutch in Malacca Fort and was killed.
- Sha'er Perang Siak, about Bengkalis in Siak and the war with Johore.
- Sha'er Moko-Moko, a family chronicle of Moko-Moko in W. Sumatra.
- Sha'er Pangeran Sharif Hasbin, on the Banjarmasin war of 1861–63.
- Sha'er Himup (Imhoff), which describes the 17th century Jakarta and the Dutch–Chinese trouble.
- Sha'er Perang Mengkasar, by Entiji Amin, the Malay Secretary of the Sultan of Goa regarding the Dutch attack by Speelman.

The word Sha'ar or *Sha'er* is exactly the same in both the cases. A competent scholar has observed that *Sha'er* is the Malayanised form of Arabic *Shi'r* (5). So also is Sha'ar or *Sha'er* (with *hamza* and not with *ain*) the Balochi form of Arabic *Shi'i*. The headings remain the same whether the ballad is ascribed to the poet who composed it, the theme to which it pertains, or the event to which it relates. Is it merely a strange coincidence between the language areas which are separated by thousands of miles, albeit linked by the ocean highway? It may be that the *nakhudas* and traders from Baluchistan who had permanently settled down in Malaysia/Indonesia and also spoke Melayu, composed their first Melayu ballads in the image of their own traditional verse; or, else, they introduced the Melayu form in Balochi when they returned home! There is evidence to the effect that some of the scholarly *nakhudas* from Makran (Baluchistan) had settled down in Sumatra at an early stage. To one of the settled families belonged the scholar historian Abu Ishaq al-Makrani al-Fasi (i.e. whose family originally came from Makran or Baluchistan but had settled down in Pasai in Sumatra) who wrote an important work on the dynastic history of the rules of Perlak. This book entitled *Kitab Izhar al-Haqq fi Silsilat Raja Ferlak*, which was discovered more recently, shows that the first Muslim State in Perlak was founded as early as 225 H. (847 A.D.).

The Chronological Viewpoint.

Chronologically speaking, in the process of Muslims coming to Indonesia from the maritime countries situated along the Middle East-China Ocean Highway, the year 15th of Hijra (637 A.D.) is of special importance. It was in this year that the Muslim victory in the battle of Qadsiyyah against

the last Sassanid Emperor paved the way for spread of Islam to the East in the vast Sassanid Empire of Iran. It was also in the year 15th of the Hijra that naval victories were achieved by Muslims against the Sassanid navy in the Indian Ocean, particularly in the ports of Debal (Sind), Barus (Bharoach in Gujrat) and Thana (south of the present city of Bombay). This naval expedition was despatched by Uthman b. Abi al-As al-Thaqafi, the Governor of Oman. The next important year in the eastward advance of Muslims was 92/93 H. (711/712 A.D.), when Muhammad b. al-Qasim al-Thaqafi conquered Sind, and the famous port of Debal came within the domain of Muslim rule (6). Thus, for the first time, Muslims had an important foothold for their onward voyage along the Indian coastline. This led to other permanent Muslim settlements further south in the ports of Bharoach (Barus), Cambay, Thana, Kaulam Maley etc., and also in Ceylon.

From 13th century onward, Muslim rule extended to other coastal regions of the subcontinent. Bengal came under Muslim political influence as early as 1203 A.D. while Gujrat was conquered in 1396. Thus, Muslim power was consolidated along the Indian coastline, both in the ports of entry (Sind and Gujrat) as well as departure (Bengal) for Malaysia-Indonesia, and further to China. In the 14th century, Sind, Gujrat and Bengal became independent Sultanates. Thereafter, the Sultans of Sind (1350–1520), Sultans of Gujrat (1396–1576) and the Sultans of Bengal (1336–1576) encouraged maritime trade for their economic prosperity and gave full support to the trading Muslim communities settled in the port towns. This contributed to their closer communications—economic, social and religious— with Indonesia/Malaysia from 14th to 16th century. Also, it was mainly during this period that the Indian Muslim merchants, scholars and Sufi saints found their way to Malaysia/Indonesia. This process weakened with the fall of these Sultanates in the 16th century and the aggressive Portuguese intervention in the sea-trade. From 17th century onwards, the initiative for propagating Islam in Indonesia passed on into the hands of the Muslim communities of the archipelago itself.

During the early period, it was the Muslim merchant and sailor who had been the embodiment of Islam wherever they went. Propagation of Islam during the later period was achieved mainly through the devotion of *Sufi* saints and the Ulema. In particular, the period from 12th to 14th century marked the advent of great Sufis in the world of Islam. In Hindostan also Sufi orders became well established during this period. The Sultanate of Bengal, which was nearer to Malaysia/Indonesia, was also saturated with Sufi influence during the 13th–14th centuries. During this period, Sufi saints reached Indonesia both from the Middle East and Iran as well as from the Hindostan Subcontinent. It was they and their Muslim Indonesian compatriots who propagated Islam at this stage. However, by way of generalization, it may be said that from 17th century onwards, propagation

and consolidation of Islam in Indonesia passed on mainly into the hands of the faithfuls residing within the archipelago itself. It was the Indonesian *Ulema* and *Imams*, Saints and *Sunans* who finally laid the foundations of faith among their people in the interior, and everywhere.

II. Problems Related to the History of the Early Muslim Period

Source materials on the history of the early Muslim period lie widely scattered. Because of the international character of this period, information on it was recorded by different peoples. Firstly, this information has to be located in different source in different countries, and then correctly understood and interpreted. The early Muslim record both inside and outside of Indonesia, the contemporary Chinese record, and the later reports of visitors from outside, all require a careful study and evaluation. Beside written literature and folk lore, epigraphic and numismatic record has to be studied thoroughly. The task for the students of Indonesian history, both the national scholar and his contemporaries elsewhere is, indeed, formidable.

The main problems, however, arise from the fact that in the countries under colonial domination, foreign writings have taken precedence over those of the peoples themselves and, consequently, a distorted perspective has been set for the native history, both deliberately and inadvertently. Hence, the writings of the colonial period, however valuable, have to be reviewed critically instead of taking their authenticity for granted. Apart from their overall colonial colour, some of these writings contain both factual inaccuracies as well as fanciful interpretations. The colonial writer, almost everywhere, has disparaged the people's own writers and their record as being 'local' or 'native', and hence 'not reliable'. The 'native' historian invariably stands discredited. To begin with, the 'native' historian and the 'local' record have to be cleared of this stigma by the modern native scholars themselves. A continued disparagement of the subject nations' own written sources set a mode of thinking which was hardly conducive to the writing of a truly *national* history. An eminent Indonesian scholar (Soedjatmoko) has well reminded the contemporary historian that he is writing for his people in his time, and that he has an obligation to meet the "insistent demands for a nationalistic historiography" (3:vi).

The colonial/foreign/missionary writers, with the exception of a few enlightened ones, have more than often assumed an anti-Islam role with far-reaching consequences. Their accusations—such as waging holy wars, spreading Islam by force, destroying books etc.—are too well known to be recounted here. The Indonesian Muslim society also has not been spared of such accusations. Thus, Berg while discussing the historicity of the Javanese manuscripts would think it appropriate enough to point out that: "We find, as a matter of fact, remarkable gaps in the chronological distribution pattern

of Javanese charters as well as destruction of ancient books after the rise of Islam" (3:i). Others would talk of "Islamic Wars" and "Holy Wars" waged in Indonesia to spread Islam (3:v). Then, as everywhere else so also in Indonesia, the colonial writer has centered his special attention on the writings of the pre-Muslim period and given them greater weightage as 'historical' writings as compared to the writings of the Muslim period. Such an imbalanced attitude, is mainly responsible for regarding a folk tale like Pararaton as a 'historical' source, or exaggerating the 'historical' value of the Nagarakertagama composition (1365) of Prapanca. In contrast, all sorts of doubts are cast on the Babad literature produced by the Javanese writers of the Muslim period.

Thus, Babad Tanah Jawi has been subjected to the foreign scholars' judgment, and such a cobweb pattern of looking at it has been set that once one entangles himself into it, it becomes difficult to wriggle out. On the one hand, Babad Tanah Jawi is regarded as a "socialized myth" out of which an attempt is made 'to create' a history of the pre-Muslim past, on the other, it is regarded as an utterly unreliable source of history. Babad Tanah Jawi, in all its existing recensions, editions, or revisions, was a product of the Muslim period, and yet it was read and minutely analysed by the foreign scholar to discover the history of the Great Majapahit in it. When that was not found, the whole work was pronounced to be a dubious one. Thus, an unjust shadow of doubt was cast on its valuable historical content of the later Muslim period. According to the colonial writers, there is no history in Babad Tanah Jawi and it is not to be relied upon particularly by the Western scholar. One of them has consistently maintained that this *native* Javanese source is more an instrument of 'literary form' than of historical information; and that in his continued study of it, he was able to find only a few fragments which could be employed by Western observers as source of information. "Generally speaking, the usefulness of Javanese manuscripts to Western historians is inversely proportional to their value for the Javanese people (3:i&iii). Naturally, this should be so. The colonial scholar who created colonial history to reassure himself and mislead those whom he governed, must see the very opposite of what the 'subject' people see and write about their own history. The modern national scholar has yet to say with confidence that 'generally speaking, the usefulness of colonial record and writings to the national historian for national history is inversely proportional to their value to the colonial/Western writers and their people'. This aspect of the so-called 'historical' writings of the colonial period, underlines the need for a fresh liberated outlook on the historical sources and the historical past of an independent nation. More specifically, this calls for a scholarly and sympathetic study of the source materials, both external and internal, which have a direct bearing on the history of the Muslim period.

A. External Sources

So far as the early advent of Muslims and establishment of their first settlements on the Indonesian shores is concerned, the more valid and fruitful conclusions can be reached after a thorough study of the advances in Muslim navigation along the Middle East—China Ocean Highway. The work already done in this regard (Ferrand, Hadi Hasan, Kuwabara, Hourani, Tibbets) has provided a far more clear perspective (10, 12, 13, 16, 26). However, the whole record of the early Muslim period remains to be studied with greater insight and understanding (9), within the context of the then contemporary world of Islam in general and in the light of the Chinese records and the Indonesian setting in particular.

The more significant of the Muslim accounts extend from Ibn Khurdadhbeh's charting of the maritime trade-cum-postal route to China as early as 232/846 to the eye witness account of Ibn Battutah's visit to the Islamic state of Samudera in 745—46 H./1345 A.D. The numerous writings of Muslim historians, geographers, sailors and researchers during this long period of more than five hundred years contain much that is relevant to Indonesia. Their perusal shows that the Muslim Arabs were the first to travel by the sea-route touching the Indonesian shores and reaching China most probably during the 1st H./7th century, and positively during the 2nd/8th century. Thereafter, both the Arab and the Persian Muslim sailors and merchants had frequented the coastal regions of Malaysia/Indonesia and acquired sufficient first hand knowledge of the archipelago with more detailed information on Sumatra, by the beginning of the 4th/10th century. For instance, Ibn Khurdadhbeh mentions the island of Balus (Barus, Sumatra) and the island of Jabah (Jambi) as early as 232/846. The Captain Navigator (*Nakhuda*) Buzurg b. Shahryar (955 A.D.) records that he had received a report on the affairs of S.R. bizah (Sriwijaya) which was situated at the end of the island of Lamuri (8) i.e. the southern end of Sumatra, as Lamuri (Rumbli/Lumbli) on the Aceh Head was meant to be North Sumatra. One would wish that this report on the affairs of S.R. bizah had survived! Alberuni, in his great work *al-Qanun al-Mas'udi* written in 1030 A.D. (7:ii) gives the latitudes of Lamuri and S.R. bizah and places Lamuri on the northern side of the Equator and S.R. bizah on the southern side. These references from the work of Buzurg b. Shahryar and Alberuni would indicate the existence of two distinct territorial States of Lamuri in north Sumatra and S.R. bizah in south Sumatra from the middle of the 10th to the middle of the 11th century A.D. In 290/903, Ibn Rustah recorded his information on the most popular past-time of the people, viz. the cock-fighting competitions of the archipelago. A little later, Mas'udi (306—310/918/922) gave much more information on such varied subjects as gold of Sumatra, volcanoes, champhor of Fansur (Panchur-Barus), and the one par-

particular island (Bali) known for 'dance and meriment' (18). In his *Kitab al-Saidanah* (443 H./1051) Alberuni quotes al-Zanjani and al-Ummanni (navigators/geographers whose works are now lost to us) on Indonesian regions. al-Ummanni says that (in his times during 10th/11th century A.D.?) it was from S.R. bizah that one had to sail for China (7:v). This would confirm that in 10th/11th century A.D., the main sea route, or at least one such route, to China was along the West coast of Sumatra and the point of departure for China was from the southern most ports of S.R. bizah. Obviously, this sea trade along its coastline at that time must have contributed to the posterity of S.R. bizah.

The early Muslim sources throw considerable light on the archipelago being the centre of international trade and commerce. There are references to geographical, political, economic and socio-cultural conditions. The variety of information obtained in these sources could be of significant historical value if the varied references are studied comparatively and critically so that fresh inferences and interpretations lead to new insights and understandings about the early history of Indonesia in general and the history of the early Muslim period in particular.

Also it is significant that Muslim scholars from other countries continued to write about the Malaysian-Indonesian regions right up to the 12th century A.H. (18th A.D.). Their writings and references, however, remain to be located and studied. Two examples may be cited here—one from navigational literature and the other from historical literature—to show that important bits of information still remain to be picked up from the manuscript record of the Muslim period.

The renowned navigator Ibn al-Majid and his eminent pupil Sulayman al-Mahri had produced a large body of trained navigators who had continued to sail along the ocean highway despite the serious setback they suffered at the hands of the Portuguese. This is confirmed by the manuscript record of the period extending from the 16th to the 18th century which has survived and become known only partly. This scanty record is left mainly by the South Indian Muslim navigators belonging to the Konkani sub-stock of Dakuras and the Tamil speaking sub-stock of Cuias (Chulias). A manuscript of Sulayman al-Mahri's *Kitab al-Umdat* copied by the Chulis navigator Mu'allim Ali b. Mu'allim Husain al-Culi in 1007 H. (1598) is preserved in the library of the Islamic College Peshawar (No. 1933), Pakistan. Two manuscripts containing miscellaneous information on navigation, including nautical journals, tables etc., and compiled by Konkani navigators in the 17th and 18th centuries are preserved in the Muhammad Ali Jami'ah Mosque Library of Bombay, India. The first one mentions the years 984 H., 1040 H., 1080 H. and 1096 H. (1684) which shows that it was compiled sometime by the end of the 17th century. The other belonging to Mu'allim

(navigator) 'Inayat b. Mu'allim Shaikh Dakuva which was "completed in the month of Rajab" (year missing) mentions the year 1108 H. (1725–26), showing that it was compiled during the 1st half of the 18th century. Both these works give a list of sea ports, big and small, starting from Hormoz (Iran) and going up to the region 'east of Singapore' and Sumatra. The latter work mentions an important *Rahmani* (i.e. Rahnumai = Navigational Guide) which contained the 'Law of Anbosh' (Qanun-i-Anbosh) which was being followed "from the days of Ahmad b. Majid Dha al-Fari and Ustad Mu'allim Sulayman b. Ahmad al-Mahri".

Among the historical chronicles mention may be made of the book BUHAIRAH authored by the Persian poet merchant Hashim Beg Fuzuni which contains a section on the 'Chronicle of the Island of Achin' as an original source of the 16th century A.D. (11)⁺ That Aceh country and part of its history should come under reference in a work wherein it was least expected,⁺⁺ attests as much to the internationalism of Indonesian history as it underlines the need for search of source materials for the Muslim period on international level.

B. Internal Sources: Epigraphic Record

The importance of internal Indonesian sources is too obvious to be over emphasised. The need for a scholarly and sympathetic study of the literary and other records has already been stressed. Such has been the hold of one-sided foreign evaluation of internal sources, that a scholar like Hosein Djajadiningrat has proceeded to underline the significance of *Local Traditions*, somewhat cautiously and apologetically (3:iv).

Significant among the internal sources is the epigraphical record, but it has yet to be fully investigated and studied for a better understanding of the history of the Muslim period. Inscriptions on tombstones constitute the most authentic source materials, as these represent the contemporary recorded evidence of known facts about the deceased. However, the many tombstones lie widely scattered in different parts of the country and some of the *Makams* are yet to be discovered. Besides, the main problem of deciphering these inscriptions accurately remains to be solved. The readings of some of the inscriptions attempted so far represent, at best, the efforts of able but *individual* scholars. There is an urgent need for engaging a panel of competent scholars and providing them with the necessary technical services, so that the inscriptions are read conclusively. Discussion of the following few examples would show how much remains to be done in this regard.

⁺ For the next and the summary, see *Appendix-I*.

⁺⁺ The different manuscripts of some of the known works are to be collated in order to establish the more authentic text. As far back as 1836, Newbold translated extracts from a manuscript of "Adat Achi" (21) which were published in the 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science' (*Appendix-II, No. 21*). Such less known versions are equally useful for the purpose of collation.

The Leran Inscription (Princess Fatimah).

The tombstone inscription at Leran gives the name of the lady as "Fatimah d/o Maimun s/o Hibatullah". In 1919, Moquette read the year of her death as 7th of Rajab of the Hijra year 495 which is equivalent to 1102 A.D. (20:i). In 1925, Ravaisse re-read the year as 475 H. (22) which is correct because **خمة وسبعين**, and not **خمة وتسعين** are the words which are actually inscribed. Now, 'Rajab 475 H.' equates with 'December 1082 A.D.' But, what is the historical significance of this earliest dated inscription? Not much, according to the foreign scholar: it is just a lonely grave and a lonely inscription. To further minimise its importance, it has been suggested that the tombstone might have been brought from somewhere else and left there. Such a wild conjecture, despite the fact that the Muslim graves are not desecrated in this way! From the national viewpoint, however, it is to be regarded as the most important inscription because, chronologically, it happens to be the earliest one known so far in Indonesia, and one of the early ones in the world of Islam. Further, it confirms early establishment of Islam in the coastal region of Gresik in East Jawa. The imposing inscription in beautiful Kufic script would indicate that Fatimah was certainly an important personage of her times. The fact that her full geneology has been recorded (as in case of Queen Mihrasyah in Pasai) shows that in all probability, she was a princess. The Hibatullah Dynasty of Leran, to which she belonged, might have been founded by the turn of the 10th century A.D.

The Gresik Inscription (Malik Ibrahim)

This inscription was first read by Moquette who gave his own verdict that Malik Ibrahim was an outsider who had come from Kashan (Iran) and settled down here because the place was conveniently suited to train proselytizing traders (20:ii). To this Kern further added that he was a merchant who had made a lot of money and therefore started converting the people. There is nothing in the inscription to justify such wild speculations; yet, these interpretations are, as if, taken for granted by Hoesein Djajadiningrat who says (3:iv) :

Malik Ibrahim died in 822 (1429 A.D.). According to a plausible analysis of the style of the inscription on the tomb by Moquette, Malik Ibrahim must have come from Kasjan, Iran. Also Kern noted that the inscriptions on the tomb indicated "only that Malik Ibrahim was a Persian", and that he was most likely a respectable businessman who had "struck it rich" as is evident from his imposing tomb. Moquette, who reproduced the part of the inscription relating to Kasjan, remarks that the place was eminently suited to train proselytizing traders.

In the first instance, Moquette's reading of the inscription needs further consideration. He has understood the last word in the 5th line of the main text (inscribed in the centre of the stone) to be **كاشاني** or **كاشان** (= belonging to Kashan) and concluded that Malik Ibrahim came from Kashan. During my visit to the tomb (1st June 1979) I had an opportunity to examine this part of the inscription in detail and also copied it out for further study. It reads as follows:

يبشروهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان وجنات لهم فيها نعيم
 مقيم خالدين فيها ابدأ ان الله عنده اجر عظيم
 هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور له الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى
 مفخر الامراء عمدة السلاطين والوزراء ومحب المساكين والفقراء
 السعيد الشهيد برهان الدولة والدين ملك ابراهيم المعروف بكاسه
 بات تغدسره الله بالرحمة والرضوان واسكنه في دار الجنان توفي في يوم
 الاثنين الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنة اثني وعشرين وثمانمائة

My comments and conclusions on this inscription are as follows:

(a) The three words, the last one in the 5th line and the first two in the 6th, are most probably of the local Jawi dialect. The connotation of the preceding phrase *al-ma'ruf bi* is that among the people he was widely known by such an appellation. Through their love, regard and admiration for him, the people would call him by his title rather, than by his first name. In case these words are of the people's own language, it would mean that he belonged to them. He did not come from outside but was one of them.

(b) The words used in the 4th and the 5th line describing his position and status show that he was a

mafchar al-Umara' = pride of the courtiers.

'Umdat al-salatin wa al-wuzara' = pillar of strength for the Sultans and the ministers.

muhubb al-masakin wa al-fukara' = lover of the destitutes and the poor.

al-sa'id al-shahid = blessed witness to righteousness.

burhan al-dawlah wa al-din = proof for the State and Religion.

Malik Ibrahim = King/Ruler Ibrahim.

These adjectives confirm the personal greatness as well as high status of Irbahim among the people as well as the ruling circles and the realm. He was a pious prince and the most popular ruler of the State of Gresik. He had been a pillar of strength for Sultans and their ministers. These Sultans were obviously his contemporaries in Sumatra and Malaya, and possible the Sultans of the Indian maritime provinces particularly those of Gujrat who being grieved at his death had sent the inscribed tombstone as a mark of respect for him. He is not mentioned as 'maulana' in the inscription but, probably, was also known by that attribute during his life time, and was continued to be remembered as 'maulana' by the grateful posterity. His recognition as 'maulana' both in later writings and tradition, shows that he was one of the most accomplished scholars (ulema') of his time. In the Malaysian/Indonesian regions, some of the great men had the distinction of being Sufi saints, scholars and rulers at the same time. Thus, *Malik Maulana Ibrahim Burhan al-Dawlah wa al-din* of Gresik, and also *Sultan Maulana Ahmad Tajuddin* of Kedah.

More positive conclusions can be drawn after the three words in the inscription are finally deciphered. Among local conjectures (probably out of the past tradition) the one mentioned to me put three words as *Kaki Kaki bantal*, meaning 'an old man with pillow' (though the 1st word is not *Kaki*, the 2nd probably *Pati* = Minister or *Pati* = *Fatih* = Conqueror and the 3rd may be a place name *Pantal*). His popularity among the people and their veneration for him which is writ large in the inscription shows that Ibrahim had lived a long life and had become an institution for his people. 'Malik', which has erroneously been taken to be a part of his personal name, clearly shows that he was a ruler; and if he had lived and ruled for a long time, say thirty years, he approximately took over in 790 H./1388 A.D. He was probably the first ruler and founder of a new dynasty, as the name of his father (the preceding ruler) is not mentioned. The Muslim State of Leran-Gresik had existed continuously since the days of Princess Fatima (d. 1082 A.H.), with dynastic changes periodically.

The Samudera Inscription (Sultan Malik Salih)

He was indeed a renowned ruler and, therefore, the resounding echo of his memories in posterity impelled the authors of *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* to ascribe his coming to power to strange and miraculous circumstances. Also he is said to have been the founder of the city of Samudera, an event which would automatically make him the first Muslim king of Samudera. To establish that he came to power miraculously, the tradition would also make him a man of no consequence, just some one Merah Silau by name, who overnight became a king with the title of al-Malik al-Salih.

The inscription on the tombstone which is more factual and historical than the above chronicles, and also precedes them in time, contradicts all such conjectures. To reject what the inscription says would amount to rejecting a clear epigraphical evidence. The inscription on the footside of the tombstone says:

هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور التقى الناصح
الحسيب النسيب الكريم العابد الفاتح
الملقب بسطان ملك الصالح

This is the grave of him to whom God may grant mercy and forgiveness –the pious, the counsel (for righteousness), the noble in rank and ancestry, the magnanimous, the devout in worship, the conqueror, entitled Sultan Malik Salih.

Indeed Salih, who became *Malik* (ruler), was not a stranded man from somewhere who all of a sudden hit upon the fortune of founding a kingdom in Samudera. He was a man of high rank and belonged to a noble family. He was magnanimous and a devout Muslim, an *abid*. It was because of these great qualities that he endeared himself to the people, and with their unflinching loyalty and support he made further conquests, subjugated other chiefs and rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. That is why he is not called only '*Fatih*' (Conqueror) but also a '*Sultan*' in the inscription. He was already a *Malik* (ruler), but now that he made conquests and subjugated other rulers he took the title of *Sultan*. That is why he is the first known among the Muslim rulers of Indonesia to be distinctly qualified with both the titles as "*Sultan Malik Salih*".

The headside inscription records that he died in the month of Ramadan of the Hijra year 696, i.e. 1296 A.D. But when did he come to power? One may argue that it was after 1292 A.D., because Marco Polo who visited Samudera in that year and was detained there for five months, does not mention him. But must Marco Polo be regarded as absolutely faultless? He was stranded in Samudera for five months, and because of his hardships during this period, he might have left a distorted image of the ruler and the people. The whole of Samudera-Perlak coastline belt was then mainly Muslim, and so far as Perlak was concerned Marco Polo had confirmed the overwhelming presence of the Muslim Arabs there. However, the people of 'Samara' (Samudera), according to him, were 'wild idolators' who had 'a king born great and rich'. Even from this derogatory remark, it is obvious that *there was a king* in Samudera in 1292, and that he was not an upstart but *born great and rich*. This is in accordance with the inscription

which confirms the nobility and generosity of Malik Salih. But were the people of Samudera then 'wild idolators'? This wild accusation of Marco Polo has been forcefully refused by a modern scholar (Fatimi) in the following words (9):

The Chinese sources give definite evidence of Islam's contact with this kingdom (of Samudera) at least ten years before the arrival of Polo. The *History of the Yuan Dynasty* states that in 1282 a Chinese envoy in Quilon met a minister from the kingdom of *Su-mu-ta* (Samudera) and pointed out that it would be a wise move if the ruler of Samudera were also to send an emissary to China. Shortly after, two envoys from Samudera went to China. From their names, Hasan and Sulayman, they were Muslims. This fact was ignored by the Venetian. This is not strange, rather it is strange that the majority of modern Western historians accept this Chinese evidence and yet appear simultaneously to insist on the infallibility of Marco Polo's observation.

Marco Polo could not be correct because if Malik Salih came to power after 1292 and died in 1297, this short span of less than 5 years was hardly enough for his great achievements which were fondly remembered in later lore and chronicles and were also specifically mentioned in the epitaph. Though Fatimi argues skilfully on the basis of the lore of the past that Malik Salih was of Bengali origin, the following part of his argument would support the idea (which will be more in line with the inscription) that Malik Salih belonged to a noble Muslim family of the local chiefs who were of Arab origin (9):

Reference has been made above to the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (1280–1367) which describes the meeting of the Chinese envoy in Quilon with the Minister of Samudera, that eventually resulted in the delegation of two Sumatran envoys to China, who happened to be Muslims named Hasan and Sulayman. Now, what is important in the present context is that the name (or the title) of the master of the minister of Samudera as given by the Chinese chronicler is *Ta-kur*, which is from the Sanskrit term *thakhur*.

The above-mentioned Chinese envoy visited Samudera on his way home from Quilon, and saw the ruler himself. Now he describes the said Thakur as *Tuhan (Tuan) Pati*. Strangely enough, Gerini concludes from this that "Islam had not perhaps as yet obtained a foothold in that territory". Neither of the two words validates Gerini's surmise. On the other hand, according to Groeneveldt: "*Tuhan (Tuan)* is generally considered to be an Arab appellation, introduced together with Islam and not used by the pagan princess in Java". Gerini has been misled perhaps by the second word, *Pati*. *Patih* or *Pateh* is the old Javanese term for "minister". It is also quite possible

that the Chinese ideogram represented not the Javanese but the Arabic word, *Fatih*, the Malay pronunciation of which is *Patih*, meaning "victorious". We come across this Arabic word, which rhymes so well with *Salih* (in Malik al-Salih) in the inscription of the famous tombstone of this monarch. It (*Tuhan*) appears to be the translation of the Arabic word (*Shaykh*) which, like the Malay *Tuan*, primarily means "an old man" and has the secondary connotation of being a venerable person".

Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the *Fatih* (Patih) Malik Salih was ruling in Samudera in 1281/82 A.D. There is another important argument to be considered. For Sultan Malik Salih, the models of success and sovereignty were the Ayubid and the Mamluk rulers of Syria and Egypt rather than the Muslim Kings of Bengal. Like the Ayubid al-Malik al-Salih (1240–49), and the Mamluk al-Malik al-Zahir (1260–77), and al-Malik al-Mansur Nur al-Din (1257–59) as well as al-Malik al-Mansur Saif al-Din Qalaun (1280–90), the great king of Samudera had assumed the title of al-Malik al-Salih, while his two sons those of al-Malik al-Zahir and al-Malik al-Mansur. The title of 'al-Malik al-Adil' adopted by them on their coins, also belonged to the two Mamluk rulers – al-Malik al-Adil Badr al-Din Satamish (1279–80) and al-Malik al-Adil Zain al-Din Katbugha (1294–96). 'al-Malik al-Salih' of Samudera must have adopted that title when he came to throne, and that should have been sometime during (1240–49) when the Ayubid Malik al-Salih was still ruling. Assuming that he came to power during the very last years (1246–49) of the Ayubid Sultan, his total regnal period (till his death in 1297) would be about 50 years, that is long enough to justify his name and fame and the resounding echo of his achievements for posterity..

It was this long and successful rule of al-Malik al-Salih which enabled him to strengthen the foundations of the Samudera Sultanate and its political power which was extended to most of the parts of Sumatra and other adjoining territories. Later in 1345 A.D., Ibn Battutah had described Malik Zahir (of Malik Salih's Line) as the *King of Jawa*; and Jawa (*al-Zabaj* of earlier authors) then represented a much wider territorial concept than the present Jawa. Also Ibn Battutah for the first time referred to Malik Zahir's great capital as 'Samutrah' or 'Sumatrah' **السطرة** being an Arabised form of Samudera, the name by which this powerful Sultanate had then come to be called. With the territorial expansion as well as economic prosperity of the Sumatra Sultanate, the name eventually extended to the whole island of Sumatra.

The Samudera Inscription (Sultan Malik Zahir, or His son?)

C.C. Browne in his translation of *Sejarah Melayu* (JRASMB, 1952) wrote the title as 'Malik al-Tahir' but the inscription (below) on the grave

adjacent to the grave of Malik Salih has 'al-Malik al-Zahir'. This grave which has been taken to be that of Malik Zahir (20:iii) is probably of his son. The inscription on the grave reads:

هذا قبر السعيد الشهيد المرحوم السلطان بن السلطان الملك الظاهر
شمس الدنيا والدين محمد بن الملك الصالح توفي ليلة الاحد ثاني عشر
من شهر ذي الحجة سنة السادس والعشرون وسبعائة من الهجرة النبوية

This is the grave of the blessed, the truthful, the forgiven Sultan, the *son* of Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Shams al-Dunya wa al-din Muhammad, the son of al-Malik al-Salih, who died on the night of Sunday, the twelfth day of the month of Dhul Hijjah of the year seven hundred and twenty-six of the Hijra.

The 'night of Sunday' means the night between Saturday and Sunday, and the Hijra year 726 is equivalent to 1326. According to the inscription this is not the grave of Malik Zahir himself, but *of the son of* Malik Zahir, unless the words (*al-Sultan b. al-Sultan*) *the Sultan son of the Sultan* are taken to be a composite phrase referring to Malik Zahir in the sense that he was himself a Sultan and also he was the son of a Sultan (Malik Salih). Even in that case, since this Malik Zahir died in 1326 A.D. he cannot be the same Malik Zahir whom Ibn Battutah met nineteen years later in 1345 A.D. (14) On the other hand, if the grave is to be regarded as that of the *son of Malik Zahir*, it may probably be of 'Sultan Ahmad', who was the son of Malik Zahir Muhammad and the grandson of Malik Salih, as confirmed by the inscription on the grave of Queen Mihrasiyah (see below). Possibly, the name 'Ahmad' was left out by the scribe through mistake, though the title 'Sultan' (after which the name 'Ahmad' should have been written) is duly inscribed. To settle this point, a thorough study of the tombstone inscriptions in Makam Pasai is to be made. If the grave of Sultan Malik Zahir Muhammad be there but not of Sultan Ahmad, the grave adjacent to the grave of Malik Salih may be identified as that of Sultan Ahmad.

The Pasai Inscription on the Queen's Grave

The queen's name has been read as 'B.H. rasiyah', 'N.H. rasiyah' etc (20:ii, 27). The inscription clearly shows that the first letter of the name is neither 'b' (ب) nor 'n' (ن); it is either 'm' (م) or 'f' (ف). If it is 'm', and the two dots above belong to the second (upper) half of the name, the more probable reading will be Mihrasyah. If the 1st letter is taken to be an 'f', the name would be *Fihrasyah*, suggesting that the original local pronunciation might have been 'Pihrasyah'. Further, what is more important,

the inscription also gives the title of the Queen, which remains to be read meaningfully and its significance explained properly. The title, by which the queen was known to the people, is most probably in the local Samuder-Pasai dialect of those times. The inscription also records the queen's genealogy which shows that she was a direct descendant of Malik Salih. The relevant part of the inscription reads as follows:

هذا المرقد المنور المطهر لملكة المعظمة المرحومة المغفورة
 فهراسية الملقبة برا بخساخاد و بنت السلطان
 الشهيد السعيد زين العابدين بن السلطان احمد بن
 السلطان محمد بن الملك صالح عليها الرحمة وعليهم الغفران
 انتقلت من دار الدنيا الى جوار رحمة الله في تاريخ يوم
 الاثنين سابع عشر من شهر ذي الحجة سنة احد
 وثلثين وثمانمائة .

This is the resting place, bright and clean, of the great queen, blessed and forgiven, Mihrasyah, entitled *B.ra' b.gh.sa Kha(Cha)d.u./o/au*, the daughter of the truthful, the blessed, Sultan Zain al-Abidin s/o Sultan Ahmad s/o Sultan Muhammad s/o al-Malik Salih.

The date of her death is recorded as "17 Dhi Hijjah 831", i.e. 27th September 1428 A.D. She was the fourth in line of succession after Malik Salih, and her great grandfather Malik Zahir (Muhammad) or grandfather Sultan Ahmad died in 726 H. (1326). There are, then, two possibilities so far as the regnal periods of the queen and her father Sultan Zain al-Abidin are concerned: either they ruled for extraordinarily long periods of time; or some of their collaterals or others usurped the throne, but the queen and her father had lived long enough and succeeded in getting back their throne when they were of advanced age. However, these are mere conjectures. The problem can be resolved if the graves of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Muhammad are identified and the inscriptions (if any) read conclusively. During a flying visit of a few minute to Makam Pasai (14 June 1979), I read the title '*al-Malik al-'Adil*' on one grave (probable second from the west) in the southern row indicating that the rulers other than Queen Mihrasyah are also buried there.

Were the Inscribed Marble Gravestones Taken from the Indian Jaina Temples?

One more problem needs to be settled so far as the marble stones bearing inscription on the grave of Queen Mihrasyah in Makam Pasai and on the grave of Malik Ibrahim in Gresik are concerned. Moquette had observed that in design and style these two stones were identical, and also these were exactly similar to those found in Cambay in Gujrat (India). Secondly, after examining the tombstone on the Queen's grave, he concluded that these marble stones were taken from the Jaina temples of Gujrat. According to him, if the sarcophagus were dismantled the backside of the inscribed stone would show carvings of human figures which resemble such carvings on the Jaina temples. He, therefore, concluded that at that time Muslims in Cambay, or Gujrat, were utilizing marble facings from Jaina temples for the purpose of gravestones both in their own areas and for other Muslims abroad (20:ii) particularly in Jawa (Gresik) and Sumatra (Pasai).

Moquette is correct so far as the similarity of these gravestones is concerned. Not only the one on the Queen's grave (d. 1428) but also on some other graves in Makam Pasai, and the one on the grave of Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419) in Gresik are almost similar in size and style. There is also a very close resemblance between these and the gravestones in Cambay. According to the local tradition current in Gresik to this day (I heard of it on 1-6-1979), the gravestone of Maulana Ibrahim's tomb was "inscribed by a man from Gujrat". Of the graves in Cambay, the best preserved one (while there are others also), and of the same pattern, is that of 'Zaur al-Malik 'Umar bin Ahmad al-Kazaruni' who died on 9 Safar 734 A.H. (21 October 1333). This would show that the Muslim artisans of Cambay had developed their expertise in stone cutting, decorating and inscribing at least by 1333 A.D.; and it had continued in the same style at least for the next one hundred years, since the stone for the Queen Mihrasyah's grave must have been inscribed after her death on 1428 A.D. If Moquette is to be believed, then the position would be that the Jaina temples were being dismantled by the Muslim artisans continuously for one full century for the purpose of gravestones without any protest from any quarter whatsoever. On the other hand it would be considered not only improper but profane from the Muslim point of view to use stones with human figures, and these too taken from temples, for the graves of some eminent Muslim saints and rulers for whom excellent new stones could easily be acquired. Moquette's generalization on the basis of any one single stone, would be untenable even otherwise, but the insinuation is serious enough to be followed up with a proper scrutiny. The problem can be settled once for all, if the Department of Archaeology re-examines the backsides of the inscription stones on the graves of both Malik Ibrahim and Queen Mihrasyah. This is all the more necessary because of Moquette's one other fallacious generalization that all the inscribed tombstones including that of Malik Salih were imported from

Gujrat, though Malik Salih's tombstone has essentially an indigenous design motif and none like it is to be found either in Cambay or the whole of Gujrat.

The Pasai Inscription on Malik Abd al-Rahman's Grave

This grave, situated in the Teungku di Iboih di Blang Me Pasai graveyard, has the following inscription (27):

الملك مولانا عبد الرحمن تاج الدولة
قطب المعالي الفاسي المتوفى يوم الاربع شهر
ذى القعدة سنة ست مائة وعشر ٦١٠

The King (Malik) Maulana Abd al-Rahman, Crown of the State (*Taj al-Dawlah*), the Saint of the Highest Order (*al-Qutb al-Ma ali*) of Pasai, who died on Wednesday in the month of Dhu'l Qadah in the year six hundred and ten (of the Hijrah).

I have had no chance to visit this graveyard and read the inscription for myself, but trusting that the above part of the inscription has been correctly read, it is obvious that this is the grave of an earlier ruler of Pasai, long before Malik Salih founded Samudera. The use of temporal titles (*al-Malik* and *Taj al-Dawlah*) along with religious-cum-spiritual ones (*Maulana* and *Qutb al-Ma ali*), is a common and distinctive feature of inscriptions of the rulers' graves of the early period. Malik Maulana Abd al-Rahman would appear to be the first of his line to have become the ruler of Pasai, since his father is not mentioned in the inscription. He died in the month of Dhu'l Qa'dah 610 H.=1214 A.D. It would be reasonable to presume that he had ruled for 15 to 20 years, i.e. long enough to inspire the people to preserve the memories of his temporal and spiritual greatness through this inscription; thus, the beginning of his rule can be placed approximately during the years 595–596 H. (1194–1199), i.e. by the turn of the 12th century A.D. Accordingly, this Rahmanid Dynasty preceded the Salihid Dynasty which was founded some 50 years later with its capital at Samudera. Inscriptions on the graves of some other important personages of the period in the Pasai area confirm that this part of Sumatra was entirely Muslim by the turn of the 21th century. There is the grave of Yaqub, a *Qaid* or Commander who died in Muharram 630 H. (1232 A.D.). Another grave in the Blang Me Pasai complex is that of Naina Husamuddin who died in the month of Shawal in the Hijra year six hundred and twenty-two (= 1225 A.D.). It is obvious that Husamuddin originally belonged to the Naina sub-stock of the Tamil speaking Chulia Muslims from Ma'abar (Coromandal, India)

who began visiting the Malaysian-Indonesian regions from the early thirteenth century.

The Grave of King 'Tadjibarani' of Gowa (South Solawesi)

Islam is believed to have been introduced successfully in South Sulawesi by Maulana al-Shaikh Abd al-Ma'mur Khatib, popularly known as *Datuk Ri Bandang* (Sire of Bandang), who originally belonged to the Kampong (village) of Kota Tangan situated at some distance from the city of Pandang in Sumatra. King Karaeng Motoaya of Tallo who was then Chancellor of Gowa, being the Regent for his young nephew the would-be king of Gowa (Makassar), accepted Islam first and therefore, he became known as *Abdullah Awwal al-Islam*. This was in 1603. Later in 1606, when his nephew became King of Gowa, he also embraced Islam. He was the famous Sultan Alauddin under whose inspiration the whole of his Kingdom (Gowa) accepted Islam. It is generally believed that the Buginese States in the north accepted Islam after Gowa became Muslim. J. Noorduyn, the linguist of the Bible Society of Bogor, following the colonial historians, finds it convenient to assert that Islam spread in the Buginese States as a result of the "Islamic Wars" or the "Holy Wars" which Sultan Alauddin waged for this purpose as a matter of "holy duty". Obviously, Noorduyn himself is doing his own 'holy duty' to project such a distorted perspective of the historical events of that period. Gowa and Bone were at war with one another long before Sultan Alauddin ascended the throne. Their mutual attacks and invasions had gone on long before the advent of Islam. A powerful king like Sultan Alauddin would have waged retaliatory wars even if he had not accepted Islam. On the other hand, the appeal of Islam was so widespread during this period that the Buginese rulers and people would have accepted Islam even if Sultan Alauddin had not attacked. In fact, Islam had preceded the retaliatory wars of Sultan Alauddin. The chiefs of the Wajo Kingdom had accepted Islam voluntarily without any fear of being attacked. The King of Bone, the most powerful of the Buginese states, had himself embraced Islam. Even before him, his predecessor, the Queen had gone over to Sidering which had accepted Islam. According to the Aceh tradition, Sultan Muhammad was the common ancestor of the Sultans of Aceh (Ali Mughayah Shah and others) and the Sultans of Makassar whose ancestor came to Makassar long before Sultan Ali Mughayah ruled Aceh (1514-1530).

We have gone into this digression to underline the fact that Islam was known and favoured by the more intelligent and influential sections of the people in the Celebes long before the reign of Sultan Alauddin. Not only his uncle, but probably his forefathers had favoured Islam and some of them had personally accepted Islam. Tadjbarani, King XI of Gowa, was one of them.

There are two graves under a low ceiling dome on the left hand side of the main door as one enters *Makam Salatin* situated on the outskirts of the city of Ujung Pandang, the capital of South Solawesi. At the other end in the forefront, situated in a long row, are the imposing graves of Sultan Alauddin, Sultan Hasanuddin and other Sultans of Gowa.

The signboard by the Department of Archaeology on the door of the dome mentioned above says that the two graves inside are of the two kings of Gowa (who long before preceded Sultan Alauddin) namely :

I. KARAENG LAKIUNG (the elder brother), King of Gowa X.

II. SOMBAGTA I TADJIBARANI, DAEN MAROMPA, King of Gowa XI (the younger brother who ascended the throne in 1565 but soon after died in the expedition he led against Bone).

The two graves inside are exactly in accordance with the Muslim burial practice, i.e. they are situated side by side in the North-South direction. In all the regions east of Arabia, a Muslim deceased is buried with head to the north (and slightly turned right towards the Ka'aba) and the feet to the south. There would appear to be no doubt that if these graves were opened up, this position would be confirmed. Obviously, these two rulers were buried in accordance with the Muslim practice. The tribute paid to King-XI whose personal name was Daeng Marompa says in the Makassar language "*Sombagta I Tadjibarani*", that is "Here lies our sire Tajbarani". This expression is a faithful translation of the familiar Arabic expression **هذا هو سيد با تاج باراني**. This respectful tribute is obviously in Islamic style. Also the revered name by which the late king is mentioned, i.e. Tadjibarani, carries the prefix *Taj* (= crown) which is purely Arabic and has been generally used in royal names and titles in the Muslim world. In Indonesian/Malaysian setting also such a use is exemplified in the names and titles of "Malik Maulana Abd al-Rahman Taj al-Dawlah" (the King of Pasai), "Sultan Maulana Ahmad Taj al-Din" the ruler of Kedah, and "Daen Marompa Tajbarani", the King of Gowa. Obviously, Islam and Islamic way of life had preceded long before official declaration of Islam as State religion in South Solawesi. There were close cultural and commercial relations between Solawesi and Malay Peninsula from early times. The Hijra year and Arabic writing was in use even long before King Tadjibarani. A mosque was built in Makassar soon after 1512. The island of Ternate has a Muslim prince who ruled from 1466 to 1486 A.D. (17). All these important bits of information add up to prove the all pervading influence of Islam in Solawesi long before the reign of Sultan Alauddin whose wars for political

The discussion that follows is based on the names as given in the official signboard. These names do not figure in Noorduy'n's article on Celebes in the *'Introduction to Indonesian Historiography'*.

supremacy are misrepresented as "Islamic Wars" of "Holy Wars" to spread Islam.

III. The Problem of Periodization

The writings of the colonial period conveniently eliminate the identity of the 'Muslim period' in the periodization of Indonesian History. There were, as if only two main periods, the Pre-Dutch Period and the Dutch Period. Even when the former was divided between (1) the Empire of Sriwijaya, (ii) the Kingdom of Singasari and (iii) the Great Hindu Majapahit Empire, the contemporary Muslim Kingdoms and Sultanates did not receive adequate emphasis as an important feature of the history of this period.

A more differentiated scheme of periodization has been structured as follows (3:ii): the common cultural Malaysian-Indonesian past (2000–1000 B.C.); the period of migrations from India and Hindu settlements (100 B.C.–500 A.D.); the Buddhist Empire of Sriwijaya (600–1300 A.D.), the Malaysian-Indonesian era of Islamic influence (1300–1650), and the Colonial Period (1650–1945/50).

The search for an Indonesia-centred vision of the historical past has advocated acceptance of the different competing viewpoints, such as follows, which exclude the identity of the Muslim realms:

- a) The Hindu-Javanese viewpoint based on the concept of the great Hindu Majapahit Empire.
- b) The Dutch East India Company's Indies Empire.
- c) The Netherlands Indies Government period from 1910 to 1945, when all the present Indonesian territories were under an effective control of the colonial administration.

On the analogy of 'Hindu-Javanese' viewpoint, 'Muslim-Javanese' or 'Muslim-Indonesian' viewpoint (which would conform more to the realities of the historical past) has not been suggested. An eminent scholar has, however, conceded that in so far as "local historical traditions have proved useful for the verification of foreign accounts an adequate knowledge of Islam in Indonesia is often necessary" (3:iv). As it is stated, this viewpoint at best recognizes 'Islam in Indonesia' as one of the many local *traditions* the knowledge of which is not *always* but *often necessary*, and that too not in its own sight as an important fact of national history but only as a means 'to verify foreign accounts' of Indonesia. It may be observed that even if 'historical statementship' rather than 'historical scholarship' is to formulate the emerging concepts of periodization, it would be unrealistic to gloss over the historical realities. 'Geographical', 'Political', 'Temporal', or any other connotations could be employed, but these must represent the historical

realities of each period. What is conveniently called the 'colonial period' was, in fact, the period of 'the Indonesian Sultanates under foreign occupation'. The two Sultanate Periods, the one of independence prior to foreign occupation and the other under colonial domination, are both important and distinctive periods of national Indonesian History. Prior to the Sultanate Periods, there were the geographically and culturally isolated 'Kingdom' (Buddhist Sriwijaya, Hindu Majapahit and the Muslim Kingdoms of North Sumatra and East Java); the Sultanate Periods represented a more integrated cultural and economic setting and a common anti-colonial climate, which eventually contributed to the growth of 'Indonesian' consciousness and ideals. Periodization on the following lines would broadly conform more to the realities of the historical past and also avoid unrealistic connotations of nomenclature:

I.	Pre-Historic Period	Pre-Historic Times.
II.	Ancient Period	Early Times 700 A.D.
III.	The Era of Isolated Kingdoms	600–1300
IV.	The Early Sultanate Period	1400–1650
V.	The Later Sultanate Period	1650–1945
VI.	The Republican Period	1945–today.

An all-inclusive title for the whole history covering all the above periods should appropriately be "History of Indonesia and the Indonesian People". The Republic of Indonesia came into existence in 1945. Since then it is the history of Indonesia as a newly established state heralding a new era of independence for the people who, however, were there prior to 1945 and from pre-historic times. The period prior to 1945 is the history of the people of Indonesia, as is the period since 1945.

IV. Conclusion

The early advent and spread of Islam in Indonesia represents both the internationalism of Islam and the internationalism of the Malaysian/Indonesian society. It is a unique historical fact of spiritual advancement and religious transformation of a homogenous society, which was as much due to external inspiration as it was due to internal motivation and assimilation. Consolidation of Islam during the later stage was co-extensive with the growing process of political and cultural integration among the people of Indonesia under the impact of colonial domination. Chronologically, the process may be differentiated as follows:

- i) *1st–2nd Centuries A.H. (7–8 A.D.).* Early contacts of the people with the visiting Muslim navigators/traders during their intransit halts on port towns.
- ii) *3–4 A.H. (9–11 A.D.).* The visiting Muslims take to Indonesian

territory as their own home; process of fraternization with the indigenous population; establishment of Islamic communities in port towns and adjoining areas.

- iii) 5-9 A.H. (12-16 A.D.). Growth of the Indonesian Islamic communities in the coastal regions and the adjoining areas; development of community organizations, and establishment of Islamic states.
- iv) 9-13 A.H. (16-20 A.D.). Widespread consolidation of Islam as an integral part of the peoples' struggle against colonial domination.

More valid conclusions regarding the historic process through which the Indonesian Islamic community has developed and established its 'identity in internationalism', can be drawn after most of the source materials, both external and internal, are brought to light, and are studied and interpreted meaningfully by the more competent patriotic historians of Indonesia.

APPENDIX – I

AN ACCOUNT OF ACEH IN FUZUNI'S BOOK 'BUHAIRAH' *

The Iranian merchant Hashim Beg 'Fuzuni' of Astrabad visited Moghul India during 1014–1017 A.H. (1605–1608 A.D.), in the reign of Emperor Jahangir. He was a man of learning and a recognized poet who composed under the pen name of 'Fuzuni'. In his book entitled *Buhairah* which, he completed in 1037 H. (1627) or earlier, he included under 'Chapter 43' an account of the 'Island of Achin' which he had taken from the work of Khwaja Baqir Ansari who had been the Governor of Bunggala (Bengal) for 22 years during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556–1605 A.D.), and who had collected information "on all the islands of Chin, Machin, Achin, Pegu". After warning that the authenticity of this account (which as we see is either incorrect or exaggerated on some points) depended upon Khwaja Baqir Ansari or his reporter(s), Fuzuni included it in his book. This account of the 'Island of Achin', the original Persian text of which follows, contains useful information such as under:

1. The 'Island of Achin' is the central one in which there is plenty of good fruit. Camphor is obtained in the region which is inhabited by cannibals. Annually, their emissaries bring camphor as gift to the ruler of Achin, which is then exported to 'all parts of the world'.
2. The people of Achin are Muslims. The ruler of Achin always keeps four (most prominent) of them in service for maintaining law and order. The people of Achin are very brave and fearless.
3. They are engaged in waging war against the *Firang* (the Frank, i.e. the Portuguese/Dutch).
4. There is a mount in the sea at a distance of one day from Achin; whenever a foreign ship appears, a cannon like bang is heard from that mount, and immediately the Achinese prepare for war. Their country produces a kind of oil which they spread on the sea water and set it on fire which destroys ships everywhere. Because of this, the Frank are unable to conquer that Island.
5. They do not sell that oil to anyone and (if some one does so, or has it) they confiscate it by the order of the ruler.

* I am indebted to Mr. S.Q. Fatima for supplying me the text of Fuzuni's *Buhairah* which he had copied out from the published edition, and for his valuable suggestions.

6. During the days of Khan Jehan (who was Emperor Akbar's Governor of Bunggala from 983 to 986 H. = 1575–1578), the ruler of Achin was from a Sayyid family which (originally) belonged to Najaf. According to the local tradition, his ancestor who had come from Najaf was a very learned and pious man. Most of the people gave him their allegiance, so much so that even the ruler considered himself to be one of his followers. Eventually, the rulership passed on to the Sayyid and the old dynasty was eclipsed.
7. Thereafter, six of the Sayyid's descendants ruled Achin successively, and when no one from their house survived, the rulership passed on into the hands of the Sayyids of Jawa who had gained favour and influence during this period.
8. There were five rulers from the Sayyid Dynasty of Jawa, and the rule of this house continued till the present times, i.e. 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.), when the ruler of Achin bestowed his favours on one of the least noble persons of the time and raised him to the position of his Regent. When this man failed in his duties, the ruler called him and threatened to punish him the very next day. However before he could do so, this man planned a coup, killed the ruler and usurped the throne. Since then (1590 A.D.), that man has continued to rule Achin independently, and ruthlessly.

This brief but contemporary account preserved by Fuzuni in his *Buhairah*, testifies to the valour of the Achinese Muslims; their wars against the Portuguese/the Dutch invaders and a successful defence of their country; and the three dynastic changes which took place in the 10th century of the Hijra (16th A.D.).

APPENDIX – II

SOME OF THE SOURCE BOOKS WHICH ARE INDICATED BY THEIR SERIAL NUMBERS IN THE TEXT

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