

# The Propagation of ISLAM

in the Indonesian-  
Malay Archipelago

Edited & Annotated by ALIJAH GORDON

YAYASAN LEE

Dengan segala murah hati  
menghadiahkan buku ini kepada  
sekolah anda

Mac 2001



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PROPAGATION OF ISLĀM  
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Indonesian-Malay Archipelago



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MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

2001



DEDICATION

To all those who would attest to our unity,  
indivisible, higher than the walls that would divide.

ALIJAH GORDON

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## THE GREAT DIVIDE

THE Crusader so-called Christian onslaught against the Muslims of the Middle East is well-known. For 88 years, from 15 July 1099, they occupied al-Quds (Jerusalem) until they were ousted by Salāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbi in 1187. But intellectually, a greater and more permanent loss to humanity was the action of the Spanish with the fall of Granada in 1492 which ended 800 years of Moorish suzerainty: "... thousands of books the Moors had collected over centuries – priceless masterpieces that their geographers, mathematicians, astronomers, scientists, poets, historians, and philosophers had written, and tomes their scholars had translated – were committed to bonfires by priests of the Holy Inquisition. To cap this atrocity, an estimated three million Moors and 300,000 Jews were expelled from Spain (and this does not include the thousands forced to convert to Catholicism)."<sup>1</sup> The irony is that for centuries the rulers of Europe and their merchant princes had relied on Moorish surgeons and physicians to cure them, and certainly the European Renaissance would not have been possible without the cultural infusion of Moorish and Jewish scholarship. When the Jews were expelled, the funds seized from the dispossessed were used to finance all four of Columbus' voyages, which were to decimate the people of the 'New World'. Ethnocide became an intrinsic part of Spanish domestic and overseas policy.

Coming to the Iberian Peninsula in the wake of the Vandals and Visigoths, the Moors had civilized the land they called 'al-Andalus', the name derived from 'Land of the Vandals'. "... Islam accommodated new ideas with grace and a civilized tolerance. Moorish scholars believed that there were fundamental links between mathematics and religion. They conceived of the universe as an entity which God kept recreating at every moment of existence, as being dynamic rather than static, and this dynamic quality was brought out very effectively in Moorish mathematics. They saw science not as a denial, but as an affirmation, of faith."

The Moors created harmony in the rhythms of life in the city and in the countryside. The "... countryside was kept fertile and

productive with advanced drainage and irrigation systems, reservoirs, aqueducts, [water-wheels], sophisticated storage facilities and efficient marketing, transportation and trading networks". And they "... brought the countryside into their cities with fantastic gardens, parks, lush inner courtyards and a constant supply of pure water. The gardens in Moorish cities ... were known as 'paradises'." Their "cities were noted for their public hospitals, public baths, lighted thoroughfares, hot and cold running water, magnificent religious monuments, and the grandeur of their masjids, gardens ... and beautifully designed fountains".

Moorish sanitary engineers had created a high standard of public health – the smallest village had public baths – but as the *reconquista* progressed, Catholic priests closed public baths and the faithful were told that daily ablutions were sinful; in 1568, Philip II actually banned public baths. To the Jews and Muslims, cleanliness was Godliness, but under the Inquisition, fire rather than water became the grand element of inquisitorial purification.

It is one of history's bitter ironies that "without the improved Moorish/'Arab astrolabe, the lateen sail, and the advances made by the 'Arabs in navigation, astronomy and the nautical sciences in general, the idea of sailing west to reach the 'Indies' would never have crystallized in minds trapped in the thralldom of medieval superstition ...".

The distance between Granada in 1492 and the 1511 Portuguese-Catholic aggression on Muslim Mělaka is but the twinkling of an eye. With 1492 as a backdrop, we can understand the mentality of the Iberian Catholic Portuguese who were to devastate Goa, Mělaka, and on. Being few in numbers, they launched their attacks with calculated cruelty so as to overawe the defenders. Tomé Pires in his *Suma Oriental*, written between 1512 and 1515 during the author's stay in Mělaka, which is considered an indispensable source, personifies their mentality. He writes of "... the false and diabolical doctrine of the abominable, ignominious and false Mahomet, chief of all the vain Moorish religion".<sup>2</sup> It was even said that many of the embittered Moorish refugees or their descendants had found their way via the Red Sea to the island-world of Southeast Asia and since the Catholic Kings had rightly oppressed and persecuted the Muslims in Spain, the Spanish would be even more justified in conquering their descendants in Asia.<sup>3</sup>

When we think of the vicious policies of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century colonial powers, especially of the Spanish in the Morolands, we might think that it was easy for them to capture and brand Muslims to be used as slaves or just to slaughter them, because they were of a different race, but we need to know that these ethnocidal policies were practised by the English in Ireland, by a white people upon a white people. It can be maintained that in many ways the specific methods of warfare inflicted on Ireland by the English prefigured the conquest of North America and the decimation of the Native American Indians.<sup>4</sup>

Irish historians, known as the Four Masters, described the destruction of the native population: "It was not wonderful that they should kill men fit for action, but they killed blind and feeble men, women, boys, and girls, sick persons, idiots, old people." Similar action was taken against the Scots when they rose up: 1,400 Scots died at Moy River, including women and children. Scalping is laid at the feet of the Native Americans, but soon after 1300, the English exchequer began paying for the delivery of heads of Irish 'rebels'. Crops and cattle of the Irish were ravaged in a war of starvation: 'destruction of the means by which life is maintained'. "Reduction to poverty brings prayers for peace more surely and more quickly than the destruction of human life." It is estimated that 504,000 Irish perished, and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardships and banishment between 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1641 and 1652; half a million out of a total population at that time of 1,448,000, and another 100,000 men, women and children were transported to the Americas. The English developed a thriving trade in Irish indentured servants. The remaining population was regrouped and concentrated in areas to create *lebensraum* for the English, and the use of the Irish language, laws and customs, was proscribed.

Spanish colonization of the islands they were to name for their King Philip not only led to the devastation of Muslim population in some areas, but polarized the islands. Christianized indigenous people, who were themselves victims of this colonization, were used as foot-soldiers against the Muslims, who were termed Moors, to emphasize the continuity of the Spanish anti-Muslim crusade.

The Dutch who were to follow as colonizers in the island-world of the 'Indies' had themselves fought for their freedom

from Catholic Spain. When they entered the Malukus, where they overcame the Portuguese, they were known to destroy Catholic images. The Dutch, who had not participated in the Crusades, didn't carry with them the Spanish-Portuguese Catholic hostility to Islām and Muslims. But later, as the Dutch sought to establish their monopoly over the spices, this understandably brought an adverse reaction from the Muslims who sought to form alliances with other Muslims as a bulwark against Dutch control. Notwithstanding their lack of historical baggage in dealing with Muslims, it was the Dutch who divided the island-world of Maluku. They blocked further Islāmization in areas under VOC (United East India Company) 'suzerainty', and at the same time encouraged Calvinized Christianization. While much of Ambon's periphery was only nominally converted to Christianity, it was cut off from further Islāmization. When there was a request from Aru for Islāmic teachers from Hitu, the Dutch Governor at Banda immediately sent another Christian missionary. "The harmful sect of Muhamed threatens to make its adherents into enemies of our nation."<sup>5</sup> The VOC contracts made with the *orang kaya* – dignitaries – whom they had succeeded to make vassals of the company required that all non-Dutch 'foreign' traders should be averted, the Makasarese (Muslims) attacked and killed, and all nutmeg trees felled in return for VOC protection.<sup>6</sup>

"In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, in pursuit of the spice monopoly, the Dutch followed a policy of religious non-interference towards the Malukan Sultānates and other Muslim territories (Hitu). But this policy changed into a policy of containment when the VOC gradually grew stronger. The Islāmic regions remained free to worship but they were not allowed to proselytize outside their own territory; ... the enforcement of Dutch suzerainty gradually contained or prevented the introduction of Islām, while expanding Christianity wherever possible."<sup>7</sup>

What we have inherited is a divided world. The struggle of the Moros of Mindanao, Basilan and Sulu to regain their independence continues. The horrendous massacres in Maluku in Indonesia reflect the Dutch policy which divided the islands. Where now are the leaders on both sides of the religious divide who will understand that both Muslims and Christians share in Divine Revelation and that in so far as we kill one another, we are carrying out the policy of the colonialists whom we proudly

thought we had defeated. But they have not been defeated; the mentality of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries is alive and well, and destroying our people.

ALIJAH GORDON

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1. For this brief summary on Moorish civilization and its destruction, the writer is beholden to Jan Carew, "The end of Moorish enlightenment and the beginning of the Columbian era" in *The Curse of Columbus; Race & Class*, 33, 3 (1992) 3-16.
2. Cited in Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Introduction of Islām into Champa", 298-9 *infra*.
3. Charles Ralph Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Projects ...", 164 *infra*.
4. For this discussion on Ireland, see Milan Rai, "Columbus in Ireland" in *Ireland Columbus and Colonialism; Race & Class*, 34, 4 (1993) 25-34.
5. See Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "Dividing the Islands ...", 270 *infra*.
6. *Ibid.*, 271 *infra*.
7. *Ibid.*, 274 *infra*.



## EDITOR'S NOTE

**T**HIS book divides into two distinct parts. The first part is centred on a translation of "De verbreiding van den Islam" (The Propagation of Islām) by the late Professor R.A. Kern, published in *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië* (History of the Netherlands Indies), edited by F.W. Stapel (Amsterdam: N.V. Uitgeversmaatschappij "Joost van den Vondel", 1938) 1, Chapter 8, 305-65, 376-7.

Professor Kern's work was graciously translated into English by Mdm. H.M. Froger, and checked by Dr. S. Nieuwolt and the editor. The eminent late Professor G.W.J. Drewes had the humility to do what others left aside: as he wrote to the editor, he verified the translation line by line.

Professor Kern summarized all that was known of the spread of Islām into the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago at the time that he wrote. He did not directly quote from his sources, but paraphrased in Dutch from the writings cited in his bibliography, and he gave no footnotes. There was a danger of distortion in this twice-removed summarizing when translating his Dutch into English. Accordingly, in some instances, having identified the source, we substituted a direct quote. Otherwise, we added a footnote citation to the general source. We could not have done this without the generous assistance of Professor Dr. M.C. Ricklefs. Unfortunately, both he and we were unable to find someone competent in Portuguese and willing to assist. Not to allow 'best to be the enemy of good', we publish Professor Kern's work with this shortcoming.

Professor Kern's bibliography is retained along with English translations of the titles cited. We have compiled an additional bibliography from the annotator's efforts in documenting the text and from the sources cited by Professor G.W.J. Drewes in his "New Light on the Coming of Islām to Indonesia?" and by the other contributors.

The article "In Memory of R.A. Kern" by Professor G.W.J. Drewes originally appeared in *BKI*, CXIV (1958) 345-58 under the title "In Memoriam R. A. Kern". It was translated for MSRI by J. Anandel and verified by Dr. Amin Sweeney. The "List of

R.A. Kern's Writings" was included with Professor Drewes' original article; we have added English translations of titles and included the journals cited in a list of abbreviations we prepared.

Professor Kern's "Propagation of Islām", published in 1938, has the advantage of being a broad summary of what was known at that time of the spread of Islām in the Archipelago. Some of Kern's information and value judgements were superseded by subsequent scholarship. The contentions of other scholars up until 1968 are elaborated in Professor Drewes' "New Light on the Coming of Islām to Indonesia?". His paper, written in Dutch, was read at a meeting of the Oosters Genootschap at Leiden, 27 March 1968. An English translation was published in *BKI*, CXXIV (1968) 433-59, which we have further edited and included in this volume.

The second part of this book opens with the late Professor Charles Ralph Boxer's compelling "Portuguese and Spanish Projects for the Conquest of Southeast Asia, 1580-1600", originally published in the *Journal of Asian History*, III, 2 (Indiana University, 1969) 118-36, of which this is an edited version. Professor Boxer sets the tone of the times, the virulent seas in which Islāmization was swimming. Anti-Muslim — anti-Moro — hostility, reaching back to the Crusades, was alive and well in the minds and souls of the Portuguese and Spanish who violently pushed into Asia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Professor Boxer's work is followed by the stereotype-breaking contribution of the late Dr. Denys Lombard and Dr. Claudine Salmon: "Islām and Chineseness", which, along with Professor Pelras' article, was first published in French in *Archipel* (1985) and English versions were later included in *Indonesia* (1994). Professor Christian Pelras': "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islāmization in South Sulawēsi"; Dr. Hendrik E. Niemeijer's: "Dividing the Islands: The Dutch Spice Monopoly and Religious Change in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Maluku", and finally Dr. Pierre-Yves Manguin's: "The Introduction of Islām into Champa" give depth to the Islāmization process in areas which perforce Professor Kern could only sketch. Dr. Manguin's original research was published in French in *BEFEO* and then translated by Robert Nicholl and printed in *JMBRAS* (1985) of which this is a much edited version. We're grateful to all the contributors for the knowledge they so freely shared.

To understand the dynamics of what is happening today, we must look to yesterday when the Western colonial powers —

Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands and Great Britain — laid the framework for the splits we inherited. Our task is to recognize these fractured realities and to work towards a devolution of power where each of our peoples can live their lives in their own way.

ALIJAH GORDON



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

**T**HIS work began as part of a research project on Islām in Malaya to which many donated over the years. The background of this book is explained in the Editor's Note. But here we wish to acknowledge all those who co-operated along the way.

Firstly, Dr. Y.H. Casper Kern, former Curator of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, who gave permission for MSRI to translate and publish his late father's work and who provided the photograph of his father that appears as a frontispiece. Then Dr. Harry A. Poeze of KITLV, Leiden, who has been a blessing to the Editor, searching out details of publications, translating titles, and generally providing needed advice. Also Nigel Phillips, formerly of the South East Asia Department of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, gave a willing hand.

For translation of French titles, we must thank Puan Rosey Ma; for Portuguese titles, Yahya Abu Bakar, Lecturer in the History Department, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, as well as the Embassy of Brazil at Kuala Lumpur. For library assistance, we must remember Haji Ibrahim Ismail, formerly Assistant Librarian at Universiti Malaya, and we would thank Dr. Zaiton Othman, Head Librarian, for her co-operation.

Many people laboured typing the manuscripts many times over, beginning with Hassan Omar and Gouri Subramaniam who typed the first drafts, and then the very generous Kay Lyons who typed further drafts, and finally MSRI's Secretary, Che Harliza Khairuddin and Mr. Philip Zachariah who laboured on. Noor Khairiyati Mohd. Ali, MSRI Co-ordinator, did yeoman service in seeing to the Bibliography and assisted the Editor in the preparation of the Glossary. Again, it was Kay Lyons who meticulously went through all the contributions with her usual eagle eye, searching out inconsistencies, and who prepared the initial Index, for which we can never repay her. Lia Syed gave a hand in proof-reading and in the extensive checking of the Index. Of course, printers are paid, but Angie Yim and Polly Lim always went out of their way, which must be acknowledged.

Needless to say, any failings in the book are my own: *Ma'af zahir dan batin*.

Each of MSRI's books are gifted to 1,650 Malaysian secondary schools and tertiary institutions, which is a very costly contribution and could not happen without the generosity of the sponsors: Lee Seng Gee Esq., Chairman of Lee Foundation, States of Malaya, and Hishamudin Ubaidulla, Trustee of Ubaidi Foundation, Kuala Lumpur. Towards the costs of the work involved, we gratefully acknowledge contributions from the Royal Netherlands Embassy at Kuala Lumpur; Datuk Paduka Dr. Saleha bt. Mohd Ali; and Datuk Dr. Syed Mohamed Alwi al-Hady.

This is the last of MSRI's moral burdens from the past, unfulfilled for all too many years as a result of forces beyond MSRI's control. In-sha-Allah, we can now get on with tomorrow.

ALIJAH GORDON

## LIST OF PLATES

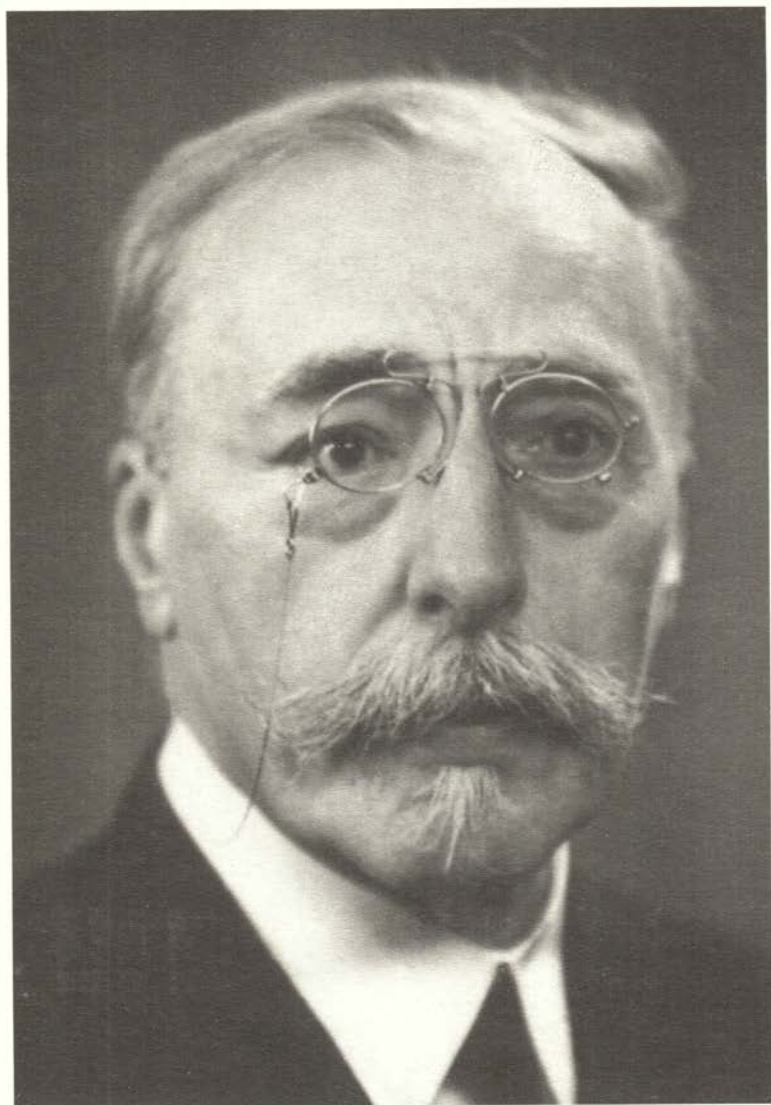
Between pages 124 and 125

1. A miniature of the first two pages of a handwritten *Qur'ān* from Aceh: *Sūra al-Fāṭiha* and *Sūra al-Baqara*.
2. Tombstone of Fāṭima, daughter of Maimūn, son of Hibat Allāh, at Leran (Surabaya) AD 1082 or 1102. The oldest known monument evincing the presence of Muslims in the Archipelago. The photograph of the actual tombstone has been touched up, with exception of the top line, to show broadly what the original would have looked like.
3. Tombstone of Sulṭān Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, AD 1297, the founder of the kingdom of Samudra (north coast of Aceh).
4. Stone inscription in Jawi (Malay written in adapted 'Arabic script) of Muslim origin, dated 1303 upwards to 1387. Found in Těrengganu, on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia. The top part has been broken off and lost. Left: Front; Right: Back. The white spots are caused by wear. This illustration shows that the sides of the stone are also inscribed.
5. Tombstone at Pasai near Samudra (north coast of Aceh) of a princess who died in AD 1428; she was the great-great-grandchild of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, the founder of Samudra, whose tombstone is shown in plate 3.
6. Old Islāmic tombstone in the graveyard at Grěsik near Surabaya. On the extreme left is the tombstone of Sunan Malik Ibrāhīm who died in AD 1419. Tradition says he was one of the Nine Walīs (Saints) of Java.
7. Masjid at Bantěn (West Java), now decayed. Bantěn was once the capital of the kingdom of that name. The building on the left, slightly resembling a lighthouse, is the minaret. At the right of the Masjid, not visible in the picture, are the graves of the Sulṭāns.

8. Minaret of the Masjid at Kudus, Central Java. Of the few buildings remaining from the period of transition from the Hindu-Javanese to the Islāmic era, this edifice, built in the striking Hindu-Javanese style, is one of the most important. The Masjid is notable also for its name *al-Manār* — the Lighthouse — or *al-Aqsā*, after the Masjid in al-Quds (Jerusalem). Inscribed over the *mihrāb* — niche indicating the direction of Makka for prayer — is the date AH 956/AD 1549.
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R.A. Kern

26 September 1875–23 March 1958

IN MEMORY OF RUDOLF AERNOUD KERN:  
26 SEPTEMBER 1875–23 MARCH 1958

G.W.J. Drewes  
translated by J. Andel

**R**UDOLF Aernoud Kern was Leiden-born. He was the second son of the renowned linguist H. Kern, who in 1865 held the first Chair of Sanskrit in the Netherlands at Leiden, and Annette Marie Thérèse Moise de Chateleux. Unlike his elder brother J.H. Kern who was to follow a scientific career — he was appointed a professor of English at Groningen and afterwards lectured on Dutch linguistics at Leiden — H. Kern had intended his second son, Rudolf for the Netherlands Indian Civil Service.<sup>1</sup> Hence he attended the Hogere Burgerschool<sup>2</sup> at Leiden and afterwards studied at the Indische Instelling<sup>3</sup> at Delft. In 1896 he passed the examination for Higher Civil Servants,<sup>4</sup> the youngest in his batch. Before the end of the year, he was sent to Java as acting *aspirant-controleur* [Junior District Officer]<sup>5</sup> and temporarily placed at the disposal of the acting senior inspector of sugar and rice cultivation, land-tax,<sup>6</sup> and related matters.

R.A. Kern was not the first of his kin to pursue a career in the Netherlands-Indies. His grandfather had been an officer in the Royal Netherlands East Indian Army and his father, who was born at Purworċjo, had spent his early boyhood in Indonesia and also some years in India for his studies on Sanskrit. Although he never returned to Indonesia, the country continued to fascinate him. It came within his purview when he began to study Old Javanese, in addition to Sanskrit. In those days, Old Javanese was still called Kawi. Because of fundamental misconceptions, many still had a wrong idea about Kawi. Its relation to Sanskrit in particular was still entirely obscure, and thus there was an inviting task for the Sanskritist, H. Kern. His aim to understand Old Javanese induced him to undertake a comparative study of Indonesian languages. Work in this field, which Van der Tuuk had commenced in a scientific fashion, using a modern approach, was greatly advanced by H. Kern.

R.A. Kern, the very young acting *aspirant-controleur* [Junior District Officer], who started his Netherlands-Indies career in 1896 in the Preanger, had a scientific interest in the country of his residence which came naturally. For him it was not enough to confine himself to his duties; he immediately turned to the language, literature, manners and customs of the Sundanese and to the history of the Sundanese areas. Thanks to his having served exclusively in the Preanger during his first term of office, he could focus his interest over a period of years on the same region and was able to lay the foundations of that vast knowledge of the land and people of West Java of which he would repeatedly give evidence.

Promotion did not come easily in those days. There was such a large surplus of civil servants that in 1897 the Government greatly reduced postings to the Netherlands-Indies and announced that in 1901 and 1902 they would be stopped altogether. This marked the end of the *Indische Instelling* at Delft; it had to close down by the end of December 1900.

Small wonder then that it was not until April 1900 that the addition 'acting' was dropped from the title of Kern's function. He was posted as Junior District Officer at Tarogong (just north of Garut). With reluctance, the people saw him depart from there in 1902 when he was appointed District Officer at Bojong Lopang in the Jampang (a mountainous region in the southwest of the Preanger highlands). At least a poem in Sundanese, written on foolscap paper and signed by all ranks of native officials under his jurisdiction, which accompanied a farewell present, states both pleasure over his promotion and regret for the departure of a just and humane superior:

*Ngan abdi<sub>2</sub> sadaja, bingah kaworan prihatin, bingahna minggah gamparan, geus kenging pangkat conteuleur, doepi djadi prihatin, abdi<sub>2</sub> anoe kantoen, ras emoet koe kasaejan, karaos koe abdi<sub>2</sub>, noe kaemoet tina adil palamarta... enz.*

We all have mixed feelings of joy and sadness. Joy because of your promotion to the rank of 'controleur'. Sadness because we are left behind. Thinking of you we feel your compassionate sense of justice ... .

His stay at Bojong Lopang was not to last long. When he had been a full year in office, a disease which made a longer stay in the tropics impossible forced Kern to recuperate his health in his

hometown. It would take three years before he was again proclaimed fit for service in the Netherlands-Indies. This long period of compulsory rest gave him the opportunity to work on his notes and from time to time to publish something from them. He lectured at the Indisch Genootschap<sup>7</sup> about the Government's intervention in native affairs. He contributed to the *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur*<sup>8</sup> and the *Indische Gids*,<sup>9</sup> *inter alia*, about large landownership in the Preanger and about land-tax in the state of Bantěn. But the most important fruit of his sick leave is undoubtedly the long treatise about *Lěmč*<sup>10</sup> in the Sundanese language, published in 1906 in *BKI*. This work deserved to be published separately not only because of its length, but to have made it more readily accessible to those people for whom it was primarily compiled, namely all those who in their association with the people were using the Sundanese language. This book — one is justified in calling it thus — deals with what is usually called 'the varieties of language'. In 1896, Waldbeehm discussed this phenomenon as far as the Javanese language is concerned. He described its uses and listed at length the interchangeable terms. Kern now did this for the Sundanese language, mainly from the spoken language and not based on the sometimes conflicting statements and even misstatements in the dictionaries.

In 1906, Kern returned to Java. This time he was not sent to the Preanger but was posted to Pacitan, in the inaccessible and little visited southwestern coastal area of Madiun. It was a tremendous change from Europe to this out-of-the-way place. "There are those places in Java where the world seems to stand still. The noise of the turbulent, maddening society does not penetrate here, no stream of people enters, no exodus of sons of the soil, attracted and dazzled by the glitter of the outside world ... . He who after a long journey between enclosing mountains enters the quiet town of Pacitan is suddenly surrounded by a stillness which we celebrate in song but that is no longer familiar to our people... . The town seems to be deserted, and one has to have settled down for some time to notice that quietly and silently life does go on." Thus reads the opening of the article "Uit oude bescheiden" (From old documents, *TBB*, 1908). Those 'old documents' are the files in the archives of Pacitan, where the young District Officer had apparently sought comfort amongst the shadows of the past when weariness of the present became too oppressive for him. However, reading that one of his predecessors had requested half-hour and hour-glasses, he could come to

the comforting conclusion that in Pacitan, too, time was not only measurable, but even that it had not stopped entirely.

We owe to the enquiring mind of Kern a description of the *wayang beber*<sup>11</sup> of Pacitan, the existence of which was mentioned by Hazeu in "Een Wayang-beber voorstelling te Jogjakarta" (A Wayang Beber Performance in Yogyakarta), *NBG*, XL (1902), Appendix XVI, p. clv, n. I. The existence of this old *wayang* was well known in the Mangkunegaran at Solo. Time and again its owner, whose family had had this *wayang* in its possession for nine generations, was summoned to the royal town to perform. Kern had photographs taken of the six scrolls portraying scenes from the story of Pañji.<sup>12</sup> In those days this was no small feat as he had to call in the well-known photographer Kirkdjan from Surabaya. Kern reproduced the pictures with a description of what they depicted. The illustrations did not come out very well. It is fortunate, therefore, that the original photographs can still be consulted, as they were donated by Kern to the collections of KITLV shortly before his death.

The article about a Malay cryptography also dates from his stay at Pacitan. It was published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Laidlaw had come across this writing in Perak, and Blagden referred it to Professor H. Kern for unravelling.<sup>13</sup> This script, called *gangga Melayu*, was purported to be that in which the *ciri* (the inauguration formula of the Malay kings) was written before it was transcribed into 'Arabic characters. It was thus supposed to be the old Indian script used by the Malays before the advent of Islām. Kern's research dispelled this illusion. He proved that the cryptography was fabricated by vertical and horizontal distortions of 'Arabic characters and was further supplemented with elements of Javanese script.

After Pacitan, Kern was again in West Java, first as a functionary assisting the Resident of the Preanger and subsequently as a District Officer at the provincial capital. In these years, he did not write, but Kern took up his pen again in Europe when studying at the Bestuursacademie [Civil Service Academy] in The Hague.

He contributed towards the first volume of the *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, the publication of which had just been commenced by the Vereeniging van Ambtenaren bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië.<sup>14</sup> For some time, he wrote the column "Vreemde Koloniën" [(From) Foreign Colonies]. Moreover, he delivered some outspoken and sound criticism of the far-reaching

plans to reorganize the administration of the Netherlands-Indies, proposed by the Director of the Netherlands Indian Civil Service, Simon de Graaff, later Government Commissioner and Minister of Colonies [1919-25]. In the summary given at the end of his proposals, he states that he agrees with the two main principles of the Government: decentralization and the handing over of power to the indigenous administration in Java, and that these principles are in line with the exigencies of the present times. But, he states, the *Memorie van Toelichting* [Explanatory Memorandum] (to the supplementary budget item, by means of which the funds for sending a Government Commissioner to the East are applied for) does not give the solution to these problems. The main error, according to him, was that when the plans were being made, the existing situation was not at all taken into account. He says: "If we had been told that the plan had been devised for Tibet or 'the land of nowhere', we would have believed it." Finally, in fifteen propositions, he put forward his own vision of what a complete reorganization should entail. Eight years later, as a member of the commission to revise the form of Government of the Netherlands-Indies, he was to argue again for the principles he was upholding: "The form of government will have to be based on the real state of affairs and cannot be set up in the abstract or on analogy... The watchword should be the participation of the people in the administration. But it would be a disservice to the people to sweep away the old system first and thereafter to shoulder them with the full responsibility of the administration."

Back in Java in 1914, Kern was soon promoted to Assistant Resident; his first posting was to Brèbès, and from there he was transferred to Mojokerto. Apparently his professional duties made great demands on his time for he wrote very little, and anyone who glances over the list of his writings will notice that from 1912 until 1921 his attention was drawn by subjects of practical importance: amending the indigenous land tenure, lien, statute labour, criminal statistics and education. It almost seems as if the Javanese society in which he moved during this period of his life fascinated him less than the Sundanese society of his first years of service when he had given it his heart. "The years between twenty and twenty-five are particularly decisive to later life. A civil servant who feels a vocation for his work sees the indigenous world opening up to him during this period of the greatest receptivity of mind." Kern wrote these words in 1912,

but unfortunately it was not possible for that "greatest receptivity of mind" to continue.

None the less, the practical work in the sugar-growing area of Mojokerto certainly did give Kern satisfaction. More satisfaction, one may assume, than the advisership for Indigenous Affairs to which he was called in 1920 after Hazeu's resignation as Government Commissioner for Indigenous and 'Arabic Affairs. Hazeu had returned to the Netherlands deeply shocked by the reactionary campaigns launched against him in the newspapers of the Netherlands-Indies after the sensational Chimareme Affair.<sup>15</sup> It must have been Kern's serene and unflinching sense of duty, and his conviction that he could be of use in this new position which induced him to accept this highly unpopular office in the Netherlands-Indies of the time. He did not get much pleasure out of it for a variety of reasons, particularly because he could not concur in all respects with the policy of Governor-General [Dirk] Fock [1921-26]. He did not have the Governor-General's ear, and he must have felt that the advisership was retained more for its ornamental value than for its utility. Therefore it did not break his heart when he left the large, gloomy and uncomfortable official residence in Kramat, in the pavilion of which the Office of Indigenous Affairs was situated. Already, before his departure to his homeland, he had bought a house in Leiden, and there he settled down permanently on his return in the spring of 1926, still fit and full of energy in spite of having spent 30 years in the tropics.

His 1927 appointment as a lecturer in the Sundanese language at Leiden University inaugurated yet another thirty-year period of activity in Kern's life. This lectureship became vacant in 1920 when Kern's predecessor died at the age of 84, having been appointed way back in 1877. Thus already for many years Sundanese had been on the list of subjects lectured on at Leiden, but it seems that as the functionary in question grew older little else happened than the mere mentioning of it on the Series *Lectio-num*. In the years 1920-27 Sundanese had been taught by Hazeu, and I think also by Snouck Hurgronje, to aspirant linguists engaged from 1916 onwards for a number of years' service in the Netherlands-Indies, as well as to the alumni of the *Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap*.<sup>16</sup> But a new arrangement had to be made in view of the poor health of Hazeu and the imminent retirement of Snouck Hurgronje. Kern was the very man to take over this assignment; he carried out this task with his typical

conscientiousness until the University was closed during World War II. After the war, he again fulfilled this task for another five years, although he was then already well past seventy.

His lecturing, however, did not remain confined to Sundanese alone. First of all, he was for some time commissioned to lecture on Islām in Indonesia in order to supplement the lectures by [A.J.] Wensinck, Snouck Hurgronje's successor, who did not know Indonesia first-hand. Then Kern was commissioned to the examination and teaching of the Javanese language when the present writer was carried off as a hostage by the Germans, and he carried out these tasks until the closure of the University. Even more important than these incidental assignments was his concern with the Makasar and Buginese languages.

These two important languages of Sulawěsi (Celebes), the study of which had been commenced by Dr. B.F. Matthes in the middle of the last century, had been treated in a stepmotherly fashion. Although for many years they had been taught at the municipal Indische Instelling [training college for civil servants] at Delft by [G.K.] Niemann (it is said he was even partial to them), no provision was made for their instruction when Indonesian languages became subjects taught at university level. In 1881, the governing body of KITLV addressed a petition to the Lower House in which the wish was expressed "to attach Dr. Matthes to the university sector", but the government ignored this petition just as it had ignored previous expressions of that nature. Accordingly, there was never a university lecturer for the Makasar and Buginese tongues. Only during Jonker's professorship was there an opportunity to study these languages.

For Kern, who regretted this lacuna, it was a call to take up the study of these South Sulawěsi languages or to resume the study of them, for as a student at the Delft institution he most probably had attended the lectures of Niemann. His activities in the field of the language and literature of South Sulawěsi produced some five articles, published between 1928 and 1948. However, his most important contribution to the knowledge of the subject is the voluminous catalogue of the Buginese manuscripts belonging to the *I La Galigo* cycle.<sup>17</sup> With untiring industry, Kern worked for many years on this description of the manuscripts. It is no less than 1088 pages long and it refers mainly to the transcripts of the stories which Jonker collected at Makasar from 1886 to 1896. It gave Kern great satisfaction that this voluminous work was published just before World War II.

The teaching assignment conferred on him after the war mentions by name the Makasar and Buginese languages. This he considered as the recognition, albeit very late, of the justified place and the academic importance of the 'minor languages' he had always championed.<sup>18</sup>

The study of the languages of South Sulawěsi could not but take Kern to the field of language comparison. In particular, he engaged himself in studying how the part played by prefixes figured in the formation of words. He devoted more than one article to one of the prefixes; moreover, he discussed the subject: 'Roots and Radicals' in an extensive essay. This article has a voluminous epilogue in which to supplement his arguments data have been included from *Ueber das Verhaltnis des Malayo-Polynesischen zum Indo-Chinesischen*<sup>19</sup> by the Danish scholar K. Wulff whose work had just been published posthumously.

The articles which Kern provided for the first issue of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, besides some shorter essays in *BKI*, are the prime testament to Kern's familiarity with Islām in Indonesia. Moreover, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, he wrote a good summary of the historical data known to us about the propagation of Islām in Indonesia. This was included in the first volume of the *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*<sup>20</sup> which was being published at the time under the editorship of Dr. F.W. Stapel [and a translation of which is included in this present volume]. Moreover, in a separate booklet, he dealt with Islām in Indonesia in a popular fashion, restricting himself to the essentials. It was published in 1947 and sold readily, so that shortly before his death it was to be reprinted.

Kern's interest was not restricted to the history of Islām. As far as I am aware, his first publication was a short outline of the history of the Preanger Regencies. Going through the list of his writings, one will come across several other historical contributions. An article about Cirėbon in the first centuries of its existence (on which Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat made valuable notes) ends the series. The lengthy article about the "Javaansche Rechtsbedeeling" [Javanese administration of justice], with the subtitle "Een bijdrage tot de kennis der geschiedenis van Java" [A contribution to the knowledge of the history of Java], deserves separate mention. From the following passage, taken from the short introduction to the six chapters of this study, it is evident how it is to be understood: "... some things are known about the way in which the law was being administered, the organs for

this purpose at the disposal of the state authority, and the main constituents of this law. All these matters, considered in relation to one another, provide us with a picture which deserves a place side by side with other scenes from the old Javanese way of life." Then follows a very readable summary of data, arranged under the titles: Cirebon, Priangan, Mataram, Surakarta, Yogyakarta; the district court at Semarang; Bantën, concerning the interplay of the customary rights of the kings, [people's] common law, Islāmic law and the Company's<sup>21</sup> concern with the administration of justice in the land of Java; a synopsis which no one who studies this subject should overlook.

Meanwhile, however, Kern also engaged himself continuously with Sundanese studies, in particular with the language and literature. With great interest, he acquainted himself with the works of Sundanese writers like Salmun, Moh. Ambri, and R. Měmč Sastrahadiprawira, all of them authors who had arisen after he had left Indonesia, and he appreciated each of them according to their own nature. While reading, he made lexicographical notes and collected data of all kinds. For instance, one reads in the article "De Soendasche Umpak Basa" [The Sundanese *Umpak Basa*] (the invariable notifiers of the verb which is to follow): "The number of *umpak basa* is very large; I have collected at different times one thousand of them... ." By collecting this type of material, Kern did extremely useful work from which it seems likely many generations after him will benefit.

It is gratifying that a new Sundanese-Dutch dictionary — for the composition of which a Sundanese assistant had been placed at Kern's disposal for a couple of years — is almost ready for the press, so that the publication of the book will not be long in coming.<sup>22</sup> Considering that the existing Sundanese dictionary by Coolsma dates back to 1884,<sup>23</sup> and in spite of its considerable expansion at the time of the reprint of 1913 it very often lets the reader down, notably for more recent literature, there is every reason to be grateful to Kern that he was willing to undertake the laborious and time-consuming job of compiling a new dictionary. Kern was fully aware of the difficulties which such an undertaking presents when one is not in the country itself and unable to make ample enquiries. But he was level-headed enough to plump for a not entirely perfect dictionary that could be completed, in preference to the one that remains in the pen or never gets finished.

Kern's motto was: to do what he could do and to give what he was able to give. This was demonstrated again when he took

on the task of completing the translation of Hasan Mustapa's work about the 'ādat usages of the Sundanese. R. Měmėd Sastrahadiprawira had commenced the translation, but he died before its completion. The latter had said of this book that it was indigestible because of its difficult style, and he could only try to reflect the contents as faithfully as possible. When, after R. Měmėd's early death no Sundanese translator as suitable and as capable could be found, Kern stated he was willing to do the translation himself; as he remarks in his introduction, mindful of '*le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*' [the best being the enemy of good]. In the beginning he corresponded about obscure turns of phrases with those with whom he had relations in the Preanger, but the work was completed in 1944 when already for a number of years correspondence had been out of the question. This makes the achievement all the more remarkable.

Immediately after he had settled at Leiden, Kern was invited to join the boards of several scientific associations and institutes. He became Secretary, later Treasurer, of the Kern Institute, named after his father, which promotes the study of Indian and Indonesian archaeology. Between 1927 and 1937, he acted as Secretary of the Oostersch Instituut,<sup>24</sup> and from 1936 until 1955 he was Chairman of the Islam-Stichting [Islām Foundation]. Already in 1926, he had been invited to sit on the Board of the Adatrecht-Stichting.<sup>25</sup> He was a regular speaker at the pre-war congresses of the Oostersch Genootschap [Oriental Association]. KITLV was especially dear to his heart, the interests of which he served as a member of the Board for 20 years, in the period 1927-51. In the hard times during World War II, when it became increasingly difficult to fill the *BKI* due to the measures of the occupying power, it was due to his activities that this journal continued to appear. The honorary membership conferred upon him on his eightieth birthday was well deserved in every respect.

Glancing through the list of Kern's writings, one is struck by the variety of fields in which he was active, but at the same time it will not escape notice that in more than one field Kern only became active after his repatriation for then the administrative period of his life, during which he concerned himself increasingly with day-to-day affairs, belonged to the past, and his studiousness had ample opportunity to develop. The remarkable thing about this is that it looks as if age had no hold on him. In the years in which others, after 30 years of service in the tropics, take to their rest and devote themselves to *tunggu mati* [awaiting

death], Kern took an intensive part in the academic life in and around Leiden University. For decades, he carried out the tasks at hand in the same calm, taciturn, sometimes even too uncommunicative way. It is understandable that it was sometimes difficult for him to delegate these tasks to the younger generation. It is not surprising that when he attained a great age he was not always open to newer ideas and methods, but this fact does not detract from our esteem for him. His devotion to Indonesian studies, his knowledge, energy and assiduity compel lasting respect.

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### Editor's Annotations:

1. Unlike the Malayan Civil Service, the officials of the Binnenslandsch Bestuur (B.B.) (Civil Service) only worked under the Department of Home Affairs. The various ranks were: *Aspirant-Controleur* (Junior District Officer); *Controleur* (District Officer); Assistant Resident; Resident; Governor and Governor-General. In 1942, there were about 780 such officials in active service or on leave in Europe.
2. A secondary school, in which neither Latin nor Greek was taught; its school-leaving certificate gave admission to the university. This school was abolished in 1968.
3. Training college for those wishing to join the Netherlands Indian Civil Service.
4. Grootambtenaarsexamen, competitive examination for the higher echelons of the Civil Service. There was also a Kleinambtenaarsexamen especially for locally-employed clerical staff.
5. The probation period served to enable the *aspirant* to prove his abilities before he was appointed to his own District; some failed.
6. *Landelijk bestel*, a land-tax introduced by Raffles, based on existing land-tax systems in British India. This tax underwent many changes and, at the time of Kern, the tax was assessed on the area, the fertility of the soil, and the crops planted. This assessment was done individually for each plot of land, and it was the task of the B.B. official to safeguard the interests of the people and to mitigate the assessment if it proved too high.
7. 'Indies Society', founded in 1854 at The Hague.
8. Civil Service Journal, first published in Batavia (Jakarta) in 1887, which ceased publication in December 1917.
9. Indies Guide.
10. *Lëmës*: Sundanese formal language.

11. *Wayang beber*: *wayang* stories depicted on a paper scroll, which the puppeteer narrates as he unrolls the scroll.
12. Pañji stories are known in Java, Sumatra, Malaya and Cambodia. The central theme is that Pañji, bereaved of his beloved Angreni — who was murdered by his own mother — roams the country and gets involved in all kinds of adventures and love affairs.
13. This may have been referred to H. Kern for unravelling, but the article "A Malay cipher Alphabet", *JRAI*, XXXII (1908) 207–11 was written by the son, R.A. Kern.
14. Association of Civil Servants in the Netherlands-Indies.
15. An incident in West Java in 1919, when police shot dead a local religious leader and his followers who had been resisting compulsory rice deliveries. This led to the discovery of the so-called 'Section B' in the nationalist organization Sarekat Islam, said to be a secret branch dedicated to violent revolutionary action.
16. Dutch Bible Association; among other activities it sent Protestant missionaries and ministers abroad.
17. 'I' is in older Buginese a neutral prefix of a personal name, comparable to 'Si' in Malay. It is also used as a cheville in Bugis poetry to conform to the requirements of the metre. The *La Galigo* manuscripts hail from pre-Islāmic Bugis culture. These are rhythmically segmented texts written in a highly literary style and archaic language, which narrate in detail the destinies over five generations of hundreds of princely characters of divine descent, living at an undetermined period in a number of South Sulawēsi kingdoms and on adjacent islands. Until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century these texts were widely considered to be sacred. Many Bugis people still believe that the events described really occurred in a golden age of the past when things were different from the present and humankind was nearer to the gods. A complete version of the epic cycle is nowhere to be found; most extant manuscripts, many of which begin and end abruptly, cover no more than a few, sometimes disconnected, episodes. However, many Bugis literati and in some areas even ordinary villagers, have a good knowledge of a great part of the whole cycle, acquired through public readings or oral transmission. Excerpted from Pelras, Christian, *The Bugis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 32–3.
18. The Bugis and Makasarese of South Sulawēsi had closely related literatures in both prose and verse. An indigenous script was used which differs markedly from both the 'Arabic and Javanese scripts, although it has similarities with some Sumatran scripts and ultimately derived from an Indian prototype. Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia, c. 1300 to the present* (London: Macmillan, 1981, 7<sup>th</sup> repr. 1990) 53.
19. The relation of the Malayo-Polynesian languages to the Indo-Chinese languages.
20. The History of the Netherlands-Indies.

21. The VOC, Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, (Dutch) United East India Company or 'the Company', the name used in many places in Indonesia for the Dutch Colonial Government.
22. Kern's material for a Sundanese-Dutch dictionary was used in the dictionary compiled by Eringa, which was published by KITLV in 1984. The full reference is: Eringa, F.S., *Soendaas-Nederlands woordenboek: mede met gebruikmaking van eerder door R.A. Kern bijeengebrachte gegevens* (Sundanese-Dutch Dictionary, also using data collected before by R.A. Kern) (Dordrecht: Foris, 1984) xv and 846 pp.
23. Coolsma, Sierk, *Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (Sundanese-Dutch Dictionary) (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1884, repr. 1913).
24. Oriental Institute.
25. 'Ādat or Customary Law Foundation.

THE WRITINGS OF R.A. KERN

- 1898 *Geschiedenis der Preanger-Regentschappen* (History of the Preanger Regency) (Bandung: De Vries en Fabricius Boekhandel) 55pp.
- 1900 "Dwerghertverhalen uit den Archipel. Sundasche verhalen" (Sundanese stories about the *kancil* [mousedeer] throughout the Archipelago), *TBG*, XLII, 356-86.
- 1901 "Een Javaansch sprekende bevolking in de Preanger-Regentschappen" (A Javanese-speaking population in the Preanger-Regencies), *BKI*, LII, 381-92.
- 1904 "Soendasche bezwerings-formules" (Sundanese incantations), *BKI*, LVI, 603-10.
- "Priangansche toestanden. 't Grootgrondbezit" (Preanger state of affairs: Large landownership), *IG*, XXVI, 1816-24.
- "Iets over een oude wijze van lijkbezorging op Java" (Something about an old way of the disposal of the dead in Java), *TBG*, XLVII, 386.
- 1905 "Regeeringsinmenging in de inlandsche huishouding" (Government interference in the indigenous administration), *VIG*, 37-59.
- "De kontroleurs en 't concubinaat" (The district officers and the concubinage), *TBB*, XXVIII, 250-2.
- "De aanstaande herziening van den Landrente-aanslag in Prijangan" (The impending revision of the land-revenue assessment in the Preanger), *TBB*, XXIX, 132-7.
- 1906 "'t Lëmës in 't Soendaasch (met voorwoord en woordenlijst)" (The Lëmës in Sundanese (with preface and vocabulary)), *BKI*, LIX, 385-560.

cont.  
1906

"Het landelijk stelsel in het Bantënsche rijk" (The rural system in the Bantën realm), *IG*, XXVIII, 685-708.

"De Inlandsche Gemeente-ordonnantie" (The indigenous town ordinance), *IG*, XXVIII, 1473-88.

"Een merkwaardig adatgevat in zake grondbezit" (Something noteworthy about customary law concerning land tenure), *RNI*, LXXXVII, 175-6.

1908 "Eenige Soendasche fabels en vertelsels" (A few Sundaese fables and stories), *BKI*, LX, 62-88.

"Uit oude bescheiden" (From old documents), *TBB*, XXXIV, 157-90.

"A Malay cipher Alphabet", *JRAI*, XXXII, 207-11.

1909 "De Wajang Beber van Patjitan" (The Wayang Beber of Pacitan), *TBG*, LI, 338-56.

1912 "(Uit) Vreemde Koloniën" ((From) Strange Colonies), *KT*, I, 498; 631; 740; 849; 996.

"De bestuursreorganisatie" (The reorganization of the administration), *KT*, I, 129-71.

"Ontwikkeling van 't pandrecht'" (Development of the lien), *IG*, XXXIV, 158-68.

"Hervorming van het Inlandsch Grondbezit op Java" (Reformation of the indigenous land tenure in Java), *VIG*, 149.

1914 "Na de afschaffing der heerendiensten" (After the abolition of statute labour), *KT*, III, 653-6.

1918 "Na tien jaren. Krimineel-statistische bijdrage" (After ten years: Criminal-statistical contribution), *KS*, II, 2, 245-9.

- 1919 " 't Onderwijs in den Volksraad en op 't eerste Indische onderwijskongres. Een nabetrachting" (Education in the People's Council and at the first Indies' educational congress. An after-consideration), *KT*, VIII, 1-11.
- 1920 *Verslag van de Commissie tot herziening van de Staatsinrichting van Ned.-Indië* (Report of the Commission to revise the form of government of the Netherlands-Indies) "Nota van het Lid der Cie. R.A. Kern" (Note by R.A. Kern, Member of the Commission) (*Weltevreden*), 392-9.
- 1921 "Verkiezing van dorpschouwen in Soerabaja in vroeger tijd" (Election of village chiefs in Surabaya in former times), *KT*, X, 673-85.
- 1923 "Losse gegevens over het Alasland" (Random data about Alasland), *TBG*, LXII, 234-40.
- "Over 't Lampoengsche volk" (About the Lampung population), *VIG*, 69-108.
- 1924 "Wali poehoen" (Wali Puhun), *TBG*, LXIV, 580-6.
- 1926 "Tjindën en plangi in Grësik" (Chindën and plangi in Grësik), *Djâwâ*, VI, 193-4.
- 1927 "Javaansche rechtsbedeeling. Een bijdrage tot de kennis der geschiedenis van Java" (Javanese administration of justice: A contribution to knowledge of the history of Java), *BKI*, LXXXIII, 316-444.
- "De reis van Koning Hajam Woeroek door Lamadjang in 1359 A.D." (The journey of King Hayam Wuruk through Lamajang in AD 1359), *TKNAG*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, XLIV, 613-24.
- "Nog eens de reis van Koning Hajam Woeroek door Lamadjang in 1359 A.D." (Once again, the journey of King Hayam Wuruk through Lamajang in AD 1359), *Verslag 5e Congres Oostersch Genootschap*, 42-3.

cont.  
1927

"Wanneer is Modjowarno gesticht?" (When was Mojowarno founded?), *MTZ*, LXV, 33.

1928

"Boegineesche scheppingsverhalen. Feestbundel" (Buginese stories concerning creation), *KBG*, I, 297-312.

1929

"Uit het dagelijksch leven van den bestuursambtenaar op Java voor 100 jaar" (From the daily life of a civil servant in Java of 100 years ago), *KT*, XVIII, 42-56.

"Het verbaal prefix si- in eenige Austronesische talen" (The verbal prefix si- in some Austronesian languages), *Verslag 6e Congres Oostersch Genootschap*, 29-30.

1930

"Togog en Sëmar als eerste aardbewoners" (Togog and Sëmar as the first inhabitants of the earth), *Djâwâ*, X, 184.

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Pangulu	1024-5
Pasantren	1028-30
Pase (Pasai)	1030
Patani	1035
Prang Sabil	1078-9
Puwasa (Puasa)	1081-3

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THE PROPAGATION OF ISLĀM  
IN THE INDONESIAN-MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

R.A. KERN

Translated by H.M. FROGER

AT the beginning of the Universe, as appointed by Heaven, the great Sage lived in the Far West and taught his people a new religion. The sage, of highest virtue, love and kindness, discovered and recited the Sacred Book (*T'ien-ching*, the *Qur'ān*). Leading the other sages, he was sent by Heaven to protect kings and kingdoms. He is impartial and upholds justice. The 'White Emperor' from Heaven shows us the right way to go. Pray five times a day. May He give us everlasting peace. The founder of that religion extends a helping hand to all, saves us from distress, sets free the evil spirit, forgives our sins, conquers deities. Let us all join the Muslims and reverence the sage Muḥammad.

The Eulogy says: His truth is genuine, his wisdom given by Heaven. May his religion last forever. May his sacred book (*chen-ching*) be read by all.

Hundred Character Inscription eulogy of the Prophet, ascribed to Ming Emperor T'ai-tzu, Nanjing Masjid, 1368

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Translation quoted from Donald Daniel Leslie, *Islam in Traditional China* (Canberra: College of Advanced Education, 1986) 105. For a different rendition, see n. 42, 96 *infra*.



## I

## THE FIRST CENTURIES OF ISLĀM

A few years after the voice fell silent which had brought Allāh's revelations to the 'Arabs of Makka and Madīna in 632, the Middle East including Persia and North Africa had been won for Islām. The unprecedented rapid growth of the realm had roused latent energies, which now were translated into action in various fields, expressions of the power of the new spirit in Muslim attire. Navigation also took a part in this. From the oldest times known to us until the arrival of the Europeans, the general outline of navigation in Asian waters followed one pattern. All navigation was coastal; one sailed along the coast from port to port, and only if it was unavoidable did one set out for the open sea. The trade route led from the countries around the Red Sea and Persia to India; from there in an easterly direction, around the Malay Peninsula, northwards to China. The older route was from India to Kra,<sup>1</sup> where the goods were transported across the Isthmus to the east coast and from there by ship to China. Ships would sail only part of the route; they would exchange merchandise at various stations on this long route, these stations being the large commercial towns. Business done, one returned to one's starting-point.

The ships were small; many perished in storms or ran aground; pirates were no less dangerous. One should think not of pirates who were outcasts of society and sailed the seas whilst plundering and committing acts of violence until they found death in a bloody fight to the relief of peaceful navigators, but of entire groups of population who did nothing else, for whom piracy was a profession like any other, sea-nomads, who confiscated any ship they could seize; alternatively, collecting ransom from defenceless villages along the coast when the business of piracy did not pay enough. Whoever wishes to visualize how all this took place should read how in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Dutch, the Spaniards and the English had their hands full with the suppression of this plague. Only steam-

navigation has been able to exterminate this scourge of the Asian seas.

'Arabs had also settled along the trade route we have sketched. Islām gave their seafaring a new stimulus. In southern China they were numerous; in 758 they destroyed Canton ['Ar. Khānfu]; in the 9<sup>th</sup> century there were Muslim colonies in several ports. In Champa, the present Annam,<sup>2</sup> Muslim colonies are reported in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup> which had been established there for some time and included merchants, artisans, and their descendants by women of the country, who lived apart from the non-Muslim indigenous population. These colonies in Champa especially draw our attention as the Chams are ethnically related to the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. There are no indications that there were any important settlements of 'Arabs, by which term is meant all Muslims west of Indonesia, in the Archipelago at that time. The information of the old 'Arab geographers is always vague or fantastic, as if the Archipelago were a land which nobody had ever seen; it is all at least second-hand knowledge. The trade route from the 'Arab ports to China cut through the northwestern part of Indonesia — the Malay Peninsula belongs to this — but it left aside the greatest part of the Archipelago, Java and the Spice Islands.<sup>4</sup>

One single sign of the presence of Muslims at that time has been preserved: the 'Arabic epitaph of a young woman laid to rest in Java's earth in the year 1082 or 1102.<sup>5</sup> The gravestone is located, not on the coast, but at Leran, which is not far from Grěsik;<sup>6</sup> the inscription is in a writing which does show peculiarities not known from elsewhere. Moquette, who deciphered it, was in doubt whether the stone had always been there.<sup>7</sup> Several circumstances made him wonder whether it could not have been imported in recent times, for former describers of the mausoleum, itself, do not mention the inscription, and although of soft stone, it is less weather-beaten than one would expect with similar monuments in mind. Its dimensions do not contradict this possibility; on the other hand, that kind of stone is found in Java. But even if one discounts these considerations and assumes that the stone had always been there, it would only prove that an 'Arab, or perhaps a Persian, had settled here, as a trader presumably, around about 1100. The heartbeat of Java was already in its eastern part; undoubtedly East Java was also the starting-point of the foreign trade. The presence of this 'Arab, however, was without consequence for the religion. Therefore, it is not correct

to place the beginning of the Islāmization of Java with this man, [the father of the 'young woman']; he was simply a Muslim in a foreign country, no planter of Islām.

## II

### THE FIRST MUSLIM KINGDOMS IN NORTH SUMATRA

WHEN, after the death of his beloved Consort, Arghūn Khān of Persia (r. 1284–91) had sent a request to his relative Qubilay Khān [1215(?)–94] to be allowed to receive in marriage a princess from the same tribe, the Mongol king courteously granted him this. The route overland from China to Persia was long and difficult, thus the Persian envoys insisted upon being allowed to follow the sea route and, in order to utilize the services of experienced travellers, they wanted to add Marco Polo [1254(?)–1324(?)] with his father and uncle, as escort to the party of travellers. Qubilay Khān also granted this request.

At the beginning of 1292, the party sailed from a southern Chinese port, and after a few months they were off Sumatra. They called at a few ports, which Marco Polo relates in his famous book; it is also from him that we have the first information about the presence of Islām in the Archipelago. The first port of call was Pěrlak ('Ferlec'),<sup>8</sup> contemporary Achehnese Peureulak, on the east coast just south of the point where the coast bends to the west. Marco Polo says about it: "You must know that the people of Ferlec used all to be idolaters, but owing to contact with Saracen merchants, who continually resort here in their ships, they have all been converted to the laws of Mahomet. This applies only to the inhabitants of the city. The people of the mountains live like beasts. For I assure you that they eat human flesh and every other sort of flesh, clean or unclean."<sup>9</sup> Naturally, Marco Polo had this information about the unclean inhabitants of the interior from the townspeople; even so it is valuable, for from this information it is evident that the Islāmization of the country was in its initial stage.

When a Muslim settles among a pagan population he has the inclination, even without being particularly pious, to spread his religion. Islāmic law compels him to do so. If he wants to enter into a marriage, then he will start to convert his future wife to

Islām by having her repeat the Muslim Profession of Faith: 'I testify that there is no God save Allāh and that Muḥammad is His Messenger'. Her relatives soon follow. Together with the stranger, who surpasses his new surroundings in knowledge of the world, these converts form a group in the society which considers itself to be superior to the pagans. Transition to that circle is easy; one need only pronounce the Profession of Faith and after that practise a few commandments and follow the prohibitions, and one is left in peace in other respects. Such a Muslim circle expands itself steadily. There is no question of relapse into paganism, for within certain limits one calmly continues one's paganism and only gradually and slowly does the Law gain ground in the practice of everyday life.

In heathen areas where no dynastic power has developed, the tribe or the village is the fatherland; towards the world outside one is generally hostile, at best suspicious. There is always strife in heathendom, more secret than open, more oppressive than bloody. When heathen people become Muslims, then the enmity becomes a religious duty, the clandestine marauding of former times becomes a right to booty in the holy war against the unbelievers. The oppressed one becomes a self-assured fighter on the Path of God. At one stroke he feels himself elevated. The astonishing rapidity with which Islām spreads, especially if more educated people come into contact with the less educated, is thus understandable. Moreover, it was and is a general phenomenon in Indonesia that when a headman of a smaller or larger unit, up to a king, embraces Islām, his subordinates swiftly follow. If one reads what Marco Polo says about the position of Islām in Pěrlak, then the correctness of his view is striking. What he describes in a few sentences is the new religion on the verge of spreading to the interior after having secured the town, which means the Islāmizing of the town was of a recent date.

From Pěrlak one sailed to a place which Marco Polo called Basma;<sup>10</sup> the people "... are without a law, except such as prevails among brute beasts".<sup>11</sup> Then, continuing in a westerly direction, to Samudra ('Samara') where the ship was detained for five months by the monsoon. Basma must have been somewhere between Pěrlak and Samudra.<sup>12</sup> At present no port of consequence is found between these places; neither has the name Basma been traced. It is definitely not Pasai, as sometimes suggested, for Pasai belongs to Samudra. Samudra presents no problem; there is still a place of that name, now only a small

*kampung* [hamlet] on the left bank of the Pasai River, near its debouchment into the bay of Lhokseumawe. In the immediate vicinity, the oldest remnants of the Muslim kingdom of Samudra are to be found in the form of graves. On the other side of the water, nearly opposite *Kampung Samudra*, there is another graveyard of a later date, where a grave dated 1421 is found; here the later capital of Pasai must have been situated.<sup>13</sup> This capital (*Pacem*) is first mentioned by Diego Lopez de Sequeira, a Portuguese admiral, who visited the place in 1509;<sup>14</sup> the Malay history of this kingdom, drawn up later, has retained the same name (*Pasai*).<sup>15</sup> However, the memory of this past grandeur has vanished in *Acheh*; one still speaks of the *Pasai* area, which includes the districts west of the *Jambo Ayé* River up to the *Pasai* River and a few districts west of that river, but it is no longer known that once an important realm flourished there.

We were anticipating events by speaking of a Muslim realm of *Samudra*; at the time of Marco Polo's visit such was not the case. "The people are idolaters and savages. They have a wealthy and powerful King...".<sup>16</sup> After *Samudra* there were the following ports: *Dagroian*, *Lamuri* ('*Lambri*' = Great *Acheh*) and *Baros* ('*Fansūr*'); all idolaters in the last two places they anchored, but for the first place this is not evident; it must have been situated between *Samudra* and *Lamuri*, but it has not been identified. From *Baros*, one left the *Archipelago*.

So at that time, *Pĕrlak* was the only Muslim place on the north coast of *Acheh*, and *Islām* had entered only shortly before.

*Samudra* soon followed. Among the graves found near the *kampung* of that name lies the grave of the founder of that realm. An epitaph states in 'Arabic, with many Qur'ānic texts, that *Sultān Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ* lies buried there and that he died in 1297. *Moquette*, who also deciphered this inscription, proved that the stone, as it now stands, was imported from *Cambay*.<sup>17</sup> So it was in *Cambay* where lived the co-religionists, to whom one turned for such matters, where the ties of trade with India led, and from where Muslim merchants brought *Islām* to the *Archipelago*.<sup>18</sup>

In *Cambay* and in *Gujarāt*, of which it was the capital, this religion had not yet been long established. The rapid spread of *Islām* in the first centuries of its existence had not yet reached *India*.<sup>19</sup> Almost four centuries lapsed before the first Muslim conquerors, the Turkish hordes of [*Sultān*] *Maḥmūd Ghaznawī* [971 (?)–1033], flocked into *India* through the classical gate of invasion in the extreme northwest, the same way the Aryans had

taken. Shortly before and after the year 1000, Maḥmūd undertook several predatory expeditions on Indian soil and made the Five-river Country [Punjab] into a sort of outer province of his realm. More durable and decisive for the future of the country was the conquest by Muḥammad of Ghor, an Afghān.<sup>20</sup> At approximately the turning of the century from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup>, he conquered North India and the valley of the Ganges. Muslim power was now well established in a large part of the country. Through the influx of Afghāns, Turks and Persians and the conversion of the natives, the north gradually became predominantly Muslim. From here the Muslims thrust forward to the south, until under the Great Mughals the whole of India came under their rule. This does not imply that all the inhabitants were now Muslim. In this respect India presents a different picture from that of the older lands of Islām, roughly everything west of India. There the impetuously marching hosts of the Khalīfas made the people Muslim, as well as the land. Some categories of unbelievers as, for instance, the Christians, were allowed to keep their faith; but not the Hindus.<sup>21</sup> For them there were only two possibilities: conversion or extermination. So the Law prescribes, but in practice it was different. In the north conversion was extensive, in the south the majority of the population remained Hindu, and in between all sorts of gradations are to be found.

In Gujarāt the battle was decided in favour of the Muslims in the second part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; for the greater part, the population remained Hindu, but the monarchy and the reigning classes were Muslim; in 1298, Cambay fell into Muslim hands. Cambay, situated at the back of the bay of that name, lay in a historical corner where the Deccan merges into the Asian continent and the coastline adopts a westerly direction. On this place of the earth several emporia have followed one another. Here, on the eastern side of the bay, in the beginning of our era, Bharukaccha [Bharugaccha] prospered, which was the Barygaza of the Greek sources, the present-day Broach [Bharuch or Bharoĉ]. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Cambay was a centre of commerce and had been so for a considerable period. 'Arab and Persian merchants had settled there in about the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. There they brought goods from the west and exchanged them for goods, notably precious spices, which had been brought down from China and the Archipelago. Thus the trade between Cambay and the Archipelago was already old, but it obtained a new impulse now that

the Muslims gained the upper hand in Gujarāt. Statistically it cannot be demonstrated, but it is a standing phenomenon that transition to Islām is attended by expansion. So it is not coincidental that during this time Islām began to ascend in the trading cities of the Archipelago and that it showed indications of a Cambay origin.<sup>22</sup> For centuries after this, Cambay sent out Gujarātīs to Indonesia until man and nature put a stop to Cambay's glory: the harbour silted up and with the arrival of Westerners the pattern of world trade changed completely.

One will not now be astonished at the fact that Malik aṣ-Ṣālih's tombstone was imported from Cambay. The question as to whether he himself was a Gujarātī, or at least a merchant from Cambay, defies answering. One would almost think so, because in an itinerary to which we will refer later the court of his grandson is described as the court of an Indian monarch. Thus the 'rich and powerful king' of Marco Polo must have been pushed aside. In any case, the Islāmization of Samudra (to be safe we limit this to the capital) was achieved very rapidly.

Malay tradition cannot help us. The so-called Malay chronicles [*Sējaraḥ Mēlayu*], the best Malay work of history, treats the founding of Samudra-Pasai in a legendary way. Once there were two brothers who fell out with each other. One of them fled into the forest, found an ant as big as a cat, had the woods cut and founded a palace. That is the origin of Samudra, for that word (according to the story) means 'very big ant'.<sup>23</sup> The founder [Měrah Silau, later to become Malik aṣ-Ṣālih] is converted through the intervention of Muḥammad and marries the daughter of the Sulṭān of Pěrlak. When a fact has been established from other sources, one may find in the Malay chronicles a trait buried under fantasy which is the echo of that historical event, but in this case one can do without the chronicles. Should, however, the chronicles be taken as a starting-point for historical reconstruction, then one cannot achieve one's goal. From their chronicles one may know the Malays, but not Malay history.

The above story shows in which respect such a chronicle may be of value. It is said that the founder of Samudra-Pasai married a princess of Pěrlak. We know through Marco Polo that Pěrlak was the other place in that region where Islām had gained control.<sup>24</sup> Although he does not say so, it may be possible that there was a sulṭān. Relationships between the families of the two sulṭāns would not be surprising; but the chronicle, in which the centuries roll about, does not give the slightest guarantee that

the very founder of Samudra-Pasai married a daughter of the problematic Sultān of Pěrlak. The fact in itself is of no importance, for that matter. Epitaphs and itineraries speak a clearer language.

We know already the epitaph of the founder of the Muslim dynasty. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [1304 (?)–78(?)] tells us what Samudra looked like in the years 1345–6.<sup>25</sup> Twice he visited the place, the first time coming from India. The ruler was a Shāfi'ī; he followed the Mazhab of Shāfi'ī, one of the four Schools of Law of Orthodox Islām which is still followed by the Indonesians and also reigns in the coastal areas of India.<sup>26</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa praises the ruler considerably, as he zealously performed his religious duties and showed great interest in the faith. He had gathered around him jurisconsults with whom he had learned disputations. The surrounding land had been conquered and was paying tribute, or head-tax, which shows that the people were not Muslim. The court, which was organized the same way as was customary in India, is described elaborately. Amongst the dignitaries were Persians and the *amīr* of the realm [Davlasa] whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew from Dihlī where he had met him as ambassador of the king. The traveller received female slaves and eunuchs as presents.<sup>27</sup> After having been showered with gifts, he continued his voyage to China. Here in the harbour of Zaytūn (Ts'üan chou [Ch'üan-chou], otherwise known as Chinchew, east of Amoy?) he came across a ship which belonged to the Sultān of Samudra. This information completes the picture of the Sultān as king of a port such as there were many on Indonesian coasts.

A ruler settles near the mouth of a river along which goods are transported from the interior and where sea-vessels can put into port; he levies tolls, trades, and charters ships. Then it depends on circumstances and his political genius as to whether he will rise to become a ruler of the land and people or just remain where he started, as a toll-collector on a large scale. The usual attitude taken by the Muslim coastal states with regard to the interior was that they looked upon the population as sort of inferior human beings upon whom they levied all manner of tax, without ruling them. Neither did they set forth with the deliberate intention of converting these people, but the population of the interior itself embraced the religion of the rulers to escape the oppression.

Sultān Tāhīr showed his piety by waging holy war to convert the unbelievers. At least so it is described in the itinerary.

However, while we hear of loot, we do not hear of conversions. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, on his arrival, says that the Sulṭān had often done this; on his return from China he called at Samudra again, and the truth of this saying is confirmed: the king had just returned from an expedition which yielded many slaves. Apparently, Samudra was very militant at that time. Fra Odorigo [Odoric] of Pordenone, a Franciscan friar, who visited Samudra [he terms Summoltra] under the previous sulṭān in 1323, even before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, relates that it was in a continuous state of war with Lamuri [Lamori], which was still pagan at that time.<sup>28</sup>

### III

#### THE STONE INSCRIPTION OF TĚŘĚNGGANU

THROUGH Chinese sources it is possible to obtain a picture of the situation of Islām in the Indonesian Archipelago at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Before passing on to that, it is necessary to point out another earlier evidence of the presence of Islām, and that is a stone inscription in TĚŘĚNGGANU,<sup>29</sup> a Malay State on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. The inscription is in Malay written in 'Arabic script, which automatically marks it as an Islāmic inscription; it is the oldest of this sort which has been found so far.

TĚŘĚNGGANU is situated north of Pahang and has always been insignificant.<sup>30</sup> The town of Kuala TĚŘĚNGGANU, at the mouth of the river by that name, is mentioned in the *Nāgarakĕrtāgama*<sup>31</sup> as a dependency of Majapait. In the next centuries it is mentioned only once or twice: the Malays and the Portuguese hardly took any notice of it, for the trade was of no significance. Until 1908 [actually 1909], when TĚŘĚNGGANU became an English protectorate, it was under the suzerainty of Siam.<sup>32</sup> It is still very inaccessible, the only inhabited area being the flatter land along the coast and strips along the rivers, which are only navigable over a short distance.

In this remote corner of the world, one of the earliest evidences of the presence of Islām in Indonesia has been found, and that in the interior, about 30 kilometres upstream from the mouth of the TĚŘĚNGGANU River, near the confluence of three rivers. According to local tradition, the stone was utilized as a step for a small chapel (*surau*), and thus it became worn. A zealous Imām [prayer leader] banned the object from the vicinity of the Masjīd, after which it landed in the river. It is a rough-hewn stone of gneissic-granite, but unfortunately the upper part is broken off. As the inscription continues over the four sides of the vertical stone, in addition to the beginning of the inscription, several other pieces are lacking in the text. The measurements of the piece which has been preserved are 83 centimetres in height,

approximately 53 cm in width at the top, approximately 27 cm at the foot, and with a thickness of approximately 24 cm.<sup>33</sup> The dating was partially on the piece which is broken off; as far as the tens and units are concerned, several possibilities remain; the hundreds are established. The year is in the Muslim era; the extreme possibilities in the Christian era being 1303 and 1387. On general grounds Blagden thinks the latest possible date the most likely.<sup>34</sup>

The person who speaks through the stone calls himself the Lord of the Land; his name has not been preserved. He gives regulations of Islāmic law in the form of ten laws, from which it is very evident that he had a clear knowledge of this subject. This makes it the more conspicuous that in the case of adultery he enumerates a system of fines taking rank and station into consideration, which is common in Indonesian criminal law but unknown in Islām. Here the proclaimer of the law knowingly deviated from the orthodox law as a concession to the local feeling of justice.<sup>35</sup> If this is surprising from someone who knows the law well, it is even more strange that several 'Arabic terms are translated. When an Indonesian population embraces Islām, this entails the adoption of several 'Arabic terms for matters of belief, ritual and law. In this piece those words and expressions are Malayized. The most striking instance is *Allāh Ta'ālā* [Allāh the Most High]. Every Muslim has that expression for 'God' on the tip of his tongue, even if the layman does not know the literary meaning: 'Allāh, the Most Exalted'. This very expression, which actually does not tolerate a translation, is rendered in this inscription as: *Dewata Mulia Raya*,<sup>36</sup> all three being Sanskrit words from the Hindu-Malay vocabulary, which could be translated as: 'illustrious, grand', or 'glorious, supreme God'. The term *dewata* is linked with the false gods; thus a good Muslim would not connect this term with Allāh. It is hard to imagine that a Malay ruler, addressing his subjects with the Profession of Faith, would avoid the words *Allāh Ta'ālā*. This inverted purism is only explainable if practised by someone who is facing a people unacquainted with the new religion; in other words, we have here a stone inscription from a convert, undoubtedly assisted by someone learned in the law, amongst a population yet to be converted.

The nature of the land and tradition point to the fact that the stone was erected in the neighbourhood where it was found. The edict distinguishes two 'worlds' without actually naming them:

the World of Islām and the World of War.<sup>37</sup> The inhabitants of the first named area (i.e. the coastal area) are explicitly charged with obeying the ten commandments inscribed in the stone. The area of war is then the land of the aboriginal<sup>38</sup> people, who take shelter in the forests and are still now the few and only inhabitants there. It is possible that the stone was erected on the frontier of these two areas. The Malays have not penetrated very much farther than this; 45 kilometres from the mouth of the TĚřngganu River there are impassable rapids. Assuming that the inscription is not a fabrication of a forger of later times, it must be concluded that the new religion remained isolated in TĚřngganu; it was not until the next century that Mělaka gave the impulse to the Islāmization of the Malay Peninsula.

## IV

THE PROCESS OF ISLĀMIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF  
THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: THE FOUNDING OF MELĀKA

SEVERAL times between the years 1405 and 1430 [1433] the [Yung-lo] Emperor of China sent the [Muslim] eunuch Zheng He<sup>39</sup> (Chêng Ho) to inspect the foreign peoples of the West.<sup>40</sup> On his third tour of inspection he was accompanied by two Muslim Chinese,<sup>41</sup> who performed the duties of secretary-interpreter. They were called Ma Huan<sup>42</sup> and Fei Hsin; the latter probably also accompanied Chêng Ho on his subsequent tours. Both have recorded accounts of their findings, which were made accessible by Groeneveldt,<sup>43</sup> who translated both works into English as far as they relate to the Archipelago. Ma Huan wrote his book *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* [The overall survey of the ocean's shores] in 1416;<sup>44</sup> Fei Hsin wrote his *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* [*Chiao-chu* (Description of the starry raft)] in 1436. Everywhere he went, Ma Huan, evidently a devout professor of his faith, with naïve pride praised the Muslims as "very good people"; the others were depicted as devils. One must allow Ma Huan this. Apart from this, he is an accurate observer and a conscientious chronicler. He visited only the western part of the Archipelago, never Borneo and the eastern part, but since Islām penetrated later into those areas, from the story of his travels one knows fully the state of Islāmization in the Archipelago at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The Malay Peninsula is so named after the inhabitants of the coastal areas. The interior is one immense forest, which even now covers 70 per cent of the country. A few tribes of aborigines [Orang Asli], not of the Malay ethnic group, are to be found in this vast forest.<sup>45</sup> The Malays inhabit the coastal area, at present together with other ethnic groups, particularly Chinese and Tamils; these ethnic groups flocked into Malaya with the [colonial] opening of the country in the past century, when the exploitation of tin and the laying out of rubber plantations got underway on a grand scale.<sup>46</sup> At the time of which we speak, the

Malays were still alone;<sup>47</sup> the coastal area which they occupied was undoubtedly considerably narrower than at present, the west coast being more populated than the east.

But no matter how small the settled population may have been, since the oldest, historical times the Peninsula, jutting far out into the sea from the mainland of Asia as if it wanted to force the trade between India and China to take the route over the Isthmus [of Kra], has known ports where ships from different directions met. In older times, when ships did not venture to go so far and were probably smaller, so that transshipment was less difficult, the Kra Isthmus<sup>48</sup> was indeed a link in the trade route. However, at the time that Islām came to the Archipelago, the route around the Peninsula was long established.

The *Nāgarakērtāgama* mentions several places on the Malay Peninsula, all subordinate to Majapait.<sup>49</sup> If by subordinate one means that in these regions Majapait was recognized as the ruling power in the Archipelago, than that is certainly correct. But, at the same time, Siam claimed and exercised suzerainty over the whole peninsula. There is information to the effect that a Siamese Governor had his seat in Singapura in the later part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; to him came a Javanese exile whose name was Parameśvara. The life of this man is related by the Portuguese historian [João de] Barros<sup>50</sup> and by the *Commentarios*, the biography of Afonso de Albuquerque [?1459–1515], compiled by his son, using official documents.<sup>51</sup>

Both these writers could only record what was still remembered at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Mēlaka in 1511. Their narratives agree on the point that Parameśvara was a Javanese of royal blood, originally from Balambangan (Balam-buan: the most eastern part of Java) as [Emanvel Godinho de] Eredia, a Portuguese [Eurasian] born and bred in Mēlaka, wrote one century later.<sup>52</sup> Barros says that Parameśvara had to emigrate from Java after the death of a Javanese king named Parárisá because of his involvement in dynastic turmoil.<sup>53</sup> Parárisá could be the equivalent of Batara Wisesa. In Javanese history a King Hyang Wisesa [r. 1389–1428] is known, who took that name in 1412; he is the successor of Hayam Wuruk [1350–89]. If the statement concerning Parameśvara is correct, then it could only have happened in connection with Hayam Wuruk's death, in which case he must have left Java in or shortly after 1381 (*sic*).<sup>54</sup> Tradition is supposed to have fixed the name of the successor to the predecessor, which certainly need not be rejected as an

impossibility. However, the details which are told concerning Parameśvara's agitation do not fit within the framework of Javanese history.<sup>55</sup>

As mentioned before, Parameśvara landed with a troop of Javanese at Singapura; he was received kindly by the Siamese Governor but reciprocated the hospitality he enjoyed with a *coup de main* [an attempt] through which he became master of the town, and the Governor was killed. Not being able to maintain his position in Singapura, Parameśvara fled and finally, after some wandering about, founded Měḷaka on the west coast of the Peninsula, on 2° 14' N.L. A place by that name already existed: it is mentioned as a dependency of Siam [in 1358] in the *Kot Monthieraban* [*Mont'ien Ban*],<sup>56</sup> a Siamese source of law, but could not have been of importance as the *Nāgarakērtāgama* does not mention it. According to the *Commentarios*, it was a village of fishermen, who at times were pirates; they persuaded Parameśvara to settle down with them because they saw in him the man they needed.

The founding of Měḷaka was a brilliant deed. The area was not unknown to seafarers. Near the coast were the so-called Five Islands,<sup>57</sup> which were sometimes visited by trading-ships. It was even recorded on a Chinese map that in former times a large commercial town had been situated there, a statement which still requires confirmation.<sup>58</sup> Měḷaka started like what in Java is called a *pasar gēlap*, a market for irregular goods, where things of doubtful origin are sold at a low price. The pirates of the Strait of Měḷaka looked after the supply, the buyers were readily available. The protected situation in the Strait was superior in relation to the monsoons compared with the harbours of the north coast of Sumatra, exposed as they were to the northeast monsoon. The development of Měḷaka was at the expense of Samudra. By organizing a kind of maritime police in the Strait, merchant ships destined for Singapore were forced to take their wares to Měḷaka. Soon the town overcame its obscure origin; before long merchants came into the market and there was an honest trade.

Parameśvara showed himself to be a statesman. In [October] 1403 Měḷaka was visited by [Yin Ch'ing or eunuch Yin Qing], a Chinese envoy, bearing gifts. Thus Měḷaka was known to China, although still insignificant, and there was no king. An annual tribute was paid to Siam. From this it is again evident that Siam's suzerainty over the entire Peninsula was no hollow phrase. Parameśvara reciprocated the visit with a legation, which he instructed to offer Měḷaka to China. The Chinese Emperor

promptly reacted; Parameśvara became king and received investiture.<sup>59</sup> The so-called status of a dependency could do him no harm. China was far away and would leave him in peace; but thereby he accomplished that Siam would perhaps be more moderate should her vassal get out of hand and she entertain plans to bring him to reason. It is true that China's conduct consisted mainly of administering admonishments; however, one was apt to take notice because of the prestige which that empire enjoyed in East Asia.

In 1411, the King, himself, accompanied by a large retinue, went to China. The Emperor granted him an audience, and he was treated with distinction; after having been showered with gifts, he was sent back to his kingdom. Undoubtedly, this is a reflection of the high respect which he had attained. In 1412, he sent his cousin [to China], and in 1414 his son went to report the death of his father. The Chinese call this son Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha, also read: Mu-kan-sa-kan-ti-eul-cha (sha) [or Mu-wo Sa-yu-di-er Sha, Megat Iskandar Shāh]; the Portuguese: Xáquem darxá, and the *Malay Annals*: Muhammad Iskandar Shāh. The Chinese name is a very distorted representation of his true name; it is of importance that the second syllable is *kan*, which indicates a pronunciation of Mukammad; similarly Xáquem darxá of the Portuguese indicates a pronunciation of Sakèndar or Sakèndèr.<sup>60</sup> Both pronunciations are not Malay but Javanese. Thus in the court environment Javanese was spoken, and Mēlaka's second king still had a Javanese Muslim name and probably was Java-born.

Barros says that Parameśvara was very old (*mui velho*) and that his son, Sakèndar [Iskandar], reigned in his place. This information can be tested to some degree by the Chinese sources. In 1424, a new king succeeded his father, Sakèndar, and went to so inform the Chinese court.<sup>61</sup> He was accompanied by his son, no longer a child; the new King may have been 40 or older. In 1414, when his father became Sultān, he was about 30 or older and Sakèndar, himself, 50 or older. So Sakèndar's father, Parameśvara must have been 70 or older when he died in 1413 or 1414. This rough calculation is sufficient to show that indeed Parameśvara died at an old age, and the statement of Barros that in the last years of his life he left the affairs of state to his heir concords with this. According to Eredia,<sup>62</sup> in 1411, shortly before he died, he is supposed to have embraced Islām, however, this remains uncertain as no Muslim name is known for him. The Malay chronicles did not preserve any recollection of him. In any case,

at that time Muḥammad Sakèndar was already commanding the ship of state; and it is with him that the Muslim period of Mēlaka begins.<sup>63</sup>

Before Mēlaka was founded, so Barros tells us, Singapura was the trade emporium. The addition "according to information obtained from the Malays" makes this information only acceptable with reservations. We might have known more about it had the old Javanese rock-inscription, in 13<sup>th</sup>- or 14<sup>th</sup>-century script at the mouth of the Singapura River, not been blown up by Governor S.G. Bonham in 1840, a deed of vandalism for which he was taken to task by Rouffaer in his article: "Was Malaka emporium vóór 1400 A.D., genaamd Malajoer?"<sup>64</sup> Now the significance of Singapura as a commercial town in the 14<sup>th</sup> century remains obscure.

The miraculously rapid growth of Mēlaka may have been at the expense of neighbouring ports, but this was not the main reason for its growth. The ports of North Sumatra, foremost being Pasai, were exporting centres for pepper, but not emporia. Because of the spice trade, Mēlaka became an emporium. Formerly the route of this trade had been: Maluku — East-Java — India; it now became: Maluku — East-Java — Mēlaka — India. The founding of Mēlaka added a new station to the East Java-India sector, dividing this into two parts. For the Islāmization of Java this fact was to be of great importance.

On his third inspection tour in 1415, Zheng He also visited Sumatra. Islām had expanded over the entire north coast and along the east coast as far as the small realm of Aru [Dēli] which had its own sultān. For these regions Gujarāt remained the source of culture: a tomb of someone who died in 1428 in Samudra-Pasai has been preserved. It is of the same appearance as those Muslim gravestones found in Cambay at that time, as Moquette was able to show in an ingenious fashion. The Muslims often used pieces of Hindu temples as the material from which they built maṣjids and tombs. In Cambay there were monuments entirely built of this material. The stone of the monument of Samudra-Pasai on which the death date is recorded has on the side facing inward the remainder of previous sculpture, mutilated in the usual Muslim way by chopping off the heads. Professor Krom<sup>65</sup> was able to establish that it belonged to a temple of a style which had flourished in the Gujarāt of previous centuries. Such Muslim tombstones were supplied from stock; only a panel was kept blank on which the particulars concerning the deceased were to be chiselled.

Fei Hsin also mentions Tamiang, south of Aru.<sup>66</sup> As the manners and customs of the people were rather good, it would have been Muslim.

At Grěsik, near Surabaya, there is a stone evidence of the presence of Islām in Java at this time: the tombstone of Malik Ibrāhīm who died in 1419.<sup>67</sup> Popular tradition has made him into one of the apostles of Islām in Java; however, this idea does not stand the test of reality. His epitaph only says he was a Persian. His imposing tombstone testifies that presumably he was a respectable merchant who had done well for himself. The important thing about it is that it shows a great similarity to the aforementioned monument of Samudra; it stems from the same workshop, and consequently is also imported from Cambay. We see from this that Gujarāt played the same role *vis-à-vis* the Muslims of East Java as it did for the Muslims of North Sumatra. Mĕlaka offers no comparable monuments. A large number existed but were destroyed by the Portuguese who used them to build their Fort. In view of the position which the Gujarātīs occupied in Mĕlaka, there is no doubt that they were of a similar appearance.

Ma Huan describes the situation of Islām in Java,<sup>68</sup> approximately from Tuban to Surabaya, and of the interior as far as the capital Majapait. There were three kinds of people: firstly the 'Arabs', by whom we have to understand the Muslims from the West, in the first place from Gujarāt; secondly, the 'Chinese', many of whom had embraced Islām; thirdly, 'Hindu-Javanese', amongst whom there are no Muslims. So the Muslim traders still formed alien colonies; Islām had not progressed as much as it had in the town of Pĕrlak at the time of arrival of Marco Polo (in 1292). Ma Huan deals with all Muslims as one group; one may conclude that they were numerous, which was certainly to be expected in view of the great significance which the transit trade of East Java had at that time. However, this significance dated from earlier times; the date East Javanese trade began to flourish can be set in the years after the Sumatran expedition of 1275<sup>69</sup> and following years, which restricted the trade of Śrīvijaya. The traders came here to collect the spices from Maluku. Undoubtedly the Muslim Gujarātīs formed a large contingent among these traders for, according to [Marino] Sanudo, a Venetian who wrote a book about this trade in 1306,<sup>70</sup> irrespective of other commodities, most of the spices were traded with Cambay.

STAGE OF ISLĀMIZATION AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE  
PORTUGUESE

AT the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Asia, Islām in the Archipelago was surveyed once again. Barros<sup>71</sup> did this for us. At that time Islām had won for its cause the realm of Mēlaka, part of the sea-coast of Sumatra, some ports of Java, and Maluku ['the Spice Islands']. This 'pestilence', as he says, spread from Mēlaka along the trade route. This characterization of Islām could cast doubt on his objectivity as a historian. But unjustly so. In their own country the Portuguese fought against the Moors<sup>72</sup> for many years, with a religious zeal which equalled that of their opponents. After the Moors had been driven from Portugal, the fight was continued on African soil. And when the Portuguese again found themselves opposed by Muslims in Asia, they invariably called them Moors and encountered them with the same fierce sentiments and hate as they felt nearer to home.<sup>73</sup> The colonial struggle of Portugal has always had the character of a religious war against the Moors and for the Cross. Non-Muslims could expect a more accommodating treatment. Barros was only a child of his time, or more correctly, a child of the Portugal of those days, when he speaks truculently about the Muslims, but his historical writing did not suffer because of this. Witness the above sentences: they give a correct picture of the state of affairs at about 1500, and it is also true that Islām followed the trade routes. We have seen evidence of this in the previous pages, and there are many more which will be encountered. Barros has Islām spreading from Mēlaka; this too is true, but because of the nature of things applies only as far back as Mēlaka's foundation. Previously, as we have seen, trade brought the new religion to north Sumatra, and again it was the Muslim traders who prepared the ground for Islām in Java. His judgement holds beyond the boundaries of the era of which he treats.

We left Mělaka at the moment when Sultān Sakèndar [Iskandar] Shāh ascended the throne. Although he, too, was Javanese, the foundation had been laid for the Malayization of the court. Parameśvara, and the Javanese who accompanied him, married women of the country and created a nobility from the population of fishermen whom Barros calls people of low descent and half savages. The next generation spoke Malay. The court became Malay, the mass remained what it was, and between these two were the foreign merchants and their Malay-speaking descendants. With them the greatness of Mělaka stood or fell. In the *Commentarios*<sup>74</sup> it is reported that Sakèndar [Iskandar] embraced Islām through his wife, a daughter of the King of Pasai. It does not make the story more probable when the following report is added: the King of Pasai had embraced Islām only shortly before, which cannot be correct as Samudra-Pasai was Muslim long before. It is safer to assume persuasion from the Gujarātīs, as their fierce Muslim disposition was well known. Barros<sup>75</sup> says — verbatim — that Gujarātīs and Persians were the converters of Mělaka.

Gujarātīs were the most important minority in Mělaka. They had the best knowledge of navigation, so the Portuguese say, and traded on the largest scale. When the Portuguese appeared in Mělaka in 1511, the Javanese community, too, proved very important. The army of the Sultān consisted of Javanese; there were great Javanese merchants, one of whom had 5,000 to 6,000 Javanese slaves; and [Afonso] de Albuquerque took sixty Javanese shipwrights with their families — thus they had already settled in Mělaka — to India because they were excellent shipbuilders such as could not be found in India.<sup>76</sup> In the century of Mělaka's existence, a division of labour had taken place. The Indians, headed by the Gujarātīs, sailed the stretch from India to Mělaka, while the stretch Mělaka to East Java was handled by the Javanese. In the Portuguese reports no more is heard of Gujarātīs sailing to East Java. Further, for its foodstuffs, Mělaka was dependent on other places; the town would not have been able to expand to such an extent if the supply of foodstuffs had not been secured, and these supplies had to come from Java. It is evident from the repeated attempts by Javanese fleets to oust the Portuguese from Mělaka that it was considered by the Javanese to be a dependency, or at least an economic outpost. For the Islāmization of Java this point is of great importance. The

Javanese came to a Muslim centre; if they were not already Muslims, away from their native environment they easily became Muslims, and upon returning to Java they increased the number of Muslims there. Java was converted in Měla<sup>ka</sup>.

The indigenous population of Měla<sup>ka</sup>, the actual Malays, showed themselves to be zealous Muslims and for that reason they, as well as their ruler, were praised by Ma Huan.<sup>77</sup> Subsequently Měla<sup>ka</sup> acted as the propagator of Islām on the Malay Peninsula until finally the whole Malay population had become Muslim. Here, only a few dates can be given. One can best imagine the process as a progressive Islāmization from Měla<sup>ka</sup> along the coastal areas. No notice was taken of the inaccessible, barely inhabited, interior. The realm of Pahang, which reached approximately from the southern point of the Peninsula in a northern direction along the east coast perhaps as far as 4° N.L., still had a non-Muslim king in about 1460. Soon thereafter the change came; in 1475 [Muḥammad Shāh] the first Sulṭān of Pahang, son of the then Sulṭān of Měla<sup>ka</sup>, died. His grave has been found.<sup>78</sup> The gravestones have a similar shape and are inscribed with Qur'ānic texts in the same way as the gravestone of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, the founder of Samudra (d. 1297). The script on the panel, in which the name of the deceased is inscribed, is different from the writing on the other panels. Thus it is evident that these stones were also supplied on order and, if not originating from Cambay itself, at least must have been made by a stonemason in Cambay style. Determination of the stone may lend certainty to this. These stones support the opinion that the lost monuments of Měla<sup>ka</sup> were also Gujarātī.

North of Pahang, Těřěngganu is situated, which was discussed previously. It became a vassal of Měla<sup>ka</sup>, and even in 1587 considered itself as such and obeyed a summons from Johor, the successor of Měla<sup>ka</sup>. Těřěngganu borders on Kělantān in the north. Nothing is known concerning the time of the Islāmization of this realm; its state was uncertain, it seems to have belonged from time to time to Patani, further to the north.<sup>79</sup> Patani was the most northern state on the east coast of the Peninsula inhabited by Malays; it is nearest to the seat of the Siamese realm, and Siamese influence always predominated. When in 1908 [1909] Siam was constrained to cede Kělantān and Těřěngganu to England [the colonial power in the Malay States], it retained Patani.<sup>80</sup> Once this land [of Patani] received Islām from Měla<sup>ka</sup>,<sup>81</sup> this tie of religion continued to draw it towards Měla<sup>ka</sup>. The Islāmization took place approxi-

mately in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the north, on the west coast, was the realm of Kĕdah; here a Muslim king is mentioned in the year 1474. Islām stopped at the borders of the Malay-inhabited areas; it did not penetrate into the Buddhist realms of Pegu on the west coast or Siam in the east.

Mĕlaka's influence was also felt on the opposite shore of Sumatra. During the visits of Ma Huan and Fei Hsin, Islām had penetrated as far as Aru<sup>82</sup> and Tamiang and, incidentally, areas farther south appear to have been Muslim in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: Rokan was Muslim in the first half of the century, Kampar and Indĕragiri in the second half. Siak, in between, may also be reckoned to have been Muslim. Just as on the Malay Peninsula, this all concerns the coastal areas only. However, the nature of the land is different. Along the east coast of Sumatra there is a broad, alluvial, marshy, coastal strip, inhabitable only on the higher parts. On the other hand, the mighty waterways allow penetration deeper into the interior than is possible on the Peninsula.

The change which took place in Java in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is evident if the statements of Ma Huan and Barros are compared. In 1415, in the port settlements of East Java, from approximately Tuban to Surabaya, there were only colonies of Muslim foreigners, but the indigenous population was Hindu-Javanese. Now, in 1498, 'some harbours' were completely Muslim, but Barros does not indicate which these were.

The difference in the situation at the beginning and at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is clear: the indigenous population of the areas mentioned had been won for Islām in this time; the axe had been put at the foot of the tree. The following years would be decisive. These years will be treated extensively when the 16<sup>th</sup> century comes under discussion.

Finally, we must deal with Maluku,<sup>83</sup> the last Muslim area mentioned by Barros in 1498. The Portuguese understood by 'Molucos' or 'Malucos' — 'Moluko' in the plural — the chain of small islands west of Halmahera, the large, oddly-shaped island, the shape of which reminds one of Sulawĕsi. The other name, Jailolo, applied more particularly to the western part. The term 'Molucos', of which 'Molukken' is the Dutch form, was later widened, first by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch, to include, without a fixed border, a large part of the island world between Sulawĕsi and New Guinea. Here we will use this term, as Barros and Valentijn did, in its original meaning of the islands west of Halmahera. Tĕrnate, Tidore, Bachan [Bacan], as seats of

sultānates, deserve separate mention. Jailolo had a sultān of its own for some time.

By preference, Valentijn<sup>84</sup> occupied himself with the Great East,<sup>85</sup> inclusive of Maluku. He spent the greater part of his years in Indonesia in these islands learning Malukan Malay and exploring the country in all directions. With unflagging zeal, he noted down everything he could find and get hold of, and this material occupies practically half of his work. His advantage was that he was two and a half centuries nearer to the events than we. The significance of this in regard to oral tradition is obvious; however, even the written sources which he utilized were in better condition than they are now. This applies in particular to those sources in the Tērnatē language. Historical writing was held in esteem by Malukan kings. Unfortunately, very little of it remains. Their realms are a shadow of what they once were, and their annals have withered away. All the same, it is surprising to read in a work about the residency of Tērnatē, drawn up about 1886 by the then resident de Clercq, that the kings still seemed to be in possession of chronicles of olden times.<sup>86</sup> Surely Valentijn was not able to read the Tērnatēse texts; he, who was apt to be so proud of his not excessive knowledge of Malay, would certainly not have left us ignorant of the fact had he been able to do so. This is by no means a reproach, as all facilities to learn this non-Indonesian language were lacking. Even today we have not progressed very much. Thus, he must have become acquainted with the contents of these texts by means of translation or oral statements in Malay. What he tells us is confusing and uncritical, but considering all the circumstances is nevertheless sufficient to cause us to deplore the loss of these sources. The scanty information supplied by his wordy discourse gives the impression that these Tērnatēse histories were not as simple as the Malay chronicles; the chronology is weak, but as far as can be ascertained the sequence of events is valid. Therefore, with due reserve, Valentijn is still the best source of knowledge for all that occurred in Maluku at that time.

As far as the Islāmization of Maluku is concerned, the following can be concluded from his work. In the first place, he says that Maluku was originally the name of West Halmahera; from here emigration took place to the islands off the coast, whereupon the name was extended to include those islands. He might have derived an argument for his assertion from old Buginese stories, which make a distinction between 'Taranatē'

and 'Maloku', without specifying the location of 'Maloku'. However, in the Makasar [South Sulawěsi] text of the Bungaya Treaty,<sup>87</sup> very much later [18 November 1667], the Sultān of Těrnate is called Karaeng Maloku.

Maluku owed its significance to the abundance of cloves. The clove trees grew wild, but were also planted. The indigenous population gathered the fruits which were purchased by merchants from elsewhere and taken westward in their ships. It is evident that the Javanese were early participants in this trade. Marco Polo relates when speaking about Java that among other things the island produced nutmegs and cloves. His knowledge about Java was second-hand as he, himself, did not visit the island. Naturally, it is not correct to state that Java produced these spices; they were only marketed there. So, already at that time, the Javanese imported the spices from Maluku and Banda and, according to Marco Polo, from there they were shipped to the Malabar coast. The indigenous tradition, imparted to us by Valentijn, relates that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Javanese and 'Arabs (by which we should understand: Muslim merchants coming from India) conducted the spice trade. It is clear, in connection with Marco Polo's statement, that this trade route was via the East Javanese ports.

The first Muslim king of Těrnate is named Marhum, an 'Arabic word meaning 'the late'; it is thus a posthumous name given when the people had already converted to Islām. He ruled from 1465 until shortly before 1486. According to others, it was his son and successor, Zainal Abidin [Zayn al-'Ābidīn, r. 1486-1500], who embraced Islām.<sup>88</sup> Of this king it is said that he undertook a pilgrimage to Java to visit and to be taught by the Paněmbahan,<sup>89</sup> better known as the Sunan of Giri, a highly esteemed religious teacher at Giri near Grěsik.<sup>90</sup> During his reign, with the aid of proselytizing Javanese, the number of Muslims increased considerably. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies to Tidore. Consequently, the Islāmization of Maluku can be put in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Barros<sup>91</sup> puts it earlier, about eighty years before the arrival of the Portuguese, but due to the reasons given above it is my opinion that in this case we have to give preference to the report of Valentijn.

All indigenous reports confirm that Maluku received Islām from Java. There are no known facts indicating the contrary. The Javanese who visited Maluku were inhabitants of the Islāmized regions of Java's northeast coast and they came, in the words of Barros,<sup>92</sup> 'along the routes of trade'.

VI  
JAVA

IN January 1514, the Portuguese Governor of Mělaka, Ruy de Brito, wrote to the King [Manuel I, r. 1495–1521]: “Java is a large island. It has two *kafir* kings. One is called the king of Sunda and the other the king of Java. The whole island is one, it is only divided by a river which is dry here and there... . The coasts of the sea are of the Moors and are very powerful; great merchants and gentlemen call themselves governors. They have many junks, a great plenty. They have always traded with Malacca. Some of them are our friends; others cannot do any less.”<sup>93</sup> So there were two kings, both pagan; in accordance with the present indigenous common parlance; de Brito restricts the name of Java to the land of the Javanese. The purpose of the sentence: “The whole island is one” is to rectify the conception current at that time that West Java and the rest of Java were two different islands.

Western Java and its pagan king we will discuss later; let us restrict ourselves to Java proper for the time being. The central power was still Hindu-Javanese, usually identified with Majapait. Krom<sup>94</sup> suggested the possibility that Majapait had been replaced earlier by another Hindu-Javanese realm and that this realm (of which the name is unknown) had to yield to Islām. As long as this cannot be verified, it seems best to follow tradition and call this realm Majapait. So this realm of Majapait still existed in 1514, but its downfall was at hand.

Speaking about Java at the time of de Albuquerque (1511), the Portuguese historian de Castanheda<sup>95</sup> says: “The main king of the island is pagan, and lives in the interior. He is a lord great in territory and tremendous of people. Along the seashore (the north coast, the south coast was not visited by ships) there are other kings who are Moors [that is to say, Muslims] and are subject to this Heathen;<sup>96</sup> at times they rebel against him, and he once more subdues them.” It is obvious that these Moors, in areas fronting the sea, gained power gradually at the expense of that part of the realm which was cut off from the outside world.

The way to Mělaka was open to them; the numerous and considerable Javanese colony there was Muslim. Some Hindu-Javanese might have found their way to Mělaka, but they went into the melting-pot, and on their return to Java they co-operated in the propagation of the new faith.

Certainly Muslim propagation penetrated into the Hindu-Javanese centre. The Muslims from the periphery must have formed cells there. This expression is definitely no less correct here than when applied to the propaganda organization for which it was invented; previously we have seen how each Muslim who would settle himself amongst non-Muslims would operate as a cell, which is inclined to grow. This cell-building was able to go its way undisturbed among the tolerant Hindu-Javanese. To demonstrate that this cell-building even reached the higher circles, there is a grave at Trawulan belonging to an apparently notable Muslim, who died in 1448.<sup>97</sup> Trawulan is a cemetery near the old capital of Majapait. Tradition has it that a Champa princess who was married to a king of Majapait lies buried here. There will have been no objection to marrying a Muslim woman on the part of a Hindu-Javanese king; continuous open struggle with his Muslim Sasak subjects did not prevent the last king of Lombok from marrying a Muslim woman and having a masjid built. One cannot expect anything like this from the opposite side. A Muslim woman cannot be legally married to an unbeliever; that one of the king's subjects lends herself to become his wife is understandable, although according to the regulations of Islāmic Law such a marriage is nothing less than adultery. But that is out of the question for the daughter of a Muslim king. A Muslim king of Champa is unknown; the Hinduized dynasty did not come to an end until the downfall of the realm in 1470.<sup>98</sup> So from the legend of the daughter of the Champa king nothing remains but the fact that in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century a Muslim woman of standing lived in the heart of Majapait; this remains a fact of symptomatic value.

For Majapait, attacked from outside, strife-ridden internally, the moment had to come when it would succumb under Muslim pressure. Separately the governors of the coastal provinces were not strong enough, but when they combined forces they obtained supremacy.

In a well-known article "Wanneer is Madjapahit gevallen?" [When did Majapait fall?] Rouffaer<sup>99</sup> tried to answer the question

he, himself, had set; Krom<sup>100</sup> supplemented his investigation and improved upon it and came to the conclusion that the time may be put between 1513 and 1528.

Of course, Javanese historians wrote extensively about this important juncture in the life of the Javanese people.<sup>101</sup> From them it is known that a coalition of Muslim potentates was brought about, which the following people joined under the leadership of the Adipati of Bintara (later Dĕmak): the Governor of Madura, the Ruler of Tuban, the Governor of Surabaya, and the Religious Teacher of Giri.<sup>102</sup> Majapait yielded to their united pressure. Did this coalition govern the areas where according to Barros "there were a few Muslim ports"? This question cannot be answered, but it is striking that the leadership of these allies rested with Dĕmak, consequently it was considered to be the foremost and the most powerful among them. Formerly only the ports in the region between Tuban and Surabaya were mentioned. By this time a new port has appeared: Jĕpara, the port of Dĕmak in Central Java, the importance of which can be judged by the position Dĕmak occupied in the coalition. However, the trade with Maluku was still maintained from east Javanese ports. This remained so up and until the time of the [Dutch United East India] Company. So the rise of Jĕpara must be connected in some way with Mĕlaka; as was observed before, it probably owed its prosperity to the export to Mĕlaka of rice and other foodstuffs for which Mĕlaka depended on Java. This also explains how a new Muslim centre could come into existence in Dĕmak-Jĕpara.

The Javanese annals, the so-called *Babads*, do not detail the long struggle between Majapait and its vassals, neither do they inform of the date of the latter's victory.<sup>103</sup> The basic idea for the Javanese historian is: "all that is transitory is but a parable", and he attempts to make people understand the sense of history by setting forth a number of scenes. The entire description of this era is based on the idea that within the harmony of the universe, Islām on Java had to follow Hindu-Javanism. Dĕmak, the reigning Muslim State, was entitled to supremacy over Java, because this supremacy was transferred from Majapait to Dĕmak in a miraculous way. This transfer is beyond any human judgement of justice; it is lawful because it took place. From this it is clear that we will not get an answer to all these questions on the tip of our tongues.<sup>104</sup>

After the fall of Majapait there were no more Hindu-Javanese kings and rulers. Therefore, the Islāmization of Java was only a matter of time; about its degree more will be said in the final chapter.

An exception has to be made for the extreme eastern part of the island. In 1528, there was still a pagan ruler of Panarukan; this we know from the Portuguese who received his envoys at Mělaka in that year. It cannot be determined how far his domain stretched. A Portuguese adventurer, [Fernão/Ferdinand] Mendes Pinto [c. 1514–83],<sup>105</sup> who took part in the expedition, relates that the King of Děmak concentrated his fleet off Jěpara in 1546 and equipped an expeditionary force to attack Pasuruhan.<sup>106</sup> The 'King' of Panarukan was admiral of the fleet. [Further on it is said] the attack had been effected against Panarukan which, of course, is an impossibility. The matter is clear if the names of the two places are exchanged: the expedition was against Panarukan, and the King of Pasuruhan was admiral. Apart from this, the text is clear, the King of Panarukan, chief of Balambangan, was still pagan. But the aim was not reached; the expedition ended in a failure for Děmak. At that time, Balambangan was the name of the extreme eastern part of Java; at the most it included the present residencies of Prabalingga and Běsuki; Pasuruhan certainly did not belong to it. Some years later, in 1559 when the Portuguese called at Panarukan, it was still pagan. Even in 1595 when the Dutch of the *Eerste Schipvaart* [First Voyage] visited Balambangan and Panarukan, it was still pagan; *De Eerste Boeck*<sup>107</sup> [First Book] does not say so explicitly, but it can be concluded from what is said about Panarukan.

[Willem] Lodewycksz informs: Many Javanese Christians live there, who were undoubtedly converted by the also numerous Portuguese living there.<sup>108</sup> This does not mean, however, that all the Javanese were Christians. About the rest of the Javanese, it is not observed that they were Moors — the word used likewise by the Dutch at that time, and long afterwards, to indicate Muslims — from which we may conclude that they were not Muslims. Further, we learn that the Moorish king of Pasuruhan had undertaken a military expedition against Panarukan and Balambangan, but had been repulsed upon approaching Panarukan. This may be a recollection of the expedition of 1546. After that the land remained Hindu-Javanese for a long time, sup-

ported in the old religion by Balinese invasions. It was not until the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the extreme east of Java was entirely Islāmized. In the highest reaches of the Těnggěr Mountains, some villages have resisted Islām up and until the present day.<sup>109</sup>

## VII

## SUNDA AND MADURA

SUNDA or the Pasundan, the land of the Sundanese [in West Java], lay outside the great trade route from Mělaka to Central and East Java; one heard nothing about it. This situation changed about the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for then pepper cultivation began to be of some importance, which was reflected in the interest taken by the Portuguese.

As we saw before, Pasundan still had a pagan king in 1514, but it is probable that some Muslim merchants had settled in the Sunda Kalapa Port, later named Jayakërta [Surakarta, synonymous Javanese names of Sanskrit origin meaning 'Victorious', 'Prosperous'], the present Jakarta. For among the Muslims living in the commercial district of [Pulo] Upih in Mělaka, people from Sunda are mentioned by the Portuguese. And that these Muslims became a threat to the position of the pagan king [of Pajajaran] can be concluded from the fact that he entered into negotiations with Afonso de Albuquerque immediately after the Portuguese established themselves at Mělaka. According to Barbosa,<sup>110</sup> these negotiations were followed in about 1517-18 by the king's statement of his willingness to place himself under Portuguese sovereignty. The capital Pakuwan — the realm was called Pajajaran — lay in the interior, at the place where Batutulis is now situated, near Buitenzorg [Bogor].

The first positive information about the Islāmization of the country is also from Portuguese sources. Apart from that, almost our only source is the traditions, of which there are many, but in themselves they are full of contradictions. It is necessary to weigh the probability of the various traditions. In this way one obtains an opinion, although inevitably subjective, on what may have been the course of events. Djajadiningrat has traced a path through the labyrinth — as far as this is possible — in a critical analysis of the most important record, the *Sadjarah Bantěn*, and other annals concerning West Java.<sup>111</sup>

In 1522, the Governor of Mělaka, Jorge de Albuquerque, a cousin of the great Afonso, sent naval forces under Henrique Leme to Sunda Kalapa [Pajajaran's main port] to establish trade relations. The Portuguese hoped to get pepper from there and the ruler — titled Sangyang — looked for support against Muslim aggression. A mutually satisfactory treaty was concluded, and the Portuguese set up a *padrão*, a memorial stone, as was prescribed whenever they took possession of an area for the King of Portugal. However, this was not the understanding of the King of Sunda Kalapa; as is stated in the preserved treaty of peace and friendship, he had [merely] indicated the place where the Portuguese had his permission to build a fort for the erection of the memorial stone. In 1918, this memorial stone was dug up near buildings in Prinsenstraat at Jakarta, and it is highly probable that this was the place where it had been erected. It took until 1526 before the Portuguese had the opportunity to send a fleet from Mělaka to bring the treaty into effect by the building of a fort. One of the ships was separated from the others and was beached near Sunda Kalapa. At the beginning of 1527, the crew was slaughtered by Muslims who had been in power there for only a few days.

The town had been conquered by someone whom the Portuguese called 'Falatehan' or 'Faletehan'. He was a man of low descent and hailed from the oft-mentioned Pasai in North Sumatra. To what has already been said about that place can be added that it was a spiritual centre which as elder brother in the faith, even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, provided a famous son as juriscounsel to the court of Aceh. Moreover, its significance for the Islāmization of Java — which is not to be more closely defined — is apparent from the legendary stories about this event in which Pasai is often mentioned.

Falatehan had left his native town when it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1521. Then he had gone to Makka, had studied there for two or three years, and had returned to Pasai.<sup>112</sup> But, says Barros,<sup>113</sup> not finding it a suitable field in which to propagate Islām because of the presence of a Portuguese fortress, he went to Jěpara. If one thinks of proselytizing for Islām, the statement is incorrect, for Pasai had been Muslim for a long time. This could not have been Barros' meaning, for it was known to him that Pasai was Muslim; he must have had in mind the work of a religious teacher. It can be imagined that Falatehan did not want to stay in Pasai, now that it had fallen into the hands of

unbelievers<sup>114</sup> [1521–4]. However, it is incomprehensible how Barros could say that he [Falatehan] converted the king and many others in the likewise Muslim Jěpara. Probably it can be corrected in this way, that the King of Děmak engaged the scholar from Makka — in that period a rarity — as an adviser in religious affairs. At Sunda Kalapa, the spiritual adviser also showed himself to be skilful with the sword. The King had given him permission to go to “Bantěn, town of Sunda” to convert it. He was successful with the chief of the place, and now he asked the King of Děmak to send him troops, to which request the King complied. It must have been these troops with which he conquered Sunda Kalapa at the beginning of 1527.

In Chěrbon [Cirěbon] (also called Charěbon and Cherěbon, the Sundanese people say Chirěbon, the Dutch name is Chěrion), Sunan Gunungjati (posthumous name according to his last resting-place [on Mount Jati]) lies buried [d. 1570]; he is the great Saint of West Java who is venerated as the introducer of Islām.<sup>115</sup> For various reasons he is considered to be one and the same person as Falatehan [perhaps Fadhillah — Faḍl Allāh — Khān or Fatahillah]; he is the progenitor of the Cirěbon royalty. The impression is given that he cared little for the worldly matters of his office, and that he lived the life of a student of religious sciences, thus returning to the practice of his younger years, until he died at an old age. His residence was not walled in until 1592, after his death; the traditions preserve nothing which makes one think of Cirěbon as a royal seat at that time. This is the more conclusive because Bantěn undoubtedly was. So it seems that Falatehan, after having waged holy war for some time, settled at Cirěbon, of which place and its interior he became lord and master, but apart from that he lived as a highly esteemed jurisconsult and theologian, thus propagating Islām in his own way. It was reserved for the Bantěn dynasty to procure the rule of Islām in West Java and to propagate the religion to South Sumatra. Sunan Gunungjati is considered to be the founder of the Bantěn dynasty.

There is yet another person who must be mentioned in connection with the Islāmization of West Java. In 1513, a large Javanese war fleet appeared in the Strait fronting Mělaka with the obvious intention of ousting the Portuguese from there. This fleet came from Jěpara; it was a Muslim enterprise, and its commander was a certain Pati Unus or Yūnus, the Portuguese write Pate Onuz or Pate Unuz [King Yūnus of Jěpara].<sup>116</sup> He lost the

battle and was forced to go back to his starting-point. He put his battle-junk, which he had rescued unscathed, on the beach at Jĕpara as a memorial. De Castanheda<sup>117</sup> tells us — Barros does not have this information — that his fellow countrymen, admiring his valiant deed, even though it resulted in failure, made him King of Dĕmak. This was in 1513. A few months later, the Portuguese came across him in the town of Sĕdayu [Sidayu], “which belonged to Pate Unuz”, however not as king, for *Pati* is the title for Governor — ‘dukes’ with us, says Pinto<sup>118</sup> — the king was Adipati (Sang Adipati of Dĕmak). So Castanheda’s information is incorrect. On the other hand, Barros<sup>119</sup> says that Pati Unus later became King of Sunda. However, we hear nothing further about this; it just remains a twice-made pronouncement. This can be explained by the fact that Barros did not reach that point in his history. It is possible — although no more than a guess — that Castanheda confused Sunda with Dĕmak. It is established from later events that the Islāmization of the Pasundan came from the direction of Dĕmak, and in that case it is not surprising that a high government official like Pati Unus, who as is shown by his presence in Sidayu was apparently not out of favour, was charged with the leadership and, therefore, became ‘King of Sunda’, that is to say, under the suzerainty of Dĕmak. Not much time was allotted to him for he died in 1521, even before the arrival of Falatehan in Java. At the time of his death, the work was still in the initial stages. Only Bantĕn and Cirĕbon, both of which with their nearest hinterland are Javanese-speaking islands in Sundanese territory, are worth considering as points of attack for the Javanese invasion. As Bantĕn was still pagan at the time of the arrival of Falatehan, only Cirĕbon remains as the place where Pati Unus started this work and where he lived for a short period. Later, Falatehan would take his place. The explanation given here remains uncertain. Pati Unus is unknown in the traditions.

As an example of Dĕmak’s suzerainty, the aforementioned expedition to Panarukan, which Pinto joined, can be mentioned. Bantĕn was summoned to participate in this expedition with a number of troops and complied with this order. Pinto calls the King of Bantĕn, Tagaril; apparently he is the same person as Hasanuddin [Ḥasan al-Dĕn, r.c. 1552–70], son of Falatehan.<sup>120</sup> He is further called King of Sunda, not unjustly so, for Falatehan lived a retired life in Cirĕbon, and Bantĕn developed worldly power.

And it is also from Bantěn that the initiative came to complete the Islāmization of the interior. Djajadiningrat<sup>121</sup> is of the opinion that the capital of Pajajaran was not taken until 1579/80 [by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bantěn ruler, Molana Yusup, r.c. 1570–80]. The port of Bantěn became an important pepper market; again Gujarātīs were to be found among the foreign traders. It is striking that everywhere where the Gujarātīs were numerous, Muslim consciousness was vivid; on the north coast of Aceh, in Měłaka and also in Bantěn, which land has always shown a great attachment to Islām.

The rising realm of Bantěn carried Islām further to South Sumatra. Tradition links this work to the person of Hasanuddin [the second ruler of Bantěn]. In any case, [the pepper-producing district of] Lampung and Běngkulu, with the exception perhaps of the most northern part populated by Minangkabau Malays, were brought under Bantěn rule in the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. According to the *Pararaton*,<sup>122</sup> a Javanese chronicle, when towards the end of the century Bantěn undertook the military expedition against Palembang, to be mentioned later, the Punggawas<sup>123</sup> (chiefs) of Tulangbawang, (Si) Putih, Lampung (Tělukbětung) and Samangka, all Lampung districts, were called up. In these conquered territories, just as elsewhere, Islām moved from the coast into the interior. We cannot know when it can be said that the entire country was Islāmized.

The time of the military expedition to Palembang can be determined accurately. For when on the 22<sup>nd</sup> (or 23<sup>rd</sup>) of June 1596, the ships of [Cornelis] de Houtman dropped anchor in the harbour of Bantěn, the king, who had undertaken this expedition, had been killed in battle near Palembang just a few days before. The *Sadjarah Bantěn*<sup>124</sup> says that Muḥammed — that is what he was called — had gone to fight the unbelievers in Palembang. It sounds incredible that the town of Palembang would not have been Muslim by that time. Pati Ūnus [King Yūnus of Jěpara] called at Palembang in 1512 on his way to Měłaka and there obtained reinforcements; the Tuměnggung, Lord of the town of Palembang, went with him as second-in-command of the fleet. There was shipping and a regular traffic with Měłaka and Java. But Muḥammed was certainly a pious man, and he who wages holy war carries out a religious duty. The *Sadjarah Bantěn*<sup>125</sup> can speak about a holy war with good reason if the war was considered to be waged against the pagan inhabitants of the Palembang highlands. But, then, the town and

its nearest environs must be excluded from consideration. The death of the young king put a stop to the expedition before Palembang was captured. Nevertheless, the propagation of Islām in the interior proceeded, but slowly. The Pasemahs, a tribe living at the foot of the Barisan mountain range on the border of Běngkulu, were the last to embrace Islām in 1919.

For the sake of completeness it must be stated that in some *desas* [hamlets] in the mountains of South Bantěn live a small group of people called the Badui who have not embraced Islām up and until the present day.<sup>126</sup>

The fate of Madura has always been joined to that of the larger island; history resounds from Java, about Madura silence is maintained. Javanese history mentions the Bupati of Madura as participating in the Muslim coalition against Majapait. By Madura is meant only the western part of the island; *bupati* is 'governor', 'regent'; the name does not indicate independence. So he was a Muslim, and his family was Muslim. The ports of Madura are unimportant; they were of no consequence for international traffic. The connection with the outside world took place via Java, and that was very easy. One may imagine the Islāmization of Madura in the same way as that of Java's coastal provinces, maybe a little later in time. The tradition confirms this in so far as they let the Islāmization begin at the western point which faces Java.

Concerning the time of the Islāmization of the islands east of the main island, also inhabited by Madurese, no data are available.

## VIII

### *SUMATRA FROM THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE ISLANDS BETWEEN SUMATRA AND BORNEO*

**A**MONGST those who came to Měłaka for trade, the Portuguese also mention people from Minangkabau. De Albuquerque<sup>127</sup> says in a letter of 1512 that the [gold] mine of Minangkabau lay across the Strait, opposite Měłaka. From there — the Batanghari basin, possibly also the Kampar — the Minangkabau ships crossed the Strait. The coastal strip we ignore. Along the east coast of Sumatra there is an alluvial, ever-increasing marsh, actually land coming into existence, at that time narrower than now, where the Minangkabau did not interfere. The sparse population came from elsewhere. The dominion of the Minangkabau people lay more in the interior, in the central and upper basins of the rivers. De Albuquerque speaks of a 'mine', it would have been more than one; also river-gold was won by panning.

The Minangkabau people already inhabited the Padang Highlands in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as was proven by archaeological discoveries. From there they must have spread westwards until they reached the coast of the Indian Ocean. At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they had already settled there, for while Afonso de Albuquerque was in Měłaka three ships with gold cargo arrived from the kingdom of Minangkabau, which was situated on the other side of Sumatra towards the south, so it is said. It is additionally observed that the population of this kingdom was pagan; such was reported by those who visited the west coast. One could doubt whether the Minangkabau people of the Batanghari basin and the upper Kampar were also pagan. However, as the information clearly summarizes both the east and west coasts under one name, Minangkabau, and as the Portuguese for that matter would have been well-informed concerning the religion of the east Minangkabau people who were regular guests in Měłaka, and as no mention is made of Muslim

Minangkabau people, it is most likely that they too were still pagan.

However, their paganism did not last very much longer for, during the same period we are discussing, the kingdom of Aceh began to rise in the extreme northwest of Sumatra, in the region which we call Great Aceh. We can ignore conquests on the north and east coast; all of that was already Muslim country. It was different on the west coast. Going along the coast from Great Aceh southwards, one first reaches Daya. Here at the mouth of the Daya River, the grave is found of a Muslim king who died in 1497; he was the son of the first Sultān of Aceh. What the situation was like in the adjoining coastal area is difficult to say; the Acehnesse settlements which are to be found there are generally considered to be young; then comes Tapaktuan which is a Minangkabau colony. Near Singkil begins Batak territory, maybe not along the sea, but definitely near the coast. Along the coast, the Minangkabau are next; Natal is already for the greater part Minangkabau. The Minangkabau area continues as far as the northern part of the Residency of Běngkulu (Bencoolen) (Muko-Muko). Further south is the land which Bantěn had subjugated and made into a Muslim country.

Because of their southward expansion, the Acehnesse clashed with the Bataks.<sup>128</sup> The Governor of Mělaka, Pedro de Faria, was visited by an envoy of the 'King of the Bataks' in 1539. The king was on a war-footing with the Acehnesse who wanted to force him to embrace Islām.<sup>129</sup> So far he had managed to keep them at bay, but now he came to ask help from the Governor of Mělaka. Faria sent a small Malay vessel, and Mendes Pinto went along to gather trade information. He is the same man we met in Jěpara at a later date. This trip was his first adventure; he had just arrived in the East, along with Faria. It can be concluded from his embellished story that the King of the Bataks lived in the upper basin of the Singkil River. If at a later date Aceh attempted again to introduce Islām in the Batak country, then these efforts were in vain for the Batak people remained pagan up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Acehnesse gained supremacy over the Minangkabau by occupying some places along the coast. For this they chose places which were important for the export of pepper. This expansion of power seemed to have occurred without fighting; likewise the Minangkabau people readily embraced Islām. The indigenous tradition is unanimous that they received Islām from Aceh. The time at which Islāmization

was carried into effect is to be put approximately in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; it was a fast process. As far as the eastern part of Minangkabau is concerned, the possibility must be left open that conversion came from the east coast. At present Minangkabau is a thoroughly Muslim country.

After a stay in the Batak country during the years 1840 and 1841, [the German ethnologist] Junghuhn<sup>130</sup> established the fact that the Batak people — he has in mind those in the south — were not Muslim notwithstanding the strenuous propagation by the Minangkabau. He ascribes the failure of this propagation to the fact that it involved violence and plunder. Indeed, the Batak people suffered a lot in the Padri Wars, at that time drawing to a close, from the robbing, plundering, and slave-making of Minangkabau gangs.<sup>131</sup> Some time later, Junghuhn speaks of Muslim Bataks; therefore, they did exist, but owing to their small number they were of no account.

The change came after the refusal of the request for missionaries — originating from the people themselves — and after the Dutch administration had created orderly circumstances which were beneficial to the introduction of Islām. Sometimes we regret that our forebears did not record more of what was happening in their times. For instance, here is an important event — the Islāmization of a country — which came about, as it were, under our eyes and of which a description has never been given and can now no longer be given. The only beacons on this road are the short statements (not always correct) in the colonial reports. They can be summarized as follows: the movement started at the Minangkabau border and went from south to north. It spread over the entire Mandailing and Angkola [Southern Tapanuli areas], went northward until the most northern point where there are still Bataks living at the seaside; here, however, in the rural districts of Barus and Sibolga, Islām is not the only religion. North of Padangsidempuan in the Toba region, the Muslim religion encountered the Christian religion. All this occurred mainly between the years 1860–90. The colonial reports also teach us something about the way in which the propagation was conducted. Religious teachers from the Minangkabau area, especially Natal, visited the land and preached there. The chiefs, having converted to Islām, promoted their work. The grave of one of these preachers, hailing from Natal, is to be found near Panyabungan (Lesser Mandailing) and enjoys a high esteem. Eastern Batakland, belonging to the province of Sumatra's east

coast, borders on the coastal strip which is inhabited by Javanese, Sundanese and Malays. Into this land, a stronghold of paganism for a long time, Islām came at the beginning of this century. In the last few years it has spread steadily and considerably, the movement going from the coast towards the mountains, from east to west. At present about one-eighth of the Batak population is Muslim as opposed to one-third Christian and more than half pagan. If the numerous independently-settled Javanese colonists and the Malays, although not very significant here, are included — as all these people are Muslims — then approximately one-third of the total population of this area is Muslim as opposed to less than a quarter Christian. The great majority of the religious teachers are Bataks from Mandailing, but among others there are also Minangkabau and Bantēnese, who now bring back the Islām they received from Sumatra.

Of all the Bataks taken together, half are still pagan; they are the great unknown of the future. Christianity and Islām will have their influence on them. Further, Muslim propagation does not desist from trying to draw the Christians towards Islām. So for Islām in Batak country no definite line can be drawn. At present, approximately thirty per cent of the population is Muslim, especially in the southern Batak country; a quarter is Christian, and the rest is pagan.

The interior mountains of Aceh are inhabited by the Gayōnese. Until the establishment of Dutch authority at the beginning of this century, they considered themselves subordinate to Aceh; indeed, the Acehnese Sultāns did exercise political authority in this area. The Gayōnese are Muslims. In the Malay history of the realm of (Samudra) Pasai there is a separate report that during the preaching of Islām in Pasai there was a tribe which did not want to accept this religion and, therefore, fled to the upper reaches of the Peusangan River on which the capital Samudra-Pasai was situated, and for which reason they are called the Gayō<sup>132</sup> tribe. Taking this statement as a starting-point, Professor Snouck Hurgronje arrived at the conclusion that the Gayō tribe gradually embraced Islām between 1300 and 1600.<sup>133</sup>

The so-called Alaslans, actually one high valley, are also inhabited by a Muslim population.

Taking the island of Sumatra as a whole, it is evident that at present, except for a part of Batakland which is pagan or Christian, this island is Muslim.

Very little is known about the islands between Sumatra and Borneo; at present they are all Muslim, but the time in which this transition took place is uncertain.

As far as the Riau-Lingga Archipelago is concerned, the last Sultān of Mělaka, after having been driven from the country [by the Portuguese], stayed on the island of Bintan, which would have been Muslim at that time. When Ma Huan visited this area, the inhabitants along the Strait of Lingga were still pagan, for he gives his opinion about these people in a disapproving way.<sup>134</sup> It seems most acceptable to put the Islāmization of this region in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the period of Mělaka's expansion.

Nothing is known about the Natuna, Anambas and the Tambělan Islands.

The Karimata Islands enjoyed the honour of having been observed by Ma Huan; he disapproves of them, so they must have been pagan at that time.<sup>135</sup> Sukadana (West Borneo), to which they belonged in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, had just become Muslim. So as the extreme limits for the Islāmization one can put  $\pm 1425$  and  $\pm 1625$ .

Bangka and Bělitung, the most important islands, are mentioned more than once in older Chinese reports, but they kept silent after the new religion was introduced there, and the Portuguese, who should have replaced them as reporters, did not bother about it. So the only thing which is certain is that the population was still pagan at the time of Ma Huan.<sup>136</sup>

## BORNEO AND THE PHILIPPINES

WHEN Duarte Barbosa<sup>137</sup> praises Měłaka as the greatest commercial town in the world, he also mentions pearls among the many goods which were brought there. Undoubtedly, these came from the Sulu Islands [in the Philippines], long famous for their pearl diving. He does not mention camphor, an involuntary omission, for when he has progressed as far as the chapter about Brunei, he describes the camphor extensively, the most important export commodity of the land and praised above all other kinds, and a part of this most certainly would have found its way to Měłaka.

Brunei was an old town. For centuries it entertained connections with China.<sup>138</sup> The Chinese reports speak about it in detail: it was a town with a wide authority over other territories; it had a commercial system and the art of writing was practised. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, there was a king who was an admirer of Buddhism, in short a Dayak chief is out of the question here; apparently the ruler was a seaport king of foreign blood.<sup>139</sup> According to a Chinese source of 1618, the king was of Chinese descent.<sup>140</sup> At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century his ancestors came from China with Zheng He (Chêng Ho). So this also applies to the king who became Muslim.<sup>141</sup> Considering the usual reliability of the Chinese reports, this fact deserves attention, even though the correctness of it cannot be established. The population was of mixed ancestry living in a foreign commercial town.

The Governor of Měłaka, de Brito, writes in his aforementioned letter (of 1514) to King Manuel of Portugal: "the King of Brunei is pagan, the traders are Moors".<sup>142</sup> Shortly afterwards, Barbosa repeats that the king is pagan. However, when both the ships which carried on board the remainder of the squadron of [Ferdinand] Magellan [c. 1480–1521] called at the port of Brunei in 1521, the scene had changed; now the king was also Muslim and displayed royal splendour. [Antonio] Pigafetta,<sup>143</sup> one of the persons on board, estimated the number of families at 25,000;

even though this number has to be taken with a grain of salt, apparently Brunei was a populous town. Portuguese ships called at the port somewhat later, in 1530.<sup>144</sup> Again the town had grown, and now it had stone walls around it.

The prosperity of Brunei as a commercial town, which can be observed so clearly, was the result of the occupation of Mělaka by the Portuguese. The system of monopoly drove many of the eastern merchants to other places. Brunei was one of those places.

The Portuguese also came across Luzon people in Mělaka. These Luzon people, especially from Manila, were mainly Malays and Tagalogs, the latter being the indigenous population of Manila and its surroundings. The king of Brunei had a Luzon 'prince' as admiral of the fleet about this time (1521).<sup>145</sup> So there was a trade route from Mělaka along the north coast of Borneo to the Sulu Archipelago and the Philippines. Along this trade route, Brunei became the ruling power, and after the king had embraced Islām, it also became the centre for the propagation of the new religion. Its power was mainly at sea.

Pigafetta related that pagan Dayak people lived in the vicinity of the town and that the king was continuously at war with them. And while the Spanish ships lay at anchor in Brunei, a fleet returned from an expedition to the west coast where they had conquered Lawe (we think this is in the lower basin of the Kapuas) from the Javanese.<sup>146</sup> It is not certain whether this conquest was followed by Islāmization. For the Javanese, from whom Lawe was taken, may have been Muslims from the north coast, who had planted their religion in the conquered country. On the other hand, however, there is the fact that Sukadana, south of Lawe, did not embrace Islām until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, though this territory was a dependency of the Muslim kingdom of Surabaya, according to the assurance of [Samuel] Bloemaert, a servant of the [Dutch] Company who lived there in the years 1608 and 1609.<sup>147</sup> Other places on the north coast of Borneo where traders had settled in 1530 were Sarawak in the west and Maludu in the extreme northeast where foreign traders formed isolated Muslim communities in a pagan environment. Remarkably enough, up and until the present, Islām has made less progress among the Dayaks of the north coast than elsewhere.

It was apparent to the Spanish of the fleet of Magellan<sup>148</sup> that several places in the Philippine Archipelago were under the

sovereignty of the Sultān of Brunei. He used Cagayan de Sulu [now termed Cagayan de Tawi-Tawi] as a place of exile. Also Palawan and many other unmentioned islands belonged to him. He exercised supremacy over the Sulu Islands, the king being related to him.<sup>149</sup>

The Sulunese — they call themselves Sug [Tausug], from Sulug — Malay: Solor, after which they are also sometimes called Solorese — form a separate ethnic group with their own language.<sup>150</sup> The manuscripts which relate the old history of the country are partly in Malay and speak of foreigners who settled there as kings and religious teachers; among the latter there are also 'Arabs, as appropriate in traditions of this kind. The tradition is acceptable in so far as the Tausug, wandering about everywhere, mixed with other elements; it is also quite possible that persons from different areas have contributed to the introduction of Islām. The traditions, however, differ and put the Islāmization at too early a date. Barbosa<sup>151</sup> established the fact that Sulu was still pagan at the time Brunei was pagan. As this last-mentioned realm extended its authority over Sulu, and as its expansion only started after it became Muslim, it is likely that Sulu received Islām from there. According to Spanish reports,<sup>152</sup> Islām spread there in the years 1526–35. Further north, the first Spaniards came across Muslim foreign traders on several Philippine islands, but the population was pagan.

It took some time before Islām got a firm hold on Maguindanao, the large island that was the next to be converted.<sup>153</sup> We derive from a Spanish report of 1578<sup>154</sup> that the king of Maguindanao and part of the population were Muslim. By Maguindanao, we should not understand the whole island, but just the western part of the south coast. Ten years later [27 June 1588] Manila Bishop [Domingo de] Salazar writes that no more than three years previously Muslim missionaries from Brunei and from Ternate, the large neighbour to the south, had come to the island; he does not mention Sulu. Masjids were built, boys were circumcised, a religious school had sprung up; Islām was conquering the country.<sup>155</sup> But then the Spaniards covered the Philippines with a well-organized mission, which put up a barricade against Islām penetrating further north. That part which was Islāmized remained Muslim, but Islām progressed no further. The borders of the southern part of the Philippines, at present populated by Muslims, were fixed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>156</sup> Muslim merchants, who were already found scattered over several

islands by the fellow-travellers of Magellan, continued to visit the northern part of the Philippines but without propagating the faith to the indigenous population. It was still like this when [Miguel Lopez de] Legazpi came permanently to occupy the Philippines for Spain in 1565.<sup>157</sup> In 1570, he decided to conquer Luzon; here at Manila he came across a large Muslim colony of traders and also Tagalogs who had joined them. This colony<sup>158</sup> was to succumb in the ensuing entanglements and fights, and Islām left no traces among the indigenous population. The Spaniards have been the only ones to triumph completely over Islām in the struggle for the souls of the pagans.<sup>159</sup>

The Muslims occupy a particular place in the commonwealth of the Philippines.<sup>160</sup> The main occupation of the Tausug was piracy. As bold pirates, they roved the seas throughout the Indonesian Archipelago. The fight against this piracy demanded a lot of exertion from the Spaniards, the Dutch, and later, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when they no longer found a safe haven in Singapore, also from the English.<sup>161</sup> When finally in 1878 they were subdued by the Spaniards, they lost their ability to defend themselves, and led a poor existence as fishermen. The same more or less applies to the so-called Illanuns [Iranuns] of South Maguindanao. They have remained a turbulent element; the Americans, and then the Philippine Government, reportedly took action against them. They complain about unfair treatment; whether that is true cannot be judged from here. The deeper cause will undoubtedly be a feeling of depression. They can no longer exercise their old occupation of piracy, and they have found no new profession; they are behind in general education compared to the Filipinos, that is to say the Christian Filipinos, so that jobs which demand some schooling will be occupied by Christians. As long as the 'Moros' — as they are still called — do not succeed in procuring for themselves a living through other professions, and as long as they do not succeed in equalling the Christian Filipinos in general education, the outlook for Islām in the Philippines is not very hopeful.<sup>162</sup>

Expelled from house and home, Sulṭān Maḥmūd [Shāh], the last king of Mēlaka [r. 1488–1528], after some wandering, settled along the Johor River at the end of 1526. The realm of Johor, occupying the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, became the continuation of Malay Mēlaka. According to the tradition of Sambas, the people who have populated a small realm in the northwest corner of [erstwhile] Netherlands Borneo, originated

from Johor. There is nothing to contradict this tradition, and it is confirmed in Netherlands' reports that Sambas was a vassal of Johor in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The establishment of this Malay realm, and with it the introduction of Islām in this part of Borneo, can be put in the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; it may even have been a little earlier.

The situation of South Borneo, opposite Java's north coast, has influenced the fate of the country. In the Hindu-Javanese period, South Borneo was an important possession of Majapait and, accordingly, the Javanese influence was greater there than in the more distant dependencies. Professor Cense,<sup>163</sup> on the basis of data from the *Banjarmasin Chronicle*, puts the introduction of Islām at approximately 1550. The immediate cause was a dynastic dispute in which one of the parties enjoyed the aid of Muslim Dĕmak. With this aid, Dĕmak continued the suzerainty of Majapait, thus remaining in the historical line in Java which made Dĕmak the continuation of Majapait in Muslim garb. The price for this assistance is supposed to have been that South Borneo, in particular the downstream part of the Barito River, embrace Islām. In the extreme western part of the south coast, the small realm of Kota Waringin is situated, where Islām was introduced in about 1620 during the reign of the first king.

According to Mallinckrodt,<sup>164</sup> Islām was introduced on the east coast in Pasir, a small Buginese realm, about 1600. As, at that time, the Buginese, themselves, were not yet Muslim in their own country, Islām must have come there from elsewhere. The indigenous tradition states that the introducer was an 'Arab who married the king's daughter, a stereotype which cannot be taken as conclusive without confirmation from other sources. About Kutai nothing is known with certainty; the introduction of Islām is supposed to date from the same time; for Bĕrau and Bulungan it is put at one century later.

The people who settled themselves along the coast of Borneo and who introduced Islām there, were of different origins: Malay, Buginese, Sulunese, Maguindanao [Iranun], and Javanese. So they were of different languages, yet Malay became the common language of the Muslims in Borneo; however, on the east coast, Buginese is also important. As soon as Dayaks embrace Islām, they call themselves Malays; so Malay is synonymous with Muslim.<sup>165</sup> This Malay coastal strip is of unequal width; in general, the coastal population penetrates the interior along the waterways. In the river basin of the Barito, they penetrated

deepest: along the right bank of this river, the territory called Ulu Sungai, extends far into the interior; its population is Muslim. The Muslim border shifts more and more inward. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the free propagation of Islām was somewhat hindered, but not stopped, by the Protestant Mission in South Borneo and the Catholic Mission in West Borneo.<sup>166</sup>

THE Spice Islands, for centuries an aim of world trade and renowned for their products throughout the Old World, had been virtually unknown until the arrival of the Europeans in Asia. With their arrival, the sources suddenly start flowing abundantly; Portuguese and Spaniards have depicted in detail the events which were enacted on this stage in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is a history of blood and fire. It belongs to the following chapter, and it will be touched upon only in so far as it is directly connected with the propagation of Islām.

As we saw before, Maluku was Muslim at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Muslims lived on Halmahera only on the side facing Maluku, the rest of the island was pagan. The statement of Barbosa that the cloves belonged to pagans and Moors can now be understood.

As far as the Banda Islands are concerned, this same Barbosa<sup>167</sup> says that there were Moors as well as pagans. Barros does not mention them, which could mean they were not yet Muslim in 1498, but it is not certain, for Barros restricts himself to a concise indication of Muslim territories, and it could be possible that he does not mention Banda as it only consists of six very small islands. Banda not only produced nutmeg,<sup>168</sup> which grew there exclusively, but its inhabitants also plied overseas trade. They fetched cloves from Maluku, took them along to Banda where traders from Java and Mēlaka came to trade Indian textiles and other things for nutmegs and cloves and subsequently transported them further westward. This was advantageous for these traders because they did not have to go any further than this point on the trade route from the West to Maluku. Meanwhile, there were also traders who went as far as Maluku. Maluku's inhabitants, themselves, plied no overseas trade. Consequently, Banda did not come into contact with Muslim merchants later than Maluku; therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the Islāmization of the Banda Archipelago must

be put into approximately the same period as that of Maluku. If Barbosa was well informed, and there were indeed still pagans in Banda in his days, then shortly afterwards the Islāmization must have been an accomplished fact. If his informants were Portuguese, then this indirect evidence of the position of Islām in Banda is the only Portuguese information we possess. For after that there is no mention of difficulties between Muslims and pagans, in contrast to Halmahera and the Ambonese Islands, whose histories are full of the struggle between Muslims and non-Muslims.

When the first Portuguese ships appeared in Maluku to buy cloves, they were cordially received by the rulers of whom those of Těrnate and Tidore were the most important. To the people of Maluku, all buyers were welcome. Because of all sorts of circumstances: misbehaviour and disloyalty of the Portuguese, revilement of Islām, quarrels between Portuguese and Spaniards, and especially the monopolistic aspirations of the Portuguese which were enforced by permanent settlements in Maluku, the relationship became worse and worse. About this long stormy period, which finished with the ignominious retreat of the Portuguese from Těrnate, it may be mentioned that from the side of Maluku the attacks were often aimed against the pagans converted to Christianity by the Portuguese priests; missionary zeal aroused a Muslim reaction and the latter held the field. After having been ousted from Těrnate, the Portuguese still possessed a fort on the island of Tidore, but they were too weak to thwart in any way the propagation of Islām. Later on, Muslim propagation calmed down, for when in the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century missionary activity (this time Protestant) was taken up again, a good deal of Halmahera was found still to be pagan.

More important is the reinforcement of her power which Těrnate sought further afield. There it found freedom of movement of which it was deprived on its own soil by the Portuguese. The expansion of territory also meant propagation of Islām. This was primarily brought about by Sultān Hairun (1535–70) and Bāb Ullāh (1570–83) and will be discussed in the next chapter, for that part of the scene lies outside the Great East.

Before the reign of Hairun, Buru, Seram (Ceram) and the Ambonese Islands had, for the greater part, been brought under Těrnatese authority. Here hands were joined with another existing Muslim power. According to Barbosa:<sup>169</sup> "The Ambonese group consists of many islands, inhabited by pagans. There are

many large rowing vessels in which the Moors make sudden predatory expeditions from one island to another." So this indicates the nearness of Muslims, and indeed they were to be found there. If one pictures Ambon as a large top-boot<sup>170</sup> and a small foot, united by a narrow strip of land, then Hitu, a settlement of traders, is situated on the upper side of the top-boot, practically in the middle. According to Valentijn,<sup>171</sup> a Goramese had gone to Java about 1500 (following in the tracks of King Zainal Abidin [Zayn al-'Ābidīn] of Ternate or simultaneously with him) and became a pupil there; since then he was called Pati Tuban, probably after the place where he had studied, and he became the chief of Hitu on his return. Goramese are people from Gorong, a small island east of Seram, which was also a centre of trade. Being situated between Banda and Maluku, Hitu became a rendezvous for the Javanese, who plied trade with both areas. People from Makasar also came here for trade. The propagation of Islām was continuously nourished from Java through Raja Bukit, by whom [Sunan Giri] the venerated teacher of Giri near Grēsik is meant, mentioned above as being one of the associates in the Muslim coalition.<sup>172</sup> Hitu became a stronghold, and its significance even increased after 1530, the year that clove cultivation was transferred from Maluku to the Ambonese Islands, according to the testimony of a reliable informant, the Spaniard Urdaneta.<sup>173</sup> Had the Javanese of Hitu not been disturbed by the Portuguese, before long they would have Islāmized Buru and the Ambonese Islands. The disturbance was twofold: in the spice trade, which was in Javanese hands, and in the propagation of the faith. Opposing Muslim propagation, the Portuguese preached Christianity and were successful among the pagans, but the men of Hitu thwarted them as much as they could. Thus originated a situation of continuous hostilities between Muslims and indigenous Christians, the latter being supported first by the Portuguese and later by the [Dutch] Company. Neighbouring *kampungs* [villages] fought each other in bloody battles. Finally the situation became this, that the coast of Hitu, several villages along the coasts of Seram, especially in the East, Buru around the Bay of Kayeli, a few villages on the Ambonese Islands Haruku and Saparua, are Muslim.

On the Banda Islands, Islām was stamped out by the [Dutch] Company. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Seram Laut Islands definitely have been Muslim, including the Gorong group east of Seram; the Watubela Islands, which follow on to the Gorong

group in an eastward direction, are all predominantly Muslim. Still further to the southeast are the Kei Islands where a third of the population is Muslim; it is not known when Islām was first established there.

For the rest, more or less considerable Muslim colonies are to be found in several places in the Great East and on New Guinea<sup>174</sup> which attracted foreigners for trade or other reasons.

XI

SULAWĚSI (CELEBES)

THE southern peninsula of Sulawěsi is the land of the Buginese and Makasarese, who made an appearance late in history. In the *Nāgarakērtāgama*,<sup>175</sup> Makasar is mentioned as one of the areas which recognized Majapait as its suzerain; there it is called an island, a misconception which is also to be found among the Portuguese authors.

Raffles<sup>176</sup> conceived the legend that the maritime law book of Měłaka had been accepted, with only a few small changes, by several old and powerful states of Sulawěsi. In his days, too, little was known about Sulawěsi to be able to make such a statement; in fact it is an invention, as has been proven by Matthes.<sup>177</sup> "The evil man has wrought, lives after him." Pardessus published in his collection of maritime laws<sup>178</sup> the Malay(!) manuscript of Raffles which contained the so-called Malay maritime law accepted by Makasarese and Buginese, under the title: "Code maritime des royaumes Mangkassar et Bougui dans l'île Célèbes". The Makasarese and the Buginese, however, are innocent of this. If it is true that a king of Měłaka had these legal rules put down in writing, then the law book concerned would only prove that there was shipping from Měłaka to Makasar, and that on arrival tribute was levied on junks putting into port there. This fact concerning Buginese ports is known to us from literary sources.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, one comes onto firmer ground. The Portuguese report the arrival of Makasar ships on Hitu. They were also visited in Maluku by Makasarese who wanted to become Christians; from these Makasarese came the information that Javanese visited the west coast [of their peninsula] and attempted to propagate Islām. The Portuguese of Měłaka also plied trade in the Bay of Parepare. In this period, one hears only about Makasarese. Now the Makasarese populate the southwestern part of the southern peninsula of Sulawěsi; the rest, approximately as far north as where Central Sulawěsi begins, is

Buginese; for instance, the Bay of Parepare is Buginese. In the historical sources of that time, both peoples sail under the flag 'Makasarese'; for they indeed set the tone. The Portuguese came to the Bay of Parepare to fetch spices and rice from the land, itself; accordingly, the Makasarese trafficked in spices from Hitu to South Sulawĕsi. Although they very often came into contact with Muslims, they remained pagan and showed no willingness to embrace Islām.

In the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this suddenly changed. The Makasarese and the Buginese have recorded much of their history. The beginning of these annals is legendary, as with other such sources, but gradually they become more historical in the Western sense of the word, so that they constitute a source of knowledge about the past which is not to be despised. Also a diary or chronicle was kept: one of them, the Diary of the Kings of Goa and Tello (Tallo') is accessible in Dutch translation.<sup>179</sup> The fortunes of the realm, among which family affairs are considered to be of equal importance as other matters of state, are recorded in a concise and businesslike way, *sine ira et studio* [without wrath and partiality].<sup>180</sup> The reliability is evident when it concerns events about which [Dutch] Company documents are also available. These chronicles were not committed to folio books which defied the ages; in the tropics everything perishes rapidly. They were replaced, and in the new book the old chronicle was copied and continued. During that copying, they were edited; for instance, former kings will be found mentioned by their posthumous names. Naturally, this process opened the door to mistakes and errors. In the Diary of Goa, the facts are extensively dated both in the Christian and Muslim era. Unfortunately, this is the weak point of this chronicle; the dates are often incorrect and do not correspond with one another. Usually the errors are within the limits of a few years and, as far as can be checked, chronological sequence has been observed. This difficulty is immediately felt with the information about the introduction of Islām; Muslim and Christian chronology do not correspond. The Diary starts by mentioning a few facts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century which had taken place before the Diary was started; they are reported with reserve. In the year 1603, the facts related become more certain, here is the actual beginning of the chronicle. "The king and his sister embrace Islām", is the very first fact recorded, but the Muslim date given, including the day of the week, is neither correct in itself nor in comparison with the Christian year. All

sorts of guesses can be made; we prefer to omit them; suffice it to say that in several Makasar sources the year of the Christian era, to restrict ourselves to this era, varies from 1603 to 1607. Fortunately, there is the information of a contemporary which comes to our rescue: Paulus van Soldt,<sup>181</sup> who was with a ship of the [Dutch] Company in Makasar on 15 May 1607, writes that the King of Goa embraced Islām 'four years ago'. This brings us back to 1603. Another chronicle informs us that the ruler of the neighbouring Tallo', who at the same time was 'Speaker of the Land'<sup>182</sup> to the King of Goa, also embraced Islām in 1603. Valentijn<sup>183</sup> gives 1605 as the date for both Goa and Tallo'; and Roelof Blok<sup>184</sup> adds that this ruler of Tallo', Karaeng Matoaya, with his posthumous name: Tumamenang ri agamanna, 'the departed in the faith', preceded Goa in embracing Islām and urged the King of Goa to follow him. The aforementioned sister of the latter, who also embraced Islām, must have been the spouse of the King of Tallo', for he was married to the sister of the King of Goa. The conversion of the kings resulted in the entire realm accepting the new faith.

In South Sulawěsi Islām made its entry without violence. The tradition unanimously points to a certain Dato' ri Bandang, a Minangkabau of Kota Těngah, of whose antecedents nothing is known, as being the apostle to the Makasarese. The chronicle,<sup>185</sup> short as ever, does not mention him, but it does contain the note, dated 28 September 1701, that that very day, when visits were made to the grave of Dato' ri Bandang, was officially sanctioned as a memorial day.

The further propagation of Islām was not a gentle process. Goa waged a number of wars to force the small realms of South Sulawěsi to embrace Islām. Consecutively, the following realms were Islāmized: Bone (1606), confirmed by Samuel Denis<sup>186</sup> in a letter to the Gentlemen XVII<sup>187</sup> of 1612 that "the King of Goa drew the Bougisen [Buginese] under his power with violence and made them into Moors"; Soppeng (1609?); Wajo' (1610); again Bone, which had revolted (1611); Bima in three campaigns (1616, 1618, 1626); Sumbawa, namely the realm of that name, the western part of the island of the same name, in two expeditions (1618, 1626); Dompu (on the island of Sumbawa, 1626); Kěngkělu or Tambora (also 1626); Butung, conquered in 1626, was already Muslim. The man who achieved all of this was 'the departed in the faith', a wise ruler, a smart merchant, and a great warrior.

The unmentioned Buginese realms, Luwu' [which includes many non-Buginese], way back in the Gulf of Bone, the small states on the west coast, the adjoining [non-Buginese] Mandar states, the so-called 'Aja'tappareng' states, or 'the lands west of the lake of Tempe', became Muslim within a short time. In the Ma'senrempulu' states, situated north of the 'Aja'tappareng' states, the process was slower; in 1687, the chronicle of Goa<sup>188</sup> has the note that Duri became Muslim. This is at the same time the boundary of Islāmic infiltration into the interior; north of Duri, the Toraja lands are situated which, as is known, did not embrace Islām.

Karaeng Matoaya went ahead with his conquests; the Diary of Goa<sup>189</sup> does not mention them, but according to the history of Tallo', he conquered almost all of Sulawĕsi, the Sula Islands and the east coast of Borneo. It is not said whether the introduction of Islām on Sumbawa dates from the conquest by Goa. Presumably this is indeed the case, for after the conquest the island was Muslim and nothing is known about a Muslim campaign before that time, although there was a little Javanese trade with the island.

Now we have to go a long way back in history to discuss the expansion of the Tĕrnatese authority around the Maluku and Sulawĕsi seas in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1563, Sulṭān Hairun (r. 1535–70) sent a war fleet to North Sulawĕsi under the command of the heir to the throne, Bāb Allāh. The Catholic priests of Tĕrnate, realizing that this expedition would also serve to propagate Islām, persuaded the Governor, Henrique de Sa, to send a ship to the same area with a priest on board. A letter about this trip has been preserved;<sup>190</sup> in it it is said that North Sulawĕsi was still pagan; only in Bolaang-Mongondow, shortly before had the King embraced Islām through Tĕrnatese intercession, but the population was still pagan. The voyage of the Portuguese ship went no further than Toli-toli. Either during this occasion or later on, the Tĕrnatese went as far as the Palu Bay, subjecting the countries they visited to the Sulṭān of Tĕrnate. The information about it has not come down to us, but it can be concluded from the Treaty of Bungaya, the so-called Bonggaai Treaty, made by Speelman with Goa in 1667,<sup>191</sup> in which one clause stipulates that Goa should renounce all claims to the northern peninsula of Sulawĕsi up to the Palu Bay for the benefit of Tĕrnate, whose rights were recognized by the [Dutch] Company. In the Makasar text this is called:

all land yonder, so north of Mandar; mentioned by name are: Lambaga(?), which has to be sought east of Buol; Kinde (=Buol); Toli-toli; Dampelas; Balaesang (= Balaisang Peninsula south of the Bay of Tambu); Silisa (Silensak, according to Valentijn,<sup>192</sup> is a village near the village of Balaesang); Kaili. In the Dutch text it says: Mandar to Měnado. In the same way Goa renounces for the benefit of Těrnate all claims on the east coasts of Sulawěsi from Měnado to Pancana (=Muna) and on the Sula Islands. The chronicle of Tallo',<sup>193</sup> which declared that Karaeng Matoaya had conquered practically all of Sulawěsi and the Sula Islands, thus finds confirmation in the Bungaya Treaty. However, it must be taken into consideration that these were exclusively coastal areas. The addition to the aforementioned in the chronicle of Tallo', namely that Karaeng Matoaya conquered the east coast of Borneo, cannot be rejected, but neither can it be confirmed.

From the above elucidation, it may be clear that, generally speaking, in Sulawěsi (except for the peninsula of the Makasarese and Buginese), Těrnate laid the foundation of Islāmization, and Goa proceeded to build on this foundation. Valentijn<sup>194</sup> affirms that Tabungku and Butung with Muna was made Muslim by Bāb Allāh. If this is correct, then the Islāmization of the Banggai Archipelago and of Salayar may be put in the same period.

In Valentijn's days, the situation was such that in Buol there lived pagans, Christians, and Muslims, while Toli-toli was entirely Muslim. About Palu this is doubtful. He says, "it is a rebellious nest, so to say the rallying-point of all the Muslim agitators who were sent here from everywhere and who spread from here to inseminate all sorts of seeds of confusion along the entire coast".<sup>195</sup>

In short, at present the state of Islām on Sulawěsi is this: the northern part is Muslim, with the exception of the Minahasa, where only 25,000 are Muslim, mostly foreigners or their descendants, while in Bolaang-Mongondow the Protestant mission is making progress. The southern part is entirely Muslim, the southeastern part is practically entirely Muslim; a few pagans live there, and there are a few hundred Christians. The Banggai Archipelago is two-thirds Muslim; the east coast 'round the Gulf of Tolo is three-eighths, the Poso District more than one-third. The lands around the Bay of Palu on the west coast are Muslim, the sub-district of Palu more than half, and Donggala is practically entirely Muslim. The island of Salayar and the Butung

Archipelago are completely Muslim. For the island as a whole, the ratio of Muslims, Christians and pagans in round figures would be as follows: 3,350,000 Muslims, 485,000 Christians, and 300,000 pagans.

## THE LESSER SUNDA ISLANDS AND A FEW OTHERS

THE reports have it that Bāb Ullāh united seventy-two islands under his authority. Indeed, his sway extended very far. The most northern point where the influence of Tērnate penetrated was Maguindanao. We have already seen that towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Tērnatese agents and propagators of Islām were at work there. In 1597, Tērnate with an army came to the aid of the people of Maguindanao in their struggle against the Spaniards.<sup>196</sup>

The Sangihe and Talaud islands formed the bridge of Maluku with Maguindanao. The population, as far as they were not Christian, remained pagan; the Muslims are from a later date. Valentijn<sup>197</sup> elaborates on this point. Islām had been taken to Great Sangihe by a chieftain hailing from South Maguindanao, who in the second part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century had married into a family of Great Sangihe. The man was Moorish, says Valentijn, "and at his request he and his family were allowed to remain Muslim during his lifetime but no longer, and then either to become Christian or else to leave for Tērnate or elsewhere where there are Moors". At present there are still a few Muslims on Great Sangihe, but whether they are descendants of this Martijn Tatantang and his followers who defied the order, cannot be established.

To the west, the Sula Islands, east of the Banggai Archipelago, remain to be mentioned. They were previously reported among the conquests of Karaeng Matoaya, 'Speaker of the Land' of Goa, but were returned to Tērnate by the Bungaya Treaty.<sup>198</sup> The coastal areas are Muslim, the interior is pagan.

Far to the south, Solor also belonged to Tērnate. At one time this island was a busy port. The traders collected sandalwood here, just as from neighbouring Timor. At present the sandalwood forests are depleted, and the population leads a poor life; the land has lost all attraction for the foreigner. From a letter of a Portuguese missionary of 1559,<sup>199</sup> we know that Islām expanded

there very rapidly, especially through the intermediary of *hajīs* — presumably traders — from Caluicu (Calicut) and Bengal. The Portuguese sent them back to India. Whether this had the desired result cannot be ascertained, but at present there are only two Muslim villages on the island. On the neighbouring island of Adonara the situation is more or less the same.

At Endeh, on the south coast of the island of Flores, to where the Makasarese sailed since olden times, and where they also exercised political influence, there is a large Muslim population, which the indigenous population, the so-called Endehnese, have also joined. In issue XXVI of the *Mededeelingen van het Encyclopaedisch Bureau* at Batavia it says that it can be concluded from available data, which however are not specified, that Islām spread from Solor and gained firm ground in Endeh in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is exactly at the time the Portuguese report action in Solor.

The island of Lombok already belonged to Bali by about 1600. A document of the [Dutch] Company of 1633<sup>200</sup> calls the King of Bali also king of Balambangan in Java and king of the islands of Lombok and Sumbawa. The island of Sumbawa had been subjected by Goa before this; the dynasties regularly intermarried, so no doubt Sumbawa was Muslim. The chronicle of Goa<sup>201</sup> states that in 1648 a son of the ruler of Salaparang — this is what Lombok is called by the Makasarese — became king of Sumbawa; so Lombok was also Muslim, since when is unknown.

Finally a few words about Bali. There are Balinese who are Muslims, and their number is not negligible.<sup>202</sup> Conversion to Islām does not occur very often, but that does not alter the fact, says Liefrinck,<sup>203</sup> that Islām expands slowly but surely in Bali. The cause is again the foreigners, who mingle with the Balinese population, the descendants being exclusively Muslim. If a Balinese [Hindu] wants to marry a Muslim woman, he must first embrace Islām. In Jembrana (West Bali) many Javanese have settled, who naturally are Muslim as well.

### XIII

#### CONCLUSION CHARACTERISTICS OF ISLĀM IN INDONESIA

ISLĀM does not restrict itself to man's relationship to the supernatural, it also gives a law for his behaviour from the cradle to the grave. It is not only a doctrine but also a complete social system which, founded on revelation, is of an equally absolute validity and of equal importance as the doctrine of the faith concerning God. Consequently Islām is also a culture.

Islāmic Law grew; rooted in the *al-Qur'ān* and Holy Tradition<sup>204</sup> it was developed by the jurisconsults until after a few centuries it had obtained its definite form. It is rigidly fixed in this form because later generations were denied an independent examination of the sources of the law.<sup>205</sup> In the centuries of its formation, it absorbed elements from the old world of Islām. Indonesia took no part in this formation. When the tidal wave of the new world religion reached the far shores of the Indonesian Archipelago, the system had already been established for centuries; Indonesian conceptions of law and morals could not influence it. But, as Professor Snouck Hurgronje<sup>206</sup> observed, no religion is able to rob its adherents of their ethnic characteristics. Neither can it erase an established civilization. Strong levelling forces are active in Islām; a positive faith creates an attitude towards life; continuous practice of the numerous customs of everyday life — one by one, small matters, mostly with the Law as their source — entails a way of life which makes Muslims feel at home among fellow Muslims, wherever they may be. An attitude of exclusivity towards outsiders is a complement of this. For all of that, the 'Arab of the desert, the Egyptian *fellah* [peasant] or the Indian merchant are not the same. In the previous chapters, the propagation of Islām in the East Indies Archipelago is delineated, and its Indian origin stipulated. This is not the place to write a dissertation about Islām and the meaning of this religion for its adherents in Indonesia. But it can

be pointed out here, guided by the most competent mentor, that inwardly also Indonesian Islām betrays its Indian origin.

In India, Islām underwent a Shī'a influence, finding expression in the veneration of the martyrs al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, sons of Khalīf 'Alī [ibn Abī Ṭālib].<sup>207</sup> On the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, the [Sunnī] orthodox<sup>208</sup> Muslims partake in the customs and ceremonies attached to this veneration. How this is in Gujarāt does not seem to be known; at one time the influence of the Shī'a there must have been no less than in the areas which Islām reached later on and, as we saw, the Muslim merchants who brought Islām to the Archipelago came from Gujarāt. The traces of that Shī'a influence are clearly to be distinguished in several areas, for example in Aceh and in Java.

The Indians have always shown a great predilection for mystic and pantheistic contemplation. The Indian Muslims have also practised it, and they took it to the Archipelago. The most important mystic works read here have Indian authors or originate from circles in 17<sup>th</sup> century Madīna [in 'Arabīya] which were under strong Indian influence.

The popular legends concerning the time of [Prophet] Muḥammad and his first followers form a favourite part of Indonesian literature. They have drifted away from the 'Arabic traditions; the originals are to be found in India.

Finally, the many 'Arabic words, especially for specifically Muslim conceptions, adopted in the Indonesian languages (as far as they are spoken by Muslim peoples), show by their form that they went through a foreign intermediary. Also a considerable amount of Persian words is to be found. All of this again points to India; modern Persian which incorporated many 'Arabic words was the court language of the Muslim rulers in India and the language of their administration.<sup>209</sup>

The spiritual guidance of the Indonesian Muslims remained in the hands of their Indian fellow believers for almost four centuries. The 17<sup>th</sup> century brought a change. The [Dutch] Company drew to itself the trade of India with the Archipelago; the Indian trader was ousted. Simultaneously, the Archipelago was brought into closer contact with 'Arabīya through the traffic becoming easier. The pilgrimage formed the connection between Indonesia and the holy places of Islām.<sup>210</sup> Orthodoxy could assert itself through the mouths of those who had studied in Makka. As a second factor which helped to oust the Indian influence, the immigrants from Ḥadramawt (South 'Arabīya) must be

mentioned. As 'Arabs, they enjoyed respect and veneration from the Indonesians. Even though they did not come as scholars of the Law, their dour, intolerant orthodoxy was imitated. The few Indonesians who reached the Holy Land [to fulfil the *Hajj*] at the risk of their lives and at the cost of privations, have become tens of thousands of Indonesians, transported easily in a short time. Thousands study in Makka or in Egypt and keep up the spiritual contact with their [spiritual] fatherland. Snouck Hurgronje observes: "Where these effects made themselves felt most strongly, the life of the indigenous Muslims lost much of its charming *naïveté* and took on a more sombre, more rigid, often less tolerant character."<sup>211</sup>

Islām is an awe-inspiring religion: this fact impressed the Indonesians and made them into willing followers. Simultaneously, it elevated them to the realization of being a partner in a world religion of strong binding power; it could mean no more to new converts.<sup>212</sup> The Indonesian peoples were at very different levels of civilization when the new cultural movement came to them. The less developed had less to give up and lived through the revolution easier and faster. The new culture, meagre like the desert from which it welled, had nothing to offer those who, like the Javanese, already possessed a rich culture, at least nothing in comparison with their own culture. But it did manage to pull them away from the things that they loved. It is a slow process, and it is still in full swing.

In the Netherlands Indies there remain vast areas, especially in Borneo, where expansion of Islām is possible.<sup>213</sup> Calculated according to the number of inhabitants, however, these areas are small in comparison with the tens of millions of people who are already Muslim. Therefore, the expansion of Islām is almost complete. In future, Islāmization will concentrate on intensification.

### Editor's Annotations

1. The Isthmus of Kra, the narrow neck linking the Malay Peninsula with Siam (Thailand) was the transshipment point for trade. On the east coast of what is now south Thailand, Patani was the best of natural harbours. There mariners sheltered from the monsoons. Under the name Langkasuka, it was an important trading port, possibly from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. "Navigationally it was necessary for sailors coming from China to wait for the change in the monsoons

somewhere in the vicinity of the Malay Peninsula." See Teeuw, Andries, and Wyatt, David K., *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1970) I, 2. Patani, itself, was renowned as a source of a particularly high grade of eaglewood (aloeswood/*gharu*), and aromatic woods were a staple interest of the Chinese. See Wheatley, Paul, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1961) 264–5. Langkasuka, a kingdom of considerable importance during the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian era, persisted until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century when it mysteriously disappeared (*ibid.*, 265). "The transition, or transfer, from Langkasuka to Patani nowhere is made clear... ." (Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, 3). Tomé Pires, who wrote of the region in 1512–15, spoke of Patani as though it had been in existence for a long time, perhaps since the 1390s, although it still was identified by Chinese mariners as Langkasuka at the time of the voyages of Admiral Zheng He (Chêng Ho) (1405–33). See Cortesão, Armando, transl. and ed., *The Suma Oriental* [Complete Treatise on the Orient] of Tomé Pires, II (London: HS, Second Series, No. 90, 1944) 105, 110, 232, 244, 268, quoted in Teeuw and Wyatt, *op. cit.*, I, 3.

2. Professor Kern's terminology here is imprecise. The Kingdom of Champa occupied the coastal provinces of present-day Vietnam, from Quang-binh in the north to Binh-thuân in the south. Annam was the name for Central Vietnam.
3. Concerning Islāmic inscriptions in Champa; see Ravaisse, Paul, "L'inscription coufique de Lérân à Java" (The Kūfic inscription at Leran in Java), *TBG*, LXV (1925) 668–703. For a full discussion of "The Introduction of Islām into Champa", see Manguin, Pierre-Yves, 287 *infra*.
4. For more recent results of scholarly research on early trading in this area, see Wolters, O.W., *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).
5. The gravestone of Fātima, daughter of Maimūn, son of Hibat Allāh, at Leran, East Java; thus Fātima was not a recent convert to Islām, both her father and grandfather were Muslims. For a discussion of this inscription, see Fatimi, S.Q., *Islām Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore [now Kuala Lumpur]: MSRI, 1963) 39–42.
6. "According to Chinese records the port of Grēsik was founded by Chinese in the fourteenth century. In 1411 the ruler of Grēsik, who was originally a native of Canton, sent a mission to the Chinese emperor. Grēsik became a major international trading centre in the fifteenth century. To Tomé Pires it was 'the jewel of Java in trading ports' (*Suma Oriental*, *op. cit.*, 193). It also became a major centre of Islam, as the nearby site of Giri became the headquarters of the first Sunan Giri... ." (Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern*

- Indonesia, c. 1300 to the present* (7<sup>th</sup> edn., London: Macmillan, 1990) 36. See also Chapter V, n. 90 *infra*.)
7. Moquette, J.P., "De oudste Mohammedaansche Inscriptie op Java, n.m. de Grafsteen te Lérán" (The oldest Muslim Inscription in Java, i.e. the Tombstone at Leran), *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java, Solo 25-26 December 1919* (Transactions of the First Congress for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of Java, Solo 25-26 December 1919) (Weltevreden: Albrecht, 1921) 391-9.
  8. *Marco Polo's Travels*, ed. Rhys, Ernest, (London: Everyman's Library, 1925) 338, n. 3, says: "The name here written Felech is in the Latin edition Ferlech, and in the Italian epitomes Ferlach, equivalent to Ferlak."
  9. As Kern freely transcribes, we have quoted directly from *The Travels of Marco Polo*, a new transl. by Latham, R.E., (London: Penguin Classics, 1958) 225.
  10. Basman of the Basle edition.
  11. We quote from Latham's transl., *op. cit.*, 225.
  12. On the problems of identifying Marco Polo's 'Samara' and 'Basma', see Drewes, G.W.J., "New Light on the Coming of Islām to Indonesia?", 138 *infra*.
  13. See Moquette, J.P., "De eerste vorsten van Samoedra-Pasè (Noord Sumatra)" (The first rulers of Samudra-Pasai (North Sumatra), *RNI* (1913) 1-12.
  14. See also Tiele, P.A., "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel" (The Europeans in the Malay Archipelago), *BKI*, I, 321 ff.; II, 1 ff.; III, 261 ff., IV, 395 ff.; V, 153 ff., etc. Several of the early European reports cited by Kern are from Tiele.
  15. Mead, J.P., ed., "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai: a romanized version", *JSBRAS*, LXVI (March 1914) 1-55. See also "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai: a revised romanised version of Raffles MS 67, together with an English translation, both prepared by A.H. Hill", *JMBRAS*, XXXIII, 2 (June 1960) 1-215.
  16. We quote from Latham, *op. cit.*, 226.
  17. Moquette, "De eerste vorsten...", *op. cit.*, 9-10.
  18. See Professor Drewes, "New Light", 134 *infra*, which is critical of Kern's judgement on this tombstone; see also Fatimi, *op. cit.*, 32.
  19. Professor Drewes commented: "By 'India', Kern, writing in 1938, meant, of course, the Indian subcontinent, not the present-day Republic of India".
  20. Professor Drewes' correction: "Here Kern is mistaken. Muḥammad Qāsim, the Governor of Baṣra, invaded Sind as early as 712 and even reached Multān. The Indus Valley north of Multān had been Muslim for centuries when Mahmūd conquered the Punjab!"

21. Christians and Jews do not come within the Muslim definition of *kāfir* or 'unbeliever'. They are 'possessors of the Scripture' and thus are distinguished as *Ahl al-Kitāb*, 'People of the Book'. Accordingly, a Muslim man may marry with a Christian or Jewish woman without her conversion.
22. The view that Islām came from Gujarāt, argued by Moquette, "De grafsteen en te Pasè en Grissée vergeleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan" (The gravestones at Pasai and Grēsik compared with similar monuments in India), *TBG*, LIV (1912) 536-48, has been criticized by Marrison, G.E., "The Coming of Islam to the East Indies", *JMBRAS*, XXIV, 1 (February 1951) 28-37. Marrison supports the Malay tradition that Islām came from Coromandel.
23. Witness: Měrah Silu/Silau (pre-Islāmic name of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ) ascended the eminence; one day out hunting "... he beheld an ant that was as big as a cat. Měrah Silu caught the ant and ate it; and of the high ground he made a dwelling-place, calling it Semudra which signifies 'great ant'." "Sějarah Mělayu or 'Malay Annals': a translation of Raffles MS 18, with commentary by C.C. Brown", *JMBRAS*, XXV, 2-3, no. 159 (February 1953 for October 1952) 41.  
See also Mead, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai", op. cit., 9; and Fatimi, op. cit., 26.
24. Moquette, "De eerste vorsten...", op. cit., 6.
25. Defrémery, C.F., and Sanguinetti, B.R., French transl., ed. Richla, J.B., *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) (Paris: L'Imprimaria Imperial, 1853-8): Sumatra (island of), also called Djaouah: its trees 228, 229; its Sulṭān 230, 231 ff.; historical details 237-9, 306 ff.; Sumatra (town of), also called Somothrah: 230, 238, 239, 306. See also Ferrand, Gabriel, ed. and transl., *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* ('Arab, Persian, and Turkish travel accounts and geographical texts dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century relating to the Far East) (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913-14) 2 v.
26. The Peninsular Malays are also Shāfi'ī. The other three Sunnī (Orthodox) *mazhabs* or Schools of Law are the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī.
27. See *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, transl. with revisions and notes from the 'Arabic text edited by Defrémery, C., and Sanguinetti, B. R., by Gibb, H.A.R.; transl. completed with annotations by Beckingham, C.F., IV (London: HS, Second Series, No. 178, 1994) 876-80.
28. The Franciscan Friar, Odoric of Pordenone (1265-1331), as projected by Luigi Bressan, comes across as a decent human being who in his travels to India, some Southeast Asian islands, and China in

the years 1322–6 recorded what must have been an affront to his sensibilities, such as cannibalism, but without making any moral judgement on its practitioners. When he met people in the south who were completely naked, he made an observation about this 'indecent' custom, but he recorded the reply that Adam was naked and therefore it is against nature to dress in clothes. He never doubted the full human dignity of all the people he met, recognizing differences in colour, but without any form of discrimination. In the texts of Odoric there is no sense of eurocentrism; he freely recognized that other people had achieved greater success than Europeans. As a missionary, he firmly believed in divine creation and the redemption of all, and reminded Europeans that though united because of the same origin and destination, traditions and geographical environment had produced an enormous variety of behaviour. His approach was a curiosity to know more, without invasion, as his intent was not to conquer. He took care to distinguish between what he could see directly, and what was referred to him. He travelled over 50,000 kilometres and his narrative was second only to the book of Marco Polo and contributed greatly to Europe's knowledge of Asia. Odoric was to be the only other Western source of knowledge for over one hundred and fifty years. Although Odoric was a Christian Friar, he does not speak of his missionary work. He recognized the presence of other religious believers, and above all of Muslims, whom he refers to in several chapters as Saracens, without commenting on their religion. He freely approached Muslims for information, and he characterizes the era as one of general tolerance.

Excerpted from Bressan, Luigi, "Odoric of Pordenone (1265–1331): His vision of China and South-East Asia and his contribution to relations between Asia and Europe", *JMBRAS*, LXX, 2 (December 1997), 1–23. See also Yule, Henry, transl. and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China* (London: HS, First Series, No. 36, 1866), re-edited by Cordier, Henri, *Cathay and the way thither ... new edition revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries* (London: HS, Second Series, Nos. 33, 37, 41, 1913–16); the entire 2<sup>nd</sup> v. concerns Odoric; Cordier, Henri, ed., *Les voyages en Asie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle du bienheureux Frère Odoric de Pordenone, Religieux de Saint-François* (The 14<sup>th</sup>-century voyages to Asia by Friar Odoric of Pordenone, Religious of Saint Francis) (Paris, 1891); Pollard, A.W., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: The Journal of Friar Odoric* (London, 1900); "The Journal of Friar Odoric" in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964).

29. Paterson, Major H.S., "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu", *JMBRAS*, II, 3 (December 1924) 252–8 and Blagden,

C.O., "A Note on the Trengganu Inscription", *JMBRAS*, II, 3 (December 1924) 258-63.

30. Těřngganu is only about 55 miles (89 km.) at its widest point; the 5,500 sq. mile State (14,245 sq. km.) has a long and narrow configuration. Unlike the other Malay States, Těřngganu possesses fourteen river basins which breach, at intervals, the 200 mile (322 km.) long coastline. Shaharil Talib, *After Its Own Image: The Trengganu Experience 1881-1941* (Singapore: OUP, 1984) 1. Against the background of Siamese meddling in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the State lost control over the territories that now make up the State of Kělantān (ibid., 2). In 1991, Těřngganu's total population was 766,244, 93.26 per cent classified as 'Bumiputěra' (Sons of the Soil), overwhelmingly Malay.
31. A verse epic by the Buddhist poet Prapantja (Prapanca) at the Court of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapait, traditionally dated 1365. Newly edited, annotated and translated into English by Pigeaud, Theodore G.Th., *Java in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century: A Study in Cultural History* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960-3) 5 v. For the reference to 'Tringganu' see *Nāgarakěrtāgama* 14: 2, 2.
32. With due respect to Professor Kern, Těřngganu did not become an English Protectorate in 1909. Sulṭān Zainal Abidin III's (r. 1881-1918) response to the 1909 trade-off between the British and Siam was that the Siamese were thieves who gave away to the British what did not belong to them in the first place. He only agreed to the Treaty after an assurance that the British Agent assigned to Těřngganu would only have consular powers. It was only in 1918 that the British succeeded in foisting an 'Adviser' upon Těřngganu.

As for 'suzerainty', while Siam defined the position of Kělantān and Těřngganu as being one of dependency to Bangkok, at least the Sulṭān of Těřngganu did not accept Siam's determination. The northern Malay States of Těřngganu, Kělantān, Kědah and Perlis and the Malay States of Patani had long been negotiated over by Britain and Siam without the knowledge of the Sulṭāns, let alone the people concerned. For a discussion of the 1826 Treaty of Bangkok, 1897 Secret Convention, 1902 Anglo-Siamese Agreement, and the 1909 Anglo-Siamese Agreement, see Appendix I, *infra*.

33. "The fragment in our possession stands 33 inches in height, with a maximum breadth at the top of 21 inches tapering to 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inches at the foot, and an average depth from front to back of 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inches. It weighs between 400 and 500 lbs. The inscription covers all four faces for a distance of 18 inches from the top; the remaining space of 15 inches at the bottom has been left clear with the obvious intention of allowing the stone to be planted upright in the ground." (Paterson, *op. cit.*, 253.)

34. Blagden, op. cit., 261; for a discussion of the inscription, see also Fatimi, op. cit., 60 ff.
35. Or in deference to the existing feudal structure.
36. *Dewata*: Sanskrit, godhead, god, statue of a god; *mulia*: Sanskrit, noble, sublime, lofty, of gods, persons; *raya*: Malay, supreme, honourable; *dewata mulia raya* (15<sup>th</sup> century), 'the great and most high God'.
37. This refers to the concept in Islāmic law that the world divides into *Dār al-Islām*: the 'World of Islām' where the law of Islām prevails and *Dār al-Ḥarb*: the 'World of War', the world of 'unbelievers'.
38. Now termed *Orang Asli* or 'Original People' as 'aboriginal' is considered pejorative. See Chapter IV, n. 45 *infra* for tribal distribution.
39. The illustrious Admiral Zheng He (Chêng Ho), 1371–1433, was a Sino-'Arab Muslim from Yün-nan (Yunnan) province in southwest China. He was a descendant of Prophet Muḥammad in the 37<sup>th</sup> generation and of Amīr Sayyid-i Ajall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar (1211–79) — given by the Great Khān the title Sai Tien-ch'ê (Saidanche) — in the 6<sup>th</sup> generation. Sayyid-i Ajall was the Governor of Yün-nan under Qubilay (Kublai) Khān (r. 1260–94) and the builder of the Chinese Muslim community in southwest China in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1381, at the age of 10, Zheng He, with many of his contemporaries, was captured by the Ming army in Yün-nan and castrated. Allegedly because of his countenance and intelligence, he was taken as an attendant by the Ming Prince of Yen (Beijing), personal name Chu Ti, afterwards Yung-lo Emperor under the name Ch'êng-tsu. Zheng He was the name given to him by the Prince. His original name was Ma San-pao (pau). Ma (horse), Mu (calm) and Mai (wheat) are all one-syllable surnames taken by those whose Muslim names were Muḥammad or Maḥmūd, and so on. His great-grandfather was called Pai-yen, probably the equivalent of Bayan, and in all probability was a Mongol. Zheng He is popularly revered by the Chinese in Mēlaka and elsewhere in Southeast Asia as San-pao T'ai-chien, the 'Three-Jewel Eunuch'. Zheng He died at sea on the seventh expedition of his 'treasure fleet', which 'unified seas and continents'. Before his burial at sea, a braid of his hair and his shoes were removed and were brought back to Nanjing where a Muslim grave and stone marker are found. His biography in *Ming shi-lu*, or Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty, Book 304, has been translated in part by Groeneveldt, W.P., in his "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources", VBG, XXXIX (1880) 41–5.

See also Haji Yusuf Chang, "The Ming Empire: Patron of Islam in China and Southeast and West Asia", *JMBRAS*, LXI, 2 (1988) 25, quoting Liu Fa-siang's biography of Sayyid Edjill, *Friends of Moslems*, X, 1, 2 (1936) 10-12, 28-30 and further referring to Ke Shao-min, *Hsin Yuän-shih* or New Yuan History, 625-6.

40. Under Zheng He's command, in July 1405, 63 large ships, 250 smaller vessels and nearly 28,560 men sailed out of the Yangtze (Yangzi) River; some of the ships being 130 metres long. The expedition went to Java and Sumatra by way of Champa (in present-day Vietnam). At Palembang a notorious brigand named Ch'en Tsu-i was captured and 5,000 of his men killed, much to the relief of the local population. Ch'en was a fugitive and his arrest was an impressive example of Chinese retributive justice at that time. His elimination also ensured the safety of shipping through the Strait of Měläka.

Six subsequent voyages — the last being in 1431-3 — would reach as far as Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, and Mogadishu in Africa. Zheng He described traversing 100,000 *li* of 'immense water space'. Every major port in India and Southeast Asia was visited by these mighty fleets, which were larger than even the Spanish Armada of 1588. The total number of warships built during the reign of Ming Ch'êng-tsu (r.1403-24) was said to be 1,180. The sailors involved in the seven expeditions numbered 200,000.

The ostensible purpose of these voyages was to search for Ming Hui-ti (r. 1398-1402) who had been deposed in 1403 by his uncle, Ming Ch'êng-tsu (Zhu Di), the Yung-lo emperor. It has also been suggested that Zheng He, being a Muslim, was sent to seek an alliance with Islāmic countries in the face of a possible further attempt by the Timūrid Mongols (1370-1500) to conquer China after the 1,800,000 man expeditionary force under Tamerlane failed in its conquest due to the death in 1405 of Timur, the Great Amīr.

But as historian Wang Gungwu writes: "No doubt there were other reasons why Yung-lo was willing to invest so much in foreign relations, but the initial impulse of resuming his father's policy to expand state trading must be given priority over the others" ("*The Opening of Relations between China and Malacca, 1403-5*", *Malayan and Indonesian Studies*, eds. Bastin, John, and Roolvink, R., (London: OUP, 1964) 100). His edict of 1402 prohibited private trading overseas which had encouraged piracy on China's coasts, and he re-established the Bureau of Maritime Trade.

These enormous voyages resulted in a multiplicity of foreign rulers sending tribute, which enhanced the legitimacy of the Emperor as well as increasing trade. More than 30 states were visited and most offered at least symbolic submission to the

Emperor. The missions were accorded friendly receptions and envoys with tribute for the Emperor joined Zheng He's suite. The exception being the uncharacteristic action taken in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). But even here, the escutcheon of the person concerned was not unblemished; see Willetts, William, "The Maritime Adventures of Grand Eunuch Ho", *JSEAH*, V, 2 (September 1964) 31-6.

While 10,000 troops, under a renowned military leader, may have been on board, unlike later Western imperialists, the Ming admiral had no interest in acquiring overseas territory. This was, in the words of historian Wang Gungwu, China's "bid for maritime dominance of Asian waters".

After Zheng He's farewell voyage of 1431-3, no fresh naval excursion was launched by China. For although the Hsüan-tsung Emperor (1426-35) had sanctioned this voyage, on the very day he came to the throne he had ordered that the building of sea-ships should everywhere be stopped. He had been advised that eunuchs, — Muslims(?) — were building large ships to enter into communication with overseas countries, with all that this would imply. This was symptomatic of the pathological hatred felt by Confucian officialdom towards the eunuchs (Muslims?).

Other eunuchs, probably Muslims, were involved with the Muslim eunuch Zheng He: on the 1431 voyage, as recorded on the T'ai-p'ing Bay stone, he was accompanied by Wang Ching-hung, Li Hsing, Chu Liang, Chou Man, Hung Pao, Yang Chên, Chang Ta, Wu Chung, all Grand Eunuchs, and the naval commanders Chu Chên and Wang Hêng, as well as interpreter Ma Huan (refer n. 42 *infra*); see Willetts, *op. cit.*, 37.

Of course, in China's withdrawal there was also the question of the immense drain on the Treasury: "He [Zheng He] had brought back numberless valuable things, but what China had spent on them was not little either" (History of the Ming Dynasty, Book 304, Groenveldt transl., *op. cit.*, 44).

Historian Arthur Waldron remarked that the consequences of China's withdrawal can be compared "... to the failure of the Muslims to hold the Strait of Gibraltar. It changed history" (*FEER*, 9 September 1999, 46). Not only did China lose its technological edge by closing its shipyards, but it left her defenceless when later Western imperialists attacked her from the sea.

As for Asia, when Vasco da Gama (c. 1460-1524) rounded the Cape of Good Hope, pioneering European expansion into Asian waters, he ran into opposition, but nothing as formidable as the great Ming fleets had been. If China had continued the policy that sent Zheng He into the Indian Ocean, the subsequent history of Asia might well have been very different.

41. According to the 1990 census there were 17,597,400 Muslims in China, making up 1.56 per cent of the total population. However, this figure most likely under-reports the true number as no data is collected on religious affiliation, only on designated Muslim ethnic minorities. Therefore if a Muslim is registered as belonging to another ethnic group, he or she will not appear in the statistics. However, claims that Muslims make up 10 per cent of the population are impossible to substantiate.

Muslims are divided into ten ethnic groups known as 'Nations'. The 1990 census gives the following information on their numbers:

Hui	8,602,980
Uygur	7,214,430
Kazakh	1,111,720
Dungshiang	373,870
Kirgiz	141,550
Sala	87,700
Tajik	33,540
Uzbek	14,500
Boan	12,210
Tartar	4,870
TOTAL	<u>17,597,370</u>

Hui make up 48.9 per cent of the Muslim population, followed by the Uygur community of 41.0 per cent. Kazakhs and Dungshiang comprise 6.3 and 2.1 per cent respectively. See *Muslim Almanac: Asia Pacific*, compiled by RISEAP (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1996) 39.

42. The interpreter Ma Huan was the author of *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (The overall survey of the ocean's shores). He was born c. 1380 in Kuei chi, a district of Shao-hsing city, Che-kiang Province, about 24 miles southeast of Hang-chou, a mere seven miles from the southern shore of Hang-chou bay, one of the principal centres of navigation in 15<sup>th</sup>-century China. See *Ma Huan: Ying-yai Sheng-lan, "The overall survey of the ocean's shores" (1433)*, translated from the Chinese text edited by Feng Ch'eng-Chün, with Introd., Notes and Apps. by Mills, J.V.G., (Cambridge: HS, Extra Series, No. 42, 1970) 34. Ma Huan accompanied Zheng He on his fourth voyage (1413-15), the first to sail beyond South Asia to the Persian Gulf; his sixth (1421-2), and seventh or final expedition (1431-3).

Together with his colleague and life-long collaborator Kuo Ch'ung-li, Ma Huan made local journeys in the various countries

he visited and recorded details of his impressions. His book is based on notes made by Kuo Ch'ung-li and himself on parts of the Malay Archipelago and beyond. (See Forbes, A.D.W., "Ma Huan", *El*, V (1986), 849-50.)

On Zheng He's last expedition, from Kozhikode (Calicut) in South India, a branch of the main fleet sailed for Makka carrying at least six Muslim emissaries. Allegedly, Ma Huan was part of this group. However, Ma Huan's error in situating the Zamzam Well near Madīna rather than at Makka caused J.J.L. Duyvendak to question whether, in fact, Ma Huan ever visited the Hijāz. See "Ma Huan re-examined", *VKAWA*, XXXII, 3 (1933) 73. And according to L. Levathes, in Ma Huan's *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* he wrote that if one travels west from Makka for a day one would arrive at Madīna, whereas Madīna is three hundred miles north of Makka and it would take 10 days by caravan to reach there. And then he added that two black lions guard the door of the Ka'ba, which reflects what could be true of a Chinese temple but never of Islām. She writes of Zheng He dying on the voyage home and suggests that Zheng He's failing health would have kept Ma Huan by his side in Calicut; certainly had the Muslim Zheng He been well enough for the long caravan ride across the desert to reach Makka, he would in all likelihood have accompanied the group. Levathes, L., *When China Ruled the Seas* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994) 171-2.

Haji Yusuf Chang, "The Ming Empire: Patron of Islam in China and Southeast and West Asia", *op. cit.*, contends that Ming T'ai-tzu (r. 1368-98) was inwardly a Muslim. His contentions should be considered in their totality. He cites among other examples of Ming T'ai-tzu's affiliation his selection of nine Muslim aides to form his Secret War Council; the elevation of seven Muslim Generals as Princes; the influence of the Muslim Queen Ma Hou, Emperor T'ai-tzu's closest companion; his building of the Ching-chueh Masjid in Nanjing and his '100-Character Eulogy on Islām' inscribed on a stone tablet which he had installed in that Masjid during his inauguration year, which could be understood as his *Shahāda* or Confession of Faith in Islām. The concluding line reads: "The Religion, the Pure and True Faith, subdued the evils and guided [all creatures] to the One God. He, Muḥammad, is the Most Glorified Prophet" (*op. cit.*, 17-18, citing Sun Ke-an, "100-Character Eulogy on Islam by Ming T'ai-tzu", *Ch'ing-Chen Chiao K'ao* (a collection of 32 sources found in Chinese and geographical works relating to Islām and the Middle East, oldest preface dated 1720), (n.p., Ch'ing-chen-t'ang, 1738) 105-6, facsimile edn. Peking: Niu-chieh Ch'ing-chen shu-pao-she, Min-kuo 10 (1921), and Low, C.P., transl., "100-Character Psalm on Islam by Ming T'ai-tsu",

*Friends of Moslems*, XI, 2 (1937) 39 and modern Chinese copy of the Eulogy in *Chung-kuo Hui-Chiao-Shih Yen-Chiu* (A Study of the History of Chinese Islām) (Peking, 1935) 154.

Haji Yusuf then contends that Ming T'ai-tzu had left a secret will urging that he who ascended the throne after him should perform the Hajj (pilgrimage) to Makka as an explanation for the expedition. He cites the *Secret History of Chinese Muslims*, notes made by Ma Wen-sheng (1426–1510), who was an ancestor of Haji Yusuf's teacher who had these in his possession and which the two of them had edited for publication. Haji Yusuf left China as Secretary of the Chinese Middle East Goodwill Mission in 1938 and on his return in 1940 found his Ch'ungking apartment had been bombed by the Japanese and the manuscript gone. Thus what he cites is from memory. (*Ibid.*, 24 and notes 8 and 42.)

M.C. ff Sheppard writes of Chu Yüan-chang, the first Ming Emperor, being a native of Fengyang (An-hui Province) and that there are thousands of Muslims bearing that surname residing in that district until this day who profess to be the Emperor's descendants. He states that during Chu Yüan-chang's reign pork was forbidden in any offerings to heaven on Chinese New Year and on other sacred days.

As for the Yung-lo Emperor — ostensibly Chu Yüan-chang's son — his mother — or adoptive mother — was a Muslim from An-hui Province, surnamed Ma, and Sheppard maintains that the conspicuous favouritism shown to Muslims and the very appointment of Muslim Zheng He as Commander-in-Chief was due to the Emperor, himself, being Muslim (*Malaya in History*, III, 2 (July 1957) 115).

Donald Daniel Leslie in his *Islam in Traditional China* (Canberra: College of Advanced Education, 1986) 105 states that "the claim that Chu Yüan-chang [T'ai-tzu] was himself Muslim is to be rejected, though it is less clear about several of his generals". On what grounds it is to be rejected, he doesn't state. And he casts doubt on the authenticity of the eulogy saying that it is not found in non-Muslim sources. But is it probable that Muslims — an ethnic religious minority — would have risked the ire of Chinese Confucianists by inventing an inscription from the Emperor, himself?

On Islām being the 'invisible religion of the Ming royal family', Professor Wang Gungwu in his 13 August 1999 letter (GC/694/8/99) states: "I have seen no evidence that would support the view that Islam had such a place in the Ming imperial family".

43. Groeneveldt, op. cit., 1–144. See also Rockhill, W.W., "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the

coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century", *TP*, XVI, 2 (1915).

Zheng He's secretary on his seventh and last voyage — 1431–3 — was Kung Chen. He also maintained a diary-type log: *Hsi-yang Fan-kuo Chih* (Description of the Foreign Countries of the Western Oceans) 1434. The scholar Huang Hsing-tseng's *Hsi-yang Chao-kung Tien-lu* (Record of the Tributary Nations of the West), written in 1520, is another valuable source. The earliest surviving work is the *Yung-lo Shih-lu* (The Veritable Records of the Reign of Emperor Yung-lo), 1402–24, in 130 *chüan*, compiled 1425–30, which records the official relations between China and Měläka.

44. Ma Huan visited the coast of Java in 1416, but his book was only published in 1451. See Duyvendak, "Ma Huan re-examined", *op. cit.*, 1–74 and Pelliot, Paul, "Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle" (The great Chinese maritime travels at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), *TP*, XXX (1933) 237–452.
45. In Malaysia 'Aborigines' are termed *Orang Asli* (Original People). In 1991, there were 98,494 Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia. They are categorized by the Population and Housing Census, Malaysia, 1991, under eight groupings: Semai, 28,627; Jakun, 17,066; Temiar, 16,892; Temuan, 15,057; Other Senoi, 8,342; Semalai, 4,775; Other Proto Malay, 4,717; and Negrito, 3,018. The greatest concentration of Orang Asli is in Pahang State: 34,178; followed by Perak: 30,841; Sělangor: 11,084; Johor: 7,092 (overwhelmingly Jakun and other Proto Malay); Kělantān: 6,944; and Nėgėri Sėmbilan: 5,952. The other six states of Peninsular Malaysia have less than 1,000 each.

According to Minority Rights Group there are 776 Orang Asli settlements in Malaya, however, only 15 per cent are recognized as Orang Asli reserves. Nevertheless, under the Aboriginal People's Act as amended 1974, even such reserves are revocable by state governments, land being under state and not federal control. Thus in reality the Orang Asli occupy lands as 'tenants-at-will'. Their lands, not given title, cannot be transacted. *MRG*, 98/4 (June 1999) 10.

46. In 1991, the population of Peninsular Malaysia was 14,131,723 (out of a Malaysia-wide population of 17,563,420). Malays constituted 8,047,330 or 56.95 per cent, and other Bumiputėra (Sons of the Soil) 120,685 or 0.85 per cent, of whom 98,494 were Orang Asli. Ethnic Chinese citizens made up 3,968,056 or 28.08 per cent and ethnic Indian citizens (mostly Tamil) 1,302,580 or 9.22 per cent. There were 298,718 non-citizen, permanent residents. (Source: Population and Housing Census, Malaysia, 1991.)
47. While the greatest concentration of Malays was found in Sělangor: 1,021,660 and an additional 438,201 in the adjoining Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur, with 1,026,646 in Johor, in

terms of highest percentage of state population, Malays predominate in the eastern seaboard states of Těřngganu: 93.26 per cent and Kělantān: 91.72 per cent and in the northern states of Perlis: 82.51 per cent and Kědah: 74.67 per cent. (Source: Population and Housing Census, Malaysia, 1991.)

48. The 64-km. (40-mile) wide Isthmus of Kra, the narrow neck of the Malay Peninsula, links mainland with peninsular and maritime Southeast Asia. The area now forms part of South Thailand. The idea of cutting a canal across the isthmus to link the Andaman Sea and the Gulf of Thailand was first mooted in 1677 during the reign of King Narai of Ayudhya. The King studied the possibility of digging the canal with shovels! The idea was raised again in 1861 by Sir Robert Schomburgh. The project was revived under a series of Thai kings. In 1866–8 after the completion of the Suez Canal, France requested King Rama IV's permission to dig the canal, but the king refused in deference to British colonial interests in Penang and in Singapore. Again, in 1882 during the reign of King Rama V, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French engineer responsible for the Suez Canal, was denied permission since both Britain and France were interested in the project. After World War II, during the reign of King Rama VIII, Thailand was obliged to sign a treaty to suspend its war status with Britain, the 8<sup>th</sup> clause of which specified that Thailand must not dig any such canal without the permission of the British Government. This invidious treaty was only suspended in 1954 during the reign of King Rama IX. The fortunes of the proposed canal were subject at all times to the vagaries of who was in power in Thailand at any one time (*Bangkok Post*, 2 January 2000, 6).

The 800-km. (497-mile) long Strait of Mělaķa has become ever more congested, and supertankers of over 200,000 d.w.t. are forced to use the much longer route through the Straits of Sunda and Lombok. The construction of a canal would save 2–5 days by shortening the transport distance by 700 nautical miles or about 1,296 km. and allow for a new generation of 500,000 d.w.t. tankers. Feasibility studies have been carried out since 1973. The project surfaced again in 1999 when the Japanese Global Infrastructure Research Foundation sent its team to Thailand to make its proposals (*Bangkok Post*, 14 April 1999). The Japanese are also concerned to have a route free of piracy, which brought death to 67 people in 1998, while 149 accidents were reported in 1996. Their concern has led them to propose joint anti-piracy patrols with coastguards from five Asian countries: Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, China and South Korea (*NST*, 18 February 2000). And, of course, for shippers there would be a great saving in costs (*Bangkok Post*, 2 January 2000, 6).

The route considered most feasible would run from Songkhla in the east to a point 30 km. north of Satun in the west, a distance of 102 km. The threat to the indigenous Malay Muslims of the area is obvious as the canal would require the removal of population — approximately 250,000 people — and the splitting of the remaining population. Worse, for reasons of cost and time, nuclear excavation has been mooted, with a total yield of 41.35 megatons. Nearly 5,000 sq. miles (12,950 sq. km.) of land would be contaminated, and this would involve the evacuation of one million people. (Bremen Institute for Maritime Traffic, quoted in *The Straits Times*, "Editorial", 14 December 1973, 14.)

49. *Nāgarakērtāgama*, 14:2. See also Chapter III, n. 31 *supra* and Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, Map IV.
50. See Barros, de-, João, *Da Asia, dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, sexta edição, actualizada na ortografia anotada por Hernani Cidade; notas historicas finais por M. Murias (From Asia: Portuguese deeds in the discovery and conquest of Eastern seas and countries), 6<sup>th</sup> edn., annotated by Cidade, Hernani, historical notes by Murias, M., (Lisbon: Divisao de Publicacoes e Bibliotheca, Agencia General das Colonias, 1945-6) 4 v.
51. Albuquerque, de-, Bras, *Commentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, ed. Baião, A., (Coimbra, 1923). See also *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India*, being a transl. by Pagliarini, N., of *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque capitão geral que foi das Indias Orientaes* (Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque who was Captain-General of the East Indies) (Lisbon: Royal Printing Office, 1774) with notes and introd. by de Gray Birch, Walter (London: HS, First Series, Nos. 53, 55, 62, 69, 1875-84) 4 v.
52. Eredia, de-, Emanuel Godinho, *Declaracam de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* (Description of Mēlaka, Meridional India, and Cathay) (Goa, 1618); *Malaca, L'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay, manuscript original autographe de Godinho de Eredia* (Mēlaka, Meridional India and Cathay), French transl. Janssen, Léon, (Brussels, 1882); annotated English transl. Mills, J.V., *JMBRAS*, VIII (1930) 1-288; *MBRAS* Reprint 14 (1997).

In 1545, João de Eredia went to Sulawēsi in a missionary expedition and was to marry Dona Elena Vessiva, a 15-year-old daughter of the newly-baptized King of Suppa'. The 'princess' became the mother of four, including Emanuel Godinho de Heredia Aquaviva, the 'Discoverer' of Meridional India, that nebulous Austral Sphere which Eredia imagined to contain Marco Polo's 'Java Minor'.

The 'Descobridor' was born at Mělaka on 16 July 1563. He received his early education at the College of the Company of Jesus and at the age of 13 went to Goa (in India) to complete his education. At age 31, Eredia, now a distinguished mathematician, was given a royal commission as 'Cosmographer Major'. He explored and prepared new and up-to-date maps of the Asian countries, which he submitted to the King of Spain. On 14 February 1594, Eredia was instructed to effect the discovery of Meridional India; he was given the title of 'Adelantado' (Governor-General), made a member of the Order of Christ, and was promised one-twentieth of the revenues to accrue from the new-found lands, were he to obtain possession for the Crown of Portugal, held at this period by the King of Spain.

During the years 1597-1600, Eredia wrote his *Report on the Golden Chersonese* wherein he urged the Viceroy to despatch him on a voyage of discovery. In 1600, Eredia went from Goa to Mělaka and there completed his preparations for the southward voyage. He got no further, however, as information came that the Dutch were holding the channels leading to the south between the islands on the east of Java. Moreover, a succession of attacks by Malays necessitated the retention at Mělaka of the military force attached to the expedition. Detained at Mělaka, he concentrated on the fortification and defence of the fortress. After 1602, he was mainly involved in naval activity, having at his disposal the whole southern squadron of some 70 armed boats. In 1604, Eredia founded the fortress of Muar, and gave orders for the construction of other forts to defend the Strait of Singapore and 'Sabbaó' (now the island of Kundur, close to the Karimuns).

At the same time he pursued a policy of aggression against the Malays: Johor was blockaded; relief ships were destroyed; Malay villages and orchards were fired; boats were captured and their occupants killed. Lastly, he joined General André Furtado de Mendonça in the capture of Kota Batu, the Malay capital of Johor.

In 1605, suffering from beri-beri, he was ordered to return to Goa. There he unsuccessfully tried to organize a voyage to 'Luca Antara' (Australia); failing to do so, he despatched his servant who joined fishermen on the south coast of Java and succeeded to reach there. In 1610, Eredia accomplished his *Report on Meridional India*; in 1613, his *Description of Malaca, Meridional India and Cathay*; in 1615, the *History of the Martyrdom of Luiz Monteiro Coutinho*, and in 1616 the *Treatise on Ophir*. He was now a man of 53, and his dream of exploring the Austral land remained unfulfilled. Nothing further is known of him.

Excerpted from Mills, J.V., 'Introductory Note' to his annotated translation, 1–6, cited above.

53. Barros, de-, João, *Da Asia ...*, op. cit., dec. II, book VI, chapter 1.
54. Stein Callenfels, van-, P.V., "The Founder of Malacca", *JMBRAS*, XV, 2 (September 1937) 160–6, based on Portuguese narratives concludes that the founder of Mēlaka was a Javanese noble who fled Java in the early stages of the dynastic war of 1401–61, probably 1401, and Mēlaka was founded in 1402; see Wake, Christopher H., "Malacca's Early Kings and the Reception of Islam", *JSEAH*, V, 2 (September 1964) 109–10.
55. Barros, op. cit., also states that Parameśvara was a Javanese prince who fled Java as the result of a dynastic war, while Albuquerque (*Commentaries*, III, 73), Pires (*Suma Oriental*, II, 231) and Eredia say he came from Palembang. Eredia also states that Parameśvara was a Javanese from Palembang who was expelled for defying his father-in-law, the emperor of Java, fled to Tēmasek or Singapura, was expelled from there after having assassinated the local ruler, fled and eventually founded Mēlaka (pt. 1, chapter 26). The *Malay Annals* and the *Bustān al-Salātīn* concur with the dynasty's Palembang origin and attribute Parameśvara's flight — though from Singapura, not Palembang — to defeat at the hands of the Javanese (Wake, op. cit., 111).
56. The Palatine law, *Kot Mandirapāla*, in v. I of the Bradley, D.B., edition of Siamese Laws (Bangkok, 1896); also in v. I of the Lingat, R., edition (Bangkok, 1938). The law is dated 1358, but appears in fact to be of 15<sup>th</sup>-century origin (1468); see Coedès, G., *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Cowing, S.B., transl. of *Les états Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*), ed. Vella, W.F., (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968) 244.
57. See Wheatley, op. cit., 95, 307, 321, and map facing 102.
58. Professor Wang Gungwu in his fax of 16 August 1999 wrote that he had never heard of such a map. We then referred the matter to Professor Dr. Claudine Salmon who in her e-mail to us of 20 April 2000 advised as follows: "Professor Kern may ... refer to the *Zheng He hanghai tu* (Map of Zheng He's Sea-Voyages) edited by Xiang Da (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) which is a chart for the navigators of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. Mēlaka is shown on the map, but there is no such comment on the city and the Five Islands appear but are not named. However, there is a short text in Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores) (1433), 108 of the translation, where the Five Islands are mentioned: 'Formerly this place was not designated as a 'country'; [but] because the sea [thereabouts] was named Five Islands, in consequence [the place] was named Five Islands. There was no king of the country; it was controlled by a chief. This terri-

tory was subordinate to the jurisdiction of Hsien Lo [= Siam/Thailand]; it paid an annual tribute of forty *liang* of gold; if it were not [to pay], then Hsien Lo would send men to attack it ...'. Maybe Professor Kern alludes to the two books at once."

59. On 3 October 1405, in response to Parameśvara's delegation, an edict was promulgated appointing him king. Mēlaka was the first foreign nation to receive the emperor's inscription and to receive it as a result of its very first mission to China. Mēlaka's need for a countervailing force to Siam was complemented by China's need for a convenient trading centre and a safe route to India. Mēlaka's close relationship with China continued until 1435 when the Ming court abandoned Emperor Yung-lo's policy of state trading. But by that time, Mēlaka's international position was unassailable. See Wang Gungwu, "The Opening of Relations between China and Malacca, 1403-5", *op. cit.*, 100-3.
60. The first three rulers of Mēlaka were:
  - Parameśvara (Iskandar Shāh), 1390-1413/14;
  - Megat Iskandar Shāh, 1414-23/24;
  - Sri Maharaja (Sultān Muḥammad Shāh), 1424-44?
 See Wang Gungwu, "The First Three Rulers of Malacca", *JMBRAS*, XLI, 1 (July 1968) 22.
61. Missions from Mēlaka are noted in Chinese records as arriving in 1405, 1407, 1411, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1423, 1424, 1426, 1431, 1433 and so on, up until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. See Wade, Geoff, "Melaka in Ming Dynasty Texts", *JMBRAS*, LXX, I (June 1997) 41 and Appendix III.
62. See Eredia, de-, Emanuel Godinho, *Declaracão de Malaca e Índia Meridional com o Cathay*, Mills transl., *op. cit.*, 49: "Later it [Islām] was accepted and encouraged by Permicuri at Malaca in the year 1411".
63. See Wake, Christopher H., *op. cit.*, 104-28.
64. Rouffaer, G.P., "Was Malaka emporium vóór 1400 A.D., genaamd Malajoer? En waar lag Woerawari, Mā-Hasin, Langka, Batoesawar? (Met terreinschetsen van Djambi, oud-Singhapoera, en de Djohor-rivier)" (Was Mēlaka an emporium called Malayur before AD 1400? And where were Wurawari, Mā-Hasin, Langka, and Batusawar located? (With maps of Jambi, old Singapura, and the Johor River), *BKI*, LXXVII (1921) 1-174, 359-69.
65. Krom, N.J., *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst* (Introduction to Hindu-Javanese art) (The Hague, 1920; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1923) 3v.
66. In Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, we find where Fei Hsin speaks of Aru (93, 94 and 95), but no mention of Tamiang. However, Mills, J.V.G., *op. cit.*, 61, lists Tan-yang as a place known to Fei Hsin by hearsay.

67. Moquette, J.P., "De datum op den grafsteen van Malik Ibrahim te Grisse" (The date on the tombstone of Malik Ibrāhīm in Grěsik), *TBG*, LIV (1912) 208-14.
68. Groeneveldt, op. cit., 45-6.
69. In 1275, King Kėrtanagara of Majapait sent an expedition to attack Mėlayu, then the capital of Śrīvijaya.
70. Sanudo, Marino, (c. 1260-1338), *Liber secretorum* (Book of secrets) in Bongars, Jacques, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Act of God on behalf of the Franks) (Hanover: Ioannis Aubrii, 1611). See also Kunstmann, Friedrich, "Studien über Marino Sanudo den Älteren" (Studies on Marino Sanudo, the Elder), *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Proceedings of the Historical Class of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences), III, ii (Munich, 1853); and see under Sanudo in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. According to Schrieke, B.J.O., *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, pt. 1 (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955) 12, Sanudo provided a scholarly basis for fitting out a new Crusade!
71. Op. cit.
72. 'Moro' originally derived from 'Mauri' or Mauretania, the Berbers of North Africa and those who went to Spain. 'Moro' denotes the Muslim conquerors of Spain including 'Arabs. To the Portuguese, and to the Spaniards, 'Moro' became a synonym for 'Muslim'. See also Chapter IX, n. 156 *infra*.
73. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in Manila in 1565, he was exasperated to encounter Muslim settlements: "I have come round the world to meet Mahomet again". See Majul, Cesar Adib, *Muslims in the Philippines* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973).
74. Albuquerque, op. cit.
75. Op. cit.
76. Albuquerque, op. cit.
77. Groeneveldt, op. cit., 123.
78. Moquette, "De eerste vorsten van Samoedra-Pasè (Noord-Sumatra)", op. cit. "From Pěngkalan Kėmpas in Nėgėri Sėmbilan [Peninsular Malaya] survives an inscription which appears to show that this region was in transition to an Islamic area in the 1460s." (Ricklefs, op. cit., 5.)
79. "It is almost impossible to write an account of Kelantan's history without touching on that of Patani." Rentse, Anker, "History of Kelantan", Part 1, *JMBRAS*, XII, 2 (August 1934) 44. The inter-relatedness of Kėlantān and Patani, geographically, ethnically, culturally, historically and, most importantly, religiously, is reflected in the kingdom of Patani having had two major Muslim dynasties: the Patani Dynasty (? -1688) and the Kėlantān Dynasty (1688-1729).

80. Notwithstanding the 1909 Agreement in which it did not share (see Appendix I), Malay-Muslim Patani has continued to resist assimilation into the Thai-Buddhist State. There were rebellions in 1910, 1911, uprisings in 1922, 1923 when Muslims refused to pay taxes and land-rent. In 1939, Muslims had to resist the total imposition of alien values, down to the dress they were allowed to wear. In 1947, led by al-Marhum Hajī Sulong 'Abd al-Kādir, the Muslims put forward a set of demands, the objective being an autonomous State of Patani. Hajī Sulong and colleagues were arrested, imprisoned for 42 months, released and, having attended on Pol. Lt. Col. Bunlert Lertpricha at Songkhla, were murdered on 13 April 1954. In December 1975, for 45 days, protestors camped outside the Patani Masjid in reaction to the deliberate murder of Muslims. Multiple resistance movements have erupted to thwart the imposition of Buddhist worship on Muslim children in schools and to prevent the expansion of 'self-help' colonies of Thai-Buddhist settlers from the north transmigrated into the south to dilute the Muslim majority population. Colonization through exchange of population was historically part of Siam's expansionist policy. Siam — the present Thailand — would demand from Malay Kēdah a mutual exchange of population with the intention of assimilating the Malays sent to Siam and simultaneously increasing the size of the Siamese population in Kēdah *vis-à-vis* the indigenous Malays. See Appendix II: *Malay-Muslim Reality in Patani*.
81. Teeuw and Wyatt (op. cit., 4) have this to say on the establishment of Islām in Patani: "Patani traditionally has been held to be one of the cradles of Islam in Southeast Asia, yet little can be said with certainty about the coming of Islam to Patani. d'Eredia, writing in 1613, stated that Islam was adopted in Patani and Pahang before being introduced in Malacca. Islam certainly was established in Trengganu by 1386–87 at the latest, and there is no reason why it should not have reached nearby Patani by that date, particularly given Patani's repute as an early centre of Islam. But how, and from where, did it arrive? Local Patani tradition attributes the conversion of the ruler to people from Pasai, present in Patani as a trading community, an explanation which fits well with recent argument on the subject. The date of Patani's conversion, or the date of the first conversions in Patani, may well be as early as this, but it remains to be established."
82. Groeneveldt, I, op. cit., 94.
83. The name Maluku derived from the 'Arab traders' term for the area: *Jazīrat al-Mulūk*, the land of many kings.
84. Valentijn, François, "*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën ...*" (Old and New East Indies ...) (Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam/Amsterdam: Onder de Linden, 1724–6) 5 v.

85. Great East, *Groote Oost* in Dutch, another name for the Spice Islands.
86. Clercq, de-, F.S.A., *Bijdragen tot de kennis der residentie Ternate* (Contributions to knowledge about the Ternate Residency) (Leiden: Brill, 1890).
87. See Stapel, F.W., *Het Bongaais Verdrag* (The Bungaya Treaty): *De Vestiging der Nederlanders op Makassar* (Establishment of the Dutch at Makassar) (Groningen/den Haag: J.B. Wolters Uitgevers, Mij., 1922) and "The Bungaya Treaty of 18 November 1667", 283 *infra*.
88. Valentijn, *op. cit.*
89. *Panĕmbahan*, 'object of veneration'; title of certain Javanese rulers.
90. Raden Paku, the first Sunan Giri, is considered to be one of the greatest of the Nine Walis or Saints. He built his house and masjid on the hill Giri and later was buried there. He founded a line of spiritual lords of Giri which lasted until 1680 (whereas the other Walis had no successors to their authority). In some traditions Sunan Giri is said to have played a leading role in the conquest of Majapait and to have ruled for forty days after its fall in order to purify Java of pre-Islamic remnants. His descendants preserved their independence and were acknowledged spiritual leaders of kings and commoners alike, although their own territorial power was limited (they had originally controlled Grĕsik, but later lost it to Surabaya). Until 1680, Giri was to remain a major opponent of the inland empire-builders, and the spiritual power associated with Giri would come to be feared and hated by the rulers of Mataram. In 1635, Sulţān Agung began his campaigns against the defiant 'priest-kings', but they maintained their freedom until 1680 when the last Sunan Giri and most of his family were killed on Mataram's orders. Later Regents of Tulungagung, Trĕnggalek and Madura trace their descent back to the Sunan of Giri.

The first Sunan and his successors are credited with a leading role in the spread of Islām to Lombok, Makasar, Kutai (East Kalimantan) and Pasir (Southeast Kalimantan). There were clearly links between Giri and Maluku. Zainal Abidin (Zayn al-'Ābidīn), the ruler of Ternate in 1486-1500, is said to have been a student of Sunan Giri in his youth, and as late as 1618, Ambonese continued to send tribute in cloves to Giri, and the Hituese leader Kakiali (d. 1643) studied there. (See Ricklefs, *op.cit.*, 36, and Sutherland, Heather, "Notes on Java's Regent Families", pt. 1, *Indonesia*, 16 (October 1973) 141-2. See also Chapter X, n. 172 *infra*.)

91. *Op. cit.*
92. *Op. cit.*
93. Quoted in Schrieke, *Selected Writings ...*, *op. cit.*, II, 67, from Barbosa, Duarte, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the*

*Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants* Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the year 1518 A.D. Translated from the Portuguese Text First Published in 1812 A.D. by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, in Vol. II of its Collection of Documents regarding the History and Geography of the Nations beyond the Seas, ed. and annot. by Dames, Mansel Longworth, (London: HS, Second Series, No. 49, 1921) II, 189–91. See also Tiele, op. cit.

94. Krom, N.J., *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese history) (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1931) 449 ff.
95. Castanheda, de-, Fernão Lopes, *História de descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (History of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese) (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924–33) 4 v.
96. 'Heathen' refers to the Hindu-Javanese suzerain residing in the interior at Kadiri who had sent an ambassador to Měłaka with presents, offering the Portuguese aid in the form of men and food. Schrieke, *Selected Writings ...*, op. cit., I, 66–7.
97. See *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, 1907* (Report of the Commission in the Netherlands Indies for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura, 1907) (The Hague, 1909) 42–51.

The gravestones of Trawulan and Trâlâyâ are dated in the Śaka era, which began in AD 78, rather than the Islāmic, and use old Javanese rather than 'Arabic numerals, which would almost certainly mean that these are tombs of Javanese, as opposed to non-indigenous Muslims. The earliest is found at Trawulan and is dated Ś 1290 (AD 1368–9). At Trâlâyâ is a series of gravestones extending from Ś 1298–1533 or AD 1376–1611. From the elaborate decoration on some of them and their proximity to the site of the Majapait capital, Damais concluded that these were probably the graves of very distinguished Javanese, perhaps even members of the royal family. (See Damais, Louis-Charles, "Études Javanaises I: Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trâlâyâ" (Javanese Studies: The Muslim tombs dating from Trâlâyâ), *BEFEO*, XLVIII, 2 (1957) 353–415.

"These East Javanese stones therefore suggest that some members of the Javanese élite adopted Islam at a time when the Hindu-Buddhist state of Majapahit was at the very height of its glory. These were, moreover, the first Javanese Muslims of whom evidence survives. Since evidence is so scanty, of course it cannot be said with certainty that these were the first Javanese adherents to Islam. But the Trawulan and Tralaya gravestones certainly contradict, and therefore cast grave doubts upon, the view formerly held by scholars that Islam originated on the coast of Java

- and initially represented a religious and political force which opposed Majapahit." (Ricklefs, op. cit., 4.)
98. Manguin, Pierre-Yves, "The Introduction of Islām into Champa", 289 *infra*, speaks of the disappearance of Champa from the history of Southeast Asia after the fall of its capital Vijaya in 1471 as a myth, for this kingdom was sufficiently strong at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to send help to Johor in its confrontation with the Portuguese, and its merchants continued throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century to frequent the ports of Southeast Asia. The process of the disappearance of this country from the scene was in fact very protracted; the most serious blow was when between 1691 and 1697 the Vietnamese made it a province, Binh-thuân, and the last Cham ports passed under their control (307). But before that date, the king and a substantial portion of the population had become Muslim (301-2).
  99. Rouffaer, G.P., "Het Tijdperk van Godsdienstovergang (1400-1600) in den Maleischen Archipel: Wanneer is Madjapahit gevallen?" (The Epoch of Religious Conversion (1400-1600) in the Malay Archipelago: When did Majapahit fall?), *BKI*, L (1899) 111-99.
  100. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese history), op. cit., 461.
  101. Professor Kern is presumably referring here, *inter alia*, to the famous Meinsma edition of *Babad Tanah Djawi in proza. Javaansche geschiedenis loopende tot het jaar 1647 der Javaansche jaartelling* (Babad Tanah Djawi in prose: History of Java up to the year 1647 of the Javanese era), re-edited in Latin characters and translated into Dutch by Olthof, W.L., (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1941) 2 v. *Babad Tanah Djawi* (History of the Land of Java) is a generic title covering a large number of manuscripts in Javanese.
  102. *Ibid.*, 29 (text), 30 (transl.). Other Javanese sources give different versions of these events. For 'the religious teacher of Giri' — Sunan Giri — see Chapter V, n. 90 *supra* and Chapter X, n. 172 *infra*.
  103. The date Ś 1400 (AD 1478) for the fall of Majapahit is found at the end of the *Pararaton* and in the *Śerat Kanda*; see Brandes, J.L.A., ed., "Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het Boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit" (Pararaton (Ken Arok) or the Book of the Kings of Tumapël and Majapahit), 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. rev. by Krom, N.J., et al., *VBG*, LXII (1920) 40, 200, 230. It is also in a number of *sengkala* (chronogram) lists. See also Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, *The History of Java* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., London: Black et al. and Murray, 1830) II, 257.
  104. See Berg, C.C., in Stapel, op. cit., II.
  105. *Peregrinação de Fernam Mendes Pinto*, nova edição conforme a primeira de 1614 (Peregrination of Fernão/Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, new edn. according to the 1614 1<sup>st</sup> edn.) (Lisbon, 1829) 3 v. There are also translations available in other European lan-

guages: *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, transl. Gent, H.C., (London: J. Maccock for Henry Herringman, 1663); and *The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, transl. Cogan, Henry, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891).

106. It was during the expedition against Panarukan in 1546 that Raden Trënggana, the ruler of Dëmak, was apparently murdered.
107. "De eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewycksz" (The first Book of Willem Lodewycksz) in *De eerste schippvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597: Journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden* (The first voyage of the Dutch to the East Indies under Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-7: journals, documents and other papers), eds. Rouffaer, G.P., and IJzerman, J.W., WLW, VII, XXV, XXXII (The Hague, 1915-29) 3 v.
108. Ibid.
109. i.e. 1938.
110. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, transl. Dames, op. cit.
111. Djajadiningrat, Raden Hoesein, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten: Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Critical Essay on the Sëjarah Bantën: A contribution to characterizing Javanese historical writing) (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913).
112. In this description Professor Kern assumes that 'Falatehan' and Sunan Gunungjati (d. 1570) are one and the same. Ricklefs casts doubt on the identification of 'Falatehan' (perhaps Fadhillah — Faḍl Allāh — Khān or Fatahillah) with Sunan Gunungjati. "The identity and activities of Sunan Gunungjati are known largely from semi-legendary tales, and much uncertainty remains. It is not impossible that the military conquests ascribed to him were more the efforts of another man known to the Portuguese as 'Tagaril' and 'Falatehan'... ." (Op. cit., 35.)
113. Op. cit.
114. With due respect to Professor Kern, this is a misleading use of the word 'unbeliever' (*kāfir*) which in Islām would not include Christians who are *Ahl al-Kitāb*, 'possessors of the Scripture'. (See Chapter II, n. 21 *supra*.) It would have been better to have said 'forces hostile to Islām', for they were no less.
115. See Gunung Jati, Sunan, in Rinkes, D.A., *Nine Saints of Java*, transl. Froger, H.M., introd. Drewes, G.W.J., ed. and annot. by Gordon, Alijah, (Kuala Lumpur: MSRI, 1996).
116. King Yūnus of Jëpara — also identified as Yat Sun — was the brother-in-law of Raden Trënggana of Dëmak and became Dëmak's ruler from 1518 until 1521 when he died.
117. Op. cit.
118. Op. cit.
119. Op. cit.

120. Ricklefs, M.C., in his 11 December 1996 letter advised that "the identities of these various figures are disputed and the historical evidence too paltry to support firm conclusions".
121. Op. cit., 138.
122. This information is not from the *Pararaton* but from the *Sadjarah Bantĕn*. Professor Drewes writes, "This is correct, the lapse may be caused by Brandes quoting the *Sadjarah Bantĕn* story in his edition of the *Pararaton*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1920, 134.
123. Punggawa (Skr): 'bull; hero, eminent person, chief', according to Zoetmulder, P.J., *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1982).
124. Djajadiningrat, op. cit., 41.
125. Ibid., 39.
126. Badui: Sundanese-speaking tribal people in West Java who have isolated themselves and resisted 'modernization'. The most committed eschew alcohol, evening meals, transport, money, perfume, fertilizer, cash crops and farm beasts. Their territory in Rangkasbitung is inaccessible by surfaced road and visitors are banned from the core areas. Badui shamans are highly regarded as prophets. Penitents seek them out for advice about the future.
127. Op. cit.
128. See Pinto, Mendes, op. cit.
129. Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh al-Qahhār (r.c. AD 1537/9–1571) was one of Aceh's greatest warriors; it is he who is believed to have attacked the Bataks to the south of Aceh in 1539 when the Batak ruler refused Islām.
130. Junghuhn, Franz, *Beschreibung der Battaländer* (Description of the Batak People) (Berlin: Reimer, 1847). Junghuhn, a German ethnologist, wrote one of the first careful studies of Batak culture and religion. See Appendix III: *Conversion of the Sumatran Bataks*.
131. See Appendix IV: *The Padri Reform Movement and the anti-Dutch War of 1821–38*, based on the work of Ricklefs, M.C., for a more balanced view of the Padri movement.
132. Snouck Hurgronje, C., in *Het Gajōland en zijne Bewoners* (The Gayōland and its Inhabitants) (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903), 76, n. 5 says: "In the Pidie region *kajoi-kajoi* is used in the sense of 'run'. According to some people, in Aceh *gajo-gajo* is an old-fashioned word with the same meaning, but very many have never heard of it."
133. Ibid., 78.
134. Since in Professor Kern's own bibliography he cites Groeneveldt, W.P., "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from Chinese Sources", op. cit., for his references to Ma Huan, we checked Groeneveldt, also his "Supplementary Jottings to the 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from

Chinese Sources''', *TP*, VII (1896), repr. in China 1941, and could find no such reference to the Riau-Lingga Archipelago/ Bintan or to the Strait of Lingga in his translated excerpts from Ma Huan's *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (The overall survey of the ocean's shores). On 79–80 in an excerpt from Fei Hsin's *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (Description of the starry raft) (1436), it speaks of the Strait of Lingga and the people chiefly living from piracy, but gives no indication of their religious affiliation.

135. Fei Hsin, another Chinese Muslim who accompanied Zheng He (Chêng Ho) on his voyages, wrote his *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (1436) in two chapters, differentiating between places he, himself, had visited and those he only knew by hearsay. Mills, J.V.G., in *Ma Huan, Ying-yai Sheng-lan: 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores' [1433]*, op. cit., 60–1, states that although Fei Hsin's book is only about half the length of Ma Huan's, he provided notes on 40–45 places as compared with 20–21 countries described by Ma Huan, and while 19 places are common to both writers, Fei Hsin gives accounts of 26 places not described by Ma Huan. In that list we find Chia-li-ma-ting country or Karimata Island. Apparently, therefore, the Karimata Island was not observed by Ma Huan as stated by Professor Kern. Fei Hsin describes the population as making wine from sugar-cane and remarks that "their manners and customs are rather bad", presumably therefore the population was not Muslim (Groeneveldt, op. cit., 115).
136. Again, Fei Hsin, in Groeneveldt, 79, refers to Ma-yi-tung, which Groeneveldt takes to be Banka (Bangka), and from his description it is clear that the inhabitants were neither Muslim nor Christian. Mills, op. cit., 61, lists Ma-i country (Bëlitung Island) as a place known to Fei Hsin by hearsay; this reference is not found in Groeneveldt. As to Ma Huan reporting on Bangka and Bëlitung, to which Professor Kern refers, we find no such references in Groeneveldt.
137. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, op. cit. Duarte Barbosa wrote in 1518 and supplemented it during the next two years.
138. Groeneveldt, op. cit., 101–3.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.
141. But see Chen Da-sheng, "A Brunei Sultan in the Early 14<sup>th</sup> Century: Study of an Arabic Gravestone", *JSEAS*, XXIII, 1 (March 1999) 1–13, where he describes the tombstone of a Brunei ruler: the "Sultan, a learned and just man ... was called Mahārājā Brunī". The Genealogical Tablet (*Batu Tarsilah*) of the Sulṭān of Brunei covers 29 generations and contains no such name for a Sulṭān of Brunei. The earliest rule, that of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, only dates back to AD 1363. The gravestone found in

Brunei is made of diabase, which Brunei does not produce, but Quanzhou abounds in such material. "Of the 111 gravestones with Arabic inscriptions found in Quanzhou, 91 were made of diabase and the 20 others of granite. The former were dated around AH 670-764 (AD 1272-1362). As far as the shape and style of the gravestone ..., the pointed bow on the top, the bands in relief decurved down, the rectangular bottom tenon are exactly the same as those gravestones found in Quanzhou. The carving technology and the proportion of the size in height, width and thickness are also similar... ." "Regarding the paleographic identification, I believe the writing on the gravestone in Brunei to be similar to that of the gravestone of Fāṭima bint Nainā [Nā'inā] Aḥmad, who died in Quanzhou on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān, AH 700 (the 22<sup>th</sup> of May, AD 1301)... . Also I further believe that both the Brunei Sultan gravestone and Fāṭima's gravestone were written by the same person."

Chen concludes that the Sultān's gravestone was engraved in Quanzhou about AD 1301 and then transported to Brunei for a Brunei Sultān. "The author would argue that the situation of Islam in Brunei before Sultan Muḥammad Shāh is not clear because of the lack of Islamic records on the subject, but we cannot state that Moslem kingdoms had not existed in Brunei before Sultan Muḥammad Shāh." There is evidence of Muslim traders from China visiting Brunei and they could have been responsible for the introduction of Islām. And finally Chen contends that "... the finds of the Arabic inscriptions in Brunei require us to re-examine the history of Islam in Brunei, Peninsular Malaysia and the Indonesian Archipelago."

Also refer to Chen Da-sheng, *Quanzhou yisilanjiao shike/Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou*. Chen Da-sheng, "Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Communauté Musulmane de Quanzhou (Fujian-Chine)" (M.A. dissertation in E.H.E.S.S., Paris, 1989).

142. Tiele, op. cit.

143. See Pigafetta, Antonio, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*, ed. Robertson, James Alexander, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906) I, 106-7; Blair, E.H., and Robertson, J.A., eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland: A.H. Clark, 1903-9) 55 v and biographies by Guillemard, F.H.H., (1890); Benson, E.F., (1929); and Zweig, Stefan, (1938).

Ferdinand Magellan (Portuguese: Fernão de Magalhães, Spanish: Fernando de Magallanes), c. 1480-1521, a Portuguese navigator, sailed under the Spanish flag, initially with five vessels and 270 men. From South America, he reached the Pacific by the Strait which now bears his name. For three months his ships were without provisions and the men suffered intensely. After the

Marinas, he reached the Philippines on 16 March 1521 where he was killed on 27 April while supporting one group of 'natives' against the other. Only the *Victoria* returned to Spain. But the voyage proved the roundness of the earth; it revolutionized ideas as to the relative proportions of land and water; and it revealed the Americas as a 'new world' separate from Asia.

144. Tiele, op. cit.

145. Ibid.

146. Professor Kern spells Lawe; Schrieke, op. cit., Lawei. Kern wrote that he thought 'Lawe' was in the lower basin of the Kapuas, which is now part of Indonesian Kalimantan. Pigafetta, who saw Brunei's navy after it returned from conquering 'Lawei' in 1522, says that the ruler "had destroyed and sacked the city because it refused to obey the king of Borneo, but the king of Java Major instead". (Robertson, J.A., transl. (1906) I, 107, cited by Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, op. cit., pt. I, 31.)

147. "Discours ende ghelegenheit van het Eylandt Borneo ende 't gene daer ghevallen is int jaer 1609" (Description and circumstances of the island of Borneo & what happened there in the year 1609), made by S.B. (Samuel Bloemart, Bloemaert, or Blommert) in *Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste reysen, bij de inwoonders der selver provinciën derwaerts gedaen...* (Beginning and Progress of the United Dutch Chartered East-Indies Company, containing the principal voyages made thither by inhabitants of those same provinces ... ), ed. Commelin, Isaac, (Amsterdam: 1646) II.

See Jonge, de-, J.K.J., and Deventer, van-, M.L., eds., *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië: Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het Oud-Koloniaal Archief* (The Rise of Dutch Authority in the East Indies: A Collection of unpublished Documents from the Old Colonial Archives) (Amsterdam and The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1862-1909, 16v.) III, 253, 399.

148. See n. 142 *supra*.

149. Pigafetta, op. cit.

150. This refers to the Tausug — 'People of the Current' — of the Sulu Archipelago who in 1979 numbered 492,000; the Samals of Southern Sulu made up another 202,000. See Majul, Cesar Adib, *The Contemporary Muslim Movement in the Philippines* (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1985) 11, quoting Gowing, Peter G., *Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979).

151. Op. cit.

152. Blair and Robertson, op. cit., IV, V.

153. Maguindanao refers to Muslims living in the valley of Pulangi and its immediate area, or to a family or dynasty, Iranun in origin.

154. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, IV, 178. See Letter from Spanish Governor General Francisco de Sande to Felipe II, 125–147, and Juan Ochoa Ttabudo's "The Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao", 148–52.
155. Manila Bishop Domingo de Salazar writing to the Spanish King Felipe II. See Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, *op. cit.*, 68, where he quotes "Salazar to Felipe II", Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, VII, 68–9.
156. Spanish chroniclers have conceded that if the Spaniards had not arrived in the Philippines at the time they did with Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and Fray Andrés de Urdaneta (1565), inevitably Islām would have spread over Luzon and the Visayas. Fray Urdaneta was both navigator of the fleet and its spiritual leader. He had joined the Augustinian order in middle age. Five Augustinian frays accompanied this original expedition. See Phelan, John Leddy, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959) 36. Antonio de Morga and other Friar writers viewed the arrival of the Spaniards and their blocking of the northern expansion of Islām as an act of God, while the Muslims considered it a challenge to their patriotism and Islāmic faith. See ed. Retana, W.E., *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el Dr. Antonio de Morga* (Successes of the Philippine Islands by Dr. Antonio de Morga) (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1909; repr. Cambridge: HS, Second Series, No. 140, 1971) 36. Both the Portuguese who captured Mēlaka in 1511 and the Spanish who reached the Philippines in 1565 perceived their fight against the Muslims of Southeast Asia as a continuation of the bloody Crusader War which they had waged years before against Muslims of a different race. To emphasize this continuity of perception, they categorized the Muslims of Southeast Asia as 'Moors'. See Appendix V: *Moro Resistance to Spanish-Christian Colonization in the Philippines*.
157. When Legazpi arrived in 1565 he found that Islām had a firm hold in Sulu and Maguindanao, but a tenuous hold in the other islands. In Manila the ruling family was Muslim, but there was not much evidence of Islāmic practices among the inhabitants. In Balayan, Batangas, where Bornean preachers had worked, there was no evidence of any tangible result. Muslim dietary practices found in Cagayan del Norte might imply adoption of cultural traits rather than faith. In the Visayas and some northern parts of Mindanao, in spite of commercial intercourse with Borneans, for all practical purposes, Islām was unheard of. Islām in Manila at the time of Legazpi was at the stage which Maguindanao and Buayan had passed more than half a century before. See Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, *op. cit.*, 36–7.

158. "When they landed in Manila, the soldiers of Legazpi found on the same site of the present Fort Santiago, key to the capital of Manila, a powerful Muslim principality under Rajah Matanda ... who ... reigned in company with a nephew, Rajah Suliman, the one who favoured a policy of war ... . Under the walls of this fort, an historical event, little appreciated but which influenced our conquest, took place. It was there that for the first time since the conquest of Granada that the Spaniards once more stood face to face with the standards of the Prophet [Muhammad], both meeting after circling the globe from opposite directions. As was inevitable, they met at the walls under artillery fire; and they continue to do so in Jolo, fighting a battle that began on the borders of Guadalete. And as if nothing should detract from that continuity, Legazpi called them *moros*, a name they keep up to this time and which, regardless of their having nothing in common with the Mauretians, signifies a community of religion shared with the Spanish Arabs." (Written in 1884 by Victor M. Concas y Palau. Quoted from Retana's edition of de Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, op. cit., 379, cited in Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, op. cit., 77-8.
159. For more recent works on the subject, see Costa, de la-, Horacio, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961); Phelan, op. cit., and Majul, Cesar Adib, "The Role of Islam in the History of the Filipino People", *Asian Studies*, IV, 2 (August 1966) 303-15 and his *Muslims in the Philippines*, op. cit.
160. In 1975 while the Muslims of the Philippines totalled at least three million, we have only the following breakdown to a total of 2,168,000. There were 10 or 11 distinct communities of unequal size concentrated in the Sulu Archipelago and the western provinces of Mindanao. These are the Maguindanao of Cotabato, 674,000; the Maranao and Iranun in the Lake Lanao region, 670,000; the Tausug of the Sulu Archipelago, 492,000; and the Samal of Southern Sulu, 202,000. Other minor groups are the Yakun (with marked Polynesian features), 93,000; Jama Mapun, 15,000; Palawan groups (Palawani and Molbog), 10,000; Kalagan, 5,000; Kolibugan, 4,000; Sangil, 3,000 and the Melebuganon and Bajau ('Sea Gypsies', who live in houseboats). (Source: Majul, *The Contemporary Muslim Movement ...*, op. cit. (1985) 11, quoting Gowing, op. cit.)

The Mindanao region comprises the island archipelagos of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. This region has a combined land area of 11,625 million hectares or 116.25 million sq. km. It constitutes 39.09 per cent of the total land area of the Philippines (29,741 million hectares). 'Mainland' Mindanao alone with its 9.87 million

hectares is the second largest island in the Philippines after Luzon with 11.3 million hectares. The region was divided into 19 provinces and has 15 cities.

In 1969, there were an estimated 37.2 million Filipinos; 8.8 million or 23.66 per cent living in Mindanao. While the overall Philippine population had an average growth rate of 3.06 per cent in the intercensal years between 1948 and 1960, Mindanao's population increased by 5.4 per cent, the substantial difference resulting from the large migration of Christian Filipinos from the north into these southern areas. It is precisely this migration, and the land-grabbing that distinguished it, which crystallized the conflict in the area. See *A Brief on Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan* (Davao City: Mindanao Development Authority, 2 January 1970) 11, 14.

In the intercensal years 1980-90 average growth of overall population in the Philippines was 2.35 per cent, whereas in Southern Mindanao the increase was 3.40 per cent. In 1995 the population of the Philippines stood at 69.8 million, while the population of Mindanao was 16.1 million or 23.06 per cent of the total.

It is difficult to judge the situation of Muslims from Philippine statistics; for instance, the Sulu Archipelago (Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi Tawi) are now lumped together with Zamboanga del Sur and Zamboanga del Norte as 'Western Mindanao'. Literacy in 'Western Mindanao' rose from 65.50 per cent in 1970 to 81.30 per cent in 1990, whereas literacy in the Muslim Sulu Archipelago would be devastatingly less, as per n. 162 *infra*.

161. 'Moro piracy' was the pretext for many Spanish campaigns against the Muslims. However, the Sulu Sultāns, themselves, hated piracy and punished pirates out of an interest in keeping all commercial lanes open. See Majul, Cesar Adib, "The Historical Background of the Muslims in the Philippines and the Present Mindanao Crisis", paper read during the Second National Conference of the Philippine Muslims' Lawyers League, 15-18 December 1971 (Manila: Convislam, 1972) 11, and Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, op. cit., 285.
162. The reality that the late Professor Kern described pre-1938 has not fundamentally changed. While the average literacy rate at the Philippine national level was 72 per cent in 1960, in Mindanao overall literacy was 62 per cent, with the Sulu Archipelago having the lowest literacy rate at 28.2 per cent (*A Brief on Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan*, op. cit., 16).

The percentage of Muslim student enrolment in the University of the Philippines in Quezon City (Luzon) is negligible. Thus one would expect that in the University at Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, in the heart of the Muslim area, student enrolment would be

overwhelmingly Muslim in order to begin the process of equalization. While Muslim enrolment began at 25.73 per cent in 1962–3, it decreased progressively and in 1965–6 was as low as 18.9 per cent, and in 1972–3 it fell even further to 14.25 per cent. Only by 1980–1 had enrolment reached 40 per cent, but again there was a fall to 38.77 per cent in 1984–5. In 1996–7, it climbed to 43.8 per cent, and in 1999 apparently it reached 54.31 per cent. In that same year, Muslim lecturers represented 50.98 per cent of teaching staff. (Source: Mindanao State University, Marawi City, Enrolment Trend of Non-Muslims and Muslims for 34 years and one semester, 1962–63 — 1996–97, document prepared by Jessie T. Silang, University Registrar, and Mindanao State University System, Presidential Executive Assistant, Engr. Dibolawan Banocag's fax to MSRI of 28 July 1999.)

The neglect of centuries, coupled with the mentality Professor Kern describes of perceiving Muslims as 'Moros' and outside the definition of 'Filipino' — synonymous with 'Christian' — compounded by the intensive immigration of northerners ('Christians') into the area whereby the percentage of Muslim population in Mindanao had fallen to 24 per cent (*A Brief on Mindanao*, op. cit., 17), and the land-grabbing of Muslim traditional lands that has been its characteristic, understandably culminated in the Moro National Liberation Front led by Professor Nur Misuari, formerly lecturer in Political Science at the University of the Philippines, Quezon City, who through negotiation with the Philippine government was to become Governor of Mindanao and Chairman of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development in 1996. Nevertheless, the armed Moro struggle for self-determination continues, now led by other groups.

163. See Cense, A.A., *De Kroniek van Bandjarmasin* (The Banjarmasin Chronicle) (Dissertation University of Leiden, Santpoort: Mees, 1928) and Ras, J.J., ed. and transl., *Hikajat Bandjar, A Study in Malay Historiography*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, I (The Hague, 1968).
164. Mallinckrodt, J., *Het adatrecht van Borneo* (The customary law of Borneo) (Leiden: Dubbeldeman, 1928) 2 v.
165. According to the former Governor of Sarawak, Tun Abdul Rahman Ya'kub in his fax to MSRI of 19 August 1999, while it is true that before World War II those who converted to Islām referred to themselves as 'Melayu' (Malay), this is no longer the case. Nevertheless, the terminology persists: when anyone converts to Islām it is said that he 'masuk Melayu', 'enters the Malays'.
166. Professor Kern refers to Borneo, the totality of Kalimantan, which is now split between Indonesian Kalimantan, Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia, and the Sultānate of Brunei. Sabah and Sarawak constitute East Malaysia with 1,307,036 Malaysian citizens living in

Sabah and 1,619,585 in Sarawak. While Minority Rights Group (MRG) contend that there are 39 indigenous ethnic groups in Sabah, Malaysia's 1991 Census breakdown by ethnic group/religion only gives data for Malays, Dusun, Kadazan, Murut, and all other Bumiputĕra (Sons of the Soil) are lumped together as 'Other Bumiputĕra'. The total of all Bumiputĕra was 936,535 or 72 per cent of citizens, which is the percentage MRG also gives. There were 233,430 Bumiputĕra living in urban areas, with the vast majority, 703,105 or 75 per cent, still rural, living mostly near forests on which they partially depend for resources.

Again, MRG identified 37 distinct indigenous ethnic groups in Sarawak "... now collectively known as Dayaks and Orang Ulu (People of the Upper River regions) yet each has its own tribal name". The 1991 Malaysian Census gives data for Malays, Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, and 'Other Bumiputĕra', who collectively total 1,159,537 of 1,619,585 citizens or 72 per cent; 301,399, or 26 per cent living in urban areas, while 858,138 or 74 per cent remain rural with approximately 25 per cent depending on forest produce for their daily needs and livelihood (MRG, *op. cit.*, 9).

Of Sabah's Bumiputĕra citizenry of 936,535, 58 per cent or 545,672 are Muslim and 37 per cent or 343,326 Christian. For Sarawak, out of 1,159,537 total Bumiputĕra citizens, Muslims constitute 449,880 or 39 per cent while Christians number 470,469 or 41 per cent, with 154,875 or 13 per cent following Tribal or Folk Religions, and 64,565 or 6 per cent having no religion. (See Appendix VI for further details on the ethnic/religious composition of Sabah and Sarawak.)

We've been unable to obtain a comparable breakdown for Indonesian Kalimantan. *Muslim Almanac* (*op. cit.*, 74) only gives percentages of Muslims: West Kalimantan: 56.3; Central: 69.9; East: 85.7; and South: 96.8. But see Appendix VII, *Indonesia: Religious Composition by Region, 1990* where Gavin W. Jones gives Muslim population of West Kalimantan as 55.6 per cent, Christians 33.6, Buddhists 6.8 and Others 4.0, and 'Rest of Kalimantan', Muslim population 86.5 per cent, Christians 9.4, with Hindus 2.8.

The Sultānate of Brunei's population in 1996 was 335,100; 222,100 Malays and other Bumiputĕra or 75.8 per cent; 46,300 Chinese or 15.2 per cent; and 66,700 'Others' or 12 per cent. Muslims made up 70 per cent of the total population. See *Borneo Bulletin Brunei Yearbook: Key Information on Brunei 1999* (Brunei: Brunei Press and Forward Media, 1999).

167. *Op. cit.* The Banda archipelago is a group of eleven small islands in Central Maluku, six to seven hours from the provincial capital

Ambon by the fastest passenger ship. The huge province of Maluku consists of islands scattered between Sulawèsi and Irian. Banda Neira is the district capital of the Banda Islands. The Bandas are today more than 90 per cent Muslim; the Christian minority forms a higher proportion on the islands of Hatta and Ai, and in the administrative centre of Neira.

168. All the nutmeg in the Elizabethan world came from the remote Banda island chain. One of the richest and most remote sources within the Bandas was a two-mile-long, half-mile-wide island called Run. Nutmeg in the popular imagination was thought to cure the plague and many other diseases. A sterling pound's worth purchased in Indonesia commanded £60,000 in London. It was so valuable that crews unloading ships were made to wear canvas clothing with no pockets, as a pocketful could make a crewman rich for life.

Almost all of the world's spices were found exclusively on the hundred or so small islands that make up the province of Maluku. Faced with competition from the English and the Portuguese, the Dutch changed their goal from trade to conquest which they pursued with a brutality that shocked even their own countrymen.

Nathaniel Courthope, a British trader, held the atoll of Run for five years from 1616, but the Dutch locked the island in a firm blockade. The Dutch Governor-General, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, a brutal man, aimed to subdue not only the Indonesian people but anyone who attempted to get in the way of his ambition to monopolize the spice trade. Courthope was lured from Run and went down fighting, and the Dutch claimed it. In 1623, on trumped-up allegations of a plot to take over a fort on Amboyna Island, now Ambon, the Dutch captured and executed the island's entire English population after unspeakable torture. Only two men were left alive ultimately to tell their story which caused a furore in Europe. The Dutch were forced to hand back Run to the British, but they wanted it so badly that they traded it for New Amsterdam, which grew into New York, the richest city in the world!

The English evicted from Run dug up hundreds of spice root-stocks and tonnes of soil and transported them to Singapore, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Běngkulu (Bencoolen) in Sumatra, and Penang in Malaya, thereby breaking the spice monopoly once and for all. Nutmeg, a spice so rare that it was worth its weight in gold in London, is now readily available for the price it commanded in Indonesia centuries ago.

See Milton, Giles, *Nathaniel's Nutmeg, or the True and Incredible Adventures of the Spice Trader Who Changed The Course of History* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).

169. Op. cit.
170. *Kaplaars*, top-boot.
171. Op. cit., III, 2.
172. See Chapter V, n. 90 *supra*. The following description in "Thorough Account of Ambon" was written in 1621. "At Grise, or a half mile from there in the mountains which they call Bukit, lives their pope, whom they call Rajah Bukit [Sunan Giri]; when the junks come from Java the *orang kayas* [dignitaries] and chief priests are brought some letters from there along with certain little Javanese caps on which he writes some holy words (as they think) in recompense. When the junks depart again, they send this Rajah Bukit or pope a *bahar* [3 piculs] of cloves or two, at least in as far as they are allowed by us, considering that they may not transport or ship any cloves without our knowledge and permission . . . They are extremely devoted to this pope . . ." The writer goes on to describe how the 'pope's' letters are received with all pomp and circumstance by the Ambonese and Javanese. *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* (Chronicle of the Historical Society at Utrecht) (1871) 360 ff., cited in Schrieke, *Selected Writings . . .*, op. cit., I, 34.
173. Tiele, op. cit., II, 22–3.
174. The Melanesian Papuan people of New Guinea are now split between the previously Dutch-colonized area, incorporated into Indonesia in 1963, initially called Irian Jaya and recently renamed Papua, and independent Papua New Guinea, formerly colonized variously by Germany and Australia. Indonesian Papua is comprised of nine regencies and the capital city of Jayapura (Hollandia). Fakfak ('Pakpak') is one of the nine and is located in the south. Papua's Muslim population is concentrated there and also in Sorong-Radja Ampat in the west.

Fakfak is situated on the Bombërai Peninsula on the southern part of the Bërau Gulf. It has an excellent harbour protected by an island and surrounded by mountains. In 1898, under the Dutch, Papua was divided into two *afdelingen* — districts — under the Maluku Residency. These were North New Guinea, with capital Manokwari, and West and South New Guinea, with capital Fakfak. In the respective capitals controleurs were posted.

The sultāns of Tidore, Tërnate and Banda at various times appointed *rajas* to rule over certain areas: to wit Radja Ampat and the coastal shores of the Dore Peninsula and from Bombërai to the Etna Gulf. Peoples from those sultānates intermarried with the indigenous Papuans and their offspring (*përanakan*) were accepted as possessing the same rights over traditional lands in Fakfak. Among their descendants are the Margas (clans) Patiran, Ruasa, Rumagesan, Fuad, Wasaraka, Bauw, Uswanas, and others, who generally are Muslim.

In 1981, Fakfak's population stood at 56,000. Out of the eight *Kecamatan* (Districts), excluding non-assimilated 'newcomers' (transmigrants), five had Muslim majority populations: 14,014 compared with 7,546 Christian Papuans.

Population Distribution According to Religion

No. Kecamatan (District)	Indigenous		'Newcomers'		HB	AK
	Muslim	Christian	Muslim	Christian		
1 Fakfak Kota	5,400	2,550	3,400	569	10	21
2 Kokas	3,600	1,210	1,300	73	2	5
3 Kaimana	3,000	2,300	1,795	382	6	7
4 Těluk Arguni	980	566	1,640	404	4	2
5 Těluk Etna	1,034	920	1,770	571	6	3
6 Mimika Timur	-	4,886	700	237	2	5
7 Mimika Barat	-	4,910	693	52	3	2
8 Akimuga	-	10,746	148	86	-	-
TOTAL	56,000	14,014	28,088	11,446	2,374	33 45

Code: HB: Hindus and Buddhists

AK: Aliran Kěpěrcajaan (Mystical Sects)

Source: Statistics Office Fakfak Level II; *Fakfak Dalem Angka*, Population Census 1981.

Amongst the indigenous people there is a unity within the clans which supersedes religious affiliation. There is inter-religious marriage and children might follow either religion (such as in the Masauda Iha family). This cross-religious unity is reflected in the composition of the leadership at the national and student level of the movement for Papuan self-determination.

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175. *Nāgarakěrtāgama*, 14: 5-1.

176. Raffles, op. cit.

177. Matthes, B.F., *Over de Wadjoreezen met hun handelsen scheepswetboek* (About the Wajorese with their commercial and maritime code) (Makasar: [n.p.], 1869).

178. Pardessus, J.M., *Collection de Lois Maritimes antérieures au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Collection of Maritime Laws before the 18<sup>th</sup> century) (Paris: [n.p.], 1828-49) 6 v.

179. Ligtoet, A., "Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello, met vertaling en anteekeningen (Transcription of

- the Diary of the Rulers of Goa and Tallo', with transl. and notes), *BKI*, XXVIII (1880) 1–259.
180. A quotation from Tacitus; in short, unbiased.
  181. In Tiele, op. cit., VII.
  182. Professor Kern uses the word *rijksbestierder*. Dr. Christian Pelras in his letter of 30 September 1999 advised that this term translates the Makasarese title *pa'bicara butta*, usually rendered as 'Prime Minister'. Anthony Reid, on the contrary, who has written on this important Makasarese figure and his family, translates the title as 'Chancellor'. In fact, Karaeng Matoaya — the 'Old (venerable) Ruler' — exercised the reality of power over the whole 'Makasar kingdom' (constituted by the Goa-Tallo' union), the more so as he was also an uncle and guardian of the much younger ruler of Goa. On Dr. William Cummings' advice of 19 January 2000, we have rendered Karaeng Matoaya's position as 'Speaker of the Land'.
  183. Valentijn, op. cit.
  184. Blok, R., *History of the Island of Celebes*, transl. Stubenivoll, von-, J., (Calcutta, 1817).
  185. Ligtvoet, op. cit.
  186. Jonge and Deventer, op. cit., III, 322.
  187. Gentlemen XVII: the Board of Directors of the Dutch East Indies Company consisting of 17 men.
  188. Ligtvoet, op. cit.
  189. Ibid.
  190. Tiele, op. cit.
  191. Stapel, op. cit.
  192. Valentijn, op. cit., III, 2.
  193. Ligtvoet, op. cit.
  194. Valentijn, op. cit.
  195. Ibid.
  196. Tiele, op. cit., V, 161–2, 194–5.
  197. Op. cit., III, 2.
  198. See "The Bungaya Treaty", 283 *infra*.
  199. Tiele, op. cit.
  200. In Jonge and Deventer, op. cit., V, 201.
  201. Ligtvoet, op. cit.
  202. Every citizen of Indonesia is legally required to declare his religious affiliation. In Appendix VII, *Indonesia: Religious Composition by Region, 1990*, Gavin W. Jones gives Muslim population of Bali as 8.1 per cent, with Hindus being 90.3 per cent.
  203. Liefrinck, F.A., *Bali en Lombok*, introd. Eerde, van-, J.G., (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, 1927).
  204. 'Holy Tradition' refers to *al-Ḥadīth* being an account of what Prophet Muḥammad said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence. *Khabar ātharuhu illā Rasūlu'llāh*

refers to information that goes back to the Prophet, sometimes from his Companions or Successors. See Robson, J., "Hadith", *EI*, III (1986) 23–8.

205. Here Professor Kern refers to *ijtihād* or independent reasoning, 'striving with full exertion' to form an opinion. By the beginning of the fourth century of Islām (about AD 900), the point had been reached when the scholars of all schools of law felt that all essential questions had been thoroughly discussed and finally settled, and a consensus gradually established itself to the effect that from that time onwards no one might be deemed to have the necessary qualifications for independent reasoning in law and that all future activity would have to be confined to the explanation, application and, at the most, interpretation of the doctrine as it had been laid down once and for all. See Schacht, J., "Idjihād", *EI*, III (1986) 1026–7.

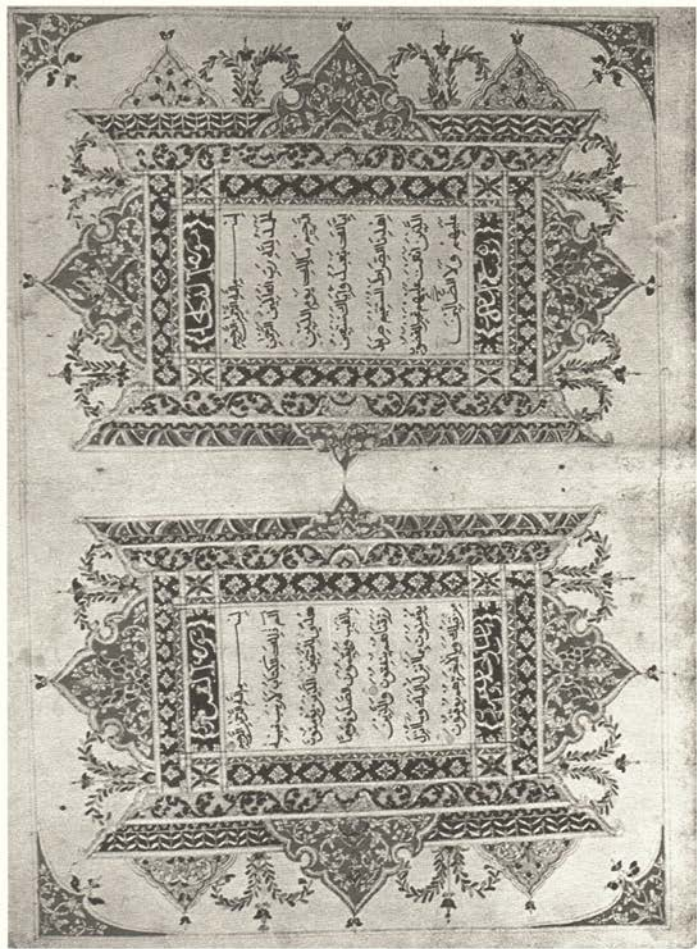
Adhesion to particularly noted jurists, the Imāms of the *Mazhabs* — Schools of Law — brought about an attitude of *taqlīd* or the 'clothing with authority' or adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating his reasons. *Taqlīd* is the antithesis of *ijtihād*. The struggle against *taqlīd* and to reopen the door of *ijtihād* is ongoing.

206. Snouck Hurgronje, C., "L'Arabie et les Indes Néerlandaises" ('Arabīya and the Netherlands East Indies) (1907) 112–13 in *VGGG*, IV, 2 (1924).
207. While it is true that al-Ḥusayn was martyred at Karbalā' in 680, al-Ḥasan died in 669/670 after a somewhat prolonged illness or possibly from poisoning, attributed by many sources to one of his wives. Shī'a (Shī'īs) is the general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting-point of all being the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as the legitimate Khalīfa after the death of Prophet Muḥammad.
208. Sunnī: the majority current of Islām.
209. But see Professor G.W.J. Drewes, 132 *infra*, where he cites Alessandro Bausani's conclusion that at least 90 per cent of the Persian words in Malay indicate concrete objects and not even 10 per cent abstract or adjectival concepts. Refer "Note sui vocaboli Persiani in Malese Indonesiane" (Notes on Persian words in Indonesian Malay), *Annale dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova Serie, XIV (1964) 31.
210. From about 1890 onwards, the number of Indonesians going to Makka was about 10,000 a year. In the years 1910 to 1931 this grew to more than 20,000 each year, representing roughly one-quarter of all those undertaking the *Ḥajj*. See Dahm, Bernhard, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971) 10–11 and 41; and Vredembregt, J., "The Haddj: Some of Its Features and Functions in Indonesia", *BKI*, CXVIII (1962)

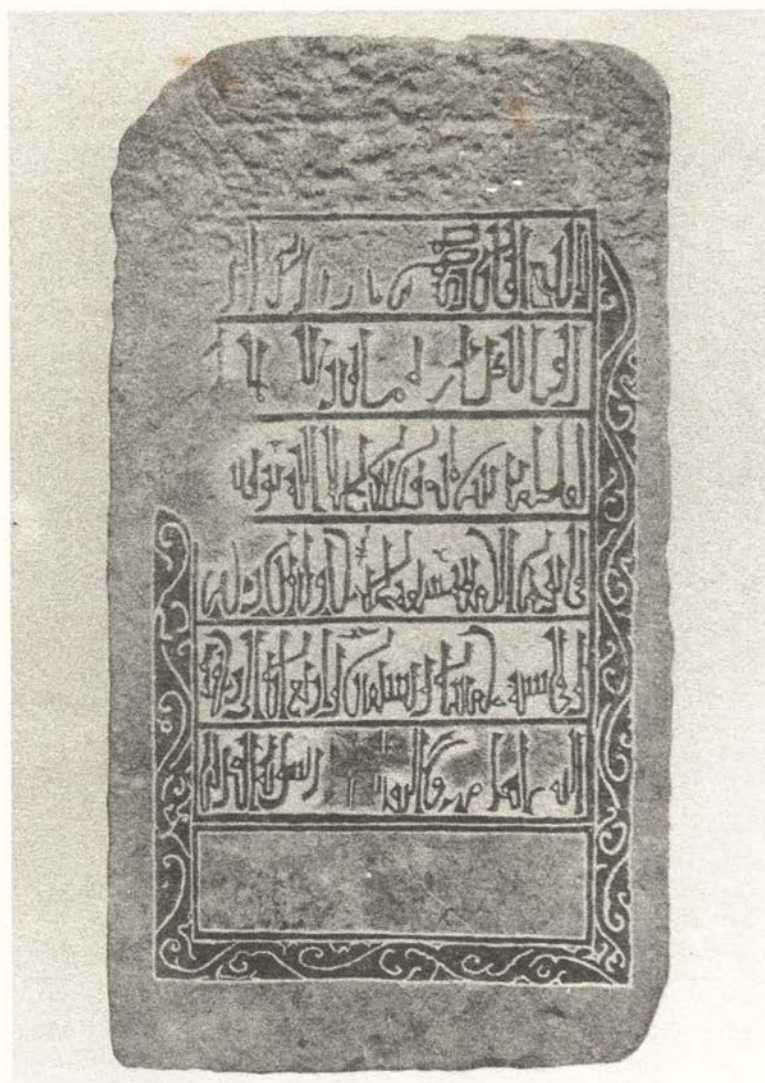
91–154, as cited by Jones, Gavin W., "Religion and Education in Indonesia", *Indonesia*, 22 (October 1976) 21, n. 8.

According to statistics received from the Departemen Agama, Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, ref: D.IV/HJ.00/3179/1998, dated 27 July 1999, covering the years 1949–1999, in 1949, given the post-war turmoil, only 9,892 Indonesians managed to make the *Hajj*. This increased to 104,861 in 1982 and peaked at 200,094 in 1998. But as a result of the speculative attack on the Indonesian currency, the escalating poverty, and accompanying political upheaval, their number fell to 70,691 in 1999.

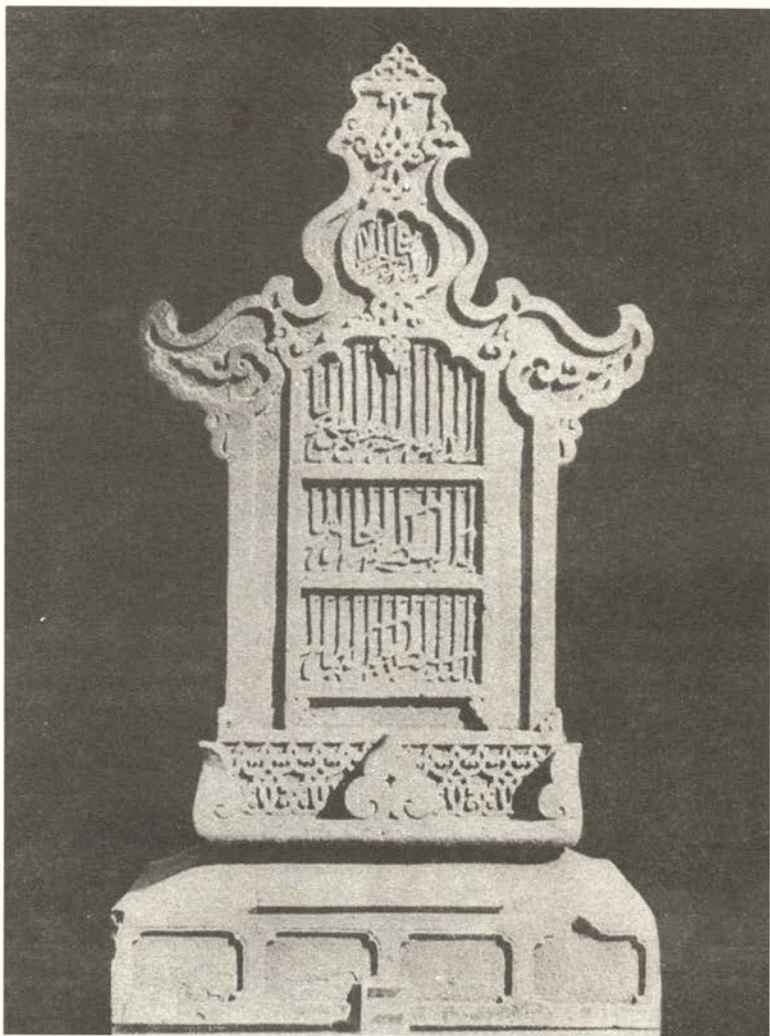
211. Snouck Hurgronje, C., "De Islam in Nederlandsch Indië" (Islām in the Netherlands Indies), *VGGG*, IV, 2 (1924) 364.
212. Professor Kern's opinion is not shared by the Annotator. One of Islām's fundamental contributions is the equality it offers Muslims 'in the bowing of the heads', regardless of ethnic origin.
213. See Chapter IX, n. 166 *supra* and Appendix VI: *Ethnic/Religious Breakdown in Sabah and Sarawak, East Malaysia*.



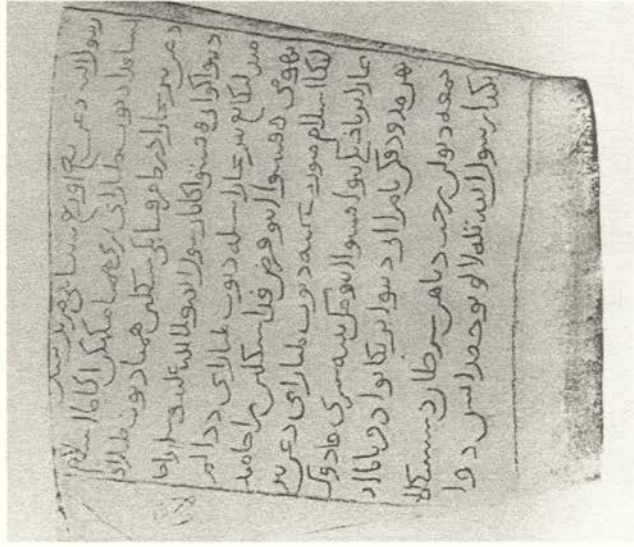
A miniature of the first two pages of a handwritten Qur'an from Aceh: *Sūrah al-Fāṭihah* and *Sūrah al-Baqara*.



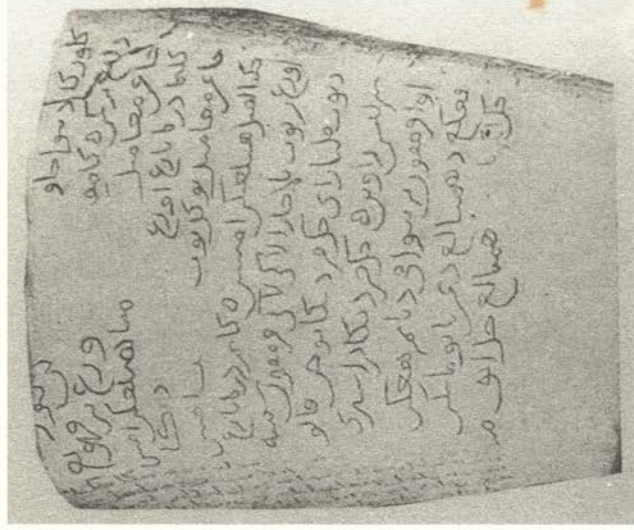
Tombstone of Fāṭima, daughter of Maimūn, son of Hibat Allāh, at Leran (Surabaya) AD 1082 or 1102. Oldest known monument evincing the presence of Muslims in the Archipelago.



Tombstone of Sulṭān Malik aṣ-Ṣālih, AD 1297, the founder of the kingdom of Samudra (north coast of Aceh).

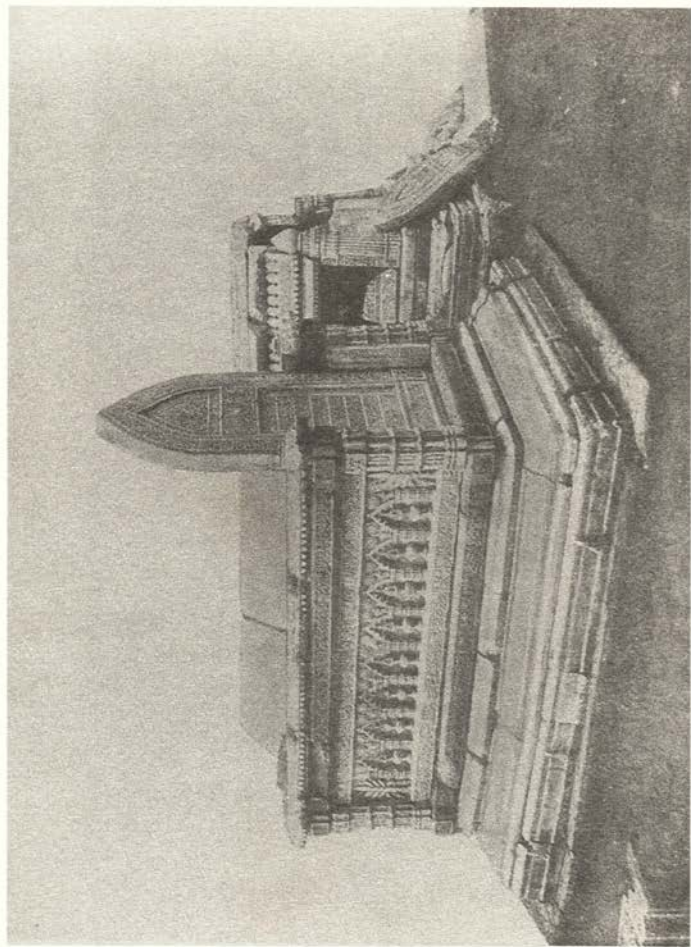


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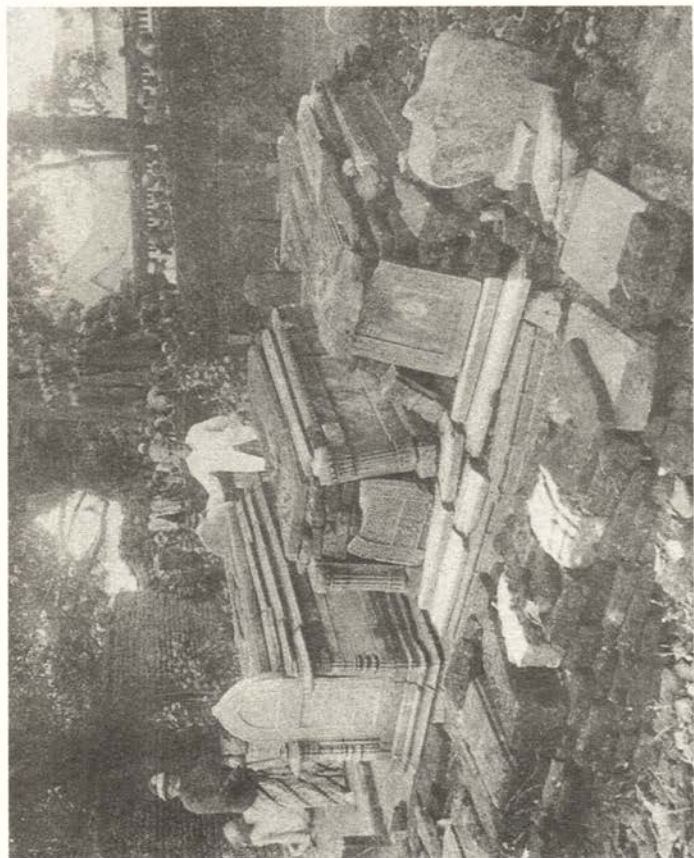


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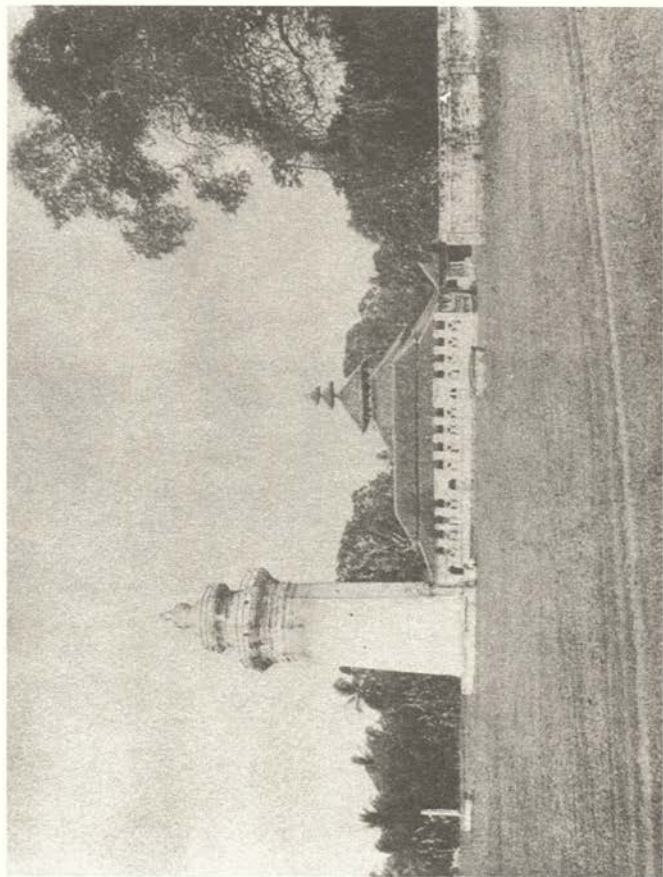
Stone inscription in Jawi (Malay written in adapted /Arabic script) of Muslim origin, dated 1303 upwards to 1387. Found in the interior of Terëngganu, on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia. The top part has been broken off and lost. Left: Front; Right: Back. The white spots are caused by wear. This illustration shows that the sides of the stone are also inscribed.



Tombstone at Pasai near Samudra (north coast of Aceh) of a princess who died in AD 1428; she was the great-great-grandchild of Malik as-Şalih, the founder of Samudra.



Old Islāmic tombstone in the graveyard at Grésik near Surabaya. On the extreme left is the tombstone of Sunan Malik Ibrāhīm who died in AD 1419. Tradition says he was one of the Nine Walīs (Saints) of Java.



Masjid at Bantěn (West Java), now decayed. Bantěn was once the capital of the kingdom of that name. The building on the left, slightly resembling a lighthouse, is the minaret. At the right of the Masjid, not visible in the picture, are the graves of the Sultans.



Minaret of the Masjid at Kudus, Central Java. Of the few buildings remaining from the period of transition from the Hindu-Javanese to the Islāmic era, this edifice, built in the striking Hindu-Javanese style, is one of the most important.

## NEW LIGHT ON THE COMING OF ISLAM TO INDONESIA?

G.W.J. Drewes

IN two books on Southeast Asia which appeared in the early sixties (Paul Wheatley's *The Golden Chersonese* of 1961 and Mrs M.A.P. Meilink's doctoral thesis *Asian Trade and European Influence* of 1962), I found the same lamentation as often comes to light when I listen to addresses in the field of Western history. This is that the historian of Western history is for the most part so much better off with regard to the material available to him than those who occupy themselves with Eastern history and, in particular, than those who are interested in earlier times and in the questions which arise there from.

The 'Golden Chersonese', which Wheatley describes in his book, is the name found in Ptolemy for the Malay Peninsula, and the author is concerned with historical geography prior to AD 1500. Ideally, of course, archaeological and other data available on the spot would provide the material for such a work, but this is precisely what is lacking, and on the first page of his book Wheatley speaks with appropriate regret about the devastating effect of the climate, the tropical rainfall, insects, mould and the remarkably quick rate of alluvial deposit, which together annihilate all traces of human activity as soon as man is no longer present.

And so the whole book had to be compiled from literary data which the author gathered together from Greek, Indian, 'Arabo-Persian, and Chinese sources, the last two providing the lion's share. But neither can this material be used uncritically. "It must not be presumed, however, that these bodies of evidence, intractable and confused as they frequently are, can always be mutually reconciled. Rather are they analogous to photographs of a landscape taken from varying positions, and often with different filters, which can be correlated only from external reference points" (op. cit., vi).

It is no different with the economic history of the same period, for which knowledge of the historical geography is naturally of the greatest importance, and this also applies to the period from 1500 to c. 1630, which constitutes the subject of Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink's doctoral thesis. Discussing the work of van Leur [*Indonesian Trade and Society*] in her introduction, she says that there could be no question of this economic history's being based on precise statistical data: "The person who enters this territory lacks practically all the aids which an economic historian has at his disposal where European history is concerned and, to quote a somewhat austere pronouncement of Professor C.H. Philips, he is carrying on 'single-handed a guerrilla warfare in the jungle'" (op. cit., 3).

Those who investigate the coming of Islām to Southeast Asia face similar difficulties. "Our supply of factual data on the earliest period of Islam in the East Indies is poor." This is how Snouck Hurgronje began the section of his inaugural lecture at Leiden on 23 January 1907, which embodies his view of the coming of Islām to Indonesia.<sup>1</sup>

One cannot deny that a number of new data have become available since Snouck Hurgronje stated this poverty,<sup>2</sup> but the whole investigation into the earliest history of Islām in Southeast Asia still suffers from a scarcity of data. One must be grateful when the devastating tropical climate, with its excessive heat and abundant rainfall, has at least left something in the way of less perishable objects, such as gravestones. For these provide us with reliable, if limited, information on the past, more reliable at any rate than local historiography in which the memory of the coming of Islām is blurred by legends to such an extent that it is more of an edifying rather than of a historical character.

It is useful not to lose sight of these unfavourable factors when one deals with the reproach now heard so often in former colonial areas concerning European history-writing of Eastern countries. None of the states which achieved independence is any longer satisfied with descriptions of its past composed by Western historians in the colonial period, which are said — often quite rightly — to contain nothing but the narratives of the activities of foreigners in the country concerned and are therefore incomplete, one-sided, sometimes even biased, or worse still have sprung from ulterior motives.<sup>3</sup> On all sides people want a national historiography which satisfies a feeling of self-respect by presenting to the new nation a continuous whole in which its own people are the focal point and not the foreigner.

In this connection, one frequently finds quoted the well-known tirade of van Leur in which he says that Indonesia was observed by the foreigners from the deck of the ship, the walls of the fort, or the verandah of the trading-station. There is, of course, a good deal of mere rhetoric in this, as among both the early Portuguese and the Dutch reporters who wrote about the East one finds some who obviously looked further than the narrow horizon which van Leur imputes to them. And it is certain that van Leur omitted, to his detriment, to acquaint himself with what the early Portuguese reports have to offer.

In the *JSEAH* from 1960 to 1962 a remarkable debate was carried on concerning the desirability and the feasibility of an independent, autonomous historiography in this part of the world. The rejection of the 'colonial' historiography is, however, easier than the creation of a new one, unless new data become available which makes this possible. But in many fields the need for more copious information is still badly felt, not to mention the fact that supposedly new data are not always handled with the necessary critical attitude. The report of the meeting held at Medan in 1963, where the problem of the coming of Islām to Indonesia was considered, provided convincing evidence of this, although on the other hand proof of a matter of fact and critical approach was not lacking.<sup>4</sup> However, the very fact that interest in historical subjects has been aroused is important, for only when the interest exists can one perhaps expect that the search for new data will be continued and, in this instance, that the further exploration of the antiquities of the Pasai/Pase district and other places mentioned in early reports — discontinued for more than half a century — will be undertaken again.

For it is here in North Sumatra that Islām first obtained a firm hold in the Archipelago. The memory of this has been preserved in Malay literature, albeit in a legendary form. Two writings tell us of the little states which existed here in olden times: the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, 'History of the Princes of Pasai', and the bundle of stories about ancient times in Malay countries known as the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* [Malay Annals]. Which of these two writings is the older has not been definitely established. The fairly general opinion until recently was that the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* had been used in the compilation of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*,<sup>5</sup> but a few years ago Professor Andries Teeuw argued the reverse,<sup>5</sup> and not without good grounds in my view. We know that a certain edition of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* was compiled in 1612, but

the material is naturally older. Without fear of contradiction, one can state that both works, with some mutual variation, contain the legendary story, current in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Malay lands, concerning the beginnings of Islām in North Sumatra.

The *Hikayat* begins with the supernatural descent of the ancestors of the princes of Pasai, which is known from many a Malay tale; but their foster fathers, remarkably enough, already bear the Muslim names Aḥmad and Muḥammad. This ancestral couple had two sons, the elder of whom, Měrah Silu (Silau?), founded the city of Samudra after having become rich in a miraculous way. Pasai was later founded from Samudra.<sup>6</sup> Prophet Muḥammad, the story goes, had once prophesied the founding of this city, which would bring forth many saintly men, and had left instructions to go and bring the king and his people to the true faith once this had come about.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the ruler of Makka, when the existence of Samudra had become known there, fitted out a ship under the command of a certain Shaykh Ismā'īl. The latter was instructed to sail not direct to Samudra but first to Ma'bar, that is the Coromandel Coast, in order to fetch the holy Sulṭān Muḥammad, a descendant of the first Khalīf Abū Bakr, and together with him to begin the work of conversion. Their work was facilitated by the Prophet's appearing to Měrah Silau in a dream and spitting into his mouth, so that the next day he was immediately capable of reciting the *Qur'ān*.<sup>8</sup> In the *Hikayat*, the ship sails from 'Arabīya via Ma'bar direct to Samudra; in the *Sějarah Mělayu* it first visits a number of other places: Fansūr, Lambri, Haru, and Pěrlak, then to return to Samudra, which is westward of Haru and Pěrlak.

The prophetic dream is an element which apparently is essential in such stories.<sup>9</sup> The ruler of Mělaka also has a dream in which Prophet Muḥammad appears to him, teaches him the Confession of Faith [there is no god save Allāh and Muḥammad is His messenger], and charges him to go the next day and fetch a man from a ship which will arrive from Jidda. Upon arising, the ruler discovers that he has been miraculously circumcised [as encouraged by Islām].

If one wished to uncover a historical core in this tale of Samudra, one could say that in the milieu in which the tale arose people were convinced that Islām had come via the Coromandel Coast. It is very questionable, however, whether one may see reason, as has A.H. Johns,<sup>10</sup> to be convinced of the "artificial and superficial nature of theories linking the spread of Islam with

merchants" in the fact that the ruler of the Ma'bar Coast resigned the position of king and went with Shaykh Ismā'il to Sumatra as a dervish.

We are dealing here with a well-known motif (the legend of the Buddha), which has become widespread in Islām.<sup>11</sup> As far as India is concerned, one can for instance point to the legend, reproduced by T.W. Arnold (*The Preaching of Islam*, 271), of Bābā Fakhr al-Dīn, whose grave at Pēnukonda (Anantapur, Madras) is honoured as that of the bringer of Islām. The story goes that he was a king of Sīstān who gave up his throne, went to Makka as a mendicant, and was there instructed by the Prophet in a dream to go to India and preach Islām. We think furthermore of the legend of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, the prince from Balkh, which is also very well known in Malay literature. Without wishing in the slightest to deny or belittle the significance of the *Ṣūfīs*, the supporters of the mystic trend in Islām, in the spread of Islām in Asia, I believe that Johns disregards the incontestable fact that the Muslim trader is the most common missionary of Islām in foreign parts.

What now have European researchers contributed to this subject?

It is natural that in former times the spread of Islām in Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula should have been ascribed to 'Arabs. Seeing that Islām originated in 'Arabīya it seemed self-evident to seek a link between this religion and the presence of 'Arabs wherever both 'Arabs and Islām were encountered. In Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula, 'Arabs were found in many places. So it seemed a foregone conclusion that these were the ones who had brought Islām. But where the 'Arabs had come from was less clear. It had been observed that the Muslims in these areas follow the Shāfi'ī School of Law, so those who brought Islām must have originated from a country where this was also the case. Thus Professor Keyzer, one of the earliest scholars of Islāmic law in Holland, came to look for a link with Egypt, where of old the Shāfi'ī School has occupied an important place.<sup>12</sup>

The surprising thing about this explanation is that Keyzer, who was a professor at the Delft Academy for training civil servants for the Indies, did not know that practically all the 'Arabs living in Indonesia originated from Ḥaḍramawt and that the Shāfi'ī School of Law is dominant there. Otherwise he probably would have indicated Ḥaḍramawt, which, however, would have

been just as incorrect seeing that the immigration of Ḥaḍramīs into Indonesia is of a much later date than the advent of Islām.

Keyzer stood alone in this indication of Egypt as the country of origin of Indonesian Islām. Niemann (1861) and de Hollander (1861) spoke only of 'Arabs. Niemann did not venture an opinion on the dating of the advent of Islām; on the other hand, de Hollander considered that perhaps there had been 'Arabs in Java in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Veth (1878) also spoke only of 'Arabs, who acquired influence for themselves by concluding marriages. The observation of Crawford (1820), who certainly mentioned 'Arabs, but also proposed "intercourse with the Mahomedans of the Eastern coast of India" as the cause of the "superior instruction" of the Indonesians in religion, had apparently escaped them all.<sup>13</sup>

A step in the right direction was made by J. Pijnappel, the first professor of Malay at the University of Leiden. In the *BKI* (1872), XIX, 135-58, he devoted an article to the knowledge which the 'Arabs possessed of the Indonesian Archipelago prior to the coming of the Portuguese.<sup>14</sup> In this he based himself on Reinaud's *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine [dans le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne]*, a booklet which appeared in Paris in 1845, containing the translation of a travel-story from AD 851, then still ascribed to the navigator Sulāyman.<sup>15</sup> After having given a resumé of Sulāyman's information on Indonesia, Pijnappel moves on to speak of Marco Polo and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the Moroccan traveller who visited a large part of the then known world in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1325-53), and thereby also included Sumatra. Pijnappel says that the question of whence, and by which route, the 'Arabs reached the Indonesian Archipelago, would be of no interest to us if it were not that the origin of their religion is closely connected with it, and that Persian influence seems to exist alongside 'Arab. He points then to the trade route from the Persian Gulf along the western coast of India; he names Broach, Sūrat and Quilon (Kulam) as important commercial centres, mentions the 'Arab interest in Ādam's Peak in Ceylon [Sri Lanka] where Ādam is supposed to have done penance for 200 years after his banishment from Paradise, and ends with the conversion to Islām of the king of Calicut, the 'Zamorin', a name which also appears later on (for example, in the Dutch East India Company's documents) in referring to the rulers of this area.

Pijnappel ascribes the spread of Islām in the Indonesian Archipelago to the Shāfi'ī 'Arabs of Gujarāt and Malabar, espe-

cially because these regions are mentioned so frequently in the early history of the Archipelago. The Persian influence would also be explained, partially at least, by this contact with the western coast of India.

Thus the preaching of Islām is still thought of as proceeding from 'Arabs, but these no longer came directly from the 'Arab countries, but from India, and in particular from the west coast: from Gujarāt and Malabar. Neither the east coast, that is, the Coromandel Coast, called in 'Arabic Ma'bar ('passage', 'corridor', i.e. between the mainland and Sri Lanka), North India nor Bengal come into consideration.

After Pijnappel came Snouck Hurgronje. A colonial exhibition was held in 1883 in Amsterdam and on this occasion scholarly addresses were organized. One of the speakers was Snouck Hurgronje, who was then 26 years old and had taken his doctor's degree three years before; he took the topic "The Meaning of Islam for its Adherents in the East Indies". In this address Snouck Hurgronje first developed the proposition of the South Indian origin of Indonesian Islām. When Islām had once gained a firm hold in the port cities of South India, "the inhabitants of the Deccan, who resided in great numbers in the port cities of this island-world as middlemen in the trade between the Muslim states (i.e. the states of western Asia) and the East Indies, were as if in the nature of things destined to scatter the first seeds of the new religion. 'Arabs, especially those who passed for descendants of the Prophet under the name of al-Sayyid [Syed] or al-Sharif, later found a welcome opportunity to demonstrate their organisational ability. As priests, priest-princes, and as sultans they often put the finishing touches to the formation of the new realms."<sup>16</sup>

Hence the idea that Islām was necessarily brought by 'Arabs has been abandoned here. I should like to add the following. In the study of Indonesian literatures one sees in the beginning a similar constraint in the idea that everything which is Muslim or has an 'Arabic title has to have come from the 'Arabic. Later on, a Persian origin was assumed for some writings, as people were struck by the numerous Persian words and names<sup>17</sup> encountered in Malay and Javanese stories. Famous Persian names also occur in Achehnese literature, of which Snouck Hurgronje gave a model summary in the second volume of his *De Atjehers* in 1894, and this is why the writer warns against speaking of Persian influence on the Achehnese. For, he says, by far the majority of

Achehnese romances show unmistakable signs of the same origin as the Malay. Very many are definitely based on Malay models, and as the cradle of the bulk of the romances in both languages, one may certainly consider the same part of South India to which the popular mysticism and the popular religious legends of the Muslim peoples of the Indonesian Archipelago also point.

Snouck Hurgronje does not, however, further define which part of South India this is. On the contrary, a little further on he observes that for the time being he cannot indicate the section of South India where the threads linking the spiritual life of the Indonesians with that country come together. An investigation into the literature of the Muslim population of South India would be required in order to obtain a greater degree of certainty on these questions.

Unfortunately, we have to admit that now, all too many years later, such an investigation has still not taken place, so that on the Indian side the position has remained unchanged. Thus it is no wonder that in 1964 the Italian scholar Alessandro Bausani, in an article on Persian words in Malay, again expressed the necessity for this research.<sup>18</sup>

Bausani came to the conclusion that at least 90 per cent of the Persian words in Malay indicate concrete objects and not even 10 per cent abstract or adjectival concepts and that for only a limited number can definite borrowing from India not be established. But then he asks "which part of India?", only to answer: "*Ritengo che uno dei desiderata piu urgenti della filologia malese sia uno studio preciso e ben articolato dell' Islam sud-indiano*" [I believe that one of the most urgent demands of Malay philology is a precise and well articulated study of south Indian Islām] (28, refer n. 17). It is obvious that such research would not only be of importance for Malay philology, but also for determining the origins of Indonesian Islām.

Having touched on this subject in 1894 in his discussion of Achehnese literature, Snouck Hurgronje went into it more deeply in 1907 in his inaugural lecture at Leiden, which, while entitled *Arabia and the East Indies*, devotes twelve pages to the relations of Indonesian Islām with India and only a mere four to direct influence from 'Arabīya, which only made itself felt when European commerce and shipping had gradually driven the Indians out of the Archipelago.

As the first of the fixed points important for reconstructing the advance of Islām in the Archipelago, Snouck Hurgronje men-

tions the report on northern Sumatra, namely on Pasai, to be found in the travel-tale of the Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited this place in 1345 on his journey from Bengal to China. The fact that he only gives passing mention in a footnote to the report on North Sumatra by Marco Polo from about 50 years earlier will cause surprise to those who recall that many a writer on this subject begins with the Venetian's information. Snouck Hurgronje had, however, already noted in his book on the Gayō country (of 1903) that the significance of Marco Polo's reports on Sumatra was in his opinion very much exaggerated.<sup>19</sup> It will become clear in the course of this article why Snouck Hurgronje rated the value of these reports so low. His scepticism is far from groundless.

Pursuing his argument, he mentions three Muslim grave-stones from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century discovered in the Pasai District, of which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks. Amongst these, remarkably enough, is the "notice in stone" of the death of an 'Abbāsīd prince, a great-great-grandson of Khalīf al-Muntaṣir.<sup>20</sup> This "illustrious parasite" found his last resting-place in northern Sumatra in 1407. He had undoubtedly floated in from Dehli, where his father had lived for a long time at the expense of the Maharajah of Hindustan.

Furthermore, Snouck Hurgronje mentions, as van Ronkel had first observed, that these three gravestones from northern Sumatra show a striking resemblance to the gravestone in Grėsik of Malik Ibrāhīm who died in 1418 and who belongs to the eight or nine Saints of Java who are recorded in tradition as the bringers of Islām. Moquette had then not yet made his discovery that these stones were imported ready-made from Gujarāt, but without names and dates of death.

Then Snouck Hurgronje proposes the year 1200 as the earliest date for the "first serious steps" towards inclusion of the Indonesian Archipelago into the territory of Islām; these steps are supposed to have been taken by Muslim merchants from India, with which the Archipelago had been in contact for centuries. Finally, there follows Snouck Hurgronje's well-known explanation of the first penetration of Islām — which has in it nothing surprising for those who know how it has often happened in India and how Islām still gains ground in many areas — that is, by traders and dealers settling and marrying women native to the place where they have settled. So it was a penetration which proceeded peacefully and apparently soon led to the

foreigners becoming related to prominent families of the land and occupying important posts in the running of the ports such as that of *shahbandar* or *bĕndahara*.

Before long more light would be thrown on the gravestones mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje. In 1910, van Ronkel already expressed the surmise that the old gravestone found at Grĕsik would prove to be of Indian origin.<sup>21</sup> In 1912, Moquette then came with the important discovery that many of the gravestones found in the Pasai District, as well as those of the grave-complex of Malik Ibrāhīm in Grĕsik, originated from Cambay in Gujarāt. Thus relations with Gujarāt were placed beyond any doubt for a certain period: the gravestones referred to all being from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and later.<sup>22</sup>

Gravestones have also been discovered in the Pasai District with earlier dates than those of the 15<sup>th</sup> century mentioned above, for instance, that of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, assumed to be the first Muslim ruler of Pasai, who according to Moquette's reading of the 'Arabic epitaph died in 1297. This gravestone is of a different type from those imported from Cambay. Nevertheless, Moquette assumed an Indian origin for this stone too, although he added that it must have been placed on the grave some time after the death of the ruler.<sup>23</sup> Apparently, he considered the gap in time between 1297 and 1407-28, the years of the stones described by Snouck Hurgronje, too large to be able to decide in favour of importation at this early time. He evidently did *not* consider the striking difference in form to be so important.

There comes the confusion. People ignore Moquette's hesitation, expressed in this suggestion of later placement and conclude that the oldest known gravestone comes from Gujarāt, so Islām also comes from Gujarāt. This can, for example, be read in R.A. Kern's contribution (30 *supra*) and in his little book *De Islam in Indonesië*, in which the following words are found on p. 9: "The gravestones erected on Malik al-Salih's grave were brought in ready-made from Cambay. This is then where we must look for the source of the spiritual and material links which joined Samudra to the world of Islam."<sup>24</sup>

Later investigators could not help but discover the mistake in this theory, which over the years had come to be known as a specifically Dutch one, as if it was held by all Dutch scholars without exception. In 1951, there appeared a short article by G.E. Marrison in *JMBRAS* (XXIV, 1, 28-37) in which it was argued, in agreement with the Malay tradition of a South Indian origin of

Indonesian Islām, that Marco Polo describes Cambay in 1293 as a city still Hindu, and that Gujarāt came under Muslim rule only in 1297. Marrison argues further that the Muslims had already been established for centuries in South India, without having gained political power, before the expansion of the Dihlī Sulṭānate at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Here he points to the Moors of Sri Lanka, the Moplahs of Malabar and the Maracayars of the Coromandel Coast (Ma'bar), which are ethnic groups of mixed blood whose members are still traders and seamen. The Moplahs claim to descend from Muslim immigrants from 'Irāq who had fled to India from the cruelty of al-Ḥajjāj towards the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century; there is in northern Malabar a Muslim grave from AH 166/AD 782/783 which makes such an early settlement seem not impossible.<sup>25</sup> Another tradition speaks of the conversion to Islām of the ruler of Cranganore, to the north of Cochin, in about 815: another ruler who resigned his position, this time to be able to travel to 'Arabīya and return as a preacher of Islām.<sup>26</sup> This ruler has the title Perumal, which according to the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was also borne by one of the early rulers of Pasai.<sup>27</sup> Finally, Marrison argues that the Shāfi'ī School of Law was not the dominant one in Gujarāt, but was in South India; that the whole *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* has a background strongly coloured by South India (Tamils are mentioned in it repeatedly; both Tamil merchants and Tamil jugglers and wrestlers appear on its stage), and that the spiritual influence of Gujarāt is not evident before the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī came to Aceh. Consequently, the study of Islām in South India appears to him absolutely essential.

Nowhere can it be seen from Marrison's article that he is acquainted with a book in which neither Gujarāt nor South India are named as the source of Indonesian Islām, but Bengal. I refer to the English translation which appeared in London in 1944 of the book of Tomé Pires, the *Suma Oriental*, so very important for our knowledge of Southeast Asia at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup>

Tomé Pires was a Lisbon apothecary who was sent out to India in 1511, at about the age of 40, as an "agent for drugs". He had not been working a year at Cannanore and at Cochin on the west coast of South India when he was sent to Mēlaka by Alfonso [Afonso] d'Albuquerque in a more responsible position. During his posting at Mēlaka, he made a trip of several months to the

north coast of Java. In 1515 he was back in Cochin, where he completed the *Suma Oriental*, as the title-page of the English translation says: "An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan". Because of his ability, he was selected to go to China as head of a mission; he sailed via Pasai and Měłaka to Canton where he arrived in 1517. This was a journey from which he would never return. His reception in China was far from friendly; this, it seems, had something to do with the complaint which the ruler of Měłaka, conquered by the Portuguese in 1511, had lodged with the Chinese emperor, his suzerain. There are hints that Pires, after being held captive for some years, was finally released and died in China as an exile at about the age of 70.

Apart from his professional interest in oriental drugs, Pires also shows much interest in every other item of trade, its origin, sale and destination. His book thus became an extremely important contribution to knowledge of the movement of commerce in the East at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and it is no wonder that Pires is quoted so often in Mrs M.A.P. Meilink's doctoral thesis.

Alongside his interest in commercial products, Pires also had an interest in the harbour-towns from where these products were shipped and in the petty harbour rulers who were in authority there, as well as in the life and activity of the people who lived there. On these things he gives all kinds of interesting information, and when he speaks from his own experience and observation there seems no reason to doubt his information. But one must not expect of him more than he can give. For a great deal of his historical data he had to rely upon his indigenous informants; hence what he relates is at best a reflection of the past which his informants possessed. This says nothing about the correctness of the picture; sometimes Pires is even demonstrably wrong, as for example, when he says it was about 300 years before that the kingdom of Cambay was seized by the Muslims from the heathens. In fact, Cambay came under Muslim rule only in 1297,<sup>29</sup> and even in Pires' own time the trade was still mainly in non-Muslim hands, as he himself says. Another instance is when he reports that Pasai still had a heathen king until about 160 years before he wrote — hence until about 1355 — while we know from the gravestones of the earliest princes of Pasai that Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, who died in 1297, was already a Muslim. And this being the case, what value is to be attached to his statement that the king of Aru was said to have "turned

Moor before any of the others, even before the king of Pase" (*op. cit.*, II, 245)?

But Pires had more to say about early Pasai, perhaps the cradle of Islām in Indonesia. He describes it as a rich city where many Moorish and Indian traders lived, among whom the Bengalis were the most important. He distinguishes further Rumis, Turks, 'Arabs, Persians, Gujarātīs, Klings, Malays, Javanese and Siamese. The population consisted mainly of Bengalis or people of Bengali origin, however, and since the heathen king of the country had succumbed to the "cunning of the merchant Moors" the latter were supposed to have appointed a "Moorish king of the Bengali caste". The countryside was, however, still heathen, although Islām was progressing daily. Just as in Bengal, the "law of the jungle" obtained here as well. Whoever could topple the king would, providing he was Muslim, succeed in his place, without bringing about any disturbance in the city. Thus it happened that emissaries arrived in Mēlaka from Pasai twice in three months in order to declare allegiance to the Portuguese in the name of the new king and to ask their help, "and they keep on coming to ask this as other kings succeed".

This information of Pires is the starting-point of the argument that Islām in Indonesia was imported from Bengal, contained in the book which the Pakistani Professor S.Q. Fatimi devoted to this question in 1963.<sup>30</sup> Fatimi [p. 8], begins, as do many, from Marco Polo's report that in 1292 Pērlak was already Muslim as a result of the religious fervour of the Muslim traders, but that the people of Samara, where he had to wait five months for favourable winds, were still heathen. He disputes the latter statement on the basis of the fact that a Chinese report from 1282 mentions the meeting of a Chinese traveller at Quilon with an official from *Su-mu-ta* (= Samudra), in which the former urged that the ruler of *Su-mu-ta* send envoys to China. That must have happened soon afterwards, and these envoys from *Su-mu-ta* bore the Muslim names Ḥasan and Sulaymān.

In this connection, Fatimi [p. 1] quotes with approval Professor P.E. de Josselin de Jong, who said in a broadcast on Radio Malaya that this Chinese report made it probable that Pasai (Samudra-Pasai is a dual entity) was already a Muslim state before Marco Polo's visit in 1292, although perhaps it had not yet officially adopted Islām. The Muslim community must already have been important seeing that two of its members were assigned this foreign mission.

Some reflection is called for here. The identification of Marco Polo's Samara and Basma(n) with Samudra and Pasai, which is already found in Valentijn's description of the Indies, has always been a disputed point. Cowan pointed to this in his review of Kern's essay [herein], in my opinion very rightly, and he came back to it again in an article in the *Tijdschr. K. Aard. Gen.* ["Nogmaals de middeleeuwse rijkjes op Noord-Sumatra", LXVII (1950) 168-72].

Both Snouck Hurgronje and R.A. Kern doubted the identification of Basma(n) with Pasai. Van der Tuuk and, following him, Schrieke, sought Basma(n) in Pasaman on the west coast of Sumatra,<sup>31</sup> which appears geographically unacceptable as this lies outside the sea-route. Pelliot, though wrongly placing Pasaman on the southwest coast of Sumatra, acknowledged this objection, but added: "Polo attached to his description of 'Basman' details of the rhinoceros which can only be those of an eye-witness; as to his monkeys made up to look like pygmies nobody has yet offered an explanation... . Although I am not positive on the point, it may be that Polo gave his description of the rhinoceros when speaking of a kingdom in Sumatra of which he had only heard, and from which his monkey-pygmies were said to come. In such a case, Pasaman would have a fair chance of being 'Basman', and that is the reason why I have adopted this spelling in preference to 'Basma'."<sup>32</sup>

Even so, it remains strange to come across a place located on the west coast of Sumatra in an enumeration of harbour towns on the north coast. So Cowan wishes to identify *Basma(n)* with Peusangan at the mouth of the large river of that name, the valley of which forms the main link with the Gayō country of the interior. This Peusangan passes in Malay tradition as the place from whence came Měrah Silu alias Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, the first prince of Samudra and founder of that city. *Samara*, according to Cowan, is the present-day Samalanga, which is spelt Samarlanga in older works in 'Arabic script. Both places are situated on the north coast of Aceh (Samudra also lay on the north coast, and there is still a *kampung* [hamlet] of that name). Why Marco Polo did not mention Samudra, Cowan says, is a pointless question; he was on his way westward and had of sheer necessity to wait at Samara for a favourable wind.<sup>33</sup>

Further, one can point to the fact that the use of the services of worldly-wise foreigners for overseas assignments of some weight is not unusual in Indonesia. This still happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The father of Abdullah b. Abd al-Kadir Munshi, the

author of the famous *Hikayat Abdullah*, who was of 'Arabo-Indian descent, acted as messenger of the ruler and the *raja muda* [crown prince] of Mělaka to various little states in the Malay Peninsula and was entrusted with missions to Riau, Lingga, Pahang, Těřngganu and Kělantan.<sup>34</sup> We need not conclude from this that the group to which they belonged was important and influential; they themselves had to inspire confidence and be equal to their task.<sup>35</sup>

The consequences of Cowan's identification for an appreciation of Marco Polo's report are clear. If Basma(n) is not Pasai, then Marco Polo was never in Pasai. The town was indeed not situated on the sea, but a certain distance upstream in the hinterland. If Samara is not Samudra, then all relevance to the Islāmization of Samudra-Pasai disappears, although this was a fact in 1297 in view of the gravestone of Malik aš-Šāliḥ and, therefore, was considered to have come about between 1292 and 1297.

Meanwhile, Fatimi is of the opinion that the year AH 696/AD 1297 after the 'moving' of Prophet Muḥammad, which appears on the gravestone, should perhaps not be taken, as Moquette and everyone after him have done, as the year 696 of the *Hijra*, the Muslim era which begins with Prophet Muḥammad's exodus to Madīna, but as 696 years after Muḥammad's death. For the usual word *Hijra* is not there, but instead *intaqāl*, a verbal noun deriving from *intaqala*, 'to emigrate', 'to pass over', and this same verb *intaqala* is used to indicate the death of Malik aš-Šāliḥ. So the same word occurring in one sentence would have to be interpreted in two ways. If one does not accept this, Fatimi reasons, then one must assume, seeing that Malik aš-Šāliḥ definitely died in the year 696 after the *intiqāl* of Prophet Muḥammad, that his death occurred 696 years after the Prophet's death, hence in 1307. It is clear that this year supplies a more acceptable period for the transition to Islām from the abject heathendom said to have been encountered by Marco Polo, and so fits excellently into Fatimi's conception.

None the less, it is still surprising that the year should not have been calculated from the *Hijra* but from Muḥammad's death, and I do not believe that it is necessary to assume this. It is established that the word *intaqala*, with which the death of Sulṭān Maṅṣūr Shāh of Mělaka (d. AD 1477) is likewise indicated on his gravestone was used in the sense of 'to pass over', 'to die', in 'Arabic epitaphs in the Malay world; see Moquette, "De grafsteen van Sultan Mansoer Sjah van Malaka (1458-1477 AD)",

TBG, LIX (1919–21) 604. It seems to me that the reason for this is obvious. People simply reverted to the 'Arabic original of the Malay term *běrpindah* as a refined expression of 'to die', which literal rendering of an 'Arabic term must therefore have already been in vogue at that time. *Běrpindah* is in fact an abbreviation of *běrpindah kě-něgěri yang baka*, the 'Arabic *intaqala ilā dār al-baqā'* (*dār al-ākhirā*), to pass over (literally, 'move house') to the dwelling of eternity, the Hereafter.<sup>36</sup> For the Malay reader with a command of 'Arabic it was quite clear that this 'passing over' of the king meant something different from the 'moving' (*intiqāl* = *hijra*) of the Prophet. So I stick to AH 696.

Fatimi [p. 14] derived further from the Chinese report of 1282 found in Parker,<sup>37</sup> concerning the meeting of the Chinese and Sumatran travellers in Quilon in South India, the fact that the title of the King of *Su-mu-ta* (Samudra) was *ta-kur*. This is apparently the same word as the Hindi *thakur* (Skr. *thakkura*) which means 'lord' or 'master', but which occurs in many North Indian languages, sometimes with other meanings,<sup>38</sup> and is also used as a suffix after the name of Rajput nobles. In its Anglicized form, we know it in the name of the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore.<sup>39</sup> Fatimi deduces from this title *ta-kur* that the Pasai dynasty must have been of Bengali origin. With one exception I shall leave the remaining arguments which he produces, because the author himself notes that they are only conjectures "which in their present form require an imagination equal to that of the writer of the *Hikayat* if they are to be accepted".<sup>40</sup> For Fatimi merely juggles with place and personal names, and he recoils least of all from wild conjectures. On one point, however, he is right: that is, where he points out that from ancient times, long before Islām, relations existed between Bengal and the Archipelago. There was sea traffic from the port of Tāmralipta in Bengal, as well as overland. It was from Bengal that the Śailendra realm received the form of Mahāyāna Buddhism which was dominant for centuries in the Archipelago. In about the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century the Sumatran Śailendra king Bālaputra Deva founded a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā in Bengal and set aside for its maintenance the five villages granted to him by the then ruler of Bengal. The late Professor Bosch in 1925 devoted a fascinating and lengthy article<sup>41</sup> to the inscription from the great monastery of Nālandā in which this is laid down.

Bengal was overcome by Muslims and Islāmized in about 1200, thus a century before Gujarāt and South India. "It is not improbable," says Fatimi, "that this revolutionary change brought about a chain-reaction in North Sumatra, which was at the southern end of the Bay of Bengal" (op. cit., 19). He considers this effect all the more acceptable, as the history of Islām mentions many great mystics who went to Bengal and there demonstrated great missionary fervour which even carried them to distant lands such as China. Why not then to Sumatra, which was so much closer, he wonders (op. cit., 23).

With this ascription of Islāmization to the preaching of *Ṣūfī* holy men and great mystics Fatimi falls into line with A.H. Johns, who wrote an article in the *JSEAH*, II, 2 (July 1961) entitled "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", and in a later article returned to this subject yet again.<sup>42</sup>

Not wrongly in my view, Johns opposes the conception he ascribes to both Schrieke<sup>43</sup> and Wertheim,<sup>44</sup> that the coming of the Portuguese may have contributed to a large degree to the spread of Islām in Indonesia. That process had, in fact, been going on for some centuries, and Islām was already a growing power before 1500. Johns alleges that some local potentates even attempted to resist the spread of Islām by uniting with the Portuguese. One can indeed see in the instance of the heathen king of Sunda who signed a treaty with the Portuguese in 1522 an indication of the growing power of Islām on the north coast of Java before the Portuguese arrived.

It can, however, be seen from Pires' information that Pate Bubat, the Muslim lord of Surabaya, who was involved in continuous strife with his heathen neighbours further to the east in Java, likewise sought friendship with the Portuguese, that Islām was not necessarily a barrier to friendly relations with the Portuguese. The fact that the situation was different in Maluku, and that Muslim activity was intensified there, was due to the efforts of the Portuguese at Christianization.<sup>45</sup>

A century later, the situation was no different. Writing on the Islāmization of Makasar, Noorduyn has stated that it was not prompted by political reasons and did not hamper friendly relations with the Dutch.<sup>46</sup> C.R. Boxer even observed that the real growth of Portuguese trade and influence in Makasar "occurred, oddly enough, after the Islamization of Goa in the years 1605-07,

and that, in later years, the *rapprochement* between the Muslim Macassars and the Catholic Portuguese was strengthened by their common dread of the growing Dutch power in Indonesian waters, and, more particularly, by their dislike of the Dutch efforts to monopolize the spice trade of the Moluccas".<sup>47</sup>

However, when Johns postulates a kind of world-wide Muslim mission and in this spirit sees Muslim preachers going on board amidst merchants with bales of produce "to attend to the spiritual needs of the craft or trade guild they were chaplain to, or to spread their gospel," then I cannot go along with him. It appears to me that in his efforts to expose what he calls "the internal dynamics" of Islām, he has accorded too great a significance to the legendary tales of saints and preachers of Islām. Since Snouck Hurgronje, it is actually nothing new that Islām in Indonesia has had a strong mystic turn from the earliest times and similarly that the mystic brotherhoods have been significant, although one must beware not to assume for Indonesia everything said by some to be associated with mystic brotherhoods in the Middle East. We know that Muslim scholars and saints travelled a lot, also in Indonesia, and not always for purely spiritual ends. Malay literature repeatedly mentions their arrival and the problems which were presented to them for solution. But nothing is known in Indonesia, to me at least, of "traders belonging to Sufi trade guilds, accompanied by their Sheikhs", and I cannot find in Johns' paper any defence of his hypothesis. He does not produce new data which might have given his idea support.

No mention has been made above of the report from the *History of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279)*, Book 489, quoted by Groeneveldt in his well-known "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca Compiled from Chinese Sources", VBG, XXXIX (1880). This reads that it is five days' sailing from Java to the Tazi, which Groeneveldt wishes to take as 'Arabs on the west coast of Sumatra (ibid., 15 and n.2), whom he considered to have settled there very early.

An older report from the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906)*, Book 222, Chapter 2, contains a tale of a "prince of the Arabs" and a queen of Bali who was called Sima and may have come to the throne in 674.<sup>48</sup>

It is understandable that those who would have Islām come direct from 'Arabīya find these reports very important. But there is reason to doubt this when one pays attention to what

Groeneveldt says (14, n.4), namely that some Chinese authors confused the west coast of Sumatra with 'Arabīya, and one even has Muḥammad make his appearance on the west coast of Sumatra. I support the view that the Chinese reporter, who was apparently telling a tall story about a land far, far away, simply made something out of it. Such an early settlement of 'Arabs in the Archipelago is confirmed nowhere else, though perhaps from time to time some 'Arabs may have strayed away from the usual eastern trade route.

Neither have we as yet mentioned the earliest Muslim inscription found in Java on the renowned 'stone of Leran', which is written in late Kūfīc script and according to Moquette contains the year AH 496/AD 1102. The name on the stone was read by Moquette as Fātima bint Maimūn, a lady of whom nothing more is known; Ravaisse, however, read the name as: *celle qui se garda du péché, qui fut à l'abri de la faute, la fille de Meimūn*, etc. [she who protects herself against sin, she who is free of guilt, the daughter of Maimūn] and the date as 7 Rajab 475 = AD 1082.<sup>49</sup> Now this is a very early date for a Muslim gravestone in Indonesia. Moquette, who was very expert in the matter of gravestones, found it unacceptable that this inscription, shallowly incised in a soft type of stone, should have defied the damp tropical climate for so many centuries, so that he doubted very much whether this stone actually belonged to Java. He was inclined to assume that it had been brought to Java from an arid region, for example 'Arabīya or that part of the world. In any case, there is no connection between this stone and a second stone found at Leran which bears the chronogram 1313 (= AD 1391) and which in Javanese legend is supposed to cover the grave of a Putri Suwari. Neither is there any connection — as legend would have it — with the Malik Ibrāhīm mentioned on a gravestone at Grēsik from 833/1419.

And, thirdly, there is also the stone of Těřngganu [situated on the northeast coast of Peninsular Malaysia]. This is not a gravestone but an edict in which a Muslim ruler promulgated Islāmic regulations in Malay and urged that they be observed. The inscription is the oldest Malay text in 'Arabic script; unfortunately, the date is not established, as the stone is damaged at that spot. The English Malay scholar C.O. Blagden, who edited and translated the text, believes, rightly in my opinion, that the words *tujoh ratus dua* (702) could very easily be a *fragment* of a date and thus by no means guarantee that the stone was erected in 702. Other words standing for numbers could, of course, easily have

followed the *dua* (2). Every scholar of Malay will back him up on this. Blagden himself decided in favour of the latest possible date, AH 788/789, = AD 1386/1387, but even so this is a full century before the Islāmization of any state in the Malay Peninsula. Fatimi [p. 60], however, settles for AH 702 = AD 1303. He constructs a second line of penetration of Islām into Indonesia, namely from China (where 'Arab colonies and Muslims were to be found centuries before) via Champa, which some consider to have been Islāmized as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>50</sup> and the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to East Java. This penetration on the eastern flank would then explain both the very early year 1102 of the stone of Leran as well as the year 1303 of the Těrengganu stone.

It seems to me a hypothesis for which too many uncertainties have been taken as firm facts. As far as East Java is concerned, one can, for example, point to the fact that the Gujarātīs called at Grěsik up to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century... . At about the same time, Ma Huan wrote that the population in East Java was non-Muslim. So the Gujarātīs had made no proselytes to speak of, though there will have been Muslims among them. The stone of Malik Ibrāhīm in Grěsik from 1419 is thus most probably that of a foreign Muslim trader. That is to say, Muslims did live in or come to Grěsik, but Islām had definitely not yet made much progress amongst the Javanese. This is evident only later in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when there is mention of relations with Southeast Asian Muslims, as appears from the marriage of a king of Majapait with a princess from Chěmpa (Champa).

Nevertheless, from the thorough investigation which the French scholar L.-C. Damais conducted on the gravestones of Trālāyā, present at a Muslim burial-place just south of the spot where in all probability the *kraton* [palace] of Majapait stood, it can be seen how difficult it is to speak with any certainty.<sup>51</sup> The stones have been known for a long time. They are mentioned, for instance, in the first edition of Veth's *Java* (1878). People had ascertained that there was 'Arabic script on them, and L.W.C. van den Berg had read the inscriptions and stated that the 'Arabic script was not beautiful, or at least was much uglier than that on the stones of Grěsik and, therefore, had to be of a later date. As a consequence, he had come to the conclusion that one was dealing with inscriptions which must have been made in comparatively recent times on stone fragments of old temples which happened to bear a date.

One will understand where the shoe pinches here. According to current Javanese opinion, the realm of Majapait fell in 1478, and in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century no reason had been found to doubt the correctness of this dating. *Because* Majapait had thus not yielded to Islām before 1478, there *could not* have been any Muslim gravestones in Majapait from before 1478, and so the inscriptions on the stones of Trālâyâ had to be of a later date.

In Brandes' edition of the *Pararaton* (1896), the Trālâyâ stones and their years are likewise enumerated without, however, any mention of the 'Arabic inscriptions, but Rouffaer says cautiously in an article on chronology<sup>52</sup> in the first edition of the *ENI* (IV, 1905, 457): As long as the inscriptions of Leran, Trālâyâ and Samudra have not been studied, the earliest 'Arabic date to be found in the Archipelago is on the stone of Gřesik (that of Malik Ibrāhīm). In the second edition of the *ENI*, however, in the article on "Mohammedan Antiquities" (III, 1919, 203) by Moquette and Hoesein Djajadiningrat, we again find the idea of van den Berg, just as in N.J. Krom's *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaanse Kunst* (Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art) (1920; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1923).

Damais rejects this idea altogether. It would indeed be very remarkable, he says, if so often old stones from temples had been found which bore a year in such a way that a gravestone could be made from them with the year exactly in the place required.

The years on these gravestones are, with one exception, all in the Śaka era. They run, according to the decipherment of Damais, who was an experienced epigraphist, from Ś 1298 to Ś 1397, that is, from AD 1376 to 1475. One stone is of later date, i.e. from Ś 1533 = 1611. The stone with a *Hijra* year is from AH 874 = Ś 1391/1392 = AD 1469/1470. While the stones with Śaka dates all bear only verses from *al-Qur'ān* and pious formulas, the one with the *Hijra* year mentions the personal name Zainuddin [Zayn al-Dīn], hence an 'Arabic name, but which could very well have been borne by a Javanese.

According to Damais' interpretation, there were thus already ethnic Javanese Muslims in the capital of the realm at the time of Majapait's greatest prosperity under Hayam Wuruk [1350-89]. The influence of Islām in the interior, which until now could not be established before the year Ś 1370 on the grave which is ascribed to the princess of Chěmpa [Champa] (a Muslim wife of one of the kings of Majapait), is thus demonstrable more than 70 years earlier.

Seeing now that Islām must have penetrated the interior via the ports on the north coast of Java — perhaps mainly via Tuban, which although Muslim always remained on a good footing with Majapait — if we agree with Damais, we must indeed accept that Islām had already gained a firm hold there in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in about the middle or still earlier. Hence the long time between the earliest evidence of the presence of Islām in northern Sumatra and that of its presence in Java is considerably shortened.

To summarize my final impression after having read all these discussions, I come to the conclusion that their value lies more in that they have broken through the fascination with ideas which seemed well established, or even sacrosanct, than that they have provided acceptable new solutions. The only thing left of Marco Polo's report is that Pěrlak was Muslim in 1292. From Malik aṣ-Ṣālih's gravestone, the year of which can indeed be kept as 1297, it appears that Samudra-Pasai had a Muslim king in that year. But the basis for the idea that the Islāmization of this state must have been completed between 1292 and 1297 has disappeared. It is at least uncertain whether Malik aṣ-Ṣālih's gravestone came from Gujarāt, and according to Fatimi [p. 32] even wrong. Hence a Gujarāt origin for Indonesian Islām comes to stand on a very rickety footing. But Pires' information that the land of origin was Bengal is, if only because of the difference in school of law, not immediately acceptable, and what Fatimi produces to refute this argument cannot stand scrutiny.<sup>53</sup> Possibly Pires' informant was a Bengali from Mēlaka who claimed a Bengali origin for Islām in the Archipelago *ad maiorem gloriam* of his home-country. No support for this assertion can be found in Malay tradition or literature.

It is not impossible, though, that among the first Indian Muslims calling at Sumatran ports the Bengali element was much in evidence, since relations with Bengal were of long standing, and this country was Islāmized at an early date. But should these Bengalis have engaged in proselytizing activities, then no traces of these have been left. On the other hand, it is not without significance that the expert on religious matters is called *lēbai* in Malay. As was pointed out by van Ronkel<sup>54</sup> more than half a century ago, this clearly demonstrates that not the Bengalis, but rather a category of people known as *lēbai*, had a hand in the propagation of Islām in the Malay area,<sup>55</sup> now Malay *lēbai* = Tamil *labbai* (written *ilappai*). It is irrelevant to the ques-

tion under discussion whether one interprets this word as denoting the class of South Indian Shāfi'ī Muslims called Labbai, who have their centre at Nagore on the Coromandel Coast, or as 'merchant', 'jeweller', according to its wider connotation. For in any case, it bears testimony to the important role played by people from South India in the spread of Islām in the Archipelago.

As for Fatimi's theory about two channels of Islāmization, a westerly and an easterly one, he has produced no substantial argument in its support.

Marrison's article brings the matter back to the line which was indicated by Snouck Hurgronje. Where Snouck Hurgronje speaks only of South India, Marrison narrows it to the Coromandel Coast, although Islām obtained supremacy no earlier here than in Gujarāt. He rightly stresses the importance of the study of Islām in South India. Bausani came to the same conclusion, but along a different path. Fatimi points to the strong *Sūfi* turn of Islām both in Bengal and in Indonesia. There is, however, no evidence in Malay literature of acquaintance with Bengali saints and mystics. Elsewhere, too, Indian Islām had a distinct mystic tinge, and the Malay poetry of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Sumatran mystic Hamzah Fanṣūrī does give evidence of a close acquaintance with 'Arab and Persian mystics. But at that time, the initial period of the spread of Islām lies far behind and the relations with the Muslims of the ports of the west coast of India, where 'Arab and Persian influence was of long standing, were well established.

In a nutshell: the investigation has been reopened, but without new data it seems that the results will as yet be scanty. Resumption of archaeological research in North Sumatra and painstaking study of Islām in South India — for which a thorough knowledge of Tamil is indispensable — appear to be primary requirements, as well as a revised and enlarged edition of Groeneveldt's *Notes ... from Chinese Sources*.

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1. French translation in *VGGS*, IV, II, 99–114.
  2. Snouck Hurgronje's description of the archaeological site on the left bank of the Pase [Pasai] River where the ancient cemeteries are situated, "De Excursie ter Noord-en Oostkust van Atjeh en have Gevolgen" (The Excursion to the North and East Coast of Acheh

and its Consequences), VGGG, IV, I (1899) 402–4 and the results of Moquette's investigations *in situ*, "De eerste vorsten van Samoedra-Pasè (Noord Sumatra)" (The first rulers of Samudra-Pasai (North Sumatra)), RNI (1913) 1–12, and "Verslag van mijn voorlopig onderzoek der Mohammedaansche oudheden in Atjeh en Onderhoorigheden" (Interim report on my research about Islāmic antiquities in Aceh and its Dependencies), *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter (1914) Appendix O, 73–80.

3. See, e.g., *Risalah Seminar Sedjarah Masuknja Islam ke Indonesia ... tgl. 17 sampai 20 Maret 1963 di Medan* (Seminar Papers on the Arrival of Islām in Indonesia..., 17–20 March 1963, held in Medan) (Medan: Pertjetakan "Waspada"). On p. 88 one reads: *Dakwaan orang bahwa Islam tidak diterima langsung dari Mekkah dan bahwa 'kepertjajaan baru' (Islam) itu hanya diterima dari India, sebagai diterangkan oleh Prof. Snouck Hurgronje, adalah suatu djarum 'halus' jang dimasukkan beliau untuk menentang pengaruh Arab jang beliau dapati seketika Atjeh berperang melawan Belanda.* That is to say: "The claim that Islām was not received direct from Makka and that the 'new faith' (Islām) came from India, as Professor Snouck Hurgronje declared, is a 'fine' needle introduced by him in order to counter the 'Arab influence which he had found at the time of the Aceh War'".
4. Thus, e.g., on p. 116 where Hadji Aboebakar Atjeh, in connection with H.M. Zainuddin's reading of the inscription on the gravestone of the Indian Nā'inā Husām al-Dīn ibn Nā'inā Amīn, found in the Pasai district, regrets that a reproduction of the inscription was omitted. The year on this stone was in fact already read in 1940 by Cowan as AH 823 = AD 1420. See *TBG*, LXXX (1940) 15–21, where a reproduction of the stone and a transliteration are also found, while H.M. Zainuddin reads AH 622 = AD 1225!

A still bigger discrepancy is signaled (pp. 208–9) by Hadji Md. Said between Ismail Jakub's reading of the year on the gravestone of the Daya Princess Siti Hawa at Kuala Daya (sub-district Pulo Raya) and the statement of T.J. Veltman, "Nota over de Geschiedenis van het Landschap Pidië" (Note on the history of Pidië), *TBG*, LVIII (1919) 45. The former reads 11 Muḥarram AH 460 = AD 1067, and Veltman, 11 Muḥarram AH 962 = AD 1554! But a reproduction is not given here either, nor any defence of the reading of the year.

5. "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai and Sejarah Melayu" in *Malayan and Indonesian Studies, essays presented to Sir Richard Winstedt on his eighty-fifth birthday*, eds. Bastin, John, and Roolvink, R., (London: OUP, 1964) 222–34.
6. Pelliot was of the opinion that despite the lack of local sources older than ±1300, the name Pase [Pasai] must nevertheless be older. In his view, the kingdom of Pa-hsi, to which three emissaries were sent in 1309 during the Mongol dynasty of China, probably

refers to Pasai. But in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries the name Po-ssu, with which Persia is generally indicated, may sometimes have been employed to indicate a Malay state. "My present view is this...: all the texts mentioning Po-ssu before the Sung dynasty refer in all likelihood to Persia... . But in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries the same name was sometimes misapplied to a Malay state; this is particularly the case for the Malay numerals of Po-ssu preserved in the *Kōdanshō* of c.1100". *Notes on Marco Polo* (ouvrage posthume) I (Paris: 1959) 87. Ed. Note: We do not understand the meaning of this sentence, but it is a direct quote from the *Notes on Marco Polo*.

7. Still more fantastic is the tale contained in the *Hikayat Asal Bangsa Jinn dan Dewa-dewa* (The Story of the Origin of Jinns and Gods) (Cat. Mal. Hss. Mus. Bat. Gen., Batavia, 1905) 295, according to which the Prophet informed Abū Bakr on his deathbed that Pase [Pasai] had already accepted Islām. In the time of Zayn al-Ābidīn, the son of Ḥusayn, two Sayyids, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, were then sent to the islands "below the wind". They were instructed first of all to greet the Pëndawa Dĕrmawangsa who lived at Seumawe (the later Pase), but neglected this duty; so they did not dare to return and remained there as royal servants.
8. A similar story (appearance of the Prophet; writing of the *basmala* with saliva in the palms of the king's hands) is current in Makasar. See Matthes, B.F., "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche Legendes" (Buginese and Makasarese Legends), *BKI*, XXXIV (1885) 447.  
The miraculous effect of the saliva of the Prophet is also mentioned in 'Arabic literature; see Ibn al-Ṭiṭṭāqā's *al-Kitāb al-Fakhrī, fī 'l-adab as-sultānīya wa ud-duwāl al-islāmīya* (Cairo AH 1317); ed. Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860) 168, where the remarkable ability of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās as interpreter of *al-Qur'ān* is ascribed to the fact that the Prophet had spoken the *adhān* in his ear and spat in his mouth (*tafala fī fīhi*); Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, Kitāb al-Ṭibb, No. 46 (see Bibliography) where it is told that the devil who worried 'Uthmān was exorcized by the Prophet, who spat three times into his mouth, and the story about Aḥmad Kathīr told by Ibn 'Asākir in his *Tarīkh Dimashq* (History of Damascus) (Damascus: The Arab Scientific Academy, 1951-4), transl. Elisséeff, N., *Description of Damascus* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1959) 193.
9. The meaning of dreams in the Muslim world is treated in a number of contributions in *The Dream and Human Societies*, eds. Grunebaum, von-, G.E., and Caillois, Roger, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
10. Johns, A.H., "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", *JSEAH*, II, 2 (July 1961) 15.
11. It should be noted, however, that Ṭabarī, *Annales quos scripsit Abu Džafar Mohammed ibn Džarir at-Tabari*, ed. Goeje de-, M.J., and others

- (Leiden, 1879–1901) I, 853, tells the story of Nu'mān I, the Lakhmid king of Ḥīra (d. 418), who relinquished his throne and became a dervish. In ancient 'Arabic poetry, for instance by 'Adī b. Zayd and Labīd, this pre-Islāmic ascetic prince, the 'Lord of the palaces of Khawarnaq and Sadīr', is mentioned both as an illustration of wealth and magnificence and as an example of the right attitude towards worldly goods. See Becker, C.H., "Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere" (Where are those who were in this world before us?), *Islamstudien*, I, 508; Brockelmann, C., *Die Gedichte des Labīd* (The Poems of Labīd), XLI; Massignon, L., "Khawarnak", *EI*, II (1927) 932.
12. Professor Keyzer [Keijzer], S., was the author of *Précis de Jurisprudence Musulmane selon le rite Châfeite, par Abou Chodjâ* (Précis of Muslim Jurisprudence according to the Shāfi'ī Rite by Abū Shujā) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1859).
  13. Niemann, G.K., *Inleiding tot de kennis van den Islam, ook met betrekking tot den Indischen Archipel* (Introduction to the history of Islām, also with reference to the Indonesian Archipelago) (Rotterdam: Wijt, 1861).  
Hollander, de-, J.J., *Handleiding bij de beoefening der land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië (...)* (Guide to the study of the geography and anthropology of the Netherlands East Indies ...) (Breda: Nys. Historische leercursus ten gebruike der Koninklijke Militaire Akademie, 1861–4) 4 v.  
Veth, P.J., *Java, geografisch, ethnologisch, historisch* (Java, geographically, ethnologically, historically) (1<sup>st</sup> edn., Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1875–84) 3 v.  
Crawfurd, John, *History of the Indian Archipelago, Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions ... of Its Inhabitants* (Edinburgh: Constable/ London: Hurst, 1820) 3 v.
  14. Pijnappel, J., "Over de kennis die de Arabieren voor de komst der Portugeezen van den Indischen Archipel bezaten" (About the knowledge the 'Arabs had of the Indian Archipelago prior to the coming of the Portuguese), *BKI*, XIX (1872) 135–58.
  15. Sauvaget, J., who republished the text and translation in 1948, showed that Sulaymān was not the writer but was only an informant: *Akḥbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind: Relation de la Chine et de l' Inde rédigée en 851* (The Chinese and Indian Report: Relation of China and India, written in 851) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1948) xix–xx. The writer is unknown.
  16. Snouck Hurgronje, C., "De beteekenis van den Islam voor zijne belijders in Oost-Indië" (The importance of Islām for its adherents in the East Indies), *VGGG* (1927) VI, 7.
  17. Sometimes almost unrecognizably corrupted as, for instance, the "peculiar personal name" Meunua Djhō, regarded by Snouck

- Hurgronje, *De Atjèhners* (The Achehnese), II, 146, n.4, as having arisen from *benua Djohor*, the land of Johor, but explained by Alessandro Bausani as a corruption of Manūcehr: "Note sui vocabuli Persiani in Malese Indonesiane" (Notes on Persian words in Indonesian Malay), *Annale dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, Nuova Serie, XIV (1964) 31.
18. See n.17.
  19. Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Het Gajöland en zijne Bewoners* (The Gajöland and its Inhabitants) (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903) 77 note. In a newspaper article written in 1899 (VGGG, IV, I, 403), however, he had mentioned Marco Polo in the same breath with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.
  20. This must be a lapse; al-Muntaṣir died in 247/861. The last 'Abbāsid Khalīf was called al-Musta'ṣim; his predecessor was al-Mustansir, who died in 1242. The latter was probably meant, but without further research it cannot be said whether the stone permits this reading; graphically there is only a slight difference.
  21. *TBG*, LII (1910) 599.
  22. Moquette, J.P., "De grafsteen en te Pasè en Grissée vergeleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan" (The tombstones at Pasai and Grèsik compared with similar monuments in India), *TBG*, LIV (1912) 208, 536. See also his article "Fabriekswerk" (Manufactured goods), *NBG*, LVIII (1920) 44-6. For that matter, the *Sējarah Mēlayu* tells us that tombstones were imported from 'bēnua Kēling'; vide the story of the strong man Badang in *Sējarah Mēlayu*, revised and annotated by Situmorang, T.D., and Teeuw, Andries, with assistance from Amal Hamzah (Djakarta: Djambatan, 1952) 56.
  23. Moquette, J.P., "De eerste vorsten van Samoedra-Pasè (Noord Sumatra)" (The first rulers of Samudra-Pasai, North Sumatra), *RNI* (1913) 9.
  24. *De Islam in Indonesië* (Islām in Indonesia) ('s Gravenhage: W. van Hoeve, 1947) 9.
  25. Cf. Arnold, T.W., *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (4<sup>th</sup> repr., Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1979) 266-7, n. 1.
  26. *Ibid.*, 267, for a summary of this story as it is found in Zayn al-Dīn's *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn* (The gift of the Militants), see Bibliography. Marrison apparently does not share Arnold's scepticism concerning the value of this tradition.
  27. Namely Sultān Aḥmad, in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* called a great-grandson of Malik aṣ-Ṣālih, who was the father of the legendary hero Brahim Bapa mentioned in the Achehnese *Hikayat Malém Dagang*. Cf. Cowan, H.K.J., *De "Hikajat Malém Dagang", Atjesch heldendicht: tekst en toelichting* (Story of Malem Dagang, Acheh's epic poem: text and explanation) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1937) 35; 102-4.

28. Ed. Note: Professor Drewes refers to Cortesão, Armando, transl. and ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, an Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515* (London: HS, Second Series, Nos. 89, 90, 1944) 2 v.
29. On the conquest of Gujarāt during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khiljī of Dihlī (1296–1316), see: Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* (London: OUP, 1921) 84.
30. Fatimi, S.Q., *Islām Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore [now Kuala Lumpur]: MSRI, 1963) 12.
31. Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Het Gajōland*, op. cit., 77; Kern, R.A., II, 29 *supra*; see 'Pēsaman' in *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Malay-Dutch Dictionary) by Wall, von de-, published by Tuuk, van der-, 1877–84; Schrieke, B.J.O., *Het Boek van Bonang* (The Book of Bonang) (Dissertation, University of Leiden, Utrecht, 1916) 3, n.1.
32. Pelliot, P., *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, op. cit., 88. Pelliot was of the opinion that Basma could have originated from Basmā = Basman (op. cit., 86) and that the Portuguese Pacem (= Pase/Pasai) could not be connected with this, because this name is only an example of the Portuguese tendency to nasalize final vowels, as was already noted by (*inter alios*) Blagden in *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo together with the Travels of Nicoló de' Conti*, ed. Penzer, N.M., (London: Argonaut Press, 1929).
33. Cowan's last remark is directed against Krom, N.J., "De naam van Sumatra" (The name of Sumatra), *BKI*, C (1941) 17, who, though finally deciding in favour of Samudra, was of the opinion that still "a lance could be broken" for Cowan's identification with Peusangan and Samarlanga.
34. *Hikajat Abdullah*, eds. Datoek Besar, R.A., and Roolvink, R., (Djakarta-Amsterdam: Penerbit Djambatan, 1953) 8.
35. The Hindu ruler of Calicut (the Zamorin) sent a Muslim as emissary to the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh Bahādur (d. 1447), which brought about the journey, already known in Europe in the 17th century, of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī to Calicut [in 1441] to convert the Zamorin. This is described in *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn wa-majma' al-baḥrayn* (The rising place of two good fortunes and the confluence of two seas). See Arnold, T.W., *The Preaching of Islam*, op. cit., 269–70; *The Caliphate* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1924) 113; *EI*, II (1927) 91.
36. Cf. al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), *Al-Inṣāf fī mā yajibu l'tiqāduhu wa mā lā yajouz al-jahlu bihi* (Justification for what should be believed and what it is not permitted to be ignorant of), ed. Kawtharī, al-, Muḥammad Zāhid, (Cairo, 1369/1950) 55: ... *nubuwwāt al-anbiyā' ... lā tubṭalu wa-lā tankharimu bi-khurūjihim 'ani 'l-dunyā wa 'ntiqālihīm*

- ilā 'l-ākhirā*. Death is only a *nuq̄la min hāhunā*, a removal from this world, as Ghazzālī says in l. 20 of his poem on death (See Pedersen, Johannes, "Ein Gedicht al-Gazālī's" (A Poem of al-Ghazzālī, *Le Monde Oriental*, XXV (1931) 235.
37. Parker, E.H., "The Island of Sumatra", *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, IX (1900) 127-44.
  38. Turner, Ralph Lilley, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, No. 5488 (London: OUP, 1942).
  39. In Yule, H., and Burnell, A.C., *Hobson-Jobson ...* (London, 1903; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., London: Routledge, 1968; repr., London, 1969) 915, there is a quotation from the travels of Pyrard de la Val from 1610 which says that in the Maldives the nobles also attach *Tacourou* to their names. Perhaps we may connect this with the Bengali origin of the ruling family, which is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Mahdi Husain, *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, CXXII (Baroda, 1953) 204.
  40. Op. cit., 29.
  41. "Een oorkonde van het groote klooster te Nālandā", (A charter from the great monastery of Nālandā), *TBG*, LXV (1925) 509-88.
  42. Johns, A.H., "Muslim Mystics and Historical Writing" in *Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia: Historians of South East Asia*, ed. Hall, D.G.E., (London: OUP, 1961) 40.
  43. It would seem to me that in this respect more justice should be done to Schrieke, who certainly would not have endorsed the words of Wertheim quoted in the next note. In Schrieke's opinion, Islām was already a steadily increasing force in the Maluku before the coming of the Portuguese (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century), but the activities of the Roman Catholic priests who followed in their wake contributed to the intensification of Muslim feeling. (See his *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955-7) I, 33.
  44. Wertheim, W.F., *Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change* (The Hague/Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1959) 198: "One can, indeed, sustain the paradox that the expansion of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago was due to the Westerners." This opinion is likewise opposed by Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas in his book *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Aceh* (Singapore: MBRAS Monograph no. 3, 1966). [Naguib (p. 3) takes issue with Schrieke's "...magnification of the role of Christianity and the Portuguese in bringing about the rise of Islām in the Archipelago".]
  45. Djajadiningrat, Raden Hoesein, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten: Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Critical Essay on the *Sējārah Bantěn*: A contribution to characterizing Javanese historical writing) (Dissertation, University of Leiden, Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913) 73; Cortesão, Armando,

- ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, op. cit., 196; Schrieke, B.J.O., "Prolegomena ...", *TBG*, LXV (1925) 155.
46. Noorduyt, Jacobus, "De islamisering van Makasar" (The Islāmizing of Makasar), *BKI*, CXII (1956) 262.
  47. Boxer, C.R., *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo, A Portuguese Merchant-adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667*, VKI, 52 (1967) 3.
  48. Ed. Note: Professor Wang Gungwu in his fax to MSRI of 16 August 1999 states that Book 222, Chapter 2 contains no such tale and, unfortunately, the good Professor Drewes is no longer among us to be referred to.
  49. Moquette, J.P., "De oudste Mohammedaansche Inscriptie op Java n.m. de Grafsteen te Lérán" (The oldest Muslim Inscription in Java, i.e. the Tombstone at Leran), *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java, Solo 25-26 December 1919* (Transactions of the First Congress for Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology of Java, Solo 25-26 December 1919) (Weltevreden: Albrecht, 1921) 391-9; Ravaisse, Paul, "L'inscription coufique de Lérán à Java" (The Kūfīc inscription at Leran in Java), *TBG*, LXV (1925) 668-703.
  50. On Islām in Champa see Cabaton, Antoine, "Indo-China", *EI*, II (1927) 504-10. A critical discussion of the question is given by Tasaka Kōdō "\_\_\_" (Introduction to the History of Islām in Champa: The Introduction of Islām in Southeastern Asia), *Tōhōgaku* (Eastern Studies), IV (July 1952) 52-60.
  51. Damais, Louis-Charles, "Études Javanaises, I: Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trālâyâ" (Javanese Studies: The Muslim Tombs dating from Trālâyâ), *BEFEO*, XLVIII, 2 (1957) 353-415.
  52. Rouffaer, G.P., "Tijdrekening" (Chronology), *ENI*, IV (1905) 445-60.
  53. Thus Fatimi believes that he can conclude from the Achehnese term *balé' meudeuhab* that the Achehnese once belonged to the Ḥanafī School of Law, because this expression is used to indicate the acceptance of a section of the teachings of the Ḥanafī School in some cases; see Snouck Hurgronje, C., *De Atjehers* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1893-4) I, 376 ff.; Juynboll, Th.W., *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet, volgens de leer der Sjāfi'itische School* (Handbook of Islāmic Law, according to the Shāfi'ī School) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1903) 22, 23, 176. But Achehnese *balé'* does not mean 'to return', as Fatimi (op. cit., 34) assumes on the basis of the Malay *balik*, but 'to change'. Hence *balé' meudeuhab* means no more than to change rites, to follow a rite other than the usual Shāfi'ī. There is no question of a 'return'.

On p. 38 great value is attached to a report in the highly unreliable "Chronique du Royaume d'Atchéh dans l'Île de Sumatra" (Chronicle of the Acheh Kingdom in the Island of Sumatra), the chronicle published and translated by Dulaurier, Edouard, in *JA*,

3<sup>rd</sup> series, VIII (1839) 47–81, that on Friday 1<sup>st</sup> Ramaḍān 601 (AD 1204) Sulṭān Johan Shāh “came from the windward and converted the people of Acheen to the Muḥammadan faith. He married the daughter of Baludri at Acheen and by her had a son ...”. The fact that this “daughter of Baludri” must be understood as Achehnese *aneu’ baludari* = Malay *anak bidadari*, hence a heavenly nymph, as Djajadiningrat already noted in “Critische overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh” (Critical review of the information found in Malay works about the history of the Acheh Sulṭānate), *BKI*, LXV (1911) 142, n. 3, certainly makes the report no less incredible than it already was. As is known, the *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* [of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī] ascribes the Islāmization of Acheh to the founder of the realm, ‘Alī Mughāyat Shāh, who died in 1522. Whether with Djajadiningrat one doubts the correctness of this report (op. cit., 152, n. 2) or not, the conclusion can be none other than that in Rānīrī’s time (the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) in Acheh, nothing was known of this early origin. The report concerning it will belong to the “learned conjectures of certain of the Achehnese” from a later period.

54. “Maleisch labai, een Moslimsch-Indische term” (Malay *lĕbai*, an Indian-Muslim term), *TBG*, LVI (1914) 137–42. Note 9 on pp. 5–6 of Fatimī’s book, in which the views of van Ronkel and Arnold, T.W., on the derivation of *lĕbai* or *labbai* are assailed does no justice to either of them; moreover, the article on Java in the *EI* is ascribed to C.A.O. van Niewenhuijze, whereas its author is A.W. Nieuwenhuis. Van Ronkel did not derive Malay *lĕbai* from “*labaigem* or merchant”. Evidently Fatimī has fallen victim to a printer’s error in the English edition of the *EI*, where indeed one finds (IV: 551b) “*labaigem* merchant” (without “or”). This is obviously a misprint for “*labai*, gem merchant”, as is shown by a comparison with the text of the German edition, where it says “*labai*, Juwelier”. Neither did Arnold derive *labbai* from ‘*arabī*. He merely quoted popular opinion on the origin of this word by saying “Tamil, *ilappai*, said to be a corruption of ‘*arabī*”; see *EI*, III (1936) 1.

Ed. Note: Unfortunately, Professor Drewes’ reference to *EI*, IV, 551b is wrong, and Dr. Harry A. Poeze of KITLV in his e-mail to MSRI of 8 May 2000 advised that: “...looking at other ‘logical’ places did not yield anything”.

55. In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* it is told that Hang Tuah knew the *bahasa Kĕling* and had acquired proficiency in the language owing to the fact that he had been taught to recite *al-Qur’ān* by a Kĕling *lĕbai* in Majapait. One may have one’s doubts about the place, but the role of the South Indian merchant as a teacher of religion stands out clearly.



PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH PROJECTS FOR THE  
CONQUEST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1580-1600

Charles Ralph Boxer

Although it is true that we may be likened to a dog and the Spaniards to an elephant, it is possible that one day the dog will mount on the elephant. The Sultān here is weighing well his words to the Spaniards for if he decides on revenge it will be to the end; for when a small people wars upon a greater one it must be either to win or lose all. Although a dog cannot defeat an elephant, it can prevent it from going to its feeding grounds.

Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn of Sulu to the  
Spanish Governor of Zamboanga, 1750



Francis Xavier, 1506–1552, a Basque Jesuit nobleman, later canonized, was remembered in Goa, India, for his violent methods, including the imposition of the dreaded Inquisition. He is shown here in Ambon, Maluku, surrounded by Portuguese colonial troops.

IT was, perhaps, natural that the spectacular successes of the Portuguese and Spanish *conquistadores*<sup>1</sup> in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century should have bred in many of their compatriots the conviction that almost any Asian kingdom — other than those of the Great Turk [the Ottoman Khalīf], the Great Sophy,<sup>2</sup> and the Great Mughal — could be conquered by a small force of European soldiery. The union of the two Iberian Crowns [of Portugal and Spain] in 1580, which initiated the first world empire on which the sun never set, naturally strengthened this conviction among those who held it, despite the mutual dislike between Castilians and Portuguese, which had bedevilled their relations at frequent intervals since the High Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> Don Juan of Austria's great victory at Lepanto in 1571, and the epic Portuguese defence of Goa and Chaul against overwhelming odds in the same year, inevitably enhanced Iberian self-confidence. It is true that these prestigious successes were followed by some humiliating reverses: the Spanish loss of Tunis in 1574, the Portuguese surrender of Tērnate to Sultān Bāb Ullāh in 1575, and King Sebastian's defeat and death at al-Kasr al-Kebir in 1578.<sup>4</sup> These defeats could, however, convincingly be ascribed to the folly and ineptitude of the commanders concerned. They did not shatter the basic Iberian belief that God was on their side in conflicts with the 'Infidel', who, with divine aid, would normally be smitten hip and thigh.

This militant crusading spirit which was still strong — though by no means universal — in the Iberian Peninsula, and which was fostered by continuous warfare with the Muslims of North Africa, was also evinced in the tropical world of Southeast Asia during the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Save for an abortive intervention by the Spaniards in Cambodia (May–July 1596), the ambitious projects for territorial expansion in the name of the Cross and the Crown which were adumbrated at Manila, Mēlaka and Goa, came to nothing, for reasons explained below. The subsequent arrival of the Dutch in Asian seas sharply changed the balance of maritime power in this region. Even the Iberian *conquistadores* with their tradition of reaching for the moon could no longer envisage the conquest of this region during the decades in which they were locked in a desperate struggle with their heretic foes.

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch in Malayan and Indonesian waters, there had been for many years an uneasy balance of

power between the Portuguese at Mělaka and the two Muslim Sultānates of Acheh and Johor. In other words, none of these three was able to inflict a knockout blow on either of the other two; nor did any peace or agreement which was concluded between them last for any length of time.<sup>5</sup> As far as the Portuguese were concerned, their most dangerous opponent was undoubtedly Acheh, whose militant Sultāns, in the expressive phrase of the soldier-chronicler Diogo do Couto, never turned over in their beds without thinking how they could encompass the destruction of Mělaka.<sup>6</sup> The failure of their repeated attacks on this stronghold seldom discouraged them; and during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century they made strenuous efforts to obtain technical military and naval assistance from the rulers of the Ottoman empire. Turkish preoccupation with wars in the Balkans, in the Mediterranean, and on the Persian frontier, prevented the Sublime Porte from sending assistance on the scale that the Achehnese desired. But at least two ships carrying 500 Turks, including gunfounders, gunners, and military engineers reached Acheh about 1567. Cannon, firearms, and other war material came regularly in the four or five Gujarātī ships which traded annually between Jidda and Acheh. These supplies may not have risen much above a trickle, but they were sometimes accompanied by military personnel, and they helped to boost Achehnese morale.

What alarmed the Portuguese as much as or more than this Turkish military assistance to their most redoubtable foe was the part played by the Achehnese in the revival of the Red Sea spice-trade, which had become increasingly evident after the capture of Aden by the Turks in 1538. Thirty-one years later, Dom Jorge Temudo, the Archbishop of Goa, informed the Crown that the Sultān of Acheh, in exchange for the help he was receiving from Turkey, was sending such vast quantities of pepper to the Red Sea "that it must help to lower the price of pepper in Flanders. So much pepper is now going to Makka [= Jidda] from Acheh, that this year there was a surplus there, which was re-exported to Gujerāt". Since neither the Turks nor the Achehnese possessed larger vessels than galleys, this trade was carried on by well-gunned Indian ships of from 400 to 600 tonnes. They seem to have been built and operated mainly by Gujarātīs, though the crews were usually reinforced with Turkish and Achehnese warriors.<sup>7</sup>

Archbishop Temudo recommended in 1569 that the harbours of Acheh, and particularly the riverine capital of that name,<sup>8</sup>

should be blockaded for three successive years by an armada of four or five strong galleons and twice as many galleys, carrying 1,000 men under a specially selected commander. This taskforce would be based at Měłaka, and thus equally well placed to prevent any ships from leaving Aceh, to disrupt its maritime trade, and to intercept any Turkish galleys bringing help from the Red Sea. An effective blockade would completely ruin the 'upstart' Sultānate's economy, and its subsequent conquest would be easy. In 1571, the Crown promulgated a decree — which was never implemented — dividing Portuguese East Africa and Asia into three separate governments, with their respective headquarters at Moçambique, Goa, and Měłaka. António Moniz Barreto, one of the most experienced and successful *conquistadores* in the East, was appointed Governor-General of the Měłaka region which extended from Pegu to China, with the task of conquering or containing Aceh. He never took up this post, and he refused to let anyone else do so when he became Governor-General at Goa in 1572. Some people argued that priority should be given to the conquest and effective occupation of Ceylon, where the Portuguese controlled only the coastal regions. Diogo do Couto, in his *Dialogo do Soldado Practico* (Dialogue of the veteran soldier), which was written at Goa about this time, maintained that the conquest of both these places was necessary. He further argued that an essential preliminary was the conquest of the empire of Monomotapa, as the Portuguese called this Bantu tribal confederacy in East-central Africa. This region was believed to be very rich in gold and silver mines, whose exploitation would provide the economic resources to finance these costly enterprises.<sup>9</sup>

Padre Alexandre Valignano SJ, the great reorganizer of the Jesuit missions in Asia during the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, asserted in his *Sumario* of 1579/80 that Měłaka was but a "very poor and small thing" (*es cosa muy pequeña y pobre*), and would remain so unless and until Aceh was conquered. His views were shared by Dom João Ribeiro Gaio, the Bishop of Měłaka from 1581 to 1601, who put forward some detailed proposals for the conquest of Aceh in 1584. These proposals were chiefly based on an intelligence report which he had recently received about Aceh from a certain Diogo Gil, who had been a prisoner there for many years, but who had enjoyed considerable freedom of movement.<sup>10</sup> This report gives a detailed description of all the beaches on the northern tip of Aceh, near the river leading to the capital, on which a disembarkation would be possible,

comparing their relative advantages and disadvantages. It also describes the various routes by which a landing-party could reach the city and the fortified enclosure surrounding the Sultān's palace (*Dalam*); and it suggests what tactics and what formations should be adopted, and what degree of resistance might be expected.

Presumably echoing his informant's views, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio stated that the expeditionary force from Goa should comprise at least 4,000 Portuguese, exclusive of mariners, auxiliaries, and camp-followers. The armada should leave Goa in time to ensure its arrival off Acheh Head by mid-March at the latest, so that the whole campaign could be concluded by the "moon of May, which is very dangerous for shipping off that coast". A feint disembarkation should be made one evening at a beach nearly two leagues east of the river mouth, whence a good path led to the city, and where the Achehese expected a landing. The real landing would be at dawn next day on the shore between 'Coalasacan and Yndergit'.<sup>11</sup> After describing the route which the landing force should take to the king's palace, the Bishop added piously that he would build a hermitage at the place where the assailants effected an entry "in the name of Jesus and with the war-cry of St. James, taking for intermediary and guide the most holy Virgin Our Lady of Light", to whom the building would be dedicated.

It is evident from this 'Derrotero y Relacion' of 1584, that though the Sultān's palace was situated in a fortified enclosure, this was not very strong. The Achehese were well supplied with artillery, including 100 large bronze guns, but they were nearly all dismounted and lying on the ground, as John Davis found them 16 years later.<sup>12</sup> The 300 galley-type vessels would not have been much use against a powerful Portuguese armada; and the real strength of Acheh consisted in the Sultān's 600 trained war-elephants and in the fighting spirit of its 30,000 'fanatical' Muslim warriors. Apart from a very detailed plan of invasion and assault, this episcopal project also gave a description of all the places along the Sumatran coasts which acknowledged the overlordship of Acheh. Like other advocates of the conquest of Acheh, the Bishop stressed the fertility of Sumatra and the wealth of its natural resources in pepper, gold, benzoin, and other products. Dom João Ribeiro Gaio advocated not merely the conquest of the whole island, but of Johor as well, and likewise the recapture of Těrnate. All this, he claimed, could

be done "in the monsoon [season] which lasts from mid-March to mid-January".

Carried away by his crusading enthusiasm, the bellicose Bishop recommended that the subjugation of Sumatra and Malaya should be followed by the conquest of Siam, Cambodia, Cochinchina (Vietnam) and China. All these and many other beneficial results would flow from the occupation of Acheh; provided that the king sent out a carefully selected viceroy, of the stamp of Afonso de Albuquerque and Dom João de Castro, to command this expedition in person. King Philip would then be lord of all the countries between India and Japan, "which are the finest regions in the world. For they contain all the riches, precious stones, and mundane merchandise, spices, and many and great kingdoms and empires. And all this, the Bishop added with his habitual optimism, "can be accomplished with four thousand men and the expenditure of eight or nine hundred thousand cruzados".<sup>13</sup>

Dom João Ribeiro Gaio's proposals for the conquest of South-east Asia must have reached Madrid just about the same time as Jorge de Lemos' *Hystoria dos cercos ... de Malaca* (History of the sieges of Mělaka) was published in Lisbon in 1585.<sup>14</sup> Lemos was a senior colonial official who held various high positions at Goa. He claimed to have got much of his information from conversations between VIPs which he had overheard in the viceroy's anteroom. He calculated (with evident exaggeration) that the Sultān of Acheh derived an annual income of three or four million gold ducats from his trade with the Red Sea, "in return for the thirty or forty thousand quintals of pepper and other spices and merchandise which he sends there in his ships". Like the Bishop, Jorge de Lemos strove to arouse the royal cupidity by dilating on the great actual wealth and the still greater potential richness of Sumatra's natural resources. After making a not very valid comparison of Sumatra with England, "of which country the Scriptures speak so highly", Lemos claimed that the conquest of Acheh would give the dual Iberian Crown the economic resources for a war wherewith to destroy not only "the Here-siarchs and their followers", but to recover all Christian territory lost to the Muslims (including Jerusalem), and to overthrow the Ottoman empire. Jorge de Lemos, even more sanguine than the Bishop, argued that an expeditionary force of 3,000 men would probably be enough to ensure success, particularly since Acheh had been seriously weakened by internal dissensions after the

death of Sulṭān 'Alī Ri'āyat Shāh in 1579. If, on the other hand, this favourable opportunity was neglected, and Acheh allowed to recover its unity and strength, then the Sulṭānate might, in alliance with Johor, effectively blockade the Strait of Singapore, and even take Mēlaka itself. Mēlaka had been preserved hitherto by a series of miracles, and it would never be secure until Acheh fell.

In the same year that Jorge de Lemos' book appeared in Lisbon, the Oidor or Chief Justice at Manila, Licentiate Melchor Dávalos, wrote to King Philip, urging him to order the expulsion of all Muslims from the Philippines, or at least to subjugate them and force them to pay tribute: "routing them all from Java, Sumatra, Acheh, Borneo, Mindanao, Jolo, Maluku, Malaya and Siam, and Patani and Pegu, and other kingdoms where they venerate Mahomet, whose cult and evil sect have been brought here by Persians, 'Arabs, Egyptians and Turks, and there have even come here Moors from Tunis and Granada [in Spain]".<sup>15</sup> Supporting his arguments with quotations from Portuguese chroniclers, João de Barros and Jeronimo Osorio, the Oidor flatly declared: "all the Muslims in this utmost part of the earth are our sworn foes". Turks were coming yearly to Sumatra, to Brunei and to Tērnate, "where there are now some of those who were vanquished by Don Juan of Austria" at the famous battle of Lepanto.<sup>16</sup> "And they also come to other islands in Maluku, where they preach their sect and stir up the people to make war on the Christians." Recalling the forcible conversion or expulsion of the Moors from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Mamlūk Sulṭān's vain remonstrance against this barbaric intolerance in 1505,<sup>17</sup> Dávalos alleged that many of the descendants of these embittered refugees had found their way via the Red Sea to the island-world of Southeast Asia. Since the Catholic Kings had rightly oppressed and persecuted the Muslims in Spain, they would be even more justified in conquering their descendants in Asia, or so Dávalos argued with somewhat lopsided logic.<sup>18</sup>

Proposals for the invasion and occupation of Acheh continued to be discussed throughout the 1580s by the responsible authorities at Lisbon, Goa and Mēlaka; but in the upshot nothing came of them, as was noted by Jan Huigen van Linschoten during his stay at Goa in 1584-8. "It was long since concluded and determined by the King of Portugal and his viceroy, that the isle of Sumatra should be conquered, and at this present there are certain captains, that to the same end have the King's pay,

with the title of Generals and Chief Captains, or *Adelantado* of this conquest; but as yet there is nothing done therein, although they do still talk thereof but do it not."<sup>19</sup>

A note of realism was introduced into this perennial discussion by Francisco Rodrigues da Silveira, a soldier who served in the East from 1585 to 1598, and who subsequently pestered the authorities at Lisbon and Madrid with schemes for the moral, military, and administrative reform of Portuguese Asia.<sup>20</sup> Rodrigues da Silveira was in favour of making Ceylon [Sri Lanka] rather than Goa the centre of Portuguese power. He argued that for a maritime empire, an island base was preferable to a landlocked one like Goa. Replying to those who advocated the conquest of Sumatra in preference to that of Ceylon, Rodrigues da Silveira pointed out that although Sumatra was very rich in natural resources, the inhabitants were ardent Muslims. There was no possibility that they could ever be converted to Christianity, whereas the Hindus and Buddhists of Ceylon might be, particularly if 'St. Thomas Christians' from the Malabar coast were used as auxiliary troops and subsequently settled as colonists in the island. In sharp contrast to the previously quoted writers, Rodrigues da Silveira averred that the enmity of the Muslims was entirely due to the tyrannous behaviour of the captains of Mělaka, who strove to monopolize all the trade for their own profit. This was the real reason why the Sultāns of Aceh and Johor attacked Mělaka so often, "and why they frequently stimulate the Sultān of Turkey to send them military experts and masters of galleys, and [technicians] of other weapons and war material"<sup>21</sup>.

Even before the union of the two Iberian Crowns in 1580, there had been suggestions on both sides that they might combine their forces in the East against their common enemies. Nothing came of these proposals, but during the 1580s the Spaniards at Manila sent two expeditions to help the Portuguese in Maluku, although their combined forces failed to retake Těrnate. Unlike many, perhaps most, of his countrymen, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio was an enthusiastic advocate of such co-operation. His pro-Spanish proclivities earned him a glowing testimonial from Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, interim Governor of the Philippines in 1593-6. Dasmariñas described the Bishop as: "A prelate of holy zeal, and very desirous of the glory of God and of the service of Your Majesty and the common weal, and a person of great experience and knowledge of these regions, and quite free

of the harmful points and pretensions of his nation".<sup>22</sup> This commendation was made apropos of the Bishop's project for the conquest of Patani and Siam, which he suggested should be undertaken simultaneously with the invasion of Acheh.

Dom João Ribeiro Gaió's information about Patani was derived from four Portuguese who had been there, though in what capacity is not stated.<sup>23</sup> According to them, the city was about a league and a half in circumference and fairly well fortified with a stockade and some bulwarks. The defenders disposed of about 1,000 cannon of all calibres, including 'a very large culverin'. They were well provided with excellent arquebuses of local manufacture. The houses were all of wood with thatched roofs, including the masjids and the Sultān's palace. Patani contained a citizens' militia of some 4,000 men, who could quickly be reinforced by 20,000 men mobilized from the peasantry in the surrounding district. The male inhabitants were described as being fine, upstanding, and warlike men, and of a friendly disposition. They had never been engaged in any hostilities with the Portuguese. There was a foreign trading community of over 3,000 men in one of the suburbs, most of whom were Chinese from Fukien and South China.<sup>24</sup>

As in the case of Acheh, the Bishop's informants gave detailed advice about the suitability of the various beaches for disembarkation, and the way in which the attacking force and the supporting artillery should be deployed. The enterprise should be timed for early February if possible, "for nothing can be done in the winter months of November, December, and January". This report clearly implied that Patani might prove a tough nut to crack, but it made no provision for any casualties being suffered by the attacking force. On the contrary, the Bishop seems to have ignored the possibility of any casualties in his plan for the conquest of Patani and Siam, which he outlined as follows.

At the same time as the projected Portuguese armada with an expeditionary force of 4,000 men left Goa for Acheh, another 2,000 men should leave Manila for the capture of Patani. Half of this number would suffice to garrison this place, and the remaining 1,000 would be launched against Siam, which would easily be conquered as its people were unwarlike.<sup>25</sup> From these greatly enlarged bases in Southeast Asia, the Spaniards and Portuguese could then proceed to conquer the city of Canton, "so rich and sumptuous, and all those other regions of the South, which are many, and very great and very wealthy. And thus His Majesty

will be the greatest lord that ever was in the world." It was, however, important that these simultaneous expeditions against Acheh and Patani should be mounted very soon. "For at present this enterprise can be accomplished with only six thousand men who may be sent (from Europe) to these parts, and in future it will need more, since these infidels are becoming daily more powerful and expert in military arts."

The Siamese capital of Ayudhya was described as being very large. It was protected by a wall measuring over eight leagues in circuit, "so that a man would have his work cut out to walk round it in two days". This wall was weakly built of earth and brick, and could easily be breached at many places, especially at points where the numerous canals entered the city. Some of the bastions were provided with guns, but they were lying on the ground, and the Siamese did not know how to cast cannon. The buildings were all of wood or bamboo, save for some twenty or thirty brick houses, built by wealthy merchants as a precaution against fire. "There would be about thirty thousand householders in this city, but they are a weak people who don't know how to fight. It is therefore ill-fortified and can be entered anywhere without much resistance, as the people are cowardly and physically feeble." Buddhist temples were numerous, and the priests were held in great esteem, "enjoying the best that the land produces".

The Bishop (or his informants) waxed lyrical over "this kingdom of Siam, which contains everything that is needed to sustain human life, and in such abundance". It was the rice granary for neighbouring countries, save only Cambodia. More than 300 junks from Malayan and Indonesian ports entered the river Menam annually. There was also a flourishing trade with China, mainly in gold for sappanwood. The kingdom abounded in cattle and deer, the export trade in hides amounting to some 30,000 or 40,000 yearly, "to Japan and other parts". All provisions were exceedingly cheap, and a large cow cost only about a *cruzado*. There was likewise a big export-trade in indigo (20,000 *tinajas* or large earthen jars per annum), benzoin, coarse cloth, and sappanwood, "which is the brazilwood wherewith the whole of India, China, and Japan are supplied". Siam was (allegedly) more abundant in timber suitable for shipbuilding than was any other country "at the present time". Every day was a market-day, and the streets and canals were always thronged with buyers and sellers. The river Menam was deep and navigable for ships and large

junks drawing 18 spans of water. The Siamese would be taken completely by surprise by an expeditionary force which appeared off the bar, and which would have time to sail up the river and attack the city before the king could be informed of its approach. The only military technique in which the Siamese were formidable was the manufacture of arquebuses, "which are made in Siam better than in Goa, for our sins", as the Bishop regretfully reported.<sup>26</sup>

When advocating the conquest of Patani and Siam in 1584, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio offered no excuse for this unprovoked aggression, save that the subjugation of Southeast Asia would make King Philip the richest and most powerful sovereign in the world. Ten years later, he and his sympathizers at Manila had found a suitable pretext in the real or alleged atrocities committed by the Siamese monarch, Preah Nareth, the 'Black King', as he was commonly termed by contemporaries. He was accused of being "a great enemy of the Christians and of the Name of Jesus and His Holy Cross. He has made himself very powerful, arrogant and cruel." It was vital for the service of God and of His Majesty, and the welfare of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, that the 'Black King' should be destroyed in the most ruthless manner.

Both the Bishop of Mēlaka and the Governor of the Philippines were convinced by this time that the Portuguese authorities at Goa were not strong enough to intervene effectively in Southeast Asia. They therefore urged that an expedition should be mounted from Manila in order to conquer Siam with the aid of its hereditary rivals, Burma and Cambodia, both of which had suffered severely at the hands of the 'Black King'. If further justification was needed, it could be found in the sadistic tortures with which he had executed several Portuguese and Spaniards, as well as Cambodian prisoners, and those of his own subjects who displeased him. These tortures included boiling them alive in oil, tearing out their flesh with pincers, and trampling them to death under the feet of elephants. The Siamese themselves were alleged to be disaffected with his rule, which was more like that of a devil than a man. They would welcome almost any alternative, and not least a Spanish conquest, which would enable them to live in peace and security with their lives and property, "something which everyone desires, and which they now lack completely".<sup>27</sup>

Luis Pérez Dasmariñas compiled at Manila a bulky dossier of evidence in support of his contentions. Carried away by his

enthusiasm, he claimed that 1,000 or even 500 Spaniards would suffice as the core of the expeditionary force, which could be supplemented with Filipino auxiliaries. It would not be necessary to send large reinforcements from Spain and Mexico, but merely some additional military equipment, such as muskets, arquebuses, coats of mail and helmets, "for there is great want of these in the Philippines and in New Spain".<sup>28</sup> The projected conquest of Siam was by now clearly linked to schemes for Spanish intervention in Cambodia. These projects briefly matured in May 1596, with the expedition which sacked the Cambodian capital of Srei Santhor and killed the usurping king, Chung Prei.

The story of this expedition and of the romantic careers of the two adventurers largely responsible for it, the Portuguese, Diogo Veloso, and the Spaniard, Blas Ruiz de Hernán González, has often been told, and there is no need to describe the details here.<sup>29</sup> It suffices to recall that the expeditionary force originally comprised three small ships and 120 Spaniards, under the command of Juan Juárez Gallinato. One of the vessels was wrecked at the mouth of the Mekong, and the flagship was forced off course and put into Mě́laka before continuing the voyage. The capture of Srei Santhor was effected by those in the remaining ship, in which were Veloso, Hernán González, and an adventurous Dominican friar, Diego Aduarte. When Gallinato reached Phnom-penh after the sack of Srei Santhor and the death of Chung Prei, he refused to continue the campaign and set sail for Manila in July. The failure of this expedition did not discourage Dasmariñas, Aduarte, and other hotheads in Manila, who continued to bombard Madrid with projects for the conquest not merely of Cambodia, Champa<sup>30</sup> and Siam, but of Canton and South China as well.

Dasmariñas, accompanied and advised by the indefatigable Fr. Diego Aduarte, mounted another expedition in 1598 to aid Cambodia, where the rightful king, Barom Reachea II, had been restored to his throne by the efforts of Veloso and Hernán González. This expedition was even more unlucky than the first. Out of three small ships, one was lost with all on board in a storm soon after leaving Manila. The flagship, with Dasmariñas and Aduarte, was driven ashore on the Kwangtung coast near Macao. The famished castaways subsequently had to beat off attacks by the Portuguese, and Aduarte had to endure the rigours of a Chinese jail at Canton, before the survivors eventually got back to Manila in the year 1600. Only the third vessel

reached Cambodia, where those on board made contact with Veloso and Hernán González. They later became involved in a dispute with the local Malay colony, and most of them were killed in July 1599.<sup>31</sup>

The end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the end of armed Spanish intervention in Indochina for the next 250 years; but Dasmariñas and his supporters continued to urge their bellicose projects on a reluctant court at Madrid, until the former was slain in the 'Sangleys' (Chinese) rebellion of 1603. His death, incidentally, was directly due to his contempt for the Chinese as fighters. He insisted on attacking a greatly superior force of Sangleys, and when one of his captains remonstrated at this rashness, he accused him of trying to 'chicken-out' (*que gallina le avia cantado al oydo?*), and retorted that 25 Spaniards were enough to conquer the whole of China. Some of these proposals achieved the dignity of print, such as the *Memorial* of Pedro Sevil published in 1603, and the *Relacion Breve y Verdadera* of Fr. Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio OP, published in 1604.<sup>32</sup> But neither Philip III nor his favourite and prime minister, the Duke of Lerma, possessed the *conquistador* spirit, and Dutch maritime expansion was becoming their chief colonial preoccupation. Those who criticized these ambitious proposals, such as Dr. Antonio de Morga, Oidor at Manila in 1595–1602, were read with more attention. Subsequent projects for the conquest of all or part of Southeast Asia, such as those submitted by the Count of Bailen in 1602, were either flatly rejected or else quietly shelved.

The still more ambitious suggestions for the conquest of China had been turned down by the government at Madrid even earlier. Their principal advocate was the restless, intriguing Jesuit, Fr. Alonso Sánchez, who secured much support for his fantastic projects at Manila. He had the misfortune to arrive with his detailed proposals at Madrid, just about the same time as the shattered remnants of the Invincible Armada returned to Spain in 1588.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, his proposals were severely criticized by some of his own colleagues, including Padre Alexandre Valignano, and the celebrated Padre José de Acosta. His schemes were pigeonholed at Madrid, but, as we have seen, similar suggestions continued to be advanced by people at Manila who should have known better, down to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> In 1597, we find Luis Pérez Dasmariñas and Coronel Hernando de los Ríos arguing that it was essential to occupy Formosa, both in order to forestall the Japanese and as a preliminary to securing a

foothold on the mainland of Asia. They claimed that Siam could be conquered with 1,000 men, Champa with 300, and Cochinchina (Vietnam) with 1,500. "And thus beneath the shelter and protection of the Spanish flag, the ministers and preachers of the Holy Gospel would be able to convert souls, while extirpating idolatry and Islam."<sup>35</sup> The Spanish historian, W.E. Retana, has termed Coronel the leading intellectual of his time in the Philippines.<sup>36</sup> He was certainly a competent navigator and cartographer, but his sense of proportion evidently left something to be desired.

It will be clear from the foregoing that the grandiose illusions of Dasmariñas and Coronel were widely shared, nor was such optimism anything new. Some Portuguese prisoners lying loaded with chains in Canton jail in 1534–6 had managed to smuggle out letters addressed to their fellow countrymen, explaining how a small force of Portuguese with some Malabar auxiliaries could invade the Pearl River, capture Canton and part of South China. As the English translator and editor of these letters commented: "When one remembers the absolutely helpless condition in which the writers were at the time when they penned these letters, the full details which they furnish for the capture by the Portuguese of Canton and a large part of China itself, and their remarks concerning the ease with which the Chinese could be conquered, read somewhat strangely."<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas and his ragged castaways on a beach in Kwangtung, with virtually nothing to eat except seaweed and shellfish, still found time (and pens, ink, and paper) to draw up fantastic schemes for the conquest of Siam and Indochina.<sup>38</sup> Many other examples could be given of this overweening self-confidence, which, if it involved the Spaniards and Portuguese in many disasters, was also largely responsible for many of their victories.

Lack of numbers seldom worried the authors of these ambitious schemes. During the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there were never more than a few hundred able-bodied Spaniards (including Mexicans and Mestizos) available for service at Manila. A census taken in 1584 gave a total of 713 Spanish men throughout all the Philippine Islands, and there were insufficient firearms and other weapons for all of these. Manila could only muster 329 men of all ages (*entre viejos y mozos*), and most of the 64 Spanish sailors then at Cavite were unarmed. In 1589, Philip II fixed the military establishment of the Philippines at a total of

400 paid Spanish soldiers. Drafts of 100 or 200 men arrived yearly from Mexico, but they were usually ill-equipped, and their numbers barely served to replace the annual wastage from death, desertion, and disease. The Bishop of Manila reported in June 1588, that the city contained only 80 Spanish householders (*vecinos*), 50 of whom were married with European women and the others with Filipinas. He added that there were usually about 200 soldiers billeted on the citizens, or in the nearby native villages, most of whom were very poor and had to beg their bread.<sup>39</sup> It was a similar story at Mēlaka, where there were very rarely as many as 500 Portuguese available for service, and usually less than a couple of hundred. The wastage from death and disease in this unhealthy stronghold was certainly higher than that at Manila.<sup>40</sup>

Although Diogo do Couto and the more responsible advocates of an attack on Acheh considered that at least 4,000 Portuguese soldiers would be needed for this purpose, the government at Goa could never muster so many at any one place or time. The armada of the Viceroy, Martim Afonso de Castro, which finally launched the oft-proposed invasion of Acheh in May 1606, was manned by 3,012 men, of which 2,392 were apparently white (or Eurasian) soldiers, and 227 sailors.<sup>41</sup> The expedition was a failure, as the Viceroy delayed his disembarkation for several days after his arrival off the bar of Acheh, so the defenders had time to mobilize their forces and they put up a stiff resistance to the landing. The Portuguese could only establish a very narrow beachhead; and the Viceroy was glad enough when he received news that the Dutch were besieging Mēlaka, thus enabling him to re-embark his men and sail away without too much loss of face.<sup>42</sup>

As indicated above, both the Portuguese and the Spanish advocates of these invasion projects, though often men with many years experience of tropical warfare, made no allowance whatever for the inevitable wastage from disease and desertion, let alone the casualties suffered in battle. When asking, as they did, for 2,000 or 4,000 men to be sent from Europe, they invariably assumed or implied that the same number would be available for service in Southeast Asia after a voyage halfway round the world. This was patently absurd, particularly as regards the Portuguese. Often as much as half or a third of the men who yearly embarked at Lisbon died on the six or eight months'

voyage to 'Golden Goa' where the death-rate from malaria and dysentery was also alarmingly high.<sup>43</sup>

It is true that in some of these projects, though by no means in all of them, it was argued that the paucity of European soldiers could be remedied in part by the use of Asian auxiliaries. Vasco Calvo had advocated the employment of Malabar Nairs for his projected invasion of South China in 1536. Rodrigues da Silveira had urged the enlistment of 'St. Thomas Christians' for the conquest and colonization of Ceylon. Padre Alonso Sánchez SJ (and others in his wake) strongly advised the recruitment of Japanese Christians as well as Filipinos for the conquest of China. Dasmariñas and others considered that the Khmers of Cambodia would help the Spaniards against the Siamese, and in this they may have been right. They were, however, quite wrong in their assumption that the Cambodians could easily be converted to Christianity. The Spaniards used Filipino auxiliaries in their Maluku garrisons from 1606 to 1662; and their Filipino troops played a leading role in the capture of Saigon by a Franco-Spanish expeditionary force in 1858, which inaugurated the French empire in Indochina. Both Portuguese and Spaniards placed greater reliance on those Asians who were Christian converts, as explained by the Jesuit chronicler, Fernão Guerreiro: "Because as many heathen as are converted to Christ, just so many friends and vassals does His Majesty's service acquire, since they later fight for the State [of India] and the Christians against the heathen."<sup>44</sup> In other words, reliance could be placed on a Christian fifth-column.

The reader of these projects, and I have only discussed a few of them here, will notice how often and how closely God and Mammon go hand in hand. Some of the staunchest advocates of Iberian militant imperialism were mitred prelates, and others were self-sacrificing missionary friars and Jesuits. There is no need to doubt the sincerity of their religious zeal; but their concern for the material interest of their respective Crowns was almost equally great. Diogo do Couto correctly observed: "the kings of Portugal always aimed in this conquest of the East at so uniting the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that the one should never be exercised without the other".<sup>45</sup> This concern for the union of the interests of church and state was equally true of the Castilian kings. The great majority of their subjects, whether Portuguese or Spaniards, shared the same conviction. This ideol-

ogy helps to explain why a genuine desire for salvation of immortal souls was often accompanied by a determination to secure the material wealth of lands lying beyond the pale of Christendom.

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1. Ed. Note: *Conquistadores* were the leaders in the Spanish conquest of the 'New World' — the Americas — in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.
  2. Ed. Note: The Great Sophy refers to Shāh 'Abbās I of the Ṣafawid Empire who ruled from 1588–1629. It was Shāh 'Abbās who moved the capital to Isfahān, which became one of the most beautiful cities in the world, containing myriad palaces, gardens, parks, masjids, madrasas, caravansaries, workshops and public baths, many of which still stand, including the famed Masjid-e Shāh. Under Ṣafawid rule, Iran became the centre of a major cultural flowering expressed through the Persian language and the visual arts.
  3. Boxer, Charles Ralph, "Spaniards and Portuguese in the Iberian colonial world: aspects of an ambivalent relationship, 1580–1640" in *Salvador de Madariaga: Liber Amicorum* (A Book by Friends) (Bruges, 1967) 13 pp.
  4. Ed. Note: King Sebastian of Portugal (1554–78) was a fanatical religious ruler who saw himself as 'Christ's captain', destined to win victories over the Muslims. As soon as he took power in 1568, he dedicated himself to reversing the policy of his grandfather, John III, which had been to withdraw from costly conquests. In 1578, Sebastian led a large force of Portuguese and international adventurers against a much superior Moroccan army and lost his life in this crusade against the Muslims of Morocco.
  5. Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962) 139–43.
  6. Couto, do-, Diogo, *Década quinta da "Asia": Texte inedit* (The fifth decade of "Asia": unedited text) (Coimbra: Bibliotheca da Universidade, 1937) VIII, cap. 21.
  7. Boxer, Charles Ralph, "Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Acheh, 1540–1600"; Reid, Anthony, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia". These two papers presented at the Fourth International Conference on Asian History at Kuala Lumpur (August 1968) and reprinted in *JSEAH*, X, 3 (December 1969) give more details and further references. For the wider implications see also Allen, W.E.D., *Problems of Turkish power in the sixteenth century* (London:

- Central Asian Research Centre, 1963); Hess, A.C., "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spain", *American Historical Review*, LXXIV (1968) 1-25.
8. The Portuguese termed both the capital and the country 'Achem' or 'Achin'. The Achehnese, themselves, usually referred to the capital as 'Acheh Dār as-Salām' (Abode of Peace), and later as Kuta Raja. For old and modern nomenclature see Lombard, Denys, *Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au temps de Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636* (The Sulṭānate of Acheh in the time of Iskandar Muda, 1607-36) (Paris: EFEO, 1967) 9, 128.
  9. Couto, do-, Diogo, *Dialogo do soldado practico* (Dialogue of a professional soldier) (edn. Lisbon, 1790) I, 144, also as edited by Lopa, Rodrigues, (Lisbon, 1954) 221-32.
  10. "Derrotero y Relacion que Don Juan Ribeiro Gayo obispo de Malaca hizo de las cosas de Achen para El Rey Nuestro Señor", compiled at Mēlaka in December 1584. The Portuguese original has not been traced, and my quotations are made from a Ms. Spanish translation made at Manila c. 1590, for the provenance of which see my article, "A late sixteenth century Manila Ms.", *JRAS* (April 1950) 40-1.
  11. Not identified, though 'Coala' is presumably the Malay 'Kuala', as in Kuala Lumpur.
  12. "... great store of brass ordnance which they use without carriages, shooting them as they lie upon the ground": Boxer, Charles Ralph, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill", *JMBRAS*, XXXVIII, 2 (December 1965) 163.
  13. "Derrotero y Relacion", fis. 127-9. The *cruzado* was worth about 4 English shillings.
  14. Jorge de Lemos, *Hystoria dos cercos que em tempo de Antonio Monis Barreto, Governador que foi dos Estados da India, os Achens e Jáos puzeram à fortaleza de Malaca, sendo Tristão Vaz da Veiga Capitão della* (History of the Assaults on Mēlaka by the Achehnese and Javanese during the time of Antonio Monis Barreto, Governor of the [Portuguese] 'State of India', and the captainship of Tristão Vaz da Veiga) (Lisboa, 1585), a very rare work, of which only six or seven copies seem to be extant.
  15. Ed. Note: After the 'reconquest' of Spain in 1492, Spain was exclusively identified with the Roman Catholic Church. Both Jews and Muslims — termed Moors — were forced to convert or were expelled: the Jews in 1492 and the Muslims in 1502. From 1478 until 1834 religious uniformity was enforced in Spain by the Catholic Church court, the infamous Inquisition. The Inquisition, advocated by Saint Francis Xavier, was even brought into effect in Goa with the Portuguese conquest in 1510.

16. Ed. Note: Don Juan of Austria (1547–78), the illegitimate son of the Roman emperor Charles V and half brother of the King of Spain, headed the naval forces of the 'Holy League of Spain, Venice and the Pope' against the Ottoman Muslims in the eastern Mediterranean. In the battle of Lepanto, 7 October 1571, the Ottoman forces were virtually annihilated.
17. Ed. Note: This should refer to the Circassian Mamlūk Sultān Qānsawh al-Ghawrī, r. 1501–16. At the beginning of his reign, the Mamlūk Sultānate was hemmed in by three great powers. To the north was the Ottoman state, which was confronted on the east by the new military monarchy of the Şafawid Shāh Ismā'īl. To the south, dominating the Indian Ocean and threatening the Red Sea, was the naval power of the Portuguese. The Mamlūks lacked the maritime traditions and experience to deal with this danger. Sultān Qānsawh was therefore in no position to do more than to 'remonstrate'. See Holt, P.M., "Mamlūks", *EI*, VI (1991) 324.
18. Melchor Dávalos, letter of 20 June 1585 in Colín SJ, Francisco, *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las islas Filipinas* (Jesuit Missionary Labours in the Philippines), ed. Pastells SJ, Pablo, (Barcelona: Impr. y litografía de Henrich y Compañía de Jesús, 1903/04) III, 32–4.
19. John Huighen van Linschoten, *his Discours of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies* (London, 1598) fs. 32/33. I have modernized the spelling in the citation. Linschoten was secretary to the Archbishop of Goa, 1584–8.
20. British Museum, Additional Mss., 25, 419. Copious extracts were published by A. de S.S. Costa Lobo, under the title *Memorias de um soldado da India, compiladas de um manuscrito Portuguez do Museu Britannico* (Memoirs of a soldier in India, compiled from Portuguese manuscripts at the British Museum) (Lisbon, 1877).
21. *Ibid.*, 162–3.
22. Original in the author's collection, fl. 145.
23. "Relacion que hizo don Juan Ribeiro Gayo, obispo de Malaca con Antonio Diez, Enrique Mendez, Francisco de las Nieves, Juan Serrano de las cosas de Patani", fs. 129–33, of the original Ms. in the author's collection. The names given here in their Spanish forms should read António Dias, Henrique Mendes, Francisco das Neves, and João Serrão in Portuguese.
24. "... nesta povazon viven todos los chinas y Chincheos y demas estrangeros y naturales, que pasan de tres mil hombres, y todos buena gente" (fl. 129 of the Ms.).
25. "Relaçion y derrotero del Reyno de Çian para el Rey nuestro Señor", fs. 134–8 of the original Ms. in the author's collection.
26. *Ibid.*, fl. 135.

27. Original Ms. in the author's collection, fl. 144; "Auto de las crueldades del Rey de Sian", original Ms., Kong-hai (South China) January 1600, in the author's collection. For a summary of this and other relevant Mss. in English, see Maggs Bros., *Catalogue No. 515* (London, 1929) items 5-6, 21-7.
28. fl. 145 of the original Ms. in the author's collection.
29. Groslier, B.P., and Boxer, Charles Ralph, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Angkor and Cambodia in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century according to Portuguese and Spanish sources), *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études* 63 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958) 34-62, with full references to all previous accounts and the vast literature on this subject.
30. "... venga primero a dar en Champan, amparo de todo el latroçinio", as Fr. Gregorio de la Cruz OFM wrote to Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, 24 September 1594, fl. 144 of the original Ms. in the author's collection. A junta of theologians held at Manila in August 1595 voted that 'the tyrannical king of Champa' could justly be punished with 'a war of fire and blood' (*con una guerra a fuego y sangre*). Cf. the English summaries of these proceedings in Maggs Bros., *op. cit.*, item 2, 2-4, and in Quirino, Carlos, "The first Philippine expedition to Indochina", paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Asian History at Kuala Lumpur in August 1968.
31. Diego Aduarte's own version of these events is in his *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philippinas, Iapon, y China* (The History of the Dominican Holy Rosary Province in the Philippines, Japan and China) (Manila, 1640) pt. I, fls. 207-28, 239-46, 259-62, 283-8; *ibid.*, pt. II, fls. 378-94.
32. Both edited by Cabaton, Antoine, *Brève et véridique relation des événements du Cambodge par Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio* (Brief and true account of events in Cambodia by Gabriel Quiroga of San Antonio) (Paris, 1914) and *Le Mémorial de Pedro Sevil à Philippe III sur la conquête de l'Indochine* (The Memorial of Pedro Sevil to Philip III on the conquest of Indochina) (Paris, 1916). For the death of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, see Argensola, de-, Bartolomé Leonardo, *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (The Conquest of the islands of Maluku) (Madrid, 1609) 321-2.
33. Ed. Note: The Spanish Armada was the great fleet sent by King Philip II of Spain to invade England in conjunction with a Spanish army invasion from Flanders, now Belgium. From the 1588 naval battle, only 60 of Spain's 130 ships reached back to Spain and 15,000 Spaniards perished. This defeat saved England from invasion and the Dutch Republic from extinction, while the prestige of Spain — the greatest European power of the age — was devastated.

34. For Sánchez's scheme for the conquest of China and related projects, see my *Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1951, repr. 1967) 257–9, 484, and the sources quoted there; Bourdon, Léon, "Un projet d'invasion de la Chine par Canton à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (A project for the invasion of China via Canton at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros* (Lisboa, 1960) II, 97–121. For José de Acosta's criticisms see Lopetegui SJ, L., *El Padre José de Acosta S.J. y las misiones* (Father José de Acosta SJ and his missions) (Madrid, 1942) 461–85.
35. "... y bajo la sombra y amparo de la bandera española los ministros y predicadores del Santo Evangelio podían convertir las almas, destruyendo la gentilidad y el mahometanismo ...": Torres y Lanzas, de-, D. Pedro, and Pastells SJ, Pablo, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Catalogue of the documents concerning the islands of the Philippines kept in the Archives of the Indies at Sevilla), 9 v. (Barcelona, 1925–36) IV (1928) lxxxiii-lxxxiv.
36. "... El primer intelectual que hubo en el Archipiélago en su tiempo. Fué cartógrafo, inventor, náutico ..." (*Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Dr. Antonio de Morga* (Successes of the Philippine Islands), ed. Retana, W.E., (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1909) 563.
37. Ferguson, Donald, *Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, written in 1534 and 1536*, *The Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research ...*, XXXI (1902) (Delhi: Swati Publications, 1985).
38. "Auto de las crueldades del Rey de Sian", Ms. of 1600 in the author's collection, signed twice by Luis Pérez Dasmariñas.
39. Documents published in Colín SJ, Francisco, *Labor Evangelica*, op. cit., II, 674–82, and Torres y Lanzas and Pastells, *Catálogo*, op. cit., II (1926) ccxlv. Argensola and other authorities claim that Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas took 1,000 Spaniards with him on his abortive expedition to Maluku in 1593, but I doubt this.
40. Cf. Macgregor, I.A., "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya", *JMBRAS*, XXVIII, 2 (May 1955) 6. The figures he gives there are much the same as those extant for the period 1580–1600.
41. "Relação da armada do visorey dom Martim Afonso de Castro que foy ao Sul", sent by Diogo do Couto to the Count of Vidigueira, 20 December 1606: Boxer, Charles Ralph, and Vasconcelos, de-, Frazão, *André Furtado de Mendonça, 1558–1610* (Lisboa, 1955) 131–3.
42. Rodrigues da Silveira's version printed from the original in the British Museum, additional Mss. 25, 419, in Boxer and de Vasconcelos, op. cit., 147–52; Queiros SJ, de-, Fernão, *Vida do Venerável Irmão Pedro de Basto* (The Life of the Venerated Brother Pedro de Basto) (Lisboa, 1689) 334–44.

43. Boxer, Charles Ralph, ed., *The Tragic History of the Sea, 1589-1622: Narratives of the shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen São Thomé (1589), Santo Alberto (1593), São João Baptista (1622) and the journeys of the survivors in South East Africa* (Cambridge: HS, Second Series, No. 112, 1959), 1-30, and the sources quoted there.
44. Guerreiro SJ, Fernão, *Relação Anual das coisas que fizeram os padres de Companhia de Jesús nas suas missões do ... Tidore, Ternate, Ambóino, Malaca ...*, 1602-03 (Annual Report of the Jesuits on their missions in Tidore, Ternate, Ambon, Méléka ..., 1602-03) (Lisboa, 1605) III, ch. 23.
45. Couto, do-, Diogo, *Década VI*, ... op. cit., IV, ch. 7.



ISLĀM AND CHINESENESS

Denys Lombard and Claudine Salmon

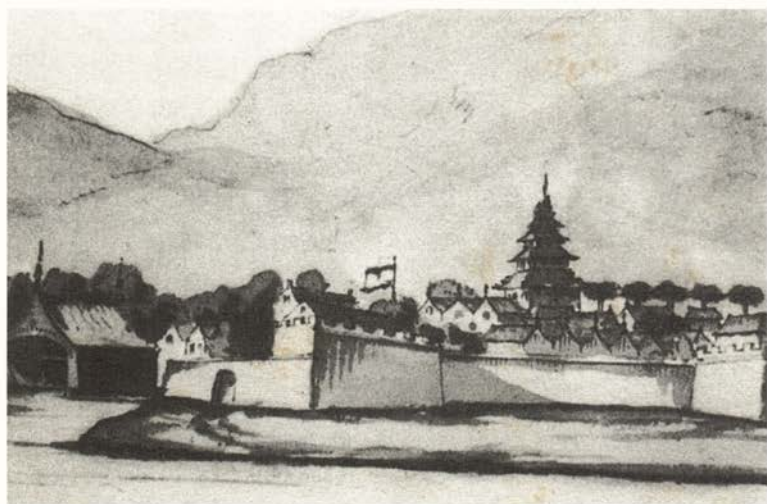
入鄉隨俗、入港隨灣

He followed the local mores when he entered a village,  
just as he followed the curves of the coast  
when he entered a port.

Epitaph for Tjan Tjhing Hoo (d. 1920),  
Tjan family Cemetery, Pajang, Central Java

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Tjan Tjhing Hoo's eldest brother, Tjan Kong Sing was given the position of Tumenggung at the court of Yogyakarta and took the Javanese name of Prawirasetja. The eminent sinologist Tjan Tjoe Som (1903-69) and Javanologist Tjan Tjoe Siem (1909-78) were his grandsons.



View of Jépara, with detail of the five-tiered roof of the Masjid, shown in a water-colour, probably from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, kept at the Paris National Library.

IT is worth pausing for a moment to consider the relationships that were able to exist between the expansion of Islām in the East Indies and the simultaneous formation of 'Chinese' communities. These two phenomena are usually presented in opposition to one another, and it is pointless here to enumerate the adverse accounts, past and present.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, properly considered it quickly becomes apparent that this is a question of two parallel developments which had their origins in the urban environment and which contributed to a large extent to the creation of 'middle class' merchants, all driven by the same spirit of enterprise even though they were in lively competition with one another. Rather than insisting once more on the divergences which some would maintain are fundamental — going as far as to assert, against all the evidence, that the Chinese 'could not imagine marrying outside their own nation' and that they remain unassimilable — we would like here to draw the reader's attention to a certain number of long-standing facts which allow a reversal of perspective.

*Chinese Muslims and the Local Urban Mutation  
of the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries:*

No doubt the problem of the role of the Chinese in the Islāmization process arose along with the first signs of the great urban transformation of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The fundamental text is that of the Chinese (Muslim) Ma Huan, who accompanied the famous Admiral Zheng He (Chêng Ho) on his fourth expedition to the South Seas (1413–15), and reported at the time of their passage through East Java that the population was made up of natives, Muslims (*Huihui*), as well as Chinese (*Tangren*) many of whom were Muslims. A contemporary text, the *Xiyang fanguo zhi* — Records of the Foreign Countries in the Western Ocean — even goes as far as to say that "All of these Chinese were Muslims".<sup>2</sup> We know, moreover, from Chinese sources, that there was an important Muslim community and a masjid at Canton as far back as the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Muslim merchants played a very important role in the coastal towns of China (Canton, but also Quanzhou) in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> One

can easily understand that these communities had their contacts along the Champa coast as well as at the eastern ports of Java.

It is known that the late Javanese historian Slamet Muljana used these facts along with a few others to advance the theory that the Chinese were able to participate in the Islāmization of Java,<sup>4</sup> and that his provocative work, which was published in 1968, was withdrawn from circulation in 1971, by order of the public prosecutor.

Nevertheless, several facts of an archaeological and textual order justify one in thinking that Professor Slamet Muljana was not completely wrong. It is now commonplace to retrace the influences of a certain Chinese art in the first Islāmized monuments of the Pasisir or Java's northern coastal area,<sup>5</sup> and the experts in *babad* (chronicles), the late Messrs de Graaf and Pigeaud, have clearly signalled in their study on the first Muslim kingdoms in Java, the extent to which the presence of the Chinese is perceptible everywhere.<sup>6</sup> At Grēsik (East Java), which Ma Huan presents to us in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a small Chinese town, lived a certain Nyai Pinatih, of Chinese origin, born at Palembang (Sumatra) and converted to Islām, who received as a small child the future Raden Paku, the first Lord of Giri (East Java).<sup>7</sup> A little further south, at Surabaya, the *Pěcat tanda*, that is 'the head of the market' of Terung, was a Chinese used as an official by the administration of Mojopahit (Majapait), who installed and protected the young Muslim who had come from Champa.<sup>8</sup> He was to become Raden Raḥmat. At Dėmak (Central Java) not only the somewhat doubtful Chinese chronicle referred to by Slamet Muljana, but also the *Hikayat Hasanudin*, expressly stated that the founder of the first Javanese sulṭānate was a Chinese. Also at Jėpara (Central Java) it was a shipwrecked Chinese captain who married Ratu Kalinyamat and founded one of the most important harbour towns of the Pasisir. All of this is confirmed by Tomė Pires, who tells us that 'the Javanese used to have affinity with the Chinese' and that the religion of Muḥammad was widespread among the cosmopolitan population of the coast, made up of Chinese, 'Arabs, Gujarātīs, Bengalis and other nationalities.'<sup>9</sup>

*Collaboration of the Chinese Muslim Merchants  
with the Social Order of the Sulṭānates:*

Whatever the origins may be, it is undeniable that Dutch and English sources have, from as far back as the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup>

century, provided us with plentiful information on Muslim dignitaries of Chinese origin employed in the principal towns of the Javanese Pasisir and, a little later, in some of the large ports of the outer islands. The research was never carried out systematically and here we shall only give a few examples gleaned at random from our readings. They allow us to seize upon a whole social group sufficiently desirous of participating in local administration to be converted, bear a Malay or Javanese title, and settle permanently in their host country. Most of these converts married native women, and it is obvious that in the following generation the children sought to follow the model that had been set.

Without doubt, our best examples concern Bantěn (West Java), whose merchant society can be considered representative of that of the sultānates. From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the account of the first Dutch fleet<sup>10</sup> makes it clear that one must distinguish 'natural Chinese', that is those remaining loyal to their ancestral religion, from those 'who have lived here for a long time and who have adopted the Mohammedan faith'. This evidence is confirmed a little later by Edmund Scott (1603-5), who has a quite interesting passage on these two kinds of Chinese: "The Chyneses are very craftie people in trading, using all kind of cosoning and deceit which may possible be devised. They have no pride in them, nor will refuse any labour, except they turne Javans (as many of them doe when they have done a murther or some other villanie)."<sup>11</sup> John Jourdain, passing through Bantěn in 1614, also tells us that the Regent (the *Pangeran Protector*) had close to him two or three Chinese converted to Islām who were his principal advisers and assistants: "And therefore hee keepeth neere him two or three China slaves alias China torn coates beinge become Mahometans. These I say, are his cheife councill and doe direct all the buysiness under him."<sup>12</sup> Echoes of this can be found in a report of Cornelis Buysero, dated March 1617: "According to the Javanese themselves, he uses as his counsel nothing but greedy, false thieves: shaven Chinese".<sup>13</sup> A little later, the *Dagh-register* (Daily Register kept in Batavia by the (Dutch) United East India Company or VOC) also speaks at various times of Chinese assuming high offices at the court of Bantěn, often pointing out that they were indeed Muslims. In November 1656, for example, we are told of "a certain Chinese Captain and a certain Abdul Wakki, Shahbandar of Bantěn, both heads shaven for a long time, and Muslims, the first carrying the title of *Kyai*,<sup>14</sup> and enjoying a large fortune and great prestige, the

other being one of our confirmed enemies". In 1682, the same year as the fall of Bantěn, we are told yet again of a certain Sincko, alias Abdul Mopit, who fled from Bantěn and took to Batavia news concerning Sultān Agěng and his castle at Tirtayasa (1<sup>st</sup> July).<sup>15</sup>

This model of a merchant-government official Muslim of Chinese origin is attested to throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century in various parts of the Javanese Pasisir. In 1623, we are told of a certain Lim Lacco (d. 1645), a Chinese Muslim from Bantěn and adviser of the Pangeran who decided to side with the Dutch and settled in Batavia, where he was appointed Captain of his nation in 1636;<sup>16</sup> two years later, we are told of a certain Inche Muda, the very son-in-law of the famous So Bing Kong (c. 1580–1644), who had settled at Kěndal (between Pěkalongan and Sěmarang) and traded in pepper with Jambi (South Sumatra).<sup>17</sup> There can be no question here of giving an exhaustive list of all these Chinese *shahbandar* or harbour masters. Let us again cite Kyai Aria Martanata, a shaven Chinese who had been harbour master and head of his 'nation' in Cirěbon from 1692 to 1697: "den geschoren Chinees Kiay Aria Martana, sijnde sabandaar en hooft van die van sijne natie tot Sirrebon ...".<sup>18</sup>

Other comparable examples are to be found in the same way in the various ports of the Archipelago. Here is what William Dampier tells us concerning a Chinese from Aceh, converted to Islām around 1689:

While I was in Tonquin, a Chinese inhabiting here turn'd from his *Paganism* to *Mohametanism*, and being circumcised, he was thereupon carry'd in great state thro the city on an Elephant, with one crying before him, that he was turn'd *Believer*. This man was call'd the Captain of the *China Camp*; for as I was informed, he was placed there by countrymen as their chief Factor or Agent, to negotiate their affairs with the people of the country. Whether he had dealt falsly, or was only envied by others, I know not: but his countrymen had so entangled him in law, that he had been ruined, if he had not made use of this way to disengage himself; and then his *Religion* protected him, and they could not meddle with him.<sup>19</sup>

At Makasar (Sulawěsi), a local chronicle, still handwritten in romanized Malay, alludes to a family descended from a Chinese Muslim from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and says of his origins:

They were two brothers, originating from the land of the Huihui (that is Muslims come from China), the elder was called Panlaoetia, the younger Laitji, both of them had left their country after disappointments. They had boarded boats and migrated towards Cirebon in Java. There Laitji married the daughter of the *tumenggung*<sup>20</sup> of Batang (to the east of Pekalongan), after which they shared their fortune and Panlaoetia asked his younger brother for permission to continue his voyage in the direction of the east as far as Makassar and up to the land of Sanrabone. There he stayed and sought to earn a living by all means possible.<sup>21</sup>

Beyond isolated examples, it is relatively easy to find a more consistent tendency, especially from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when our sources become a little more abundant. In almost every one of the principal towns there appeared at this time a Pĕranakan (local born Chinese) community made up of converted Chinese. We shall not take up here the much cited eye-witness report of Wang Dahai (1791), who spoke of the Chinese *Selam* who had turned away from the teachings of the 'old sages' and had been regrouped by the Dutch under separate Captains,<sup>22</sup> but will recall here a few more precise examples.

The first concerns the Chinese communities which from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century actively contributed to the exploitation of the tin mines at Bangka. Before the Dutch administration had recourse to the massive importation of Hakka coolies, these deposits were exploited by Chinese families converted to Islām. The report of Thomas Horsfield (1848) is clear on this point: "Several families, the names of the heads of which are recorded by the inhabitants of Minto (Muntok), formed the first stock of colonisation; the chief of these was the father-in-law of Raden Lumbu (i.e. Sulţān Badr al-Dīn); they were of Chinese descent, but their ancestors for several generations had embraced the Mahomedan religion ... the physiognomy of the present generation evidently indicates their Chinese derivation... ." Horsfield also adds that it was a habit of the Sulţāns of Palembang to marry one of the daughters of these worthy people of Muntok: "The custom of marrying a daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Minto has been kept as a religious duty by the sovereign of Palembang; and it has been considered as treasonable for a subject from the capital to contract matrimony with any of the daughters of the descendants of the first migrants".<sup>23</sup>

A little later, in 1854, Storm van 's Gravesande confirmed, for Palembang this time, the tendency of the Chinese to convert: "They distinguish themselves, like elsewhere, by their dress, their morals and their religion, but more than anywhere else in the Indies, they are attracted to local dress, and it has resulted in a large number of them becoming Muslims in the course of time; many of the Palembangese have, moreover, in the past, like today, married Chinese. Most of these Chinese women are of the Muslim religion."<sup>24</sup>

This collaboration of the Chinese in the social order of the sultānate of Palembang is found frequently in Java as well, where we have indisputable proof for the same era of their integration into the local society. Amongst the very many examples that exist, we shall give here that of the Han family of Surabaya whose first ancestor in Java, Han Siong Kong (b. in China in 1673), died in Bojoněgoro (to the southeast of Lasem) in 1744, and whose descendants we have been able to trace to the present day. It is interesting to observe how entire branches of this family have converted to Islām and have assimilated into the surrounding Javanese society, to the point of forgetting their origin. A genealogy, carefully kept since the 18<sup>th</sup> century and currently retained by the Han family of Surabaya, has preserved the memory of certain members who converted in order to integrate into the ranks of the administration and those of the Javanese nobility. In the second generation, two sons of Han Siong Kong embraced Islām, one being appointed Adipati of Bangil (East Java) and the other Regent in Těgal (West Java). In the third generation, a son of a brother of the Captain of the Surabayan Chinese, Han Bwee Kong (1727-78), and in the fourth, two of the four sons of the Lieutenant of the Surabayan Chinese, Han Soe Sik (1767-1827), converted in turn. Whereas the memory of the two brothers of the Captain of Surabaya and of their descendants has been kept alive thanks to their high position within Javanese society,<sup>25</sup> that of the rest of the converted Han is lost.

It so happens that one can rediscover in the European sources a trace of these ennobled Chinese. This is the case, it seems, for Kyai Dipati Suro Adiněgoro, who is mentioned in the Mackenzie Collection reports as being Dipati of Bangil and nephew of the Captain of the Surabayan Chinese Han Bwee Kong. Daendels (Governor-General of the Dutch Indies from 1808 to 1811) had found his manner of administering his district so exemplary that he had summoned him to Sěmarang to confer

a decoration upon him.<sup>26</sup> We know that on examining the *silsilah* or genealogies of numerous families of *bupati* or regents, some illustrious ancestor of Chinese origin can be easily recognized. Rothenbühler tells us that in 1798, with regard to Pěkalongan, the grandfather of the Regent Raden Adipati Jayadiningrat passed as having been "a Peranakan (or local born) Chinese who had embraced the Muslim religion", and he added, "This man having insinuated himself in favour with the Emperor Pakubuwono the first obtained this regentship from him".<sup>27</sup>

Running parallel to this assimilation on the highest level, there followed an integration on the most humble strata. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before the Dutch took the political and economic situation of the Indies in hand, numerous towns had next to their Chinese *kampung*, a *kampung Pěranakan* or local-born Chinese district, like Sěmarang, where Knops tells us in an 1814 manuscript report of their separate community and of their leader 'titled exclusively Captain': "As the Parnakkangs have become Mohammedans or are by birth, they live more in the style of the country than in the Chinese way. Their job is generally fishing and the navy, hiring themselves out as sailors or skippers of entire vessels ... they are whiter than the normal to be Javanese but not as white as the Chinese. They marry Javanese women; this results in mixed blood which becomes less so from generation to generation."<sup>28</sup>

#### *Cultural Contribution of Pěranakan Muslims:*

Although our information is skimpy, we can try to retrace a few traits of this Pěranakan Muslim 'subculture'. For this, we have at our disposal a few archaeological and textual elements.

It is known that there existed in Java at the very least a few masjids traditionally attributed to Chinese Pěranakan communities. One of the best known is the Masjid Pacinan of Bantěn; its square-shaped minaret was restored by the archaeological service in the mid-1970s.<sup>29</sup>

To tell the truth, we lack here a positive epigraph and are forced to remark that nothing in the décor is typically Chinese. This monument does not figure in the oldest plans and it can be supposed that the Pěranakan slowly annexed the masjid, built by others (note that in another area of Bantěn, there exists a masjid with a similarly square-shaped tower whose history has nothing to do with the Chinese). We can also cite, at Jakarta, the masjid of

Krukut, in the district of the same name (to the west of Molenvliet), which we know with certitude was founded in 1785, on the initiative of Tamien Dosol Seeng, Captain Commander of the Pěranakan.<sup>30</sup> The masjid of Kěbon Jěrुक (not far from there, to the east of Molenvliet, in the present Jalan Ayam Wuruk) seems to have served Chinese Muslims from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as attested to by the famous tomb of Lady Cai, dated from 1792, which is close at hand, and which is most likely that of the founder.<sup>31</sup> It is interesting to note that when the masjid burned in 1937, it was the manager of a Chinese firm, Lauw Tjeng Yoe, who bore the cost of its restoration.<sup>32</sup> Note further that inside the so-called 'Balinese' masjid (in Angke district) could be found until very recently a Muslim tombstone with a Chinese inscription.<sup>33</sup> In everything that has been previously mentioned, we have clear proof that at least certain believers were of Chinese origin, but there are many other masjids, in Java as elsewhere, where it is easy to recognize — be it in the architecture, the décor, or the furnishings — the hand of Chinese artisans; there is, however, no absolute proof that these artisans were themselves Muslims. Among the oldest masjids, one can mention that of Jěpara, whose five-tiered roof make one think of a pagoda, and the masjid of Hasan Sulaymān, at Ambon in Maluku, whose ancient structure we know thanks to a drawing by Valentijn, shows a circular door in the best style of the gardens of Suzhou.<sup>34</sup> Here we shall not treat the question of the many *mimbar* (pulpit) whose décor, adorned with gilded wood, very often reveals the techniques of the Cantonese cabinet-makers.

Even more than in these hybrid masjids, one will find excellent proof of this cultural symbiosis in the development of the 'Chinese *kramat*'. The phenomenon makes it worth our pausing here because, strictly speaking, it is unknown in Chinese tradition. The worship of the intercessors took place instead in the temples and, if a few real *kramat* are found in China itself, they appear in a Muslim context, like the one found in the northern town of Canton (the legendary Waqqāṣ' holy tomb<sup>35</sup>) or at the Lingshan or 'Miracle Hill' tombs near Quanzhou. In Java and in several other towns of Insulinde, one finds a very large number of sacred tombs attributed to people of Chinese origin considered converts and likely to fulfil the hopes of those who invoke them. It should be noted that the Chinese Totok or newcomers, remaining loyal to the tradition of their ancestors, have always looked unfavourably upon these *kramat*, which they call *shengmu* — holy tombs — and see as a sign of merging into a foreign

society (*ru fan*).<sup>36</sup> Most of these tombs are in an Islāmic style, with a stele at the two extremities, but a few have kept the Chinese model in the form of a tumulus.

Although it is difficult to establish an exact chronology, there is every right to believe that these *kramat* are extremely old. Several must go back to the period of the first Islāmization of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus one can still see the tomb of Nyai Pinatih, at Grěsik; that of the Chinese Captain who married Ratu Kalinyamat (and took the name of Pangeran Hādirī), at Mantingan, near Jěpara; that of Kyai Thelingsing, the master artisan who is assumed to have introduced a certain technique of wood carving, at Kudus; and also those of Mas Jong and Bagus Jong, at Bantěn Girang (they are believed to have participated in the Islāmization of the Bantěn region and certain families, to this day, still claim descent from them).

In the same way, at these very personalized tombs, of which there can be no doubt they are historical monuments, there are a series of littoral or harbour *kramat* which mark special places where the culture of the newcomers merged into that of the autochthons. These Islāmized sites are sometimes linked to the history of the famous Admiral Zheng He (Chêng Ho, 1371–1433, better known by the name of Sam Po) or his followers. The best examples are those of the temple of Ancol<sup>37</sup> at Jakarta; and at the Gědung Batu at Sěmarang where one can see the 'tomb' of one of the pilots (*juru mudi*) of Zheng He who would convert and enter into marriage with a woman of the area.<sup>38</sup> Again, one finds the example of a Muslim tomb associated with a Chinese temple on the isle of Kěmarau, a little downstream from the town of Palembang (in the heart of the Musi River), and at the mouth of the River of Pěkalongan (at the north of the town of the same name).<sup>39</sup> Let us note once more that from the 1730s, a Chinese traveller speaks of a *kramat* (*shengmu*) just at the mouth of the Ciliwung, where the 'Arab *kramat* of Luar Batang would later be built;<sup>40</sup> there likewise existed to the north of Surabaya, near the sea, at the place named Moro Krěmbangan, an analogous site which was 'moved' when the airfield was developed. The new *klenteng* or temple built on this occasion (around 1930), in Jalan Děmak, still shelters a large piece of wood, 'having been part of Sam Po's boat', and several holy tombs which are of the same type as those of Ancol.

Finally, there is a third group of holy tombs which largely correspond to the assimilation of the Chinese to the Javanese

hierarchy which we have highlighted above for the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Let us cite, for example, the tomb of Kyai Joyolelono, who was *Bupati* or regent of Probolinggo (East Java) from 1746 to 1768; it can be found in the cemetery of Sěntono, in the village of Mangunharjo, near to this town. Kyai Joyolelono, who is still honoured for his good administration, is none other than the son of Kyai Bun Jolodriyo alias Kim Bun, who was one of the companions of Untung Surapati,<sup>41</sup> and even one of his principal advisers. This figure occurs several times in the text of the *babad* (chronicle) studied by Ann Kumar, who questions his historical character and asks whether he may be nothing more than "a literary invention, functioning as a sort of *spielman* — an initiator of the various stages in the drama".<sup>42</sup> Another example is that of Tuměnggung Aria Wira Chulia (d. 1739 according to Chinese sources), alias Chen Sancai, who served Sultān Sěpuh of Cirėbon and whose tomb in Chinese style (repaired in 1765) is located in the city in a placė named Sukalila.<sup>43</sup> We shall here end the listing of the Chinese *kramat* which play a role that should not be underestimated in Javanese religion, and on which the local press is fond of publishing indulgent articles from time to time.<sup>44</sup>

It can be equally useful to consider the literary contribution of these Chinese Muslims. To our present knowledge, the 'corpus' of their work remains very modest, because from the time the authors assumed a 'Javanese' or 'Muslim' name, their Chinese origins can only be traced if they reveal it themselves in the introduction or in the course of the work. Even so, we are tackling the important question of knowing to what extent these Pėranakan were able to participate in the spreading of literature itself. Let us remember that it is quite striking that the use of the *taman bacaan* or 'reading-rooms' — attested to in China under the Tang dynasty (618–907) — is to be found in the Archipelago, in two towns strongly influenced by the Chinese, Palembang and Jakarta. We also know of the famous copyist, Ching Sā'id Allāh Muḥammad, who was very probably a Pėranakan, and who transcribed a great number of manuscripts while employed at the secretarial office at Batavia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>45</sup>

In particular we are concerned here with the few 'theoretical' writings, confined often to *kėbatinan* or Javanese mysticism, written by the converted Pėranakan. The library of the municipality of Yogyakarta (Central Java) still preserves a curious little text in Javanese characters, printed at Surakarta in 1853 and attributed to a certain Tan Ing Soen. It is a *Serat Tasawoef* or 'mystical

treatise' which claims to teach, in 42 pages, a knowledge of the Islāmic religion (*bab kawroeh agami Islam*).<sup>46</sup> One can equally cite the interesting *Sjair ilmoe sedjati dan Sjair nasehat* or 'Poem about the True Knowledge and Poem of Admonition' re-edited in 1921 by Tan Khoen Swie at Kěḍiri (East Java) and attributed to a certain Kyai Kiem Mas of Prajėkan (near Panarukan, East Java). This Kyai Kiem Mas (1834–96) was in fact a member of the great Han family, converted to Islām, of which we have spoken above. His great-uncle was Han Bwee Kong, Captain of Surabaya, and his father, son of Han Swie Kong, had already converted, taking the name of Wirjo Adikoesomo. Kyai Kiem Mas, also called Tjekong Mas, or even Kyai Mas Asemgiri, settled at Prajėkan, where he lived in retirement, teaching wisdom to a few disciples. After his death, his tomb became a very well-known *kramat* throughout East Java and is visited to the present day.<sup>47</sup> The *Sjair ilmoe sedjati* is composed of 120 stanzas<sup>48</sup> and the *Sjair nasehat* which follows, 105. Both are tinged with Islām, as certain verses of this genre go to prove:

Bahasa Arab ada membilang,  
Noer Moehamad tjahjia goemilang.

The 'Arab language states clearly,  
The light of Muḥammad is vivid.

But he also made allusion to Biblical principles:

Tjerita Beibel aloes dan titi,  
Moesti menoeroet dengan ingati.

The Biblical story is written with care,  
It must be followed and remembered.

Generally the thoughts of the author reflect a very Javanese syncretism. In fact the first of the *shair* gives an account of his quest with eight successive *guru* or masters, and the second warns against the evils of money which he calls *Si Ringgit* [Mr. Dollar], and which turns one from the right path and belief in God. Belonging to the same genre is the small prose collection, entitled: *Poesaka jang amat kekal, jang dapet dipoenjai lebi dari saemoer idoep*, or "A lasting heritage which may be owned even after death", published in Batavia in 1914 and attributed to a certain Kiai Hadji Koesta, of whom it is said: "that he was a Chinese ordinarily called Intjek 'M'Iah, but who then changed nationality" (*saorang Tionghoa totok, jang biasa diseboet I.M.I., kemoedian telah toekar laen bangsa*).<sup>49</sup>

However, the most remarkable is without doubt the *Sair Tjioko dan Petjoen* or "Poem on the Ghost Festival and Boat Races Festival", which Henri Chambert-Loir found in the depths of the manuscripts of the National Library in Jakarta, a copy of which he has generously shared with us. The manuscript is incomplete and anonymous, but the use of technical Hokkien terms (sometimes rendering comprehension difficult) proves that the author was of Chinese origin. In fact, the poem is made up of three parts, each describing one of the great festivals of the community: the Ghost Festival (the *Avalambana* of the Buddhists, usually called *Pesta rēbutan* or *Tjioko* in Java),<sup>50</sup> that of the boat races, or *Petjoen* (*Pēcun*), to commemorate the death of the famous poet and loyal minister Qu Yuan (B.C. 332–295), and finally that of the Chinese New Year or *Capgome*. But instead of describing them in the manner of Tjiong Soen Liang, author of another *Pantoen Tjapgome* or 'Poem on the New Year Festival' (published in Batavia in 1924), this author chooses to criticize at the same time the superstitious Chinese and the unscrupulous Muslims who do not hesitate to mix in the festivities. As converted, orthodox Pėranakan, he laments seeing his fellow Muslims hurl themselves at the offerings exposed on the scaffolding and 'snatch' them (*tjioko*, literally 'to scramble for the offerings made to the ghosts').

Koempoel semoea Slam jang gila  
 Manelen loeda gojang kepala ... .  
 Mangikoet gagares makanan Tjina,  
 Sajoer babi banjak disana ... .  
 Kaloe ketemoe arak di mangkok,  
 Tidak oeroeng dia mandekok ... .

Here they are reunited, these insane Muslims,  
 Swallowing their saliva and shaking their heads ... .  
 They also gobble down Chinese food,  
 There are lots of vegetables and pork ... .  
 And if there is alcohol in a bowl,  
 They waste no time in lapping it up ... .

A little further on he regrets the promiscuity which is bringing Muslim women nearer to the young Chinese men by the banks of the River Angke, where the boat races take place:

Prampoean Slam bedesek desekan,  
 Sama sengke Tjina Peranakan,  
 Itoe atoeran jang boekan boekan.

Di pingir kali dia pada makan ...  
 Tjina makan mengikoet badok,  
 Tjina mandi ikoet mengerobok,  
 Tjina tahon baroe mengikoet mabok ...

The Muslim women gather,  
 All against the Sengke and the Peranakan,  
 What aberrant morals!  
 By the riverbanks, they all eat together ...  
 The Chinese eat, the others gorge themselves,  
 The Chinese bathe, the others paddle,  
 The Chinese celebrate their New Year, and they get drunk ...

The conclusion is that such a spectacle 'breaks the faith that one has in one's heart' (*meroesaken ilmoe di dalem dada*).

After the *kejawèn* or Javanism of the syncretic Kyai and the orthodoxy of a puritan Përanakan, we have finally a third facet with the revolutionary hope of the author of the *Sair Serikat Islam* or 'Poem on the Sarekat Islām', published at Batavia by Kho Tjeng Bie in 1913. The author signs himself with the name of R. Pasisir which is evidently a pseudonym, but he claims to be writing at the request of the rich Toeàn Nio Tjiang Oen, drawing his inspiration from two Sino-Malay newspapers (*Sin Po* and *Pantjaran Warta*) and making repeated references to his Muslim faith (from the first verse: *Bismillah itoe permoelaan kalam* or 'In the name of God, such is the beginning'). This text, which manifestly addresses itself to a converted Përanakan public, curiously makes an apology on behalf of Sarekat Islam which has just come into existence, while praising all the diverse personalities who have participated in the first reunion, not only Haji Saman Hoedi,<sup>51</sup> but also Raden Goenawan, Tjokroaminoto, Hasan Ali Soerati, as well as the 'Arabs Said Mohamad Al Aijdroes, Said Abdoellah bin Aloei Alatas, and the Chinese Khouw Kim An, Major of the Chinese in Batavia (appointed in 1910), and Nio Tjiang Oen. The tone is enthusiastic and open-minded and he only makes allusion to the regrettable incidents which cost a few lives at the beginning of the movement at Sëmarang and at Surabaya.

Lagi di Kepoeteran bilangan Djawa,  
 Boemipoetra riboet dengan Tionghowa,  
 Beberapa banjak melinapkan djiwa,  
 Nama Sarikat djadi ketjiwa.

And still at Keputran (district of Surabaya), in Java,  
 The natives fought with the Chinese,  
 Several have lost their lives,  
 And the Sarekat lost face.

It seems likely that at this time a certain group of Chinese Pĕranakan had aspired to associate themselves with this movement perceived as an awareness and a first step toward autonomy.

Kaoem Islam empoenja bangsa  
 Berpoeloe tahon soeda merasa,  
 Segenap negeri kampoeng dan desa,  
 Seperti orang kena diseksa.

The Muslim nation  
 Has suffered for decades,  
 Throughout the country and in the heart of villages,  
 It is as if one was being tortured.

Hence their deep desire to minimize the first attacks formulated against the Chinese.

Banjak kabar berita orang,  
 Waktoe keriboetan di kota Semarang,  
 Sarikat Islam katanja terang  
 Bangsa Tionghoa hendak disarang.

Perkataan demikian jang boekan boekan,  
 Diharap Toean-toean djangan dengarkan.

Many have told  
 At the time of the events in Sĕmarang,  
 That the Sarekat Islam had clearly said  
 That they were going to attack the Chinese.

All these mad words,  
 It is to be hoped that you do not listen to them.

Note that at the same time the interpreter of the Chinese — a title conferred upon him by the Dutch — the journalist Sie Hian Ling (d. c. 1928) handed over to the Sarekat Islam his journal *Sinar Djawa*, which from then on took the name of *Sinar Hindia*.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Resinicization and Dakwah:*

It was clear at this time, on the eve of the Second World War, that the old dream of assimilation, still nursed by some, was no

longer as easy to realize as it had been previously. The general economic, social, political, and judicial conditions had changed considerably with the setting up of the Dutch Indies, the opening of large plantations, and the massive introduction of coolies. The steady arrival of Chinese wives contributed very strongly to the reintroduction of Chinese influences into the community whilst the emergence of Chinese nationalism from the Taiping, and especially with the revolutionary movement of Sun Yat Sen, awoke sentiments toward the country of origin and slowed down tendencies to integrate. We know that from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards there was a small surge among the *klenteng* or Chinese temples, places of conviviality and symbols of otherness for those Chinese, henceforth called those from overseas (*huaqiao*). The new social statute promulgated in 1854 created the category of 'Oriental Foreigners', which isolated the Chinese from the Europeans as well as from the mass of the natives.

However, even though all these new conditions tended to split the group of Chinese from the rest of the population, and to insist on their specificity, indeed on their peculiar ways, on their national pride, and on their reluctance to integrate culturally, one cannot deny that the old tendency to integrate persisted against all odds. It is possible to detect traces from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This tendency was henceforth to be found supported by a calculated willingness to convert on the part of the natives themselves who, being less and less aware of the Chinese 'danger', took the initiative in assimilation by the *dakwah* or Muslim proselytizing movement. One of the first witnesses we have goes back no doubt to Diponegoro<sup>53</sup> of whom we are told<sup>54</sup> that he promulgated an edict ordering the Chinese in certain districts to convert or face the death penalty. If this method appears a little strong, we have for the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mentions of less harsh movements, organized by Javanese who were no less convinced. The administrators, generally very hostile to these transfers which called in question the social order they were trying to impose, signalled that they were opposed to the ventures of these visionaries. Citing only one example, they tell us of a certain Imām Doelkadir (*een Javaan*), who in 1876 converted a number of Chinese in the Sĕmarang region, and who, in doing this, attracted the attention of the police. The sources add: "It is not without grounds that people who until now are registered as Chinese must be prevented from

suddenly appearing in Javanese dress" (*zich op eenmaal in een Javaansch pakean kwamen vertoonen*).<sup>55</sup>

A very good example of the problems which this type of conversion could generate in the Chinese community in the process of turning back to Chinese ways is to be found in the novel published by Thio Tjien Boen in Solo in 1903 called *Tjerita Oey Se*, 'The Story of Oey Se'. The first part of the novel, which is of no interest here, tells of the way in which a young Chinese Totok of Pékalongan (Central Java) makes his fortune around the middle of the last century by wrongfully appropriating a box of paper money, whose value the Javanese who had found it did not realize. The second part tells us how the Totok, on becoming rich, takes to visiting the regent of the residency and how the latter falls in love with his daughter and marries her after she converts to Islām. The rich merchant, who cannot bear the shame, has an empty tomb built in his garden, signifying the death of his daughter, and finishes by retiring to Batavia. The young convert, who takes the name of Fāṭimah, on the other hand, gets on very well with her Javanese husband and initiates a personal movement of *dakwah* in order to stimulate the conversion of the (poor) Chinese of her entourage.<sup>56</sup>

Toward the beginning of the 1930s there was a spate of various *dakwah* movements which at the same time took on political aspects. It must be noted that the seat of these movements was to be found outside of Java. First, in Sulawěsi, where a certain Ong Kie Ho, born in Toli-toli and founder of a Partai Islam, was deported to Java in 1932,<sup>57</sup> and in Medan (East Sumatra), where a certain Haji Yap A Siong (d. 1984), alias Haji Abdussomad, born in Canton at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who arrived in Sumatra in the 1930s, founded in 1936, with a few companions, the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa or the Muslim Chinese Union. In spite of the arrest of Ong Kie Ho, the movement continued in Makasar, where in 1933 or so the Partai Tionghoa Islam Indonesia (PITII or Indonesian Muslim Chinese Party) was founded, whose secretary was a certain Tjia Goan Liem. In 1934, the PITII initiated a 'Malay school' which offered a religious course.<sup>58</sup> In September 1936, the PITII even launched an organ called *Wasilah* or 'Connection' which was apparently short-lived.<sup>59</sup> On the eve of the Second World War, the Medan group was hoping to make conversions in Java but without great success.<sup>60</sup>

After the war the movement continued: the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa (PIT) moved its seat from Medan to Jakarta in 1953,

and took the name of Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI), whose name was changed to Pembina Imam Tauhid Islam or 'Action for the faith and the unity of Islām' in 1972. One of the great figures of this new association was Haji Abdul Karim, alias Oey Tjeng Hien from Padang (1905—88), who had become a good friend of Sukarno at the time of the latter's exile in Běngkulu (South Sumatra). He became a banker after Independence.<sup>61</sup> As the old regime had had its converted Chinese regents, the new Republic also had a few Pěranakan Muslims as high-ranking ministers, such as Lie Kiat Teng (1912—53), born in Sukabumi and converted in 1946 under the name of Ali Mohammad, who was minister for health between 1953 and 1955; Tan Kim Liong, born in 1925 in Kalimantan, and converted under the name of Hassan Hadji Mohammad, who was minister of finance in 1964, or even Tengku Nurdin (Mao Tse Fang) who was Bupati in East Aceh.

In this long series, the very last movement is the BAKOM PKB or 'The Communicating Body for Appreciation of National Unity', founded in December 1977 under the auspices of the Ministry of Home Affairs, by Junus Jahja (Lauw Tjoan To).<sup>62</sup> This new body published a paper *Pembauran*, 'Uniting' (the first number dates from 1978) which misses no opportunity for pointing out that conversion facilitates integration. It must be mentioned, however, that the BAKOM not only reunites Muslims, and that several of its members are Christians.

One may think that we have touched only lightly on the problem in indicating a few facts in passing, but we would consider ourselves satisfied if the reader agreed with us that this is a question of a long-term phenomenon to be placed in its historic context, and agreed as well to renounce the basic oversimplification which consists of dismissing all that is 'Chinese' as foreign and insignificant. This dichotomy involves political developments which do not concern us here, but it has great consequences with regard to even the conception of the history of the Archipelago. It prevents the comprehension of the size of the merchant towns of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which were based on cosmopolitanism and on a combined and positive contribution of Islāmic ideology and Chinese techniques; it also obscures the idea that by ruining this 'sacred union' in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Europeans dealt a doubtlessly much harder blow to the local economies than by taking the *batigslot* (surplus value remitted to Holland).<sup>63</sup>

However, one can see that this is a reversal of historical perspectives, and we are not so naïve as to believe that all historians are yet ready to accept it.

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1. Note that in 1979 there appeared in Sĕmarang (Central Java) an interesting little study by Amen Budiman, titled *Masyarakat Islam Tionghoa di Indonesia* (The Chinese Muslim Community of Indonesia) (Sĕmarang: Tanjung Sari, 1979) 75 pp., in which the author makes an attempt to retrace the difficult history of the Muslim Chinese of Indonesia. Cf. review by Lombard-Salmon in *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (Paris: May-August 1980) 859–61.
  2. Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan, The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores* (1433), transl. from the Chinese text ed. Feng Ch'eng-Chün with introd., notes and apps. by Mills, J.V.G., (Cambridge: HS, Extra Series, No. 42, 1970) 93; *Xiyang fanguo zhi*, commentary ed. Xiang Da (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 8.
  3. On these Muslim communities in southern China, see the study, fundamental for our purpose, of Kuwabara Jitsuzo, "On P'u Shoukeng ...", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko* (Tokyo) II, 1–79 and VII, 1–104 (1928 and 1935). Pu Shougeng was an important Muslim merchant of Quanzhou who eased the way for the Mongol success. See also Chen Da-sheng and Kalus, Ludvik, *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine*. 1 Province du Fujian (Quan-zhou, Fu-zhou, Xia-men) (Paris: Geutner, 1991) 443 pp.
  4. Slamet Muljana, *Runtuknja Keradjaan Hindu-Djawa dan Timbulnja Negara-negara Islam di Nusantara* (The Fall of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom and the Rise of Islāmic States in the Archipelago) (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1968) 272 pp. Note that before the appearance of Slamet Muljana's book, a controversial Javanese text, the *Sĕrat Dĕrmaganḍul*, no doubt written around 1878, in the Kĕḍiri region (East Java), definitely considered the *Walis* as Chinese, comparing them derisively to white herons (*bangau*) of the paddy fields whose hoopoe makes one think of a braid; cf. Drewes, G.W.J., "The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the *Sĕrat Dĕrmaganḍul*", *BKI*, CXXII, 3 (1966) 311, 364.
  5. See in particular Uka Tjandrasmita, "Art de Mojopahit et art du Pasisir" (Art of Majapait and art of the Pasisir), *Archipel*, 9 (1975) 93–8.
  6. Graaf, de-, H.J., and Pigeaud, Th. G. Th., *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java. Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15<sup>de</sup> en 16<sup>de</sup> eeuw* (The first Muslim kingdoms of Java. Studies in the

- political history of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), VKI, 69 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974) 318 pp.; see also from the same authors: transl. and provided with comments, *Chinese Muslims in Java in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Malay Annals of Sĕmarang and Cĕrbon*, ed. Ricklefs, M.C., (N. Melbourne: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia No. 12, 1984) 221 pp.
7. According to the dynastic documents of the small state of Ryū Kyū, written in Chinese, it appears that Nyai Pinatih was no other than the elder daughter of Shi Jinqing, a Chinese native of Guangdong province, who from 1405 to 1421 ran the port of Palembang; cf. Tan Yeok Seong, "Chinese Elements in the Islamization of South East Asia. A Study of the Strange Story of Njai Gede Pinatih, the Grand Lady of Gresik" in *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Oct. 6-9, 1962, held at the Taiwan Provincial Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, 399-408.
  8. A small state located in present Vietnam, which was gradually annexed by the Vietnamese.
  9. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires ...*, transl. and ed. Cortesão, Armando (London: HS, Second Series, No. 89, 1944) I, 179, 182.
  10. Rouffaer, G.P., and IJzerman, J.W., eds., *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597 ...* (The first voyage of the Dutch to the East Indies under Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-7 ... ) I ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1915) 124.
  11. Scott, Edmund, *An Exact Discourse of the Subtilities, Fashions (sic), Politics, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians, as well Chyneses as Javans, there abyding dwelling together ...* (London, 1606); see also *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606*, Introd. and Notes by Foster, Sir William, (London: HS, Second Series, No. 88, 1943) 174.
  12. Foster, William, ed., *The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617, describing his Experiences in Arabia, India and the Malay Archipelago* (London: HS, Second Series, No. 16, 1905) 316.
  13. Cited in Blussé, Léonard, "Western Impact on Chinese Communities in Western Java at the Beginning of the 17th Century", *Nampō Bunka*, 9 (Kyoto, 1975) 33.
  14. *Kyai*: appellation for a venerated scholar, teacher of Islām.
  15. Cf. Lombard, Denys and Salmon, Claudine, "A propos de quelques stèles chinoises récemment retrouvées à Banten (Java ouest)" (About some Chinese stelae recently found at Bantĕn, West Java), *Archipel*, 9 (1975) 109-11.
  16. *Ibid.*, 109.
  17. Hoetink, B., "So Bing Kong, het eerste hoofd der Chineezzen te Batavia (eene nalezing)" (So Bing Kong, The first head of the Chinese at Batavia, a supplement), *BKI*, LXXIX (1923) 2.

18. Hoetink, B., "Chineesche officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie" (The Chinese Officers in Batavia under the Company), *BKI*, LXXVIII (1922) 101.
19. Dampier, William, *Voyages and Descriptions*, "A Supplement of the Voyage round the World, Describing the countreys of Tonquin, Achin, Malacca and their Products, Inhabitants, Manners, Trade Policy", II, 1 (London: [n.p.], 1699) 137-8.
20. *Tumènggung*: title of high-ranking administrative officer.
21. *Sedjarah Melajoe di Makassar* (History of the Malays in Makasar), manuscript kept at the Yayasan Sulawěsi, Makasar, under no. 139, 29-30.
22. Cf. Ong-Tae-Hae, *The Chinaman Abroad or A Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago, particularly of Java*, transl. Medhurst, W.H., (Shanghai: The Missions Press, 1849) 33.
23. Horsfield M.D., Thomas, "Report of the Island of Banka", *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, II, 6 (June 1848) 309.
24. Storm van 's Gravesande, F.J.B., "De Stad Palembang" (The City of Palembang), *TBG*, V (1856) 458.
25. They even compiled their own genealogy which is kept in Sidoarjo, south of Surabaya. For more details about the history of this family of long-standing in Indonesia, see Salmon, Claudine, "The Han Family of East Java — Entrepreneurship and Politics (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)", *Archipel*, 41 (1991) 53-87, where a simplified genealogy of the family is to be found along with a list of the Muslim members of the Han family who were officials.
26. India Office, London, *Mackenzie Collection*, Private 82 (No. 26, 268 sqq.): "On the Present State and Management of the District of Bangel = Bangil, with an account of the origin and history of the celebrated Kiai Dipatty Sooro-Adi-Nogoro = Kyahi Dipati Sura Adiněgara, Knight of the Order of Holland at present Tumunggung = Tumènggung of Tuban = Toeban" (India Office Library, London). See also Sutherland, Heather, "Notes on Java's Regent families", *Indonesia*, 16 (October, 1973) 145, who in particular credits the conversions in the Han family to the first generation and not to the second; see also Salmon, "The Han Family of East Java", op. cit., 66 ff.
27. *Mackenzie Collection*, Private 7, 57 (English translation of the report of Rothenbühler on Pěkalongan).
28. *Mackenzie Collection*, Unbound translations, Class XIV, 32. A report of Middlekoop, J.A., (*Mackenzie Collection*, Private 6, 211) mentions for the same period that the Pěranakan Muslim community of Surabaya took to small businesses but was nevertheless in a state of great poverty. These communities gradually merged into the local Indonesian societies from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The fact is expressly reported concerning those of Makasar and Sumenep. Cf. The Siauw Giap, "Religion and

Overseas Chinese Assimilation in Southeast Asian Countries", *Revue du Sud-est Asiatique*, 2 (1965) 73. However, the development of collective ancestral temples and funeral associations in significant numbers after the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century shows that some segments of the Chinese community tried very hard to stop the Islāmization process, which apparently was still very strong in the 1850s and 1860s; cf. Salmon, Claudine, "Ancestral Halls, Funeral Associations, and Attempts at Resinicization in Netherlands India" in *Sojourners and Settlers. Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Reid, Anthony, with the assistance of Rodgers, Kristine Alilunas (Asian Studies Association of Australia, Series: Southeast Asia Publications, no. 28 in association with Allen & Unwin, 1996) 183–214. Another line of research would be the participation of Chinese Muslims in the Indonesian anti-colonial wars. To date we have found two pieces of information. The first concerns the alliance between Raden Prawiro and a Chinese Muslim of the name of Boengseng who launched an uprising in 1839 against the Dutch. We know little of this Chinese except that he spoke native and 'Arabic languages and that he concealed himself under an 'Arab costume; cf. Steijn Parvé, J., "Landverhuur in de Vorstenlanden en Javasche oorlog" (Land-renting in the Principalities and the Java War), *TNI*, II, 7 (1850) 52–3. The second concerns Ibu Mēlati, a *dukun* of Chinese origin, who after her conversion to Islām was adopted by a certain Hadji Getol of Kresek and who played a very important role in the preparation of the uprising which took place at Tangērang in 1924; cf. Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies / Oxford University Press, 1973) 50, 53–4.

29. For a reproduction of the minaret, see *Archipel*, 9 (1975) opposite 112.
30. Cf. Salmon, Claudine, and Lombard, Denys, *Les Chinois de Jakarta, temples et vie collective* (The Chinese of Jakarta, temples and communal life), *Études insulindiennes-Archipel*, 1 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1980) 298.
31. For a reproduction of Lady Cai's tomb, see Haan, de-, Frederik, *Oud Batavia* (Ancient Batavia) (Batavia: Kolf, 1922) Plate E.16.
32. Cf. Phoa Kian Soe, "Islam Tionghoa di Jakarta" (Chinese Islām in Jakarta), *Sunday Courier* (Jakarta, 6 May 1953) 10–11.
33. For more details about this masjid see "A travers le vieux Djakarta (1). La Mosquée des balinaise" (Through Jakarta (1). The Balinese Masjid), *Archipel*, 3 (1972) 97–101, signed 'D.L.' = Denys Lombard; a reproduction of the tombstone inscription of 'Lady Chen, née Wang' is to be found opposite 97.
34. Concerning the ancient masjid of Jēpara, destroyed at an undetermined date, see the articles of Graaf, de-, H.J., "De moskee van

- Djapara" (The masjid of Jēpara), *Djâwâ*, 16 (1936) 160-2; "De oorsprong der Javaanse moskee" (The origin of the Javanese masjid), *Indonesië*, 1 (1947-8) 289-307; English version: "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque", *JSEAH*, IV, 1 (March 1963) 1-5. In the first article in *Djâwâ*, the author reproduces an illustration taken from the *Voyages* of Wouter Schouten, *Oost-indische Voyagie* (East-Indian Voyage) (Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs and Johannes van Someren, 1676) representing well the five-tiered roof of the masjid. We give on 182 *supra* a more recent image (probably from the 18<sup>th</sup> century) which figures in a water-colour giving a general view of the town of Jēpara, kept at the Paris National Library under the classification: Port. 193, Div. 7P.1. As to the masjid built by Ḥasan Sulaymān around 1709, on the isle of Ambon, and reproduced in the famous treatise of François Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, see reprint on 210 *infra*.
35. Ed. Note: Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, alleged to be a maternal uncle of Prophet Muḥammad, whose grave in Canton (Guangzhou) is revered although he never really went to China. See Hartmann, M.-[Bosworth, C.E.], "al-Ṣīn," *El*, IX (1997) 618.
  36. One can find in the rules of the association created at Surabaya in 1864 by the Pēranakan Chinese of Fujian to regulate the question of marriages and funerals in the heart of their community, interesting texts warning members against the cults of Muslim tombs in which the Chinese took part, just as against the *sēlamētan* or religious meal, another practice which became equally common in certain Pēranakan circles; cf. Schlegel, G., *Eene Chineesche begrafenis- en huwelijks-onderneming (gevestigd te Soerabaya)* (Chinese Funeral and Marriage Association based in Surabaya), *BKI*, XXXII (1884) 517-59; (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. edn. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1885); see also Salmon, "Ancestral Halls ...", *op. cit.*
  37. Cf. Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta*, *op. cit.*, 86 ff.
  38. Cf. Young, I.W., "Sam Po Tong, la grotte de Sam Po" (Sam Po Tong, The Sam Po Cave), *TP*, IX (1898) serie 1, 93-102.
  39. We have found no information concerning the story of the sacred tomb of Palembang. The one located beside the river of Pēkalongan, near to its mouth, is buried under a quite small, poor edifice, without any particular style. The tomb was still there in 1983 when the Indonesian Chinese of Pēkalongan decided to repair it. Then the two *nisan* or gravestones were covered with cement so that now the interior of the small edifice offers a structure which is tiled and looks more like a traditional Chinese altar. On top of it have been placed two incense burners bearing the inscription *Shengmu gong* or 'The Lord of the Holy Tomb' and dated 1849 and 1948 respectively. A modern painting representing the holy tomb also hangs on the wall. When Wang Dahai (Ong-Tae-Hae) visited

Pekalongan, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this tomb already existed and was famous for the powers which were attributed to it; this author adds that the boatmen were always burning incense and depositing offerings; cf. Ong-Tae-Hae, *The Chinaman Abroad*, op. cit., 12.

40. Salmon, Claudine, "Un Chinois à Java (1729-1736)" (A Chinese at Java, 1729-36), *BEFEO*, 59 (1972) 293.
41. Untung Surapati (1686-1706) was a former slave of Balinese origin who had grown up in Batavia. He participated in some of the most significant developments of his time. He was involved in the events which ended with the fall of Bantén in 1682, was at Kartasura where his men decimated the Dutch expedition in 1684. After the attack, he left for Pasuruhan (East Java) where he built up an independent domain.
42. The worship of the tomb of Kyai Joyolelono was indicated in R.M. Yunani Prawiranegara, "Altar Toapekong di rumah Kabupaten Probolinggo" (The Toapekong altar in the Kabupaten Office of Probolinggo), *Surabaya Post*, 1 February 1982; see also Kumar, Ann, *Surapati, Man and Legend, A Study of Three Babad Traditions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982) 340.
43. Cf. Salmon, Claudine, "A propos de quelques tombes chinoises d'Indonésie des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles", op. cit., 213.
44. Such a small article as this appeared in *Liberal* (Surabaya) 156 (September 1956) 22 and is entitled: "'Baba baru', Makam Tionghoa untuk minta ... kekajaan!" (A Chinese tomb at which to pray for wealth), which reports that the inhabitants of the Kuningan region (near Cirebon) are going to pray at the holy tomb of the first Chinese, Tjan Dji Tok, who came to settle there in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.
45. Cf. Salmon, Claudine, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia, A Provisional Annotated Bibliography*, *Études insulindiennes-Archipel*, 3 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981) 16.
46. Tan Ing Soen, *Soerat Tasawoef, Njariosken pandita moemoelang dateng para siswanipoen bab kawroeh agami Islam, ingkang prajogi kanggé ing donja ngantos doemoegi gagajoehan ing ngakir pisan* (Sūrat Taṣawwuf, About the teacher's instruction of his pupils concerning the Islāmic body of knowledge, suitable for this world and the next) (Surakarta: Tjahja, 1853) 42 pp.
47. Cf. P.K.A. (Pouw Kioe An), "Keramat Tjekong Mas di Pradjekan", *Liberty*, 617 (Surabaya, 3 July 1965) 16, 25; "Makam K. Mas Prajekan dapat kunjungan ramai" (The tomb of K. Mas in Prajėkan has become a busy place), *Jawa Pos* (Surabaya, 22 November 1979). According to this article Kyai Mas Prajėkan was also the founder of the *pėsantren* or Qur'ānic school of the same name which is to be

found just next to the tomb. The complex extends over 800 square metres. It is his descendants who administer the foundation. Next to the tomb of Kyai Mas are to be found two others which are assumed to be those of his younger brother and the latter's wife. The site was refurbished at the end of the 1970s, and when we visited in 1981 the three tombs were covered by a vast *pëndapa* (a kind of shelter) allowing dozens of people to partake in a communal meal or *sĕlamĕtan* around the tombs.

48. According to the sayings of the descendants of Kyai Mas, the *shair* was written in Jawi (or 'Arabic) characters and kept until recently in the *pĕsantren* in manuscript form. The last borrower must not have returned it. No one in the *pĕsantren* seemed to know of the modern re-edition in Latin characters: Kiai (Kyai) Kiem Mas, *Sjair ilmoe sedjati dan Sjair nasehat* (Shair of pure knowledge and Shair of good advice) (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Kĕdiri: Tan Khoen Swie, 1921) 47 pp., which is to be found conserved, as the only extant copy, at the Library of the Museum of Jakarta.
49. Cf. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, op. cit., 196.
50. Cf. Lombard-Salmon, Claudine, "Survivance d'un rite bouddhique à Java: la cérémonie du *Pu-du* (Avalambana)" (Survival of a Buddhist ritual in Java: the *Pu-du* festival (Avalambana)), *BEFEO*, 62 (1975) 457-86 and plates xxiii-xxix.
51. These indications were drawn together with a note by Sartono Kartodirdjo in his *Protest Movements in Rural Java*, op. cit., 154: "Before the founding of the *Sarekat Dagang Islam*, the Kong Sing association including both Chinese and Javanese members, among whom was Haji Samanhudi himself; later on he founded his own association *Rekso Rumecko*. Hadji Samanhudi had been persuaded by Chinese to join their Kong Sing association because they were afraid of the founding of shops by Budi Utomo which could eliminate *toko*-owners."
52. Cf. Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia*, op. cit., 300.
53. Pangeran Diponegoro (1785-1855) was the eldest son of Sultān Hamĕngkubuwana III. He underwent a religious experience which convinced him that he was the divinely appointed future king of Java. In 1825 he initiated a rebellion which rapidly spread throughout Central and East Java. The religious community rallied to Diponegoro, among them Kyai Maja, who became the spiritual leader of the rebellion. Diponegoro was arrested by the Dutch in 1830 and exiled to Mĕnado and then Makasar, where he died. This rebellion, better known as the 'Java War', was the last stand of the Javanese aristocratic ĕlite.
54. Cf. Louw, P.J.F., *De Java-oorlog van 1825-1830* (The Java War of 1825-1830) (Batavia/The Hague, 1894) I, Appendix 58; see also

- The Siauw Giap, "Religion and Overseas Chinese Assimilation", op. cit., 73 and Carey, Peter B.R., *Babad Dipanagara, An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-30)*, Monograph 9 (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 1981) 259-60, n. 106. Note that several Chinese also gathered spontaneously under Diponegoro. We may cite here Tjan Kong Sing, the great uncle of the well-known brothers Tjan Tjoe Som and Tjan Tjoe Siem, who took the name Prawirasetja and married the sister of one of the spouses of Diponegoro; see Tjan Ing Bo, "Sedikit tentang Famili 'Tjan' dari Solo" (A note about the 'Tjan' family of Solo), *Liberal*, 3, 89 (21 May 1955) 5.
55. Cf. the note of Hoesoo, W., "De Islam in Semarang en de Overgang van de Chinezen tot Islam" (Islam in Semarang and the conversion of the Chinese to Islam) in "De Islam in Nederlandsch-Indië" (Islam in the Dutch Indies), ed. Neurdenburg, J.C., *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zending-genootschap*, 22 (Rotterdam, 1878) 387.
56. This story is based on a news item apparently reported in the press; cf. Liem Thian Joe, *Riwajat Semarang* (History of Semarang) (Semarang: Ho Kim Joe, c. 1933) 129. The novel has an anonymous sequel titled *Tambahsia, soeatoe tjerita jang betoel soedah kedjadian di Betawi antara tahoen 1851-1856* (Tambahsia, a true story which happened at Batavia between 1851 and 1856) (Semarang: [n.p.], 1906) 200 pp. It recounts the scandalous life of one of the brothers of Fātimah, named Tambahsia, who in the end is condemned to death by the law. To come back to the first story, it ends in the death of Fātimah, after the latter found her own tomb in the garden of the former house of her parents, and the author concludes that for months a voice was to be heard crying in the tomb. As she was neither Chinese nor Javanese, the earth would not accept her remains (*Orang bilang akan Fatimah itoe Tjina tanggoeng-Djawa woeroeng maitnja tidak diterima oleh boemi*).
57. Cf. *Sin Tit Po* (Surabaya) 20 May 1932.
58. Cf. *Berita Baroe*, 5 June 1934: "Maleische School PITII". According to the *Pembrita Makassar* of 21 August 1933, the religious course was given by Liem An Shui, alias Baba Moeh. Ma'soed (b. 1913), a third-generation Peranakan from Makasar who had been trained in 'Arabic, first at the Hadramī school in Surabaya and, finally, at the al-Irshād School in Jakarta.
59. This magazine does not seem to have been kept in the public libraries.
60. Haji Yap A Siong alias H. Abdussomad was one of the rare founder members of the Persatuan Islam Tionghoa still alive in the early 1980s. We met him in Jakarta in 1981, and he showed us several of the safe conduct letters (*surat jalan*) issued by the Dutch authorities at the time of the *dakwah* campaign that he and his com-

panions led to Sumatra and Java. On 24 September 1938, for example, they left Sumatra after having made a tour of the large towns of this island and arrived at Rangkasbitung (West Java). They visited the main agglomerations (Cibadak, Bandung, Cimahi, Cirebon ... ) with the aim of founding branches there. In the weekly *Sin Po* of 13 October 1938, 6, there is also to be found a photograph taken on the occasion of a meeting of Chinese Muslims held at the premises of the Kwong Siauw Hwe Koan. Among the representatives of the PITII were Liem Kie Chie (a Cantonese), then president, and a certain Mak Go, and among the Indonesians Haji Agus Salim. The *Sin Tit Po* of 9 February 1939 equally echoes this round of propaganda in noting an incident which took place at the same time as the visit to Cirebon. It was then discovered that one of the founder members of Medan had already come the year before to collect funds in the name of Liem Kie Chie; but this unscrupulous messenger, a certain Gouw Hok Boen, alias Abdulrahman, had kept the money for himself ... . He had been arrested, but the incident could only harm the success of his companions on Java.

61. See the very interesting account in his *mémoire*: Abdul Karim, Haji, (Oey Tjeng Hien), *Mengabdi Agama, Nusa dan Bangsa, Sahabat Karib Bung Karno* (Devotion to the Religion and to the Fatherland [by] a close friend of Bung Karno) (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1982) 255 pp. and review in *Archipel*, 27 (1984) 203–6 by Denys Lombard.
62. See Drs. Junus Jahja, Haji, (Lauw Tjoan To), ed., *Zaman harapan bagi keturunan Tionghoa, rekaman Dakwah Islamiyah 1979–1984* (Period of hope for the descendants of Chinese, recording of the Muslim propaganda 1979–84) (Jakarta: Yayasan Ukhuwah Islamiyah, 1984) 464 pp.; see also Junus Jahja, Haji, *Catatan Seorang WNI — Kenangan, Renungan dan Harapan* (Notes of an Indonesian Citizen — Reminiscences, Meditations and Hopes) (Jakarta: Yayasan Tunas Bangsa, 1988) 171 pp.
63. *Batigslot*: balance credit, surplus of receipts emanating from the colony and taken back to Holland.

RELIGION, TRADITION, AND THE DYNAMICS OF  
ISLĀMIZATION IN SOUTH SULAWĒSI

Christian Pelras

'You are very ill, father. Do me the favour of telling me how many gods there are'. The Arung-matoa said, 'There is only one God (*Dewata*), but there are many emissaries of God'. The Karaeng [Matoaya] asked, 'Does this one God have no mother and no father?' The Arung-matoa said, 'Just for that reason is he called the one God, that he has no mother and no father'.

Wajo' Chronicle quoted by  
Jacobus Noorduyn, (1955) 263



Masjid of Ḥasan Sulaymān at Hila, north coast of Ambon, built around 1709. Reproduced from François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*.

THE Bugis, Makasar, and Mandar peoples of South Sulawěsi are known to have embraced Islām between 1605 — when, according to local sources, the Datu of Luwu', La Patiware' Daeng Parabung, converted with all his family, adopting the Muslim name of Sultān Muḥammad Walī al-Muḍar al-Dīn — and 1611, when the last pagan prince of Bone submitted to Goanese troops.<sup>1</sup>

Ever since, Islām has been considered a prime element of the culture of these peoples, whom many in Indonesia take as being among the most 'fanatik' Muslims in the Archipelago. And indeed, it cannot be by chance that South Sulawěsi, together with Aceh and West Java, was harried by a merciless civil war waged in the name of Darul Islam [Dār al-Islām] during the fifteen years which followed the recognition of Indonesian independence.

However, an anthropologist staying there for some time cannot help being struck by the long-term survival of pre-Islāmic elements — which would be called *tahyul*<sup>2</sup> by many orthodox, especially non-Bugis, Muslims — such as: taking as truth the episodes of *La Galigo*<sup>3</sup> which feature several godly couples, living in heaven and in the underworld, populating the earth by sending their offspring and the latter's servants there as respective ancestors of the nobility and commoners;<sup>4</sup> venerating as *regalia*, descended from heaven with the first rulers, material objects such as spades, banners, ploughs, etc.; the existence in a few places of a class of transvestite pagan priests, called *bissu*, in charge of the cult of these *regalia* and of princely ceremonials;<sup>5</sup> the perpetuation of lively popular beliefs about place spirits, guardian spirits, or evil spirits, to which offerings are brought; and a whole set of rituals including 'rites of passage' (with aristocratic and popular variants) and those involved in house-building, boat-building, agriculture, and ancestor worship.<sup>6</sup>

When confronting such contradictory evidence, one can raise several questions. One is, of course, to what extent do these apparently contradictory elements really coexist? And, if they do, how is this possible in a society which claims to be genuinely Islāmic, and what led to such a situation? Unavoidably, one will have to question the appropriateness of using here categories similar to those of *santri/abangan/priyayi* coined by Clifford Geertz for Java.<sup>7</sup>

But to my eyes, the main question should concern the validity for South Sulawĕsi of the concept of 'Islāmization' as it is commonly used. Indeed, it seems to me that 'Islāmization' is too often taken as pointing to an event, or a series of events, all precisely dated, whereas one should understand it as a process, and a long one at that, including two important phases: first, the coming of Islām and its final official acceptance; and then, the long struggle, lasting often until the present day, for its complete implementation. In both phases, the same dynamics, made up of the opposition of constant contradictory forces, appear to have been at work. And one has to identify these forces in order to understand better the vicissitudes of Islāmization in that broader sense in South Sulawĕsi.

*The Coming of Islām to South Sulawĕsi:*

As the quasi-official story runs, Islām was brought to South Sulawĕsi at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by three *muballigh* [preachers], collectively known as Dato' Tallua in Makasarese or Dato' Tellue in Buginese (the Three Dato') and individually, after their burial places, as Dato' ri Bandang (his name was 'Abd al-Makmūr, and nickname Khaṭīb Tunggal), Dato' ri Pa'timang (Sulaymān, alias Khaṭīb Sulung), and Dato' ri Tiro ('Abd al-Jawād, alias Khaṭīb Bungsu). They are said to have come from Kota Tĕngah in the Minangkabau region of Sumatra, and the latter two are sometimes said to have been brothers.<sup>8</sup>

According to local sources, they went first to Luwu', still the most prestigious kingdom in South Sulawĕsi, and converted the Datu (ruler) Patiware' Daeng Parabung, who on the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> of Ramaḍān AH 1013 (4 or 5 February 1605) uttered the *Shahāda*<sup>9</sup> and took the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad. They then proceeded to the twin state of Goa and Tallo' (known as Makasar by outsiders), which at that time was the most powerful in the peninsula. Due to their teaching, the 'Old Prince' (Karaeng Matoaya) I Mallingkaang Daeng Manyonri' Karaeng Katangka, the ruler of Tallo' and the 'Speaker of the Land' of Goa,<sup>10</sup> adopted the new faith with several members of his family and uttered the *Shahāda* on Friday's eve, 9<sup>th</sup> of Jumādā al-Awwāl (22 September 1605), taking the name Sulṭān 'Abdullāh ['Abd Allāh Awwāl al-Islām]. Then, under his influence, the young ruler of Goa, I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia, who was his nephew and pupil, also became Muslim. On Friday, 19 Rajab 1016 (9 November 1607), the first

solemn public prayer was held at the newly-built Tallo' masjid: the Makasar kingdom had officially become a Muslim state.

The next step of Sulṭān 'Abdullāh was to invite the other South Sulawĕsi rulers to convert to Islām. When they refused, he decided to resort to arms and launched several successive campaigns known in Buginese as *musu' sĕllĕng*, 'the Islāmic Wars'. In 1608, Sawitto', Bacukiki', Suppa', and Mandar on the west coast, and Akkotengeng and Sakkoli' on the east coast, submitted and were Islāmized. In 1609, came the turn of Sidenreng and Soppeng; in 1610, that of Wajo'; in 1611, with the final submission of Bone, all of South Sulawĕsi except for the Toraja mountains had accepted Islām.<sup>11</sup>

That story, combined with the numerous local legends about the first arrival of the Three Dato' and their marvellous deeds,<sup>12</sup> conveys the impression that the passage of the major part of South Sulawĕsi to Islām was very rapid indeed.

All those events are well known and the dates, which previous authors had been disputing for a long time, have been established, in my opinion beyond any doubt, by J. Noorduyn.<sup>13</sup> However, if as he, himself, pointed out, one has to distinguish between conversion to Islām and the coming of Islām, it appears that that coming is not very well documented, except for a few data which one finds repeated everywhere: the bestowing, under the Goa ruler Tunipalangga (about 1546–65), of a number of privileges to the Muslim community of Makasar, made up of traders from Champa, Patani, Pahang, Johor and Minangkabau; the building of a masjid for that community in the Magallekanna suburb of Makasar by his successor Tunijallo' (about 1565–90);<sup>14</sup> or the visit paid to the latter around 1580 by Bāb Ullāh, Sulṭān of Tĕrnatē, who, according to a Malukan tradition collected by François Valentijn and recorded in his book *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiĕn*, was said to have brought him to Islām.<sup>15</sup>

It may be that the 'golden legend' of the Three Dato', like that of the Nine Walīs of Java, has shrouded many other events which would show that Islāmization in South Sulawĕsi began with a long process of familiarization. However, I am convinced that a better scrutiny of written sources, including sources from other Indonesian areas, together with systematic collecting of local traditions, would lead us to a much more complicated picture than the one to be found in present textbooks and, beyond that, would help us understand which forces were at work in the Islāmization of the area.

One point, already underlined by the three events reported about the reigns of Tunipalangga and Tunijallo', has to be made clear: the Makasar people, probably also the Bugis people, and their rulers, had been familiar with Islām for a long time when they decided to become Muslim, themselves; when the first Portuguese known to have visited South Sulawēsi arrived in 1542 in Siang (formerly a powerful state and at that time still an important trading harbour), they were even told that the Muslim Malay traders from Patani, Pahang, and Ujung Tanah living there had been established in the country for about sixty years, i.e., since about 1480.<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely that Siang was the only harbour in South Sulawēsi where Malay communities existed; there must have been others, which might be traced, *inter alia*, through Malay sources.

For instance, one Sayyid Ḥusein Jumādā al-Qubrā is said in Kēlantanes sources to have left Kēlantan in 1448 and, after a short stay of four years in Java, to have gone to Wajo', where he died in 1453.<sup>17</sup> The dates may not be completely reliable since at that time Wajo' was still an unimportant place, known as Cinnottabi'. But at least these are external data, which could be cross-checked with others, pointing to relations between the Muslim Malay Peninsula and South Sulawēsi already in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One should look for others in Malay sources in the Peninsula, Brunei, or other Bornean sultānates, and in Sumatra, as well as in Javanese and Tērnatese sources; in short, in all places in the Archipelago where Islām was progressing in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The role of Muslim traders acting as *muballigh* — preachers — is well known everywhere; we also know that Muslim traders were established at that time in South Sulawēsi; it is probable they acted in a similar way there, too. The role of that region in the inter-insular trade was then not yet very important, as compared to other places in the Archipelago,<sup>18</sup> but links existed with the most important trading centres in the area, including Tērnate, north Javanese harbours, Bantěn, and Mēlaka.<sup>19</sup> The South Sulawēsi people, and especially the sailors or local traders in contact with others from those centres, must have been well aware of the progression of Islām in those parts; whereas the rulers in the numerous South Sulawēsi kingdoms, then struggling among themselves in the wake of the decline of the formerly powerful Luwu', could not hear without interest the news about conversion to Islām in neighbouring North and

Southeast Sulawĕsi kingdoms such as Gorontalo (1525) and Buton (1542).<sup>20</sup>

By the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, South Sulawĕsi was one of the very few important places in the inter-insular trading network in which Islām had not yet taken hold. That kind of anomaly must have been keenly felt by local Muslim settlers as well as by other Muslim communities in the Archipelago.

In 1548, when the Portuguese Manoel Pinto, on his way back to Mĕlaka from South Sulawĕsi, called on the 'main king of Java', probably the Sulṭān of Dĕmak, the latter told him he was contemplating launching a military expedition against that land in order to Islāmize it.<sup>21</sup> However, the expedition never occurred.

Probably around 1560, according to Achehnese sources, one Raja 'Abd al-Jalīl Putra, a son of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh al-Qahhār [± 1537-71] of Johor and a brother of Sulṭān 'Alī Ri'āyat Shāh [± 1571-79] of Acheh is said to have travelled to South Sulawĕsi in company with a *muballigh* of Pidiĕ (in northern Sumatra). Those sources say that, due to their influence, a ruler of Bone was converted.<sup>22</sup>

Nothing of that kind is to be read in Bugis chronicles, but it might mean either that the ruler was just made a sympathizer, or that the news concerned not *the* ruler of Bone (the Arung Mponé), but just *a* ruler *in* Bone, i.e. the lord of a vassal lordship. Anyway, that Raja 'Abd al-Jalīl married a Bugis wife, and one of their sons, Daeng Maṣṣūr, known in Acheh as Teungku di Bugeh, went back to Sumatra where he married the daughter of an '*ulamā*' in Ribĕĕ. Their daughter, Sitti Sani, was to become the wife of the great Sulṭān Iskandar Muda (1607-36) and the ancestress of the so-called 'Bugis dynasty' in Acheh.

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that in Bira, at the south-easternmost point of the peninsula, opposite Sĕlayar Island, people say that Islām was brought to the area by an Achehnese called Shaykh Aḥmad who had come first to Sinjai, where he married the daughter of the Lord of Lamatti. From that union, two sons were born: one went to Bone; the other, known as Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, came to Bira where he made many converts. His two sons, 'Abd al-Jalīl and 'Abd Allāh, carried on his work, but the most venerated figures there are 'Abd al-Jalīl's son, 'Abd al-Baṣīr Daeng Billa', and 'Abd Allāh's son, 'Abd al-Hārith, alias Pua' Janggo'. There are still two groups in Bira which claim to follow their respective teachings. The followers of 'Abd al-Baṣīr are said to have been more concerned with the

external (*lahir*) aspects of religion, whereas those of Pua' Janggo' were mostly centred on 'interiority' (*batin*) or mysticism. According to local tradition, the latter entered into competition with Dato' Tiro (Tiro is only a few kilometres from there) and, of course, Pua' Janggo' won. If the story is not anachronistic and if the two masters were indeed contemporaries, it would mean that Pua' Janggo's great-grandfather might have come to South Sulawěsi in about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

In 1564, according to Malay sources, one Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin Sharīf Sulaymān al-Patani is said to have travelled from Patani to Buton, which had become Muslim not long before, to instruct people in the new faith.<sup>24</sup> He may have called at Makasar, which had had a long-standing relationship with that neighbouring kingdom.

Around 1575, according to the Kutei chronicle, one of the future Dato' Tallua, Dato' ri Bandang, known there as Tuan di Bandang, had been in South Sulawěsi with a companion called Tuan di Parangan in order to propagate Islām. Their attempt having been unsuccessful, they went to Kutei, which they succeeded in bringing to their faith.<sup>25</sup>

In 1580, according to Valentijn, who based his work on Malukan sources, Bāb Ullāh, Sulṭān of Těrnate, whose influence extended as far as North, East, and Southeast Sulawěsi, came to Makasar. His aim must have been to negotiate new frontiers between Goanese and Těrnatese spheres of influence, but those sources say that he succeeded in converting the ruler of Goa, then I Manggorai Daeng Mammeta Karaeng Bontolangkasa' (about 1565–90), known after his death as Tunijallo'.<sup>26</sup> However, no such conversion is recorded in Makasar chronicles, which merely say that Bāb Ullāh recognized Goa's influence on Sēlayar Island.

Around 1591, according to the Wajo' chronicle, 'The Old [venerable] Ruler', Karaeng Matoaya, then still young and not yet the ruler of Tallo', but already the 'Speaker of the Land' of Goa, visited the wise Arung Matoa La Mangkace' To Udama in order to conclude an alliance with Wajo'. And on that occasion, they had a discussion on how one should behave towards one's fellow men and towards God, which seems to reflect genuine religious preoccupations and may be a witness to the fact that both men had been influenced by foreign religious thinking and were in search of a new truth.<sup>27</sup>

In fact, around 1600, the Portuguese considered the Tallo' ruler as already won to Islām.<sup>28</sup> However, at the same time,

according to the *Lontara*'<sup>29</sup> *Sukku'na Wajo'*, when the Malay community called the Three Dato' (again) to Makasar, they found it difficult to convert any of the Makasarese high nobility, so they chose to move to Luwu'.<sup>30</sup> According to oral Luwu' tradition, Islām was already known there: when Dato' Pa'timang arrived in Bua (to the south of Palopo) he was welcomed by a nobleman called Tenriajeng, who was the first (local?) Muslim there, and that is why he is also known as I Assalang, from *asal*, origin. But he had kept his conversion secret because nobody in the nobility could claim to have embraced Islām as long as the Luwu' ruler was not himself a Muslim, and that is why he was also called Tenripau, 'Not-to-be mentioned'. A series of miraculous deeds convinced him that Khaṭīb Sulaymān was really God's envoy, and he led him to the Datu in Pa'timang (Malangkae). After the latter's conversion, he became the Luwu' *kadhi* [Bugis *kali*; 'Ar. *Qādī*]<sup>31</sup> and that office remained in his family up to this century.

It may be in those first years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that one Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-'Aidid brought Islām to Cikoang, Laikang, and the Turatea area, south of Makasar. According to Cikoang sources, he was a son of Sayyid Muḥammad Wāḥid of Aceh and Sharīfa Ḥalīshāh. The latter's father, Sayyid 'Alawīyah Jalāl al-'Alam, was himself a son of one Sayyid Muḥājirun al-Baṣra. That 'exile from Baṣra' had fled 'Irāq at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century because of political troubles (maybe the wars between the Ottoman empire and the Persian kingdom which erupted in 1514). From Aceh, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn went to Banjarmasin, where by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century he was delivering a teaching heavily tinged with Shī'a<sup>32</sup> influence. There, he converted a Makasar nobleman from Binamu, exiled in Banjarmasin for murder, and married his daughter. He then went to Goa, where he met some sort of opposition from the ruler, so that he moved to Cikoang, where he converted the still pagan nobility and population.<sup>33</sup> His arrival there is still commemorated every year on the occasion of the Mawlūd [Prophet Muḥammad's birthday] festival.<sup>34</sup>

From all this scattered information, one can reach two kinds of conclusions. Firstly, it seems that the propagators of Islām in South SulawĒsi were linked to a Champa-Patani-Acheh-Minangkabau-Banjarmasin-Dĕmak-Giri-Tĕrnate network. We have seen that in 1548, Dĕmak was willing to Islāmize Makasar. Well, it may not be by chance that about the same time the head of the Muslim community there was called *nakhoda* Bonang, when one

remembers that the first *imām* of Dĕmak was Sunan Bonang, one of the Nine Walīs of Java. He was a son of Sunan Ngampel, another Walī, whose disciple and adopted son was Sunan Giri, a third Walī.<sup>35</sup> Now, Sulṭān Zainal 'Abidin [Zayn al-'Abidīn], the first Muslim ruler of Tĕrnate,<sup>36</sup> was trained in Giri and much later, according to local tradition, so was Dato' ri Bandang.<sup>37</sup>

Makasar sources say that among the Muslim community were not only people from Patani, Tĕrĕngganu, Pahang, and Johor, but also from Champa. Now, some traditions say that Raden Raḥmat (Sunan Ngampel) was a nephew of the Cham princess<sup>38</sup> married to one of the last kings of Majapait, whereas another speaks of a daughter of the *Putri Chĕmpa* [Princess of Champa] called Raden Joko Krĕtĕk, also styled Hadipati Makasar due to her marriage there.<sup>39</sup>

Banjarmasin also had links with Dĕmak, which helped the kingdom of Nagara Daha, and introduced Islām there.<sup>40</sup> We have seen that there was also a kind of relay between Makasar and Aceh. And Aceh, itself, which is mentioned several times as the starting-point of *muballigh* who came to Sulawĕsi,<sup>41</sup> exerted its influence on Minangkabau, from whence the Three Dato' were to come.

More research might help to enlighten links, which at the moment are just conjectural, by providing more evidence. The propagation of Islām in South Sulawĕsi would not appear to be a succession of isolated events any more, but can be seen as a part of an overall process.

But another remark seems to me more important: we have just seen that prior to their official acceptance of Islām, the South Sulawĕsi people had been exposed for more than 125 years to regular contacts with Muslim traders and *muballigh*, had become familiar with Islāmic teachings, and had submitted to external pressures in favour of conversion, while managing to remain relatively unaffected by the new faith, although at some places there had been a number of Makasar and Bugis Muslims long before the official acceptance by the rulers. And then, within just seven years, everything changed. That fact has to be explained.

It is not enough to say, as did Noorduyn, that "conversion to Islām took so long because the deep changes it implied provoked strong resistance among a people keenly attached to its customs and proud of its own culture".<sup>42</sup> One has to understand how and why that resistance subsided. Did the people's attitude change, and how was that possible? Was Islām not seen as in conflict with

their customs and culture any more? In brief, what happened which made those deep changes possible?

In order to answer, one has to try and discover more about the exact motives for that early resistance to Islām, the more so as we know that at the same time as South Sulawĕsi rulers resisted Islāmization, some of them were showing signs of a deep interest in Christianity.

There is a very well-known story, told by such people as Tavernier<sup>43</sup> and Gervaise,<sup>44</sup> about how, in his hesitation between the two religions, 'the king of Makasar' resorted to chance. Simultaneously, he asked for priests from Portuguese Mĕlaka and for 'ulamā' from Acheh (Gervaise) or Makka (Tavernier), taking an oath that he would embrace the religion of the first who arrived. As the governor of Mĕlaka neglected his duties as a Christian, the Muslims arrived first, and won. That story could well have developed from information given around 1630 by Barreto de Resende<sup>45</sup> that the king had asked for a priest from Mĕlaka to teach him the Christian faith, but that there was much delay, so that a 'Moor' called 'Lucar', having come first, succeeded in winning him to Islām. And indeed, around 1620, Karaeng Matoaya told Father Luis de Andrade that he had repeatedly asked for Catholic missionaries without any result, and that he had eventually become a Muslim at the instigation of the Sulṭān of Johor.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Between Christianity and Islām:*

It is now a well-established fact that in 1544, two South Sulawĕsi rulers, those of Suppa' and Siang, took the opportunity of a visit by a Portuguese trading ship to ask its captain, Antonio de Paiva, for baptism, both for themselves and for a number of their followers. The following year, another expedition was sent to South Sulawĕsi, with a priest, Father Vicente Viegas, on board. The new rulers of Bacukiki' and Alitta and their retainers were also baptized. That same year, 1545, Father Viegas went to Tallo', where, according to a Portuguese source, he baptized the ruler. It must have been I Mappatangtangtana Daeng Padulung, c. 1545-77, known after his death as Tumamenang ri Makkoayang, a man who was to play an important role in Makasar history.<sup>47</sup>

After these auspicious beginnings, the relationship between Portuguese Mĕlaka and South Sulawĕsi was, however, interrupted for fourteen years because of an untoward incident: [João

de Eredia], a Portuguese officer, abducted a Suppa' princess [who was to become the mother of Emanuel (Emanuel) Godinho de Eredia]. When regular relations were resumed, the baptized rulers of Suppa', Bacukiki', and Alitta were dead and their lands had lost their independence to the increasingly powerful Goa. What the attitude of Tumamenang ri Makkoayang — then the Makasar strongman and, at the same time, ruler of Tallo' and 'Speaker of the Land' of Goa — was towards Christianity is not precisely known, but in several letters written by Portuguese he is still referred to as a Christian, although probably only nominally. However, one repeatedly reads of local Christians asking in vain for priests to be sent to instruct them.<sup>48</sup> Strangely enough, for many years no one volunteered for that mission. Even stranger, not much is known either from Portuguese or local sources about the four young princes sent in 1545 to the Jesuit college in Indian Goa. According to the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'*, two of them were of the Goa (Makasar) nobility, and Professor Andi' Zainal Abidin Farid thinks they were the sons of Tumapa'risi'kallona (d. c. 1547). We also know from Portuguese sources that in 1560 only one of them was still at the college.<sup>49</sup>

At least, at some time between 1580 and 1590, four Franciscans were sent to South Sulawěsi.<sup>50</sup> It could have been the beginning of a prosperous mission, but their stay was short-lived, for reasons which will be discussed later. No further attempt was made to Christianize these people although, from that time on, many Portuguese settled in Makasar, where they constituted an important community, which at times numbered about 500 residents.<sup>51</sup> Eventually, two other Franciscans did come, but this was in 1610, when the 'Islāmic wars' were nearly over, and they could just cater to the needs of the Portuguese and mestizo Christians.

Still, strangely again, although they had become devout Muslims, the Makasar rulers continued to show more than benevolence towards Christians and especially Catholics and their faith. For instance, in 1614, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn wrote to Manila to invite the Franciscans there to establish a house in Makasar.<sup>52</sup> Again in 1621, a Spanish report tells us that "the king has sent to the Governor of Těrnate to seek clerics", and that two Jesuits and two Dominicans from the Philippines had been there recently.<sup>53</sup> At one time, there were in Makasar three churches and 3,000 Christians, including local ones, some of them even related to Makasar princely families: Francisco Mendes, Sulṭān Hasan

al-Dīn's secretary for Portuguese affairs, was probably a son of Sulṭān Malik al-Sa'īd by a Portuguese wife.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, reports written by successive clerical visitors to Makasar, such as Father Luis de Andrade in 1625,<sup>55</sup> Sebastien Manrique in 1643,<sup>56</sup> Jacques Maracci in 1651,<sup>57</sup> Alexandre de Rhodes in 1653,<sup>58</sup> Domingo de Navarrete in 1657,<sup>59</sup> and Joseph Tissanier in 1663,<sup>60</sup> all show that Karaeng Matoaya, his son Karaeng Pa'tingalloang, and his grandson Karaeng Karunrung always manifested an outward sympathy to Catholicism. Karaeng Pa'tingalloang had a deep knowledge of the works of contemporary Catholic theologians and even participated in church services or processions.

Thus, one is left with more questions: if the South Sulawĕsi people had resisted so long before accepting Islām because it implied 'deep cultural changes', why is it that they were so strongly attracted by Christianity, conversion to which implied cultural changes no less deep? But also, why were their reiterated demands for priests so inadequately answered by the Portuguese? Why was the Franciscan mission so short-lived? And what happened, finally, which changed everything almost instantly, in such a way that South Sulawĕsi, still almost completely pagan in 1605 and sympathetic towards Catholicism, had turned completely Muslim by 1611?

My working hypothesis is that when first acquainted with Islām, South Sulawĕsi rulers found in its teachings certain aspects which they feared would jeopardize social order and threaten their power. So, although it was clearly in their interests in terms of both foreign policy and trade to adhere to the same religion as their main partners in the Archipelago, they delayed their conversion for more than a century. Now, in their eyes, Christianity, and especially Catholicism, was different in that respect, and would have made a very convenient state religion. Their religious sympathy was on a par with their sympathy for the Portuguese as their favourite Western trading partners, and later as their best allies against Dutch enterprises.

In fact, their sympathy for Catholicism may have rested on some misconceptions, and this is probably what caused the Franciscans to interrupt their mission. Not hindered by Christian competition any more, Islām now had full scope for winning the contest. The main role of the Three Dato' must have been to contrive a way of solving the apparent incompatibility between

Islām and the traditional order. That obstacle put aside, conversion could take place in a very short time.

According to that working hypothesis, the main point of incompatibility was the myth of the divine descent of the nobility through the *manurung*, so-called white-blooded people descended from heaven, whom all local dynasties (be they Makasar, Bugis, Mandar, or Toraja) claim as their founders. That myth was narrowly linked to theological views in which a unique *Deus otiosus* (in Bugis: Dewata Seuwae)<sup>61</sup> had generated a primordial, divine couple who, in turn, had begotten a number of gods — *dewata* — from whom the *manurung* originated. Ordinary mankind descended only from the latter's servants and slaves. From the beginning, political roles were thus distributed. Clearly, such a myth could not be shaken without putting traditional social order in danger. If the first, mostly Malay, Muslim settlers, when preaching their faith, insisted on *tawhīd*,<sup>62</sup> stressing the uniqueness of God and the fact that He was not begotten and does not beget,<sup>63</sup> and if being traders rather than noblemen, they claimed, as Islām teaches, that all men, being Ādam's offspring, are equal, then one can understand the reluctance shown by local rulers toward that religion. It is enough to know how strong the belief in *manurung* and in the heavenly origin of the nobility still is in present-day South Sulawĕsi, after nearly four centuries of accepting Islām, and how much traditional social and political structures depend on it, to guess what opposition Muslim propagation may initially have met.

Conversely, after the establishment of the Portuguese in Mĕlaka, people could have gathered information about Catholic teachings, perhaps through polemic arguments forwarded by the Muslims themselves, which may have appeared as contrasting strongly with Islāmic *tawhīd*, such as, for instance, the dogma of the Trinity, calling Christ the 'son of God' and the Virgin Mary the 'Mother of God', the worship of saints, etc. This could have given the South Sulawĕsi rulers the impression that by adhering to such a religion they would be able to maintain their political myths and keep at least part of their original creeds. Moreover, the Portuguese would become their allies.

In that respect, it is significant that during another visit Karaeng Matoaya paid to the old Arung Matoa Wajo' To Udama in 1607, shortly before the latter's death, and although the Karaeng was already converted to Islām, the questions he asked

of him were: "Is God one or many? Can God have a father and a mother? Can He beget children?"<sup>64</sup>

In 1544, the questions the rulers of Suppa' and Siang asked Antonio de Paiva before accepting baptism concerned, *inter alia*, the worshipping of saints, and especially of St. James, the patron saint of Iberian countries, whom South SulawĒsi peoples may have compared with the semi-divine founders and protectors of their local kingdoms. Other questions then debated were the reasons for hostility between Portuguese and Muslims, and of course about God, creator of everything; about Christ, the Son of God, and how after His ascension to heaven, He had sent His Apostles to bring forth His word to all men; and about God's commandments. All these points must have been raised in answer to precise preoccupations of the two rulers, who then debated them again with their families and retainers.<sup>65</sup> What is clear is that, despite fierce opposition from Muslim settlers and strong objections from the *bissu* clergy, they decided to become Christian.

However, the *bissu* were to remain a ticklish point in cases of conversion to any religion, be it Christianity or Islām. Their incompatibility with the latter was evident for a number of reasons, and not only because of their transvestism. The main reason was, rather, that they were priests and that they specialized in elaborate rites centred on offerings to spiritual beings, whereas Islām knows no clergy and has simple rites centred on prayer, which is directed towards the Only God.

With Christianity, the differences were less conspicuous. The Portuguese had correctly identified them as the rulers' priests (*os padres destes reis*);<sup>66</sup> conversely, South SulawĒsi people may have identified Catholic priests with a kind of *bissu*, since they, too, conducted intricate ceremonies with offerings (at Mass) and processions where, like the *bissu*, they acted as intermediaries between heaven and Man; and, like the *bissu*, they wore different garments from other men's and had no commerce with women.

Particularly interesting in that respect is the reason given by the four Franciscans for not having carried on with their mission in Makasar in the 1580s: "they were assumed to be homosexuals and thus became the object of unwelcome attention".<sup>67</sup> That confusion cannot have been produced just by the fact that "they were clean-shaven and did not carry krisses", since most Makasar men shaved their (scarce) beards and not all of them wore krisses. In any case, it would have been easy enough for the

Franciscans to grow beards and have a weapon on them. My impression is that they soon discovered that those measures were not enough, and that, considered as Portuguese *bissu*, they were assumed not only to indulge in the 'hateful sin', but also to play the same role as they did as specialists in princely rituals and as guaranteeing the semi-divine status of the nobility. It must have very soon been obvious to them that much of the sympathy professed by the South Sulawěsi rulers towards Christianity had rested on deep misunderstandings of the Catholic faith, and equally obvious to the rulers that no compromise could permit them to maintain their *bissu* along with the Catholic clergy, and that Catholic dogma was no more reconcilable with the *manurung* myth than Islām.

*Acceptance of Islām:*

At that point, from a religious point of view, Christianity and Islām could be considered to be in a similar situation. But from an economic and strategic point of view, Islām was in a better posture, since most of the trading partners of the South Sulawěsi people were Muslims, and already a number of Muslim communities, including foreign traders and probably also local converts, were established in several parts of the land. Moreover, there were Muslim pressures in favour of conversion, whereas the Catholics, on the contrary, did not seem to be willing to respond to overtures. So, already around 1600, the Portuguese believed that Christianity had lost the religious competition and considered Karaeng Matoaya already a Muslim, although he had not yet taken any decisive step.

The importance given by local tradition to the Three Dato' leads me to think that they were the ones who found out how to overcome the hesitations of Karaeng Matoaya and his fellow rulers, probably at the initiative of one of them, namely Dato' ri Pa'timang.

We have already seen that, probably around 1576, Dato' ri Bandang had tried to propagate Islām in Makasar, but to no avail. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, he came back with two more companions, known later as Dato' ri Pa'timang and Dato' ri Tiro. There, they again met (the probably usual) difficulties. At that point, they decided to go to Luwu', for 'if power was in Goa, excellence was in Luwu' ' (*ri Luwu' alebbireнна, ri Goa awatanna*).<sup>68</sup>

If my hypothesis is correct, that move was intended not only to convert the Luwu' ruler because of his remaining prestige but, more essentially, because Luwu', as the cradle of the South Sulawĕsi nobility and the central place in the myth of origin, was felt to be the key strategic point, the conquest of which would open the whole of South Sulawĕsi to Islām.<sup>69</sup> For there, according to *La Galigo*, Batara Guru, the eldest son of the main God of Heaven, was believed to have set foot on earth, until then still unpopulated, to create the first human kingdom; there his first-born infant had died and changed itself into rice; there, his grandson Sawerigading, the cultural hero of the Bugis, considered by some as the ancestor of all *manurung* on South Sulawĕsi, had lived out his childhood, and there he had returned at the end of his earthly life before being swallowed up by the waters of the gulf and becoming the new ruler in the Underworld; there, also, the *bissu* rites had been celebrated for the first time on earth.

According to local tradition, Dato' Pa'timang, who from then on was to spend most of his life in Luwu', centred his teaching on *tawhīd*, not in the usual Muslim way but by using Bugis beliefs about the One God (Dewata Seuwae) and about Sawerigading. No text, to my knowledge, permits us to know exactly what his teachings were, but I suspect that many stories found in *lontara'* (manuscripts) concerning the Creation, giving Adam and Eve as the parents of the former Bugis gods, or showing Sawerigading as a kind of prophet *avant la lettre*<sup>70</sup> who, before his descent to the Underworld, announced the coming of Islām, etc., may at least represent some of their offshoots.<sup>71</sup> Once in Luwu', the only other place to which Dato' ri Pa'timang travelled was Wajo';<sup>72</sup> this is probably not by chance, since after Luwu', most of the *La Galigo* episodes are located there. Until now, it has remained the place where the hierarchical system is the strongest and where the *La Galigo* is most widely known.

From Luwu', Dato' ri Pa'timang's younger brother, known as Dato' ri Tiro, went to the *konjo*-speaking area near Bira, which in some respects had a similar meaning for the Makasar people as Luwu' did for the Bugis. There, the *patuntung* community,<sup>73</sup> and especially the Amma Toa (Old Father), the spiritual leader in Kajang, still bear witness to an ancient system of beliefs strongly marked by mysticism.<sup>74</sup> No wonder Dato' ri Tiro chose to centre his teachings on *taṣawwuf* (mysticism). According to Mattulada, he might have been influenced by the (somewhat heretical)

thought of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. Research in that area might provide more insights into his doctrine.<sup>75</sup>

The third Dato', Dato' ri Bandang, left Luwu' for Goa/Tallo' and was the one who succeeded in converting Karaeng Matoaya. One cannot help being struck by the rapidity of his conversion, since he uttered the *Shahāda* only eight months after the Datu of Luwu'. One legendary story relates that when Dato' ri Bandang landed, Karaeng Matoaya went to meet him and greeted him with the Muslim salutation *al-salāmu 'alaykum wa-rahmatu llāhi wa-barakātuhu*, and that he pronounced the *Shahāda* on that same day.<sup>76</sup> It is generally believed by the people to be a miraculous event, since they assume that Karaeng Matoaya had previously known nothing of Islām. Of course, he was probably well instructed in that religion, and one can interpret the story as showing that he was awaiting the Dato', ready for conversion in so far as prior obstacles would have been removed. And that was what the Three Dato' had just done in Luwu'.<sup>77</sup>

However, not everybody was ready for conversion. Enough evidence has survived in local traditions to assume that there was some fierce opposition from two categories of people. Among them must have been a number of *bissu*, since some of them were forced into exile in Kaili. Others belonged to the nobility; among these was one of Karaeng Matoaya's sons, who tried to take up arms against his father, whereas a brother of the ruler of Goa, by the name of I Mangnginyarrang Daeng Makkiyo Karaeng Kanjilo Tumamaliang ri Timoro', resorted to 'humiliation'.<sup>78</sup> We learn the nature of the humiliation from Tavernier's and Gervaise's accounts: when the first royal masjid was built (probably that in Kaluku Bodoa) and on the eve of the first Friday public prayer, that prince introduced pigs into the building, slaughtered them, and smeared the walls and the pulpit with their blood,<sup>79</sup> thus derisively consecrating it, probably by the rites used in pagan South Sulawēsi to bless a newly built house!

That incident (if it is true) and other acts of opposition may have been the cause of the twenty-six months' delay between the date of the official conversion of the Tallo' ruler and the first public prayer of the people of Tallo' and Goa in the rebuilt royal masjid. It was during that time, not long before that momentous event, that Karaeng Matoaya paid his last visit to To Udama in Wajo' to ask him questions about God, an indication that even then there must still have been much debate in Makasar. But after 9 November 1607 the page was definitively turned.

*The Long Struggle for Islāmization:*

Local traditions say that Dato' ri Bandang had first concentrated his efforts on instituting the *sara'* (*sharī'a*), putting the main stress on the religious obligation of the 'five pillars',<sup>80</sup> on the correct celebration of rites such as circumcision, marriage, and funerals according to Islāmic rules, and the development of religious teaching. As for prohibitions, those concerning the consumption of pork and adultery were among the most strongly enforced. Other forbidden actions, such as consuming alcohol and opium, lending money with interest, gambling, and even bringing offerings to sacred places or worshipping the *regalia*, although getting lip-condemnation, do not seem to have been very energetically fought at the beginning.

Around 1630, the organizational aspects of the *sharī'a* began to be implemented in all of South SulawĒsi's kingdoms, and it appears that the nobility, now that it had chosen to side with Islām, endeavoured to monopolize all the important positions.

At the beginning, there was only one masjid in each kingdom or petty kingdom. All offices, such as *imām*,<sup>81</sup> *khaṭīb*,<sup>82</sup> *bilāl*,<sup>83</sup> *kadhi* [*Qādī*] were handed over to people of high nobility. These people, called *parewa sara'* (the instruments of the *sharī'a*) in Bugis and in Makasar as well, were put on an equal footing with the former customary officials (*parewa ade'*) and were equally members of the ruler's council. The *sharī'a*, itself, became incorporated in the body of customs called *pangadĕrĕng* in Bugis and *pangadakkang* in Makasar.<sup>84</sup> For instance, Islāmic funerals completely replaced traditional funerals, although some elements of the former rituals were maintained in the funerals of the highest nobility; the reading of *al-Qur'ān* and of the *Kitāb Barzanjī* [book in praise of Prophet Muḥammad] on Friday's eve or on the occasion of domestic rites tended to replace, but never to put completely aside, the reading of the *La Galigo* epic. In other cases, Islāmic practices were combined with traditional ones; for instance, the Islāmic ceremony of *akikah* [*aqīqa*] performed for new-born children was combined with the traditional ceremonies of putting the child in his cradle for the first time (*mappenre' ri tojang*) and of the purification of the young mother (*makkuwae lawi'*); and the traditional tooth-filing ceremony was often combined with Islāmic circumcision, which replaced traditional subincision but preserved elements of the former ceremony. Sometimes, an Islāmic aspect was just added to an

otherwise almost completely traditional ceremony, as for instance in weddings, where the Islāmic *akad nikah* [*'aqd nikāh*] was just introduced in the sequence of rites without much modification of the rest.

Such a mixture of heterogeneous elements may not be just a mark of the propensity of South Sulawēsi people, like other Indonesian people, toward spontaneous syncretism. It may be, on the contrary, the result of a conscious policy of the first propagators of Islām, not much different from that adopted in pagan Europe by the first Christian missionaries given the impossibility that the people, and especially the nobility, would immediately abandon those elements of the former tradition which they considered essential to their culture. Also, perhaps for fear of losing the contest to the Portuguese Christians, the Dato' may have chosen to come to terms with those elements, probably hoping that religious teaching and *dakwah* [*da'wa*]<sup>85</sup> would, in the long run, bring them into disuse. To them, conversion must have been the main goal to achieve first; then real Islāmization would be able to commence.

Conversely, the nobility, conscious of their inability to oppose any longer the rise of Islām in South Sulawēsi, at least among the more progressive and economically well-to-do people, and anxious to maintain and even improve their position in society, had tried to combine the advantages of both systems by monopolizing Islāmic offices on the one hand, and on the other hand by maintaining those elements of the former system on which their political power had rested. Most of them must have seen that equilibrium as ideal and been hoping to carry on the *status quo* forever. But, with such a contentious situation at the start, the equilibrium could not be maintained for long, and sooner or later the opposing forces were to bring forth the dynamics of evolution.

#### *Through Tensions Towards Evolution:*

The description of Makasar religious life given in 1688 by Nicolas Gervaise shows that in less than three generations after official conversion, Islām had already become an essential part of South Sulawēsi culture.

Particularly noteworthy in his description is the important role played by religious masters whom he calls *aguy*, i.e. *hajji*,<sup>86</sup> who seem to have been hierarchically dependent on higher

masters he terms *Touan* (*Tuanta* is actually a term used by the Makasarese towards renowned 'ulamā'). His mention that that title was awarded in Makka by high authorities seems to indicate some acknowledgement of the teaching role performed by the shaykh of some mystic order, the more so as the places where those *Touan* were teaching their (male and female) *santari* (students) appear from Gervaise's description to be much more like some kind of *zāwiya* (monastery)<sup>87</sup> rather than present-day *pēsantren*.

In fact, it is well known that already in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century mystic orders had made their way into South SulawĒsi. One of the key actors in that penetration was the celebrated Shaykh Yūsuf, known to the Makasarese as *Tuanta Salamaka* (Our Gracious Master). Probably a (lesser?) relative of the princely Goa family,<sup>88</sup> he had left Makasar for Makka in 1645, at the age of 19. On his way, he is said to have stopped in Aceh to follow the teaching of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī,<sup>89</sup> and then to have proceeded to Yemen [Yaman] where he studied with two other mystic masters [Syed Shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Baqī b. Shaykh al-Kābir Mazjajī al-Yamanī Zaydī al-Naqshabandī and Shaykh Maulānā Syed 'Alī].<sup>90</sup> After some time spent in Makka with another two Ṣūfī masters, he went to Damascus where he was initiated into the Khalwatīya order and thereafter received his title of Tāj al-Khalwatī.<sup>91</sup> Makasar tradition says that on his return from the Holy Land, around 1678, Shaykh Yūsuf was shocked by the state of *sharī'a* in South SulawĒsi and tried to purify the religion from pagan remnants and improper behaviour. Those attempts, so the story runs, were strongly opposed by the nobility who were not prepared to put an end to gambling, palm-wine drinking, opium smoking or bringing offerings to sacred places or objects. One must be careful to recognize that those are not just examples of un-Islāmic behaviour, but that through them more was at stake. Gambling had not only been a favourite pastime of the nobility since time immemorial (cockfights are a prominent feature in the *La Galigo* epos); it had, and still has among the Toraja, a ritual significance, usually being held on the occasion of communal festivals, such as at the harvest and at princely weddings; it was also a source of income for the rulers, as was the opium trade. Opium smoking and palm-wine drinking were not just addictions, but were indulged in by warriors before going to fight. Bringing offerings was not only a superstitious habit, but was thought of

as a means of ensuring prosperity for the community, and in the case of *arajang* or sacred heirloom,<sup>92</sup> commemorating the ancestors of local dynasties established the link between present-day rulers and their semi-divine forebears. In short, the nobility, by refusing changes on these particular points, showed that they were still holding tightly to the compromise effected when Islām became the state religion. Clearly, they were not yet prepared to accept an evolution which would endanger social order as they understood it. As a consequence, Shaykh Yūsuf, who could not accept that compromise, left Makasar and settled in Bantěn, where, as is well known, he married one of the Sulṭān's daughters. Later, he took an active part in the resistance to the Dutch, was caught by them and exiled, first to Ceylon and then to South Africa, where he died in 1699.<sup>93</sup>

The South Sulawěsi nobility was not unanimous in supporting the above compromise; a few were in favour of a more Islāmic way of life. That is well exemplified by the case of La Ma'daremmeng, Sulṭān of Bone from 1631 to 1644, who had decided to apply the *sharī'a* literally, forbidding all superstitious practices, discarding the *bissu*, and liberating the slaves. Those measures stirred up a huge discontent in his kingdom and provoked an uprising led by the ruler's own mother, who sought protection and support in the Goa court. The result was a war between Bone and Goa which in 1644 resulted in the ruler being made a prisoner and direct rule being established for Bone. Those events were to have far-reaching consequences on the destiny of South Sulawěsi, since it was in order to liberate Bone from Goanese oppression that the famous Arung Palakka allied himself with the Dutch, contributing to the fall of Makasar into their hands and to their establishment there as a colonial power after the Bungaya Treaty of 1667.<sup>94</sup>

The future Shaykh Yūsuf had left South Sulawěsi just at the end of the Goa-Bone war, at a time when the supporters of an Islām 'adapted' to local conditions were triumphing; he had come back, but left again when he saw the same prevailing attitudes. However, the seeds of a more radical Islām had been sown and were beginning to grow. Shaykh Yūsuf, himself, contributed to its development by his teachings and written works, which were disseminated by one of his sons and three of his disciples, the most famous among them being the Bugis (from Rappang) 'Abd al-Baṣīr Adlarir al-Rafanī, known locally as Tuan Rappang.

Their efforts appear to have been directed to what seemed to be the main stumbling-block, that is to say, the nobility. It was primarily among them that Yūsuf's disciples chose to implant the Khalwatīya mystic order, apparently not without success. It may have seemed to them another means, more congruent with true Islām, to assert their pre-eminence in society.

Such had been Shaykh Yūsuf's indirect influence that after his death in South Africa, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl of Goa insisted on having his mortal remains brought back to Makasar. Permission was granted by the Dutch in 1705. His grave in Lakiung is now one of the most visited places of pilgrimage in South SulawĒsi.

In the long struggle for Islāmization, a new phase had been initiated, in which the South SulawĒsi nobility, or at least part of it, played a new role: it can best be seen in such literary works (probably written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century) as the "Book of Budi Istiharat Indra Bustanil Arifin", a book of Islāmīc Malayo-Indo-Persian inspiration very akin to, if not literally adapted from, the *Mahkota segala raja* [All Kings' Crown] or *Tāj al-Salātīn*, written in 1603 in Aceh by Shaykh Bukhārī/Buchara al-Jauhari of Johor. This text, and others, might be seen as attempts to replace the pagan basis on which aristocratic power had rested until then (and especially the myth of the heavenly descent of the rulers) by the medieval Persianized 'Islāmīc' idea, where the rulers appeared as the representatives and instruments of Allāh on earth. That conceptualization of the ruler, new to South SulawĒsi, was the continuation in Muslim garb of the *bodhisattva* concept used in the Malay Annals to describe the position of the pre-Islāmīc founder of Mĕlaka.<sup>95</sup> And the South SulawĒsi aristocrats had had relations with the Malay Sulṭānates for many years.

We must keep in mind that South SulawĒsi, marked as it was by deeply rooted traditions, was nevertheless not isolated in its island-world, but was also part of an intricate network of commercial, political, and intellectual relationships with other Muslim kingdoms all over the Archipelago, and that it also had connections with other Asian countries, including Muslim countries in India and the Middle East, where some of its young men went to study and from whence some 'ulamā' came. So the movement of ideas in the rest of the Muslim world was not unknown, and eventually had its echoes here.

For instance, in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, not very long after the end of the first Wahnābī 'empire' (1818), Arung Mātoa (ruler) of Wajo', called La Memmang To-A'pamadeng

(r. c. 1821–5), under the influence of an *'ulamā'* known as Shaykh Madīna, tried to enforce a Wahhābī-inspired kind of Islām in his kingdom: superstitious habits were fought, sacred places were destroyed, attempts were made to apply Islāmic law literally (stoning for adulterers, cutting off of hands for thieves, etc.) and to introduce Islāmic customs such as the wearing of a head-covering by women.<sup>96</sup> Those attempts were short-lived, but showed that among the South Sulawēsi nobility a more radical form of Islām was making its way, little by little. Paradoxically, Wajo', compared with other South Sulawēsi kingdoms, is the one where the *La Galigo* lore has been the most cultivated and the pre-eminence of the nobility has been the most asserted. At the same time, a kind of political democracy has existed for centuries; the role of merchants has been the most important; and the progress of Islāmic reformism has been the most rapid.

In fact, what the intent of a ruler could not obtain: the implementation of an Islām cleansed of its South Sulawēsi impurities, was to be achieved by commoners, little by little. And it is their emergence as protagonists of Islāmization which marks the next phase of its history.

Much is still to be done to document precisely the process. Local manuscript sources mostly originate from aristocratic circles; and Dutch archives may not be very rich in information on topics which were not central to their interests in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; but one might find more relevant data after the extension of Dutch sway to the whole of Sulawēsi in 1906.

The advancement of two markedly different Islāmic movements can be taken as examples of a deepening Islāmization among commoners. One is the Khalwatiya, not the branch brought in by Shaykh Yūsuf's disciples, but another called Sammāniya, founded in Madīna by a Shaykh Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was introduced into Palembang by his disciple 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbānī and in 1820 brought to Sulawēsi by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Munīr Shamsūl 'Ārifīn.<sup>97</sup> There were among its first members a number of high aristocrats (two of the first adherents later became 'Speaker of the Land' (until 1854) and ruler from 1860 to 1871 of Bone (as Sulṭān Aḥmad). But that branch also developed very quickly among the commoners, and even if there have always been some noble people among its members, their position is no different from that of other ordinary members. The loss of their pre-eminence in that domain has also been marked by the near-

disappearance of Shaykh Yūsuf's Khalwatīya as a separate branch.<sup>98</sup>

The expansion of the new order has continued until the present day. In 1976, according to the Bureau of Religious Affairs in Ujung Pandang, 150,000 members were registered throughout the province, compared to fewer than 10,000 in the Naqshbandīya and fewer than 5,000 in the Qādirīya, which elsewhere in Indonesia are the strongest mystic orders.<sup>99</sup>

In South SulawĒsi, those orders bear witness to the development of a mysticism set on a purely Islāmic basis, as contrasted with a syncretist mysticism, including many elements taken from the pre-Islāmic local religious system, which may be much more diffused in the province, but remains unorganized, and is probably doomed to gradual weakening and eventual oblivion.

The second important movement corresponds to the emergence of a new, egalitarian brand of Islām which was, of course, more in conformity with original Islāmic teaching, according to which there should be in Islām no difference between ranks, races, or genders. This was expressed by the establishment of 'reformist' organizations which simultaneously advocated a return to the purity of the doctrine as it was preached by the Prophet and an open-mindedness towards the challenges of modern life. It is probably not by mere chance that most of their promoters were not from the nobility, but commoners, mainly traders. The pioneer was one Hajī 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Rahmān, from Maros. After spending ten years in Makka, in 1917 he returned to Makasar, where he founded a *madrassa* in which the teaching was decidedly reformist. A conflict soon broke out between him and the *kali* (*Kadhi/Qāḍī*) of Goa with regard to the correct way of performing the Friday public prayer (should regular *lohor* [*zohor*] prayer be performed after Friday prayers or not), which he eventually won.<sup>100</sup> In 1923, he founded an organization called *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*,<sup>101</sup> which, three years later, at the initiative of an 'Arab batik trader from Surabaya called Maṣṣūr al-Yamanī, united with the national reformist movement Muhammadiyah (founded in 1912).<sup>102</sup>

The South SulawĒsi branch of that organization grew rapidly, despite the declared opposition from many in the nobility, especially in the ruling families of Bone and Goa. However, the local aristocracy no longer presented a unified front: among them, an important minority was already open to new ideas. That was especially true of Wajo', with the democratic trends of

its traditional government, the role of its inhabitants, including the ruling élite, in overseas trade, and the already mentioned entry there of Wahhābī ideas in the 19th century. It was in Wajo' that the first local branch of the Muhammadiyah outside Makasar was opened in 1928, due to the active approval and help of one of the most eminent Bugis princesses, Andi' Ninnong, then in charge of the office of the Ranreng Tuwa.<sup>103</sup> It was also in Wajo' that the first South Sulawěsi regional conference of the movement was held in 1928. The 16<sup>th</sup> conference in 1941 could already boast of 7,000 members, 30,000 sympathisers, and 5,000 pupils, a fifth of whom were in Wajo' alone.<sup>104</sup>

Indeed, one of the main efforts of the movement was directed towards the development of secular schools as well as *madrasa* and *pěsantren* organized according to modern conditions.

Confronted with those developments, which were felt by more traditional circles as a menace to the social and religious *status quo*, some local '*ulamā'*', encouraged by a section of the ruling aristocracy, also created teaching institutions following the same model of modernity, but still professing the established doctrine of the Shāfi'ī school of law<sup>105</sup> which has been the legal school followed in South Sulawěsi since the introduction of Islām. One of the most important of those institutions was the Madrasatu 'l-'Arabīya Islāmīya, founded in Wajo' in 1932 by Ḥajī As'ad (locally known as Ḥajī Sade'), and renamed As'adīya after the death of its founder, a Makka-born and trained '*ulamā'*' of Bugis descent. That institution now has more than 7,000 pupils.<sup>106</sup>

After the Second World War, several similar institutions were founded by Ḥajī As'ad's disciples, the most prominent being the Dār al-Da'wa wal-Irshād, founded by Ḥajī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ambo' Dalle', which has now around 1,200 schools all over South Sulawěsi, as well as among the Bugis diaspora in Kalimantan and Sumatra.

Although the teaching given in those institutions is plainly orthodox and not reformist, their action has had the same consequences for local socio-religious structures as has the Muhammadiyah, by substantially lessening the religious role of the ruling aristocracy and undermining the pre-Islāmic basis on which its power rested. Through both Muhammadiyah and non-Muhammadiyah teaching institutions, a new élite was shaped, of which only a minority came from the nobility, and many more from urban or wealthy rural commoners. That élite constitutes a

significant proportion of the civil servants, teachers, entrepreneurs and, of course, Islāmic functionaries (*imāms, khatībs, teachers of religion, etc.*), so that the influence of purified Islāmic teaching, be it reformist or orthodox, is far greater than the numerical strength of their organizations would imply.

The same might be said of the Muhammadiyah, whose registered membership did not exceed 50,000 in 1975 (out of a population of about six million),<sup>107</sup> but whose sympathizers are much more numerous, and influence still stronger, due to the number of pupils in its schools and to the key positions held by many of its members at all levels of the administration, and in teaching and business.

The last fight for survival of the socio-religious order brought into being at the beginning of Islāmization in South SulawĒsi lasted from about 1945 to 1965.

At the outset of the Indonesian independence struggle, a clear-cut split could be seen between a large section of the nobility, leaning on a number of traditional '*ulamā'*, still clutching to and defending the old system, and the partisans of a new religious and social order, many of whose leaders were former pupils of the Muhammadiyah schools or former members of the Muhammadiyah Hizbu'l-Wathan Boy Scout Association. Although both were mostly in favour of Indonesian independence, the former did not conceal their preference for the East Indonesia State (Nĕgara Indonesia Timur), brought into being under Dutch influence in order to counterbalance the Nationalists and Unitarists of the Republik Indonesia. They probably saw there a chance to perpetuate or even revive their former status at the top of society, now that the old myths and rites on which it had formerly rested were dying, with political power over all South SulawĒsi concentrated in the hands of a Conference of Rulers called Hadat Tinggi. Most of the officials of the *shari'a* (*parewa sara'*) were on their side. In contrast, independence fighters (*pĕjoang*) were not only struggling against the Dutch and for the establishment of a unitary Indonesian Republic; they also wanted to suppress what they branded as 'feudal' aspects of traditional society.

In the aftermath of this *revolusi*, the disillusioned former partisans continued their fight as rebel groups (*gĕrombolan*), not only against the policy of the Central Government and what they considered as the denial of their rights, but also against those 'feudal' remnants which they linked, not without good reason, to

the perpetuation of superstition, the continuation of *bissu* ceremonies, visits to sacred places, and so on.

It may be that at the beginning the rebellion had been caused by many other reasons, but the choice of the banner of Dār al-Islām by Kahar Muzakkar shows that his troops were really conscious of fighting a new *musu' sellěng* — Islāmic war — for the completion of Islāmization in South Sulawěsi.<sup>108</sup>

*The Religious Situation in South Sulawěsi, A Product of History:*

This rapid survey of the history of Islāmization in South Sulawěsi is, I think, enough to enable the reader to understand how so many pre-Islāmic and non-Islāmic elements have managed to survive in the culture of the Bugis and Makasarese, two peoples who at the same time would affirm their Islāmic character. Indeed, the coexistence of such contradictory elements is not only to be found in one and the same culture, but often even in one and the same individual, such that the dichotomy of people into clear-cut groups, according to the model set up by Geertz for the Javanese of Pare and which some would like to apply all over Muslim Indonesia, seems inappropriate here. One cannot group the Bugis or the Makasarese in really distinct *santri* or *abangan* categories, nor even see in their religious attitude a *santri*, or an *abangan*, or a *priyayi* variant. Rather, one can distinguish a number of variables, which are not always linked to each other, such as: acceptance, partial acceptance, or refusal of Islām; the degree of adherence to Bugis or Makasar pre-Islāmic tradition (with its *bissu* and popular variants); the adherence to a Muslim tradition, be it the plain Shāfi'ī tradition or that of a particular *ṭarīqa*, or the support of reformist ideas, and the degree of Islāmic religious practice and observance of the *sharī'a*.

Islāmization can thus be seen from an external point of view as a process acting on all of these variables, to achieve a full acceptance of Islām, a complete rejection of those Bugis or Makasar traditions which are not consistent with it, and a full observance of the *sharī'a*. Further, from a reformist point of view, Islāmization would also include the rejection of those Muslim traditions which to their eyes are not in accordance with the pure, original, Islām, and are thus *bid'a*, innovations or undesirable accretions. However, other Muslims would disagree.

On one end of the Islāmization axis, one would thus find the less Islāmized people, such as the members of the To-Lotang

community — a Bugis community living mostly around Amparita in the Sidenreng *kabupaten* (administrative district). Some call themselves To-Lotang Islām, while others, the To-Lotang Sammang, have refused Islām altogether and follow the so-called 'Sawerigading tradition'. On the other end of that same axis, one would find different kinds of people, who would all be styled *santri* in Geertz's terms: religious masters in Islāmic schools, '*ulamā*' of the Shāfi'ī tradition, leaders of different *ṭarīqa*, and activists of the Muhammadiyah movement. They do not form a homogeneous group, some people in one category even viewing the others as imperfect Muslims.

In between, the interplay of the above-mentioned variables would allow us to distinguish many different groups which cannot be set on a continuum. There are, for instance:

A few groups of Bugis and Makasar Christians, who have rejected both Islām and local religious traditions (a tiny minority indeed).

Other To-Lotang, called To-Lotang Benteng, who, while having much in common with the other To-Lotang, have, however, accepted part of the Islāmic *sharī'a* and integrated some Islāmic teachings into their tradition. They are sometimes called To-Lotang Islām, although their adherence to pre-Islāmic Bugis tradition is still strong.

The *bissu*, who, as priests of the former Bugis faith and practitioners of non-Islāmic rites, should logically be considered among the less Islāmized people in South SulawĒsi. However, most of them also acknowledge Islām as their religion, and some have even made the pilgrimage to Makka, so that there are now *Haji bissu*!

Conversely, many people who are zealous practitioners of Islām, who perform their five daily prayers, assiduously attend the Friday congregation, fast scrupulously during Ramaḍān, and manifest a real piety, at the same time participate in pre-Islāmic rituals and believe in the reality of the *dewata*, as well as in the historicity of the myths. Besides, the coexistence of those heterogeneous traditions can take different forms. Some people could be called syncretists, in so far as elements of different traditions are, in their minds, integrated into one single system; others manifest a kind of split personality, keeping two different and completely distinct systems, referring to one or the other according to circumstances. Others, again, while adhering completely to orthodox Muslim ideas, at times behave in a way, or follow

practices, foreign to Islāmic tradition. And one could find other different examples.

All those contradictions, which might appear strange at first glance, are much easier to understand in the context of the historical process of Islāmization in South Sulawēsi. They manifest the interplay of two competing systems, one of which, Islām, in order to be accepted initially did not challenge some elements of the previous order, thus opening the path for a long-lasting struggle, the last phases of which we are now witnessing.

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1. See Noorduyn, Jacobus, "De islamisering van Makasar" (The Islāmizing of Makasar), *BKI*, CXII (1956) 247–66, and Mattulada, *Islam di Sulawesi Selatan* (Islām in South Sulawēsi) (Jakarta: LEKNAS/LIPI, 1976).
2. Ed. Note: superstition, nonsense, irrational belief.
3. *La Galigo* manuscripts hail from pre-Islāmic Bugis culture. These are rhythmically segmented texts, written in a highly literary style and archaic language, which narrate in detail the destinies over five generations of hundreds of princely characters of divine descent, living at an undetermined period in a number of South Sulawēsi kingdoms and on adjacent islands. Until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century these were widely considered to be sacred. Many Bugis people still believe the events described really occurred in a golden age of the past.
4. For a short summary of *La Galigo*, see my article "Introduction à la littérature bugis" (Introduction to Bugis literature), *Archipel*, 10 (1975) 239–67.
5. The most recent description of the *bissu* priests and their rituals is by Gilbert Hamonic, "'Les fausses femmes' du pays bugis

- (Célèbes-Sud)" (The false women of the Bugis country), *Objets et Mondes*, XVII, 1 (1977) 39–46, and "Mallawolo: Chants bugis pour la sacralisation des anciens princes de Célèbes-Sud" (*Mallawolo: Bugis songs for the coronation of ancient princes in South SulawĒsi*), *Archipel*, 19 (1980) 43–79.
6. See my article "Les éléments du rituel populaire bugis" (The elements of popular Bugis ritual), *Ethnologica Helvetica*, 10 (1985) 183–201.
  7. A *santri* is not only a strict Muslim as defined by Geertz in *The Religion of Java* (1960; 1964), he is one who has received the kind of thorough knowledge of Islām which is delivered in a *pēsantren*. The categories *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi* have been systematically used by Geertz to characterize three contrasted religious collective attitudes which he observed in the East Javanese town of Pare, where the *santri* were mostly traders, landowners and civil servants. The *abangan*, mostly uneducated peasants and workers, practised a kind of popular, syncretic Islām, incorporating many pagan, local beliefs. The *priyayi* were not only 'members of the official class', but those who were attached to the specific traditions of the Javanese aristocracy, incorporating a large part of mysticism and Hindu-Javanese cultural elements. Although the overgeneralization of these categories has been widely criticized, the terms *santri* and *abangan* have come into general use all over Indonesia to differentiate between orthodox and syncretic Muslims, while the term *priyayi* is too specific to Java to be applied elsewhere.
  8. Ed. Note: According to Drs. Abu Hamid, the two were *teman* or friends. Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang* (Shaykh Yūsuf Makasar: A Sūfī 'Ulamā' and Fighter) (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994) 74.
  9. Ed. Note: *Shahāda*: Muslim Profession of Faith: *Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, I testify that there is no god save Allāh, *wa ashhadu anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu'llāh*, and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh.
  10. Ed. Note: Karaeng Matoaya literally means 'Old (venerable) Ruler'. It is not a specific title, but one of respect for a senior member of the royal family. Thus neither 'prime minister', 'chancellor' or 'minister of state' would apply. (Private communication from Dr. Leonard Andaya, 24 November 1999.) On the advice of Dr. William Cummings (19 January 2000), we have rendered Karaeng Matoaya's position as 'Speaker of the Land'.
  11. Noorduynd, op. cit.
  12. Mattulada, op. cit., 9–11. See also Chambert-Loir, Henri, "Dato' ri Bandang: Légendes de l'islamisation de la région de Célèbes-Sud" (Dato' ri Bandang: Legends of the Islāmization of the South SulawĒsi region), *Archipel*, 29 (1985) 137–63.

13. Noorduyn, op. cit.
14. Wollhoff, G.J., and Abdurrahim, "Sedjarah Goa" (History of Goa), *Bingkisan Jajasan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara* (Contributions from the South and Southeast Sulawesi Foundation), A, 1 (Makasar: [n.d., 1960?]) 26-8.
15. Valentijn, François, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën ...* (Old and New East Indies ...) (Dordrecht: Johannes van Braam/Amsterdam: Onder de Linden, 1724-6) 5 v. in 8 pts.; rev., annot. edn. by S. Keijzer ('s Gravenhage, 1858) 4, 140.
16. Jacobs, Hubert, "The First Locally Demonstrable Christianity in Celebes, 1544", *Studia*, XVII (Lisbon, 1988) 295.
17. Wan Muhammad Saghbir, *Sejarah Ulama-ulama Islam Nusantara* (History of Islāmic Scholars in the Malay Archipelago) (Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, [n.d.]) cited by Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, "Sejarah hubungan Kelantan/Patani dengan Sulawesi Selatan" (History of the Relationship between Kēlantān/Patani with South Sulawesi). Paper for the Diplôme d'Études Approfondies, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris, 1981) 4-5.
18. Pelras, Christian, "Célèbes-Sud avant l'Islam, selon les premiers témoignages étrangers" (South Sulawesi before Islām, according to the first foreign evidence), *Archipel*, 21 (1981) 163.
19. Pires, Tomé, *The Suma Oriental* [Complete Treatise on the Orient] of Tomé Pires, *An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, transl. and ed. by Cortesão, Armando, (London: HS, Second Series, No. 90, 1944) II, 326-7.
20. Nur, S.R., "Beberapa aspek hukum adat tatanegara kerajaan Gorontalo pada masa pemerintahan Eato" (Several aspects of the constitutional law of the government of Gorontalo under the reign of Eato) (Unpublished dissertation, Universitas Hasanuddin, 1979) 20, and Zahari, A.M., *Sejarah dan adat Fiy Darul Butuni (Buton)* (History and customs of Buton) (Jakarta, 1977) I, 44 ff.
21. Letter written by Manoel Pinto on 7 December 1548 to the Bishop of Goa in India, in Wicki, Josef, ed., *Documenta Indica: Monumenta Societatis Iesu a patribus eiusdem Societatis edita* (Documents from India: Records from the Society of Jesus [Jesuits] written by the Fathers of the Society), XI (1550-3) (Rome, 1950) 422-3.
22. Zainuddin, H.M., *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara* (History of Aceh and the Malay Archipelago) (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961) I, 259.
23. Interview with M. Andi' Amiruddin Said Patunru', village head in 1984 and a descendant of the family of the *Karaeng* (local lords).
24. Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi, op. cit., 4.

25. Mees, C.A., *De kroniek van Koetei* (The chronicle of Kutei) (Santpoort: Mees, 1935) 100, 240. See also Chambert-Loir, *op. cit.*
26. Valentijn, *op. cit.*, IV, 233.
27. Noorduyt, Jacobus, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo': Buginese Historiografie* (An 18<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle of Wajo': Buginese historiography) ('s Gravenhage: Smits, 1955) 259–61.
28. Eredia, de-, Godinho, *Informação verdadeira da Aurea Chersonese* (1613), transl. Mills, J.V., under the title "Report on the Golden Khersonese", *JMBRAS*, VII, 1 (April 1930) 246.
29. Ed. Note: *Lontara'* are manuscripts originally written on leaves taken from the *lontar* (palmyra) palm, *Borassus flabellifer*. Although the huge majority have now been copied on paper, they are still known by that name. Over many centuries thousands of manuscripts were produced. *Lontara'* documents have now been catalogued under the title *Naskah Lontara' Sulawesi Selatan* compiled by Universitas Hasanuddin and the office of the National Archives in Makasar. The catalogue lists 4,000 texts written in the principal regional languages and 'Arabic.
30. The *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'* (The Complete Wajo' Chronicle) is a compilation made in Wajo' in the 18<sup>th</sup> century using the chronicles of the main South SulawĒsi states as sources. It was written by the Ranreng Bettempola La Sangaji at the request of the Wajo' ruler (Arung Matoa), La Mappajung ( $\pm$  1764–7). The copy I have used was handwritten by the last Ranreng Bettempola Andi' Makkaraka (d. 1670). I am very grateful to the owner of the copy, Professor Andi' Zainal Abidin Farid, for providing me with photocopies of the relevant pages.
31. A *kadhi* (Bugis: *kali*) in South SulawĒsi in the 17<sup>th</sup> century had the same duties as nowadays, but he was a more important figure as there was only one *kadhi* in each kingdom, and he was almost always a nobleman.
32. Ed. Note: general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting-point of all being the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib as the legitimate Khalīf after the death of Prophet Muḥammad.
33. Makarausu Amansjah, A., "Mazhab Sji'ah di Tjikoang" (The Shī'a Sect in Cikoang), *Bingkisan Jajasan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara* (Contributions from the South and Southeast SulawĒsi Foundation), III, 1–2 (September–October 1969) 28–30.
34. See Gilbert Hamonic's article on the Cikoang Maulid: "La fête du grand Maulid à Cikoang, regard sur une tarekat dite 'shī'ite' en Pays Makassar" (The festival of the Great Mawlid at Cikoang, about a *ṭarīqa* said to be Shī'a in the Makasar area), *Archipel*, 29 (1985) 175–89.

35. Graaf, de-, Hermanus Johannes, *Geschiedenis van Indonesië* (History of Indonesia) ('s Gravenhage: van Hoeve, 1949) 87–90; Pigeaud, Th. G. Th., and Graaf, de-, H.J., *Islamic States in Java, 1500–1700*, VKI, 70 (The Hague: KITLV, 1976) 7.
36. Sartono Kartodirdjo, Marwati Djooned Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notokusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (National History of Indonesia) (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1975) III, 94.
37. Noorduyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek ...*, op. cit.
38. Pigeaud and Graaf, de-, op. cit., 5.
39. Zainal Abidin, Andi', "Siapakah Radèn Djoko Krètèk?" (Who was Radèn Joko Krètèk?), *Bingkisan Jajasan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara* (Contributions from the South and Southeast Sulawesi Foundation), I, 21 (1968) 7–20.
40. Sartono Kartodirdjo et al., op. cit., III, 97.
41. *Ibid.*, 34. According to Drs. Abu Hamid (in conversation with the author), the Three Dato', themselves, although born in Minangkabau, had acquired their religious knowledge in an Achehnese *zāwīya* (monastery). And indeed, at that time, Acheh was an important centre of religious studies, which was not the case for Minangkabau.
42. Noorduyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek...*, op. cit.
43. Tavernier, Jean Baptiste, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes...* (The six voyages of Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne in Turkey, Persia and to the Indies ...) (Paris, 1679) III, 443–4.
44. Gervaise, Nicolas, *Description historique du royaume de Macassar* (Historical account of the kingdom of Makasar) (Paris: H. Foucault, 1688) 161–4.
45. Maxwell, W. George, "Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca", *JSBRAS*, LX (December 1911) 11.
46. Wessels SJ, C., "De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes, 1525–1668" (The Catholic Mission in South Sulawesi, 1525–1668), *Het Missiewerk*, XXVIII, 2 (1949) 130.
47. See my article "Les premières données occidentales concernant Célèbes-Sud" (Early Western data concerning South Sulawesi), *BKI*, CXXXIII, 2–3 (1977) 255. The *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'* acknowledges the conversion to the Christian religion (*agama keriseteng sarani* or *agama Yésuite*) of the rulers of Suppa', Bacukiki', and Siang, and the inclination of the Makasar people in Goa for that religion, *ibid.*, 230.
48. Sá, de-, Arturo Basílio, *Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Insulindia* (Documentation for the history of Portuguese patronage of the Orient Mission) (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar) II: 1550–62 (1955) 348; III: 1563–7 (1956) 103.

49. Wicki, op. cit., IV, 1557–61 (1956) 838. The *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'* just says that these two Christian princes came back to Goa, and that they were responsible for the calling of Portuguese priests.
50. Trindade, da-, Frei Paulo, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente* (Spiritual conquest of the Orient) (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1967) III, 492–3.
51. Schrieke, B.J.O., *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke* (The Hague and Bandung, 1955) 1, 69.
52. Reid, Anthony, "A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makasar", *Masyarakat Indonesia*, VIII, 1 (June 1981) 18.
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54. Boxer, C.R., *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese Merchant-Adventurer in Southeast Asia, 1624–1667*, VKI, 52 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1967) 17.
55. Wessels, op. cit.
56. Manrique, Sebastien, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629–1643*, transl. Eckford Luard, C., (Oxford: HS, Second Series, No. 59, 1927) II, 79–81.
57. Maracci, Jacques, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes orientales ...* (An account of events in the East Indies ...) (Paris, 1651) 75–7.
58. Rhodes, de-, Alexandre, *Divers voyages du Père Alexandre de Rhodes en La Chine et d'autres royaumes de l'Orient* (Various voyages of Father Alexander de Rhodes to China and other kingdoms of the East) (Paris, 1653) 279.
59. Navarrete, Friar Domingo, *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1616–1686*, ed. Cummins, J.S., (Cambridge: HS, Second Series, No. 118, 1962) I, 114–16.
60. Tissanier, Joseph, *Relation du voyage depuis la France jusqu'au royaume de Tunquin* (An account of the voyage from France to the kingdom of Tunquin) (Paris, 1663).
61. *Deus otiosus* is a Latin term used in comparative religious studies to describe a god who played a major role at the origin of the world and/or humanity, but since then does not intervene in worldly affairs.
62. Ed. Note: *Tawḥīd*: Literally 'making one' or 'asserting oneness'; applied theologically to the oneness of Allāh in all its meanings; 'unity' intolerant of all pluralism.
63. See *al-Qur'ān, Sūra al-Ikhlās/al-Tauḥīd*, particularly *Sūra CXII*, 3.
64. Noorduyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek...*, op. cit., 263.

65. Jacobs, op. cit., 295.
66. Ibid., 301.
67. Trindade, da-, op. cit.
68. Mattulada, op. cit., 20. According to the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'* (p. 240) they took that decision after consultation with the local Malay community.
69. The answer of the Malays had been "*Malebbi'-e Datu-e ri Luwu', nasaba' ku maneng-i poleang-poleangenna arung-e*": "the most exalted is the king of Luwu', because it is from there that all the (local) lords have their origin".
70. The French expression *avant la lettre* has no exact equivalent in English and therefore is sometimes employed by English writers without being translated. One can say that a Muslim *avant la lettre* is or was somebody whose creeds and behaviour are or were in conformity with Muslim creeds and behaviour even though he or she has or had not yet formally converted to Islām or even though he or she lived before Islām was preached either by Prophet Muḥammad (as in the case of Iskandar Zu 'l-qarnayn, according to Muslim traditions) or by later propagators of Islām in a particular country.
71. Such texts are exemplified in Gilbert Hamonic's, "Pour une étude comparée des cosmogonies de Célèbes-Sud. A propos d'un manuscrit inédit sur l'origine des dieux bugis" (For a comparative study of the South Sulawěsi cosmographies. About an unpublished manuscript on the origin of Bugis gods), *Archipel*, 25 (1983) 35-62, and in Pelras, Christian, "Le panthéon des anciens bugis vu à travers les textes de *La Galigo*" (The Pantheon of the ancient Bugis seen from the texts of *La Galigo*), *ibid.*, 63-96.
72. Mattulada, op. cit., 42. On hierarchy in Wajo', see my article "Hiérarchie et pouvoir traditionnels en pays Wadjo' (Célèbes)" (Traditional hierarchy and government in the Wajo' country (Sulawěsi)), *Archipel*, 1 (1971) 161-91 and *Archipel*, 2 (1971) 197-223.
73. The people who, in the Makasar language, were and still are called *patuntung* are the followers of a pre-Islāmic religious tradition specific to the eastern mountainous area and part of the eastern coast of the Makasarese districts. See Rössler, Martin, *Die Soziale Realität des Rituals: Kontinuität und Wandel bei den Makassar von Gowa (Süd-Sulawesi/Indonesien)* (The Social Reality of Ritual: Continuity and Change among the Makasar of Goa (South Sulawěsi/Indonesia)), *Kölner ethnologische Studien, Band 14* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1987), particularly 74-94 for a description of the *patuntung*'s belief and 101-14 for their present relationship to Islām.
74. Mattulada, op. cit., 30. On Kajang and the Amma Toa, see Usop, K.M.A., *Pasang ri Kajang: kajian sistim nilai di "Benteng Hitam"*

*Amma Toa* (The ancestor's message in Kajang: A study of the system of values in the Amma Toa's 'Black Citadel') (Ujung Pandang: PLPIIS, 1978) 241. According to the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'*: "Katte' Bungsu maelo' palebbang-i mappaguruang-i paddisseng ngeng tasaupu' (hakiki), nasaba' naseng-i magampang ttama ri akkalenna tau-e nalolongeng ana'guru ... . Na pene maraja-na assisalanna, naleppangna Katte' Bungsu ri Kajang ri wanua ri Tiro, na ku-na nappaguru, mebbu' to-ni masigi' ri wiring salo'-e, na-ko to-na mate nariaseng-na Dato' ri Tiro." "Khaṭib Bungsu wanted to preach Islām through the teaching of mystical knowledge, which he thought would be more readily acceptable by those who had become his disciples ... . And as their disagreement was increasing more and more, he stopped in Kajang, in the village of Tiro; there he delivered his teaching and built a masjid near the river. He died there, and thus he is called the Dato' from Tiro."

75. According to Drs. Abu Hamid (in conversation with the author), Dato' Tiro's teaching can be found in a manuscript which is still kept in Bira.
76. Mattulada, op. cit., 11. Other versions are as summarized by Chambert-Loir, op. cit., and that of the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'*, which runs as follows: after having established himself in Kaluku Bodoa, 'Abd al-Makmūr had the habit of regularly visiting Karaeng Matoaya in Tallo's fort (*benteng*), looking for a way to win him to Islām. One night, Karaeng Matoaya dreamt that he met the Prophet at the gate of the fort and that the latter spat in his mouth, thus giving him religious knowledge; whatever question would be asked of him by Dato' Bandang, he would know the answer. In the morning, Karaeng Matoaya went to the place he had seen in his sleep, and there he discovered the Prophet's footprint imprinted in stone. Convinced of the truth of his dream, he went to Dato' Bandang's palace and expressed his will to become a Muslim (p. 241).
77. Noorduyn, J., "De islamisering van Makasar", op. cit. The story is also told in the *Lontara' Sukku'na Wajo'*.
78. Information received from Professor Andi' Zainal Abidin.
79. Tavernier, op. cit., 444, and Gervaise, op. cit., 164-6.
80. Ed. Note: to profess the *Shahāda*; to perform the five daily prayers; to fast during Ramaḍān; to pay *zakāt* (religious tithe) and to perform the *hajj* if it be within one's capacity.
81. Ed. Note: Leader of the congregational prayer; Khalif, as leader of the community.
82. Ed. Note: anyone, religious official or layman, who delivers the *khutba*: sermon in the masjid; masjid official.
83. Ed. Note: the *muezzin* ('Ar. *mu'azzin*); person who makes the call to prayer.

84. About that process, *see* Mattulada, *op. cit.* and Glossary.
85. Ed. Note: an invitation, addressed to men by God and the Prophets, to believe in the true religion.
86. Ed. Note: a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Makka.
87. Gervaise, *op. cit.*, 82, 194–201.
88. There are conflicting stories about his birth. Some say he was the son of a Shaykh Khaidir from Binamu; while some see in this Khaidir an incarnation of Nabī al-Khidr [the 'green ancient'; personification of the search for knowledge and limitation of Mosaic Law]. A tradition kept in some aristocratic families, which claim descent from him, says he was in fact born of a secret marriage of Sulṭān Malik al-Sa'īd (and thus he would be Sulṭān Ḥasan al-Dīn's half-brother) and that Shaykh Khaidir was only his adoptive father.
89. Ed. Note: Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥasan-Jī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Rānīrī was born in Rānīr, a famous old port in Gujarāt, India, probably towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He was an adherent of the Shāfi'ī Mazhab (School of Law) which is the established school of Islāmic law in the Malay World. Al-Rānīrī was a Ṣūfī, theologian, man of letters, and missionary *par excellence*; his influence was tremendous. There is strong evidence that between 1621, when he was at Makka, and 1637, al-Rānīrī lived for a time in the Malay World, in particular in Pahang and Aceh. He had close relations and good standing with Iskandar Thanī who became Sulṭān of Aceh in 1636 and appointed al-Rānīrī as Shaykh al-Islām, the highest religious office in the realm. Among al-Rānīrī's works are *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (The Right Way) written in Malay — that was begun in 1634 and completed seven years later — which deals with the science of practical judgements pertaining to religious practice (*al-fiqh*) but treats only those aspects concerned with devotional duties (*al-'ibādāt*); *Bustān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwalīn wa al-Ākhirīn* (The Garden of the Sulṭāns in Recollection of the Progenitors and the Successors), an encyclopaedic work — the only one of its kind in Malay — begun in 1638, the work is in seven books, each consisting of several divisions or parts; and *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li daf' al-Zindīq* (Proof of the Veracious in Refutation of the Zindīq), a short treatise written between 1638 and 1641, clarifying the distinction between the positions of the theologians, Ṣūfīs, philosophers and pseudo-Ṣūfīs on the ontological relationship between God and the world. In 1644, al-Rānīrī returned to his native Rānīr, where he lived for the next 14 years. Reportedly, he died on 21 September 1658. Excerpted from Attas, al-, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, 1986) 3–28.

90. Abu Hamid, *op. cit.*, 92.
  91. Mattulada, *op. cit.*, 37–8. *See also* Abu Hamid, *op. cit.*
  92. *Arajang*: sacred heirloom of a family or of a polity (kingdom, principality, seigniory); *Tana arajang*: plot of land where agricultural rites were held each year in the presence of the ruler.
  93. Ed. Note: In Bantĕn, Shaykh Yūsuf was Adviser to Sulṭān Agung. When in 1683 in collaboration with the Dutch, the Sulṭān was overthrown by his son, Sulṭān Ḥajī, Shaykh Yūsuf was exiled to Ceylon. A strong movement for his return to Makasar began in the court of Goa with the whole-hearted support of Arung Palakka's wife, Daeng Talele, a princess of Goa. On 11 May 1689, Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl, Daeng Talele, and all the important Makasar nobles went to Fort Rotterdam to speak to Dutch President Hartsink. They proffered 2,000 *reijksdaalders*, donated by commoners and nobles alike, to make possible the Shaykh's return. Without consulting Batavia, Hartsink agreed; he was to report that this "caused such excessive joy which is difficult to describe, and each of them came to the President and gave him his hand and embraced him, including the queens of Bone and Goa" (KA 1350c: 510r-511v). Hartsink then tried to persuade Batavia to approve his compulsive act by warning that otherwise "there would be hatred erupting into widespread turmoil". If Batavia would not agree, the messenger carrying the request should be detained until reinforcements could be sent to Fort Rotterdam. No help could be expected in Makasar "because the request had come from the common man, and the masses ... hold this Shaykh in such great love and awe as though he were a second Muhammad". On the other hand, Hartsink recognized that Shaykh Yūsuf's return could lead to trouble should he expose the harsh treatment he received at the hands of the Dutch Company (KA 1350c: 512r-v). Arung Palakka's alliance with the Dutch now came into play as he adamantly opposed the Shaykh's return. Thus the opposition of the Makasar masses notwithstanding, the Company would be in no real danger since Arung Palakka and other allies would come to its assistance (KA 1387c: 584r-586r).
- Karaeng Goa Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl was to explain his support for the return of Shaykh Yūsuf by saying that he was of his line, he and his father having had the title *gallarang* in the kingdom of Tallo'. Shaykh Yūsuf's mother was married to the old ruler of Goa, Sulṭān Ḥasan al-Dīn, so that Yūsuf and Karaeng Bisei Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Alī Tumeranga ri Jakattara, who died in Batavia, were true and lawful brothers (KA 1387c: 583v). His true reason was more probably the hope that Shaykh Yūsuf, considered a living saint by the Makasar people, could perhaps infuse a strong sense of unity and hope once again in the demoralized Makasar

lands. The Dutch Governor was to note the deep despair of the Makasar people as evidenced by the closing verse of their song: "Kompania sudah [me-]rusak Makasar": 'the Company has destroyed Makasar'. The elders would listen with rapt attention, sighs and tears, and the youth were being nurtured in great bitterness and aversion towards the Dutch (KA 1458c: 23).

But Shaykh Yūsuf was not returned; he was further transported from Ceylon to South Africa, where he died in the Cape in 1699. He went home again only after his death when in 1705 the Dutch yielded to allow the return of his body to Makasar.

Excerpted from Andaya, Leonard Y., *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*, VKI, 91 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1981) 276–8.

94. Ed. Note: a peace treaty signed on 18 November 1667 in a small village called Bungaya near Barombong, between the Makasar people and the Dutch to end the Makasar War (December 1666–November 1667). See 283 *infra* for translated excerpts reproduced from Andaya, op. cit., 305–7, with the kind permission of KITLV.
95. Milner, A.C., "Islam and Malay Kingship", *JRAS* (1981) 46–70.
96. Mattulada, op. cit., 50–1.
97. Abu Hamid, op. cit., 51–2.
98. According to Drs. Abu Hamid, in conversation with the writer, there are at the moment in Maros two Khalwatīya *khalīfa* (a delegate nominated by the Shaykh/Founder among his disciples), one for each branch — the Khalwatīya Yūsuf and the Khalwatīya Sammān — who ignore each other. But the followers of the Khalwatīya Yūsuf are now very few in number. Maros became a centre of Islāmic, primarily mystical, studies from the time when the ruler of Bone, La Ma'daremmeng, himself a *Ṣūfi*, was exiled there after his defeat.
99. Mattulada, op. cit., 115.
100. The spelling *lohor* is used throughout Indonesia. A mnemonic way for Indonesian children to learn the names and order of the five mandatory daily prayers: *I(sya)*, *S(ubuh)*, *L(ohor)*, *A(syar)*, *M(aḡhrib)*: *Islām*.
101. Ed. Note: *ṣirāt*: 'way'; qualified by *mustaqīm* 'the/a right way', meaning the religion or the Book of Islām.
102. Mattulada op. cit., 55–6, confirmed by Abu Hamid in conversation with the writer.
103. 'Ranreng Tuwa' was a title specific to the Bugis kingdom of Wajo', whose nominal ruler, called 'Arung Matoa' (Chief Lord), was flanked by three 'Ranreng', respectively, 'Ranreng Bettempola' 'Ranreng Tuwa', and 'Ranreng Talotenreng', who shared the actual rule of the kingdom. The three 'Ranreng' (men or women),

elected from among the members of the highest nobility, exercised in common effective government over the Wajo' kingdom under Arung Matoa whose function (like that of the present Queen of England) was almost purely symbolic.

104. Moentoe, H.S.D., *Langkah dan oesaha kami tĕntang pĕringatan Conferentie Moehammadiyah Daerah Selebes Sĕlatan ke XVI di Sengkang* (Our activities in commemorating the 16<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Muhammadiyah Conference of the South Sulawĕsi District, held at Sengkang) (Makasar: Labbakang, 1941).
105. Ed. Note: School of Law founded by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, AH 150–204/AD 767–820.
106. Mattulada, op. cit., 62–4.
107. Ibid., 115.
108. The best work on that period and on the Darul Islam [Dār al-Islām] movement in South Sulawĕsi is Barbara Sillars Harvey's dissertation, "Tradition, Islam and Rebellion: South Sulawesi 1950–1965" (Unpublished dissertation, Cornell University, 1974).

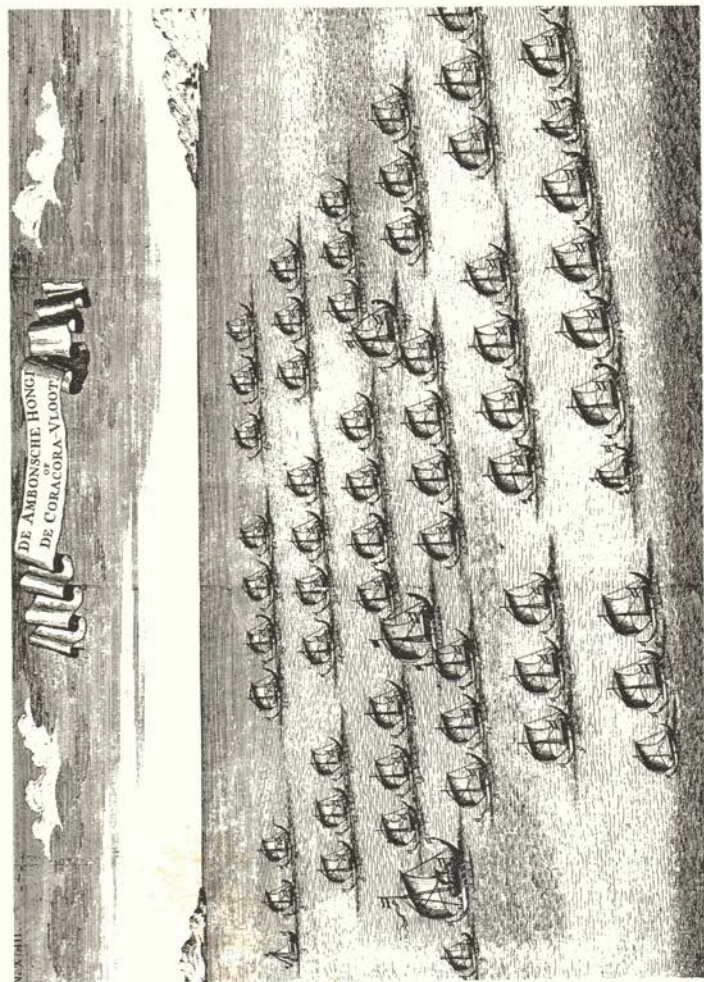


DIVIDING THE ISLANDS: THE DUTCH SPICE MONOPOLY  
AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MALUKU

Hendrik E. Niemeijer

God made the land and the sea; the land he divided among men and the sea he gave in common. It has never been heard that anyone should be forbidden to sail the seas. If you seek to do that, you will take the bread from the mouths of people.

Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn in 1615 responding to Dutch insistence that they had a monopoly in Maluku and Makasarese trade was forbidden there —  
quoted by F.W. Stapel (1922) 14



An Ambonese *hong*i — fleet of large war proas of the *kora-kora* type — from an engraving in François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*.

LARGE regions in contemporary Eastern Indonesia are divided into Christian and Muslim villages or areas. Beginning in January 1999, this division turned violent on several Malukan islands, including the capital of Ambon, despite the Malukan reputation for peaceful religious coexistence. The present-day conflict between Christians and Muslims in Maluku has several complicated dimensions: social, economic, ethnic, religious, and political. A decade-long neglect of the economic development of the Maluku area, combined with the absence of a democratization process in which all religious parties could participate, have considerably contributed to building up social and religious tensions.

Without underestimating present-day secular problems in the Malukan conflict, one cannot overlook the centuries-long history of religious division and conflict in Maluku, which can roughly be divided into four epochs. The first phase of Islāmization and Christianization took place during 'the Age of Commerce' (1450–1680) when 'Arab-Indian trade increased and European powers — first the Portuguese, then the Spanish and the Dutch — tried to establish a spice monopoly in the Malukan region.<sup>1</sup> The second phase began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century with the arrival of missionaries from the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (the Dutch Missionary Society, N.Z.G., founded in 1797) in Central and South Maluku and the *Utrechtsche Zendingsvereeniging* (the Utrecht Missionary Society, U.Z.V., founded in 1859) in Buru and Northern Halmahera. During the peak of the missionary era, 1900–40, a third phase featured more tribal conversions and more Christian evangelical activities in remote regions. In 1935, the Ambonese churches gained their independence from the central 'Indische Kerk' which was dominated by the Dutch clerical élite. The high standard of education and the missionary zeal among a new generation of Ambonese Protestant ministers brought the gospel to the remotest regions during the 1950s.

Finally, during the fourth phase — the 'New Order' of Suharto — every citizen had to declare membership in one of the official religions recognized by the Indonesian government: Islām, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, or Buddhism. This phase was decisive. Hundreds of villages which permanently

or incidentally received Protestant ministers, Catholic priests,<sup>2</sup> or Islāmic mullāhs, received strong incentives to make a final choice. The people of the Bacan Islands, for example, were still practising ancestral worship and shamanistic rituals during the early 1960s, but within only a few decades all Bacanese 'chose' a government-approved religion. Protestant missionaries, once confined to the old colonial settlement of Labuha, built 28 churches throughout Bacan. Meanwhile, Islāmic mullāhs encouraged the building of masjids and *pěsantren*.<sup>3</sup> These quick conversions were unprecedented and went far beyond the old centre of Protestant Labuha, the main town. The Christians working for the Bacan Exploitatie Maatschappij before the Japanese occupation (1942–5) could never have imagined that 60 years later an active Islāmic school (*pěsantren*) would sit next to the ruins of the old Dutch VOC<sup>4</sup> fortress 'Barneveld'.<sup>5</sup>

Although it would be interesting to examine the fourth phase of conversion and its direct impact on the most recent confrontation, this article will focus instead on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century roots of religious change in the former governments of Ambon and Banda.<sup>6</sup> Firstly, I would contend that early state formation promoted Islām throughout the region. Following in Portuguese footsteps, Dutch colonial policy — including Protestant missions — laid the foundation for religious division, taking advantage of endemic social instability and political uncertainties in the peripheries.

#### *Early State Formation and Islām:*

During the early modern period, the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, intensive trade brought new ideologies from the Middle East and the West into a collision course. Local rulers exploited the world religions to enhance their prestige and authority. After the fall of Mělaka in 1511, many Malay Muslim refugees and merchants settled in places like Makasar and Banda.<sup>7</sup> Regional trade entrepôts spread Islām during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, providing a common ideology against the Spanish and Portuguese threats.

The four ancient kingdoms of Těrnate, Tidore, Jailolo, and Bacan — the political centres of Maluku — were early converts to Islām. The conversion of the Těrnate Sultān Zainal Abidin [Zayn al-'Abidīn] occurred sometime during the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> Two of the oldest settlements (*soa*) on Těrnate, *soa* Jiko and *soa* Jawa, were the first villages with *imāms*.<sup>9</sup> The

acceptance of Islām by the Tērnate rulers had consequences for tributary principalities on the periphery. Tērnate dependencies on the Hoamoal Peninsula of Seram (Luhu, Kambelo, and Lesidi) converted to Islām under Tērnate overlordship.<sup>10</sup> The islands of Buru, Ambēlau, Manipa, Kelang, and Boano were also ruled by *salahakan*, Muslim governors appointed by Tērnate. State formation pushed the Malukan kingdoms into the *umma Islām*: the world-wide community of Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

When the rulers of Tidore, Makian, and Bacan converted to Islām is difficult to say.<sup>12</sup> Initially, Islāmization depended on the conversion of the aristocratic élite, the intensity of trade, and the permanent residence of Muslim traders. Tidore's role in converting its dependencies on Southeast Halmahera and the Papuan islands (Raja Ampat) to Islām also remains unclear as the first extensive reports are from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The Sulṭān of Tidore tried to expand his power during the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The VOC used the Sulṭān's growing authority to counter the clove production in Southwest Halmahera and the Gamrange. The Tidorese expansion southwards, plus the most radical implementation of Islāmic law in any Malukan court, drove the Islāmization process in the Tidore periphery.

The island of Makian already had old and frequent trade contacts with the Malay World. The highest level of clove production in Maluku was reached during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The clove producers on Makian bargained directly with foreign traders from Java, the Malay peninsula, and China at the main ports of Ngofakiaha and Ngofakita. Early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch reports describe the island as firmly Islāmic.<sup>14</sup>

Bacan, or Seki, was known as the southernmost kingdom of Maluku; its king was therefore named *kolano mahede*, 'king of the end'. The first Portuguese visits to this island in 1520 and 1522 were violent, forcing its king closer to Tērnate and Islām.<sup>15</sup> Some of the Bacanese Muslims probably settled on Tērnate at *soa Labuha*.<sup>16</sup> Like Tērnate and Tidore, Islām reached the Bacan periphery. The Sulṭān of Bacan controlled the nearby sago-rich islands of the Obi group.<sup>17</sup> Bacan's influence also stretched as far as the Raja Ampat islands where the *rajas* of Waigeo, Misool, and Waigama (the northwestern part of the island of Misool) formed three satellite kingdoms. Early Dutch reports describe these three *rajas* as subordinate to the Sulṭān of Bacan. The Bacanese, high in status and rich in foreign trade links, considered the eastern islanders underdeveloped, rude, and lawless. In 1610, the Dutch

reported that the three *rajas* agreed to circumcision for fear of violating Islāmic law and insulting the Sultān of Bacan.<sup>18</sup> During the VOC period, the Sultān of Bacan also periodically claimed nine villages on Seram's north coast, claims that were categorically denied by the Dutch governors of Tērnate and Ambon.<sup>19</sup>

All these complicated and fluent centre-periphery relations formed the political framework which encouraged conversions to Islām. We should not idealize these conversions which usually followed violent raids from war-fleets of well-armed *kora-kora* (proas). Military and political submission implied conversion to the 'stronger religion'.

#### *Other Islāmic Centres: Hitu and Banda:*

Other Islāmic centres emerged as a direct result of trade contacts. Hitu, the western part of Ambon island, and the small Banda group fit into this pattern.

During pre-colonial times, Hitu became a village federation (*uli*) with a governing body of four rulers from leading families who controlled justice and levied tribute on their subjects. It was a strategic place on the trade route from Banda to North Maluku around 1500. Marriages between Malay and Javanese Muslim merchants with local women introduced Islām to the region.<sup>20</sup> When the Portuguese excluded these merchants from the clove trade in Northern Maluku, clove cultivation was gradually introduced in Hitu and Hoamoal. After the Portuguese were expelled from Tērnate and built the city of Ambon in 1575, co-operation increased with the animistic (later Catholic) populations of other *uli* in Leitimor, located on the other side of Ambon island.<sup>21</sup> As an alternative centre of clove production and trade, Hitu attracted many Makasar/Bugis, Javanese, and Malay merchants, and became the main centre of Islām in Central Maluku.

The Banda Islands in the south had one of the most important spice markets in Maluku. This small, but extremely fertile, group of islands were also the biggest producer of nutmeg and mace. Merchants from Java, Makasar, Mēlaka, and as far away as Gujarāt preferred to buy spices, including cloves, in Banda. A round-trip journey from Mēlaka to Banda, via Java (Grēsik) and Timor could be completed in half a year, while the same voyage to North Maluku took another half-year during the northeast monsoon. The junks had to wait in North Maluku until January before returning to Mēlaka.<sup>22</sup> Banda's *orang kaya* also owned

fleets of slave-manned junks sailing as far as Měłaka to sell spices.<sup>23</sup>

The intensive spice trade with Java and Měłaka supported a foreign community in Banda of around 1,500 people (mostly Javanese) out of a total population of about 15,000 in 1600. Unlike Těrnate, Tidore, and Bacan, Banda was governed by a group of ruling *orang kaya* who probably felt no strong desire for territorial expansion in the region. As a central market place, Banda attracted enough traders from the Kei Islands, Aru, and Tanimbar, as well as the Seram Laut Archipelago. Except for the islands southeast of Seram, this periphery was hardly Islāmized since Muslim merchants considered Banda as the central trading place of the region.

#### *Trade and Islāmīc Influence in the Peripheries:*

As we have seen, Islām influenced the cultural identities and politics of the most important Malukan polities. Although tested by Portuguese military and religious expansion, they remained strong during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. But when the Dutch VOC established new power centres in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the old regional centres stopped expanding.

Traditional trade links with Malay, Makasarese, Javanese, and Butonese traders also diminished, disappeared, or were forced to the periphery of Dutch-controlled territory. But this only happened after a tough and lengthy struggle with the South Sulawěsian kingdom of Goa, whose king converted to Sūfī-Islām in 1607. This conversion was an important step for new political alignments and further Islāmization in Eastern Indonesia, especially on Buton.<sup>24</sup> The strength of the South-Sulawěsi Islāmīc sultānates during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century intensified further Islāmization of islands in the peripheries of the new Dutch strongholds: Ambon, Těrnate and Banda. A few examples demonstrate this.

In the eastern periphery of Central Maluku, the Makasarese and Bugis exchanged textiles, iron axes, and Tobungku swords for slaves, spices, birds of paradise, *trepang*, and *masooi*<sup>25</sup> with the *orang kaya* of Eastern Seram (Guli-Guli) and the Seramlaut and Goram archipelago. In 1657, the Dutch governor of Ambon reported to Batavia the presence of a large fleet of 20 to 40 Makasarese junks in the Seram Sea.<sup>26</sup> The Makasarese exploited the old trade linkages between Eastern Seram and the Papuan

peoples of Western New Guinea and the Raja Ampat. Onin and Eastern Seram were especially close. The 1657 report noted the arrival of a Dutch ship from Banda at Rumbatti and a polite reception from the *orang kaya*. The Dutch ship, however, returned empty-handed after learning that East Seramese traders had purchased most of the slaves three months before. The people from Goram had numerous families living in Rumbatti. Inter-marriage and trade with Eastern Seramese kingdoms (*kĕrajaan*) made Rumbatti the most powerful Islāmic kingdom in Western New Guinea during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>27</sup>

The VOC tried and failed to destroy the Makasarese trade with Eastern Seram during the Sixth Ambonese War in 1658. The temporary fortress in Guli-Guli to interdict all Makasarese traffic was demolished only three years later. However, the relative unimportance of the region for spice cultivation, combined with an unhealthy climate for Europeans, did not justify a permanent and expensive presence of Dutch soldiers. The Eastern Seramese continued to trade with the Makasarese, Bugis, Javanese, and the Bĕrau from northeast Borneo.<sup>28</sup>

Some areas of Southeast Maluku underwent a similar process of Islāmization. The VOC aggression against the Makasarese in this region was limited at first. Harming the Makasarese merchants threatened diplomatic relations with the Makasar ruler Sultān Hasanuddin [Hasan al-Dīn]. The diaspora communities of Bandanese on Eastern Seram, Kei (Banda-Elat), Aru (Ujir), Tanimbar, and Makasar stimulated the yearly Makasarese trade missions. Gongs from Macao, a variety of cloth, mostly from Salayar, ivory from Siam and Cambodia, and swords from Tobungku were traded for pearls, tortoiseshell, and slaves from Aru, ambergris from Tanimbar, nutmeg from Damar, and wax from Wetar, Nila, and Leti.<sup>29</sup> About 20 Makasar ships sailed to the southeastern islands in 1658,<sup>30</sup> and somewhat fewer in subsequent years.<sup>31</sup>

War between the VOC and Makasar in 1666 increased Dutch hostilities towards the yearly Makasarese voyages to Southeast Maluku. The VOC contracted with the *orang kaya* of Damar and Nila to destroy all nutmeg trees on their islands,<sup>32</sup> desist from trade with other European nations, and build small garrisons on Kisar, Leti, and Damar. The *orang kaya* received money and gifts of cloth in return. To demonstrate his commitment to the Dutch, a *raja* on Wetar named himself Salomon Speelman, a clear reference to the wisdom of the Jewish king and the bravery of the

VOC commander who had conquered Makasar. The *raja's* name epitomizes the new political orientation of many local *rajas* after the final fall of Makasar.

The small, scattered Muslim communities, once dependent on the Makasarese and Javanese to maintain their local trade networks during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, now had to look for alternatives to keep their identity. The Muslims of Ujir, an island off the coast of Aru, are an example of such a community. They tried to secure their contacts with Islāmic scholars via Hitu. But in 1669, when the *orang kaya* of the coastal island of Ujir requested Islāmic teachers, the governor of Banda immediately sent a Protestant missionary to nearby Wokam to contain any further spread of Islām.<sup>33</sup> This was an extraordinary step for the VOC, which usually confined its religious ambitions to conquered territories.

#### *VOC's Religious Aims:*

When the Dutch East India Company took possession of the Portuguese fortress Nossa Senhora de Anunciada at Ambon city on 23 February 1605, they claimed all Portuguese territory including the greater part of the Lease Islands of Haruku, Saparua and Nušalaut. Two years later, fortresses were built on Tērnate to combat the Spanish-Tidorese alliance. Bacan and Makian fell shortly thereafter. The conquest of the Banda group by the Dutch Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen in 1621 secured the nutmeg monopoly.

Initially, VOC policy aimed at obtaining a spice monopoly by concluding exclusive contracts or by military conquest. During their campaigns, the Dutch military commanders and traders avoided religious conflict with the Malukan Muslim sultāns and village heads. Still fighting their own religiously-inspired war of independence from Catholic Spain, the Dutch Protestants showed abhorrence of forced conversions to Catholicism, an attitude which was shared by Malukan Muslims. Without doubt this common aversion — both Protestants and Muslims found the worship of images abominable — eased cooperation and helped quickly to conclude spice-trading contracts. The early spice trade contracts, whether with the leaders of Hitu, the Sengaji<sup>34</sup> of Makian or the sultāns of Tērnate and Tidore, all contained one or two religious articles explicitly forbidding both Muslim and Dutch authorities from making

converts from among each other's subjects.<sup>35</sup> Runaways, whether from Islāmic or Dutch administrations, had immediately to be apprehended and returned. The contracts stated that 'everyone shall live by his faith and conscience, as God gives in his heart, without any molestation from one side or the other'. These documents guaranteed the religious sovereignty of the kingdoms of North Maluku. As a consequence, Dutch missionaries were never sent to any village on Tērnate, Tidore, Makian, Bacan, etc. On all of these islands, Protestant pastoral care was limited to VOC personnel living in or in the direct vicinity of the respective fortresses and strongholds. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Islāmic mullāhs from Tidore were even given passage to Malabar aboard VOC ships in order to make the *hajj* to Makka.<sup>36</sup>

A different religious policy was followed by the VOC in areas gained by conquest — Banda, Ambon — or on islands of which the Sengaji accepted the sovereignty of the Company: Babar, Wetar. Even on islands falling under direct VOC control, the Dutch did not necessarily feel an obligation to promote Christian missions but, when it concerned pagan villages willing to convert, usually at the explicit request of village heads, Christian schoolmasters would be sent. As a consequence of this rather formal political approach, Dutch Calvinist preachers only targeted the Catholic and animist populations of the Ambon government area after government approval. On Banda the plantation colonists, slaves and Mardijkers (manumitted slaves, free Asians) were given Church care right after its conquest. On Tērnate, a Protestant Church was built for the garrisons and small group of settlers. The minister of Tērnate had authority over the former Portuguese settlement of Labuha on Bacan and the VOC outposts on Makian.

The three Dutch governments on Tērnate, Ambon, and Banda thus became the seats of three Protestant Church Councils or Consistories comprised of ministers, elected elders, and deacons. The Consistories frequently corresponded with a central Consistory in Batavia and the Dutch synods of Holland and Zeeland, but were fairly autonomous in their Church policy. As paid servants of the VOC, however, the Calvinist ministers had little independence. During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, about 230 Dutch Reformed ministers served the above-mentioned three Church districts. Their importance for the religious history of Maluku can hardly be underestimated.

In the following paragraphs I will describe the Dutch Reformed missionary efforts within the VOC governments of

Ternate, Ambon and Banda. In each of these territories these efforts had different characteristics, their own political context, and their own pace and velocity. In the Ternate region (including North Sulawesi) an extraordinary political constellation during the 1660s and 1670s led to a sudden indigenous demand for VOC protection and thus for religious conversion. Within the government of Ambon, Dutch Reformed Christianization was an essential part of VOC policy to immunize the region from all foreign powers, including British and French, as well as from several Muslim trading nations within the Archipelago itself, especially the Makasarese. The Banda Islands, rich in nutmeg plantations, were an exploited colony, where the Dutch Reformed religion was the only permitted religion, according to the religious laws of the Republic of the United Netherlands. Banda's periphery, Southwest Maluku (Maluku Tenggara Jau) which consisted of the so-called *Zuidwestereilanden* (the Southwestern islands, including Pulau Wetar, Kisar, Moa, Babar and Damar) and the *Zuidoostereilanden* (the Southeastern islands, including Kepulauan Tanimbar, Aru and Kei) also eventually became part of the Reformed mission, as will be explained below.

*Ternate, Tidore, and the Forbidden Trees:*

The Dutch occupation of a small part of Ternate (named Malayu), on which Fort Orange was built in 1607–8, was not the result of conquest but of a treaty with a Ternaten nobleman. After the successful expulsion of the Portuguese in 1575, the Ternaten Sultan faced difficulties from the Spaniards in Manila to the north. In 1580, the Portuguese crown had been incorporated into the Spanish crown, and the Spaniards were eager to regain control over that important centre of clove production. They succeeded to take back the old Portuguese fortress of Gammalammo in 1606, and maintained three strong fortresses on the opposite island of Tidore. North Sulawesi, laying *en route* to their Manila headquarters, supplied the Spanish garrisons with slaves, rice, coconut oil and marine products.

In this hopeless situation, in which the Ternaten Sultan Muzaffar was himself endangered, the Ternate aristocracy had little choice but to send an envoy to Ambon to ask the Dutch for military assistance; in return the Dutch asked for an exclusive monopoly in the clove trade. Still at war with Spain until 1648,<sup>37</sup> the Dutch tried hard to isolate the Spaniards who retained their

fortresses in Gammalammo and Tidore. Because of the continuous Chinese attacks on Manila and logistic problems, the Spaniards gradually weakened and withdrew from 1662 onwards.

A second development was even more favourable to the VOC. The Dutch succeeded in taking Makasar in 1667. The fall of the great kingdom of Goa — which had become subject to Islāmic proselytization from 1603 onwards — and the elimination of its strong fortress of Sumbaopu near Makasar, had important consequences for the region. The Treaty of Bungaya (18 November 1667)<sup>38</sup> completely forbade any Makasarese presence in Maluku, and the Makasar ruler was forced to refrain from all territorial claims over Northeast Sulawěsi, Sula, and some kingdoms in the Sangihe-Talaud Archipelago. Makasar's political and religious influence in the periphery was severely diminished.

The waning of Spanish and Makasarese influence left the Malukan kingdoms of Těrnate and Tidore in a vacuum and created favourable opportunities for the Dutch. In 1652, VOC policy was laid down in a treaty with Těrnate in which the Sultān finally agreed to the systematic and continuous eradication of spice trees under his jurisdiction. In compensation for the loss of revenue from the annual clove harvests from the island's mountains, the Sultān received an annual payment, initially of 14,000 *rijksdaalder*. The rival sultānate of Tidore quickly followed suit with a separate contract in 1657, rejecting the still remaining Spaniards and agreeing to the eradication of spice trees on Tidorese territory, including a number of *kěrajaan* on Southeast Halmahera.<sup>39</sup> From the 1650s onwards, the VOC was only interested in maintaining its monopoly. The Hoge Regering: the Governor-General and his Councils in Batavia felt no desire actually to control Těrnaten or Tidorese territory through expensive military occupations. Instead, they used the ongoing rivalry and animosities between Těrnate and Tidore in a policy of divide and rule. The production of cloves and nutmeg was wholly concentrated in the Ambon territories and on the Banda Islands. Again, the original spice islands were subject to eradication campaigns and lost their meaning as production centres. Needless to say, this had a severe impact on the village population who were deprived of their traditional income from their uphill clove gardens, as clove trees were strictly prohibited.

*A Policy of Contractual Non-interference:*

The contracting policy of the VOC worked out well for the Dutch. A well-paid, strong sultān was much easier to deal with than several court factions, and it fitted into the popular Western stereotype of 'Oriental Despotism'. This concept gained popularity in Europe in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, when French philosophers compared absolutism with despotic regimes in Asia.<sup>40</sup> Annual reports from Dutch Governors on the sultāns' court life and state matters reflected this general Western opinion that indigenous states were ruled in an unreasonably harsh way. For the Company, there was no reason to interfere in indigenous state matters, as long as the sultāns kept their promises as laid down in the contracts.

This policy of pragmatic non-interference also applied to a certain extent in the religious sphere. According to Western law, the Christian religion could only be enforced on possessed or conquered territory. Only the right of conquest gave the right of 'planting churches'. This was a fundamentally different ideology in comparison with that obtaining in the more secularized, liberal 19<sup>th</sup> century, when missionary organizations acted as critics of liberal Western regimes and demonstrated a tendency to act more or less independently from the colonial state. Rather than the modelling of a 'Christian Republic', the conversion of the individual soul became their object. But 17<sup>th</sup>-century missions needed a secular guardian. God had not given in vain the sword to 'Christian government' to protect the church; the sword and the cross were inseparable entities. As a consequence of early modern Protestant state ideology, Islāmic influence was respected on Tĕrnaten and Tidorese territory. In Islāmic centres such as Mareku, the centre of Tidorese power, Islāmic law (the *Shari'a*) was often strictly followed, while the Tĕrnaten *kraton* which was close to Fort Orange developed a more open approach towards Western influence.

*Containing Islām:*

The Dutch Reformed church was officially established on Tĕrnate in 1626, when a Consistory or church council was officially founded by some lay preachers. From the arrival of Rev. Petrus Scotus in 1628 until the building of a simple wooden church in the vicinity of Fort Orange in 1654, church services were held in

the fortress, itself, and attracted only some Company personnel. From these early years onwards, the Tĕrnaten ministers were also responsible for the formerly Catholic communities of Christians on Bacan (Labuha) and Makian (in Ngofakiaha and Tafasoho, where the Company had built fortresses). Letters from Scotus and other Calvinist ministers to the Consistory of Batavia mainly contained complaints about the activities of Jesuit priests from Manila on Spanish Tĕrnate, Tidore and Northern Halmahera, and the immoral lives of Company subjects.

But the territorial uncertainties following the new political equilibrium of the late 1660s demanded a change in church policy. Several small coastal kingdoms in North Sulawĕsi which rejected the territorial claims of the Tĕrnaten sultĕns requested Company assistance against Tĕrnaten intimidation, sea-gypsies (*Bajau Laut*) and violent claims by nearby kingdoms. The King of Mĕnado, for instance, rejected the dominance of the nearby kingdom of Bolaang-Mongondow and asked for Company protection. The departure of the Spanish and regional powers (most notably the Makasarese, Buginese and Butonese) marked the end of a variety of alliances between these powers and small local kingdoms. The VOC filled the political vacuum, which also created possibilities for the spread of Protestantism.

Around 1662, the first Reformed schoolmaster was sent to Mĕnado, just before the departure of the last Spaniards. Another schoolmaster was requested by the raja of the island of Tahu-landang, after the departure of the Makasarese. He rejected Islĕm and turned the local masjid into a Christian prayerhouse and school. Other cases, such as Kaidipan (Dauw and Bolaang Itam), Buol, Attingola, and further to the so-called Northern islands (*Noordereilanden*), including Siau and Sangihe, and the Makasarese and Malukan kingdoms, which had been important Catholic mission-fields until the early 1670s, manifested a political and religious vacuum after the gradual diminishing of Spanish influence. VOC reports from those years make clear that the 'conversions' to Protestantism in these areas were rather pragmatic political moves from the ruling local ĕlite (the kings of Taruna and Candahar) who tried to escape the harsh rule of Tidore or invasions from other kingdoms. The Muslim Raja of Kaidipan, for instance, was constantly plagued by raids from Sangihe and several times requested the Company to accept him as a vassal, while offering to become Protestant as a consequence of his political submission.

The VOC's aim, securing the spice monopoly, soon included domination over large parts of coastal North Sulawěsi and the Sangihe-Talaud Archipelago. An explicit policy of the containment of Islām and the abandonment of Catholicism in favour of Protestantism proved to be an important instrument of political stability. Several contracts with local Christian rajas further secured the spice monopoly in a large area. Although the first requests for the introduction of Christianity surprised the Těrnaten Consistory, its ministers frequently embarked on painstaking and lengthy visitations during the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Table 1, which contains the data collected by Reverend Joannes Stampioen during a visitation in 1696, shows a remarkable number of Christians. Given the high numbers of Christians on islands like Sangihe and Siau, it is clear that Protestantism profited from the endeavours of earlier Catholic missions. Reverend de Leeuw's report of 1684 made during one visitation to the Sangihe Archipelago gives the number of converts (both adults and children) as 1,400. Further, Protestant doctrine was successfully inculcated in places like Měnado and Buol on the mainland.

After a few decades, more than 50 schoolmasters served the Těrnaten Church districts. They administered the village schools and churches and recorded the names of baptism candidates, communicant members, and schoolchildren. On Sundays, the schoolmasters read sermons; on weekdays, they beat the drums in the morning and evening to gather the people for prayer in the small churches. As sons of local leaders (*orang kaya*), schoolmasters were often held in high esteem by the local population, which made Protestantism easily acceptable among their own people. Eighteenth-century ecclesiastical reports make clear that the conversion of the ordinary people made only slow progress. Many were not able to read; they learned the questions and answers in the catechism by heart, quickly to forget them after baptism. The incidental visits of the Těrnaten ministers and the presence of schoolmasters could not prevent the development of a syncretistic form of Protestantism.

Today, North Sulawěsi (especially its northernmost region, Minahasa) is one of the most Christian provinces of Eastern Indonesia. About 90 per cent of the total population of Minahasa is Protestant. But, collective memory only recalls the 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionaries of the N.Z.G, J.F. Riedel and J.G. Schwarz, who worked in the upland Minahasan towns of Tondano (1831-53)

**Table 1:** *Number of Christians in North Sulawĕsi in 1696 as reported by Reverend Joannes Stampioen*

Area	Collectively		For the Year 1696			
	Christians	Church Members	Baptism Children	Baptism Adults	Births	Marriages
Mĕnado	438	—	21	—	35	1
Bulang	135	—	8	15	90	—
Rabonto	59	—	4	16	—	—
Dauw	557	—	18	51	100	3
Buol	370	—	15	33	112	8
Attingola	136	—	10	11	18	—
Kaidipan	?	?	14	—	—	—
Tahulandang	1,107	48	53	—	80	6
Minanga	283	7	12	—	40	5
Ulu (Siau)	?	—	73	—	86	1
Pehe (Siau)	?	—	51	—	68	—
Ondong (Siau)	555	—	18	—	60	—
Lehi (Siau)	359	—	10	—	63	—
Tabukan (Sangir)	2,000	—	52	—	40	97
Kĕndahĕ (Sangir)	380	—	21	8	48	14
Kolongan (Sangir)	433	9	31	5	30	8
Taruna (Sangir)	2,070	40	92	—	110	25
Manganitu (Sangir)	2,581	40	69	—	48	—
Tamako (Sangir)	491	—	30	—	38	16
Salurang	296	2	16	—	38	11
Mĕnalu	?	1	20	—	38	11
Coulour	180	—	14	1	—	20
Kuma	295	—	20	4	32	41
Mattani	378	16	28	7	35	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13,103</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>1,209</b>	<b>282</b>

and Langowan (1832–59). They baptized thousands of local inhabitants and left dozens of churches and mission schools. The missionary activities which took place during the overlordship of the VOC are completely forgotten.

*Ambon and Saparua as Centres of Protestantism:*

According to Catholic sources, the number of Christian villages on Ambon and Lease was between 22 and 34 when the Dutch took over the Portuguese fortress. Portuguese Ambon, with a population of 2,500 Malukan Christians in 1581 and 1,600 in 1592,<sup>41</sup> was the centre of Catholicism for the nearby Lease Islands. Except for two villages, the Lease Islands were Christian. The 20,000 Christians of Ambon, however, remained largely traditional, practising the old religion in secret to avoid punishment by the Portuguese. To explain the decline of Catholicism during the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, H. Jacobs writes: 'Seeing the Portuguese power shrink and themselves no match for the enemy, they felt inclined to fall away from Portugal and their Church'.<sup>42</sup>

After the VOC conquest, all the Catholic village heads became 'Protestant' and swore obedience to the Prince of Orange, the States General, and the VOC. A few years later, the village 'volunteered' boats and crews to Dutch war-fleets, the so-called *hongi*.<sup>43</sup> The Dutch Calvinist preachers strongly criticized as greatly exaggerated the population estimates reported by the Catholic clergy. Reverend Sebastian Danckaerts reported in 1619 that of all the Christians on Ambon Island, only one out of 50 knew their Christian names.<sup>44</sup> Christianity on Ambon was limited to the 13 or 14 villages that were resettled near the castle of Ambon. The Christian villages outside the direct control of the castle followed traditional religious customs 'in secret'. 'It has been proved,' Danckaerts wrote, 'that only penalties could bring the people to churches and schools'.<sup>45</sup> Danckaerts was the first missionary to organize a system of education. He recruited Malukan schoolmasters from village headmen or *orang kaya*.<sup>46</sup> The recruits received several years of training in the houses of the Reverends. Working in the village churches, they taught the Heidelberg Catechism to adults. In the schools, they taught the children writing, reading, and catechism. At Sunday church services they read sermons and taught the Christians how to sing psalms and pray.

During the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, frequent warfare<sup>47</sup> and restrictive Calvinist membership requirements slowed the progress of Protestant Christianity. In 1638, Reverend Daniel van Sonneveld reported that the Protestant Church in Ambon town

had only 31 Dutch and 24 Ambonese communicant members, a significant decrease in comparison with Catholic Ambon two generations earlier. The number of schools was only 18. It was difficult to implement the Christian marriage ordinances in the outer villages, 'because like all the natives they [the Malukan Christians] are naturally inclined to live in sin'.<sup>48</sup> After the 'pacification' of the Ambon region in 1656, Protestant conversions increased due to better education in schools and catechism classes, the introduction of standard Malay as the language of instruction, and the gradual translation of Bible books and several devotional texts into Malay. Moreover, the permanent residence of Reformed ministers in Ambon town and the island of Saparua guaranteed frequent church and school visitations. Baptisms, catechisms, and marriages all increased. Slowly, village after village received permission to celebrate the Holy Supper<sup>49</sup> during the clergy visit.<sup>50</sup> By the end of the century, the islands with permanent ministers had the highest numbers of Christians.

#### *Missionizing Seram:*

By 1656, much of the coastal areas of Central and Western Seram, which traditionally was Ternate territory, were still ignored by the Ambon Church. Early attempts made by the famous missionary Justus Heurnius had stopped in 1638, mainly because of constant rebellions and wars.<sup>51</sup> Only the *orang kaya* of Kaibobo, who

**Table 2:** *Christianity in the Ambon District, 1692*

Area	A	B	C	D	E	F
Amboina	20	20	1,926	19	1,004	9,138
Saparua	9	9	1,313	8	233	8,991
Nusalaut	6	6	606	6	133	4,180
Haruku	6	6	438	6	270	2,204
Seram	8	8	469	8	117	2,714
Buru	1	1	25	1	19	96
Manipa	1	1	50	1	18	218
Boano	1	1	78	1	30	502
TOTAL	52	52	4,905	50	1,824	28,043

Code: A = Schoolmasters; B = Schools; C = Pupils; D = Churches;  
E = Recently baptized; F = Total number of Christians

resented Tērnate's overlordship, made frequent requests for an Ambonese Protestant schoolmaster and lay preacher. Despite the protests of the Tērnaten district head (*kimalaha*), Reverend Brundt was sent to Kaibobo in 1645, together with two Ambonese schoolmasters. The older villagers declared 'that they were too old to learn, and therefore preferred to remain heathens', but they permitted twelve of their sons to begin Christian education.<sup>52</sup> Kaibobo, the nearby village Balisa, and several villages in the bay of Elpaputy (Amahai, Makariki, and Soahuku) shared anti-Islāmic (anti-Tērnate and anti-Hituese) sentiments.<sup>53</sup>

The strong position of the VOC after the end of the Sixth Ambonese War 1657–61 made further Christianization possible in South Seram. In Southwest Seram, the severance of traditional ties between Muslim Hitu and the Hoamoal Peninsula prevented the spread of Islām. Hitu's traditional influence on the islands west of the Hoamoal Peninsula (Manipa, Kelang, and Boano) was substantially diminished. Some of the *orang kaya*, such as the influential *orang kaya* of Manipa Encik Bintang, converted to Christianity in 1668. The surgeon, and later Reverend, Zacharias Caheing, was sent to Manipa to catechize new converts.<sup>54</sup> Parts of Kelang and Boano also converted.<sup>55</sup> The VOC prohibited Muslim teachers as much as possible from these islands and separated the Christians from the Muslims to avoid conflicts.<sup>56</sup> The Imām of Boano, Senang, was called to Ambon the same year and accused of illegal conversions to Islām. He was released without punishment, but the VOC did not allow any Islāmization under its sovereignty.<sup>57</sup>

With an increasing separation between Muslim, Christian, and traditional communities, and the stronger political influence of the VOC, more places on Seram's west and central coasts gradually converted. *Orang kaya*, formally subject to Tērnaten overlordship, submitted requests for Calvinist Ambonese schoolmasters. The strength of traditional village religion, however, spread these conversions over time: Piru and Tanunu in 1672, Sepa in 1674 and Kamarian in 1676.<sup>58</sup>

The Christianization of Southern Seram remained a slow process. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch missionaries stationed in Elpaputy and Kamarian reported head-hunting and a traditional religion of Western Seram called *patan*.<sup>59</sup> Much of Ambon's periphery was only nominally converted to Christianity, but cut off from further Islāmization. This protected traditional village religion, focused on *'adat-istiadat*, the rituals of ancestral worship.

*Missionizing Banda's Periphery:*

After the election of a Consistory on Banda-Neira in March 1622, the three or four VOC ministers focused their efforts on the foundation of a colonial society based on Calvinist morals. Church discipline, aid to the poor, marriage ordinances, schools, and catechism lessons were the primary concerns of the Calvinist ministers.<sup>60</sup> By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Christian community of the Banda Islands (Neira, Lontor, Ai, Run and Rosengain) included 1,500–2,000 people. Eight schoolmasters provided a basic Christian education in the village schools, while two or three permanently stationed ministers (two on Neira, one on Ai) took care of the regular pastoral duties. During the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, mission activity in the peripheries of Banda was a low priority, and only at the request of the Governor.

Interestingly, as early as 1628 a group of *orang kaya* from Kei and Aru who felt threatened by their neighbours and Makasarese traders requested VOC assistance.<sup>61</sup> Some of these *orang kaya* were baptized on Banda in 1635, and two VOC reconnaissance expeditions were sent in 1635 and 1646 to establish further trade contacts. A missionary sent to Aru in 1656 was typical of the early Dutch missionizing efforts. The lay missionary Gabriël Nacken was summoned back to Banda for trading in slaves and pearls! During these first decades of the nutmeg monopoly, the VOC lacked incentive to expand systematically to the southeast and southwestern island territories.

These factors motivated the Banda government to begin mission activities on Aru and other islands after 1669. First, the VOC feared the further spread of Islām on Aru. When a letter from Ambon reported that some *orang kaya* from Ujir (Aru) had requested Islāmic teachers from Hitu, the Governor of Banda immediately sent another missionary. 'The harmful sect of Muhamed', he argued, 'threatens to make its adherents into enemies of our nation'.<sup>62</sup>

Second, stabilizing the area benefited trade with Banda. The VOC wanted to stop inter-village violence and factional quarrels to guarantee an uninterrupted stream of marine products and slaves from the peripheries. The new missionary, Jacob Nieuwerkerk, was sent to Wokam in 1670 and explicitly ordered to solve disputes on Aru. He soon discovered that VOC overlordship was desired by a number of village heads, who had their own

motives for a political and religious alliance with the VOC. The villages that had requested schoolmasters (Wokam, Wongambel, Ujir, four on Maekor, and five on Wamar) often fought with each other and with villages from the eastern part of Aru (Kobroor). The ancient Malukan factions of *Uli Lima* (union-of-five) and *Uli Siwa* (union-of-nine)<sup>63</sup> were also found on western Aru and caused permanent hostilities between the '*siwa*' villages of Wokam and Ujir and the '*lima*' villages of Wamer and Maekor. Nieukerk tried to persuade the village *orang kaya* of western Aru to join the 'Oele Compagnie' (*Uli Kompeni*).<sup>64</sup> And indeed, the VOC prevented or mediated many faction quarrels, slave raids on villages, and revenge actions on the western part of the island. The Dutch preferred to ignore the eastern part, which was an ideal area for profitable slave raids.

Third, the VOC wanted to stop Makasarese, Portuguese, English, and French interference. The Makasarese not only came to trade, they tried to establish permanent settlements, especially in Southwest Maluku (Maluku Tenggara Jau). The Portuguese, with the help of allied villages from Timor and some neighbouring islands, occasionally plundered the islands of Kisar and Wetar. Some influential *orang kaya*, like Pekar from Kisar, came to Banda to request assistance, in his case 'with tears in his eyes'.<sup>65</sup> Village chiefs from Southwest Maluku who decided to ally with the Company were given a Dutch 'Prince flag' which was placed on a masoned stone-foot on a village hill. These stones and flags could be seen from far distance by all foreign ships and usually bore the inscription: 'this village is a loyal vassal of the Company'. The allied *orang kaya* also received a copy of the written VOC contract and a standard 'Declaration of Protest' to be given to visiting British or French ships. The contracts required that 'foreign traders' should be averted, the Makasarese attacked and killed, and all nutmeg trees felled, in return for VOC protection.<sup>66</sup>

The VOC had reason to fear their European rivals. The British and French also tried to create alliances with *orang kaya* of islands where they expected to obtain nutmeg (Damar, Nila). During the Anglo-Dutch wars, the VOC immediately fortified its strongholds. When rumours spread in 1672 that the French had taken the Bandanese island of Ai, the VOC quickly published a pamphlet to inform the loyal *orang kaya* about 'the true nature' of the European wars. All this pushed the VOC frantically to seek contracts from as many *orang kaya* as possible.

The Dutch also mediated — and sometimes exploited — the factional strife among the *orang kaya* of Southwest Maluku. The yearly reports from the Governor of Banda to the Batavia headquarters contain much information on these efforts. One example, from Leti, demonstrates how the VOC officials tried to pacify the region. In 1691, the *orang kaya* Tuterakawera of Batumiau village feuded with *orang kaya* from three neighbouring villages who had attacked some of his people.<sup>67</sup> Usually disputes were settled by paying a fee in livestock or gold, but the villagers of Batumiau were not satisfied with the golden plates (*mas piring* or *mas bulan*)<sup>68</sup> their opponents offered. Tuterakawera received help from an allied *orang kaya* of the nearby island of Moa, and amassed 500 men outside one of the enemy *kampung*s to force a sufficient payment in golden plates. The VOC sergeants stationed at Leti and Moa, who were also suspected of involvement in the conflict, were ordered to bring the feuding *orang kaya* before the Council of Justice at Banda. Not surprisingly, Tuterakawera and his opponents all requested to become Protestants. The governor of Banda decided to send the schoolmaster Tomas Fransz. to Leti, the first Ambonese missionary to work on that island.<sup>69</sup>

The allied *orang kaya* of Southwest Maluku usually sent their sons to Banda for catechism and baptism. As we have noted, this well-known pattern of educating the sons of the élite in foreign religious centres aided the spread of Christianity and Islām throughout the Malukan region.<sup>70</sup> It was a form of tribute and an act of submission and allegiance to a new overlord.

Since the ministers of the Banda Consistory were not permanently stationed in Southwest Maluku, Ambonese schoolmasters and catechists were sent in their place. Information on the progress of Christian education in a number of island communities reached Banda only when a provision ship returned from its yearly voyage. These ships left Banda with the usual cargo of cloth, arak, pork, rice, ammunition, and catechisms for the small VOC garrisons on the islands. During this voyage the number of children and adults ready for baptism were registered and reported to the Consistory upon return. After reaching a certain quota, a minister from Banda visited the churches and schools. Table 3 gives the numbers recorded in a 1692 report by Reverend Jan de Graaf.

The minister's reports contain the usual complaints about the worship of wooden idols. Many islanders believed that the 'shadow' of a deceased person lived temporarily in the idols.

**Table 3:** *Christianity in Southwest Maluku, 1692*

Area	A	B	C	D	E	F
Wokam	1	1	24	1	13	39
Wamar	1	1	25	1	24	36
Maekor	1	1	25	1	–	25
Wetar	1	1	–	1	–	65
Kisar	1	1	19	1	–	75
Damar	1	1	59	1	–	97
Babar	–	–	–	–	2	2
Leti	1	1	–	–	–	–
Moa	1	1	16	1	–	103
TOTAL	8	8	168	7	39	442

Code: A = Schoolmasters; B = Schools; C = Pupils; D = Churches;  
E = Recently baptized; F = Total number of Christians

The sacred images of the female ancestors (*luli*) on Leti and Lakor were in temples in the middle of the villages.<sup>71</sup> When the first minister, Reverend Jan de Graaf, arrived on Leti on 10 May 1692, he discovered that Tomas Fransz. had made no progress in the village of Batumiau. The temple with *luli* was still in the middle of the village and maintained by two priests. Tuterakawera, the village chief, refused to demolish this 'throne of Satan', but still offered himself and his two wives for baptism. This last, well-intended gesture violated Calvinist monogamist morals. When Reverend de Graaf asked him why he wanted to become Christian, Tuterakawera replied: to receive good treatment in Banda and be dressed like a Dutchman; to carry a Christian name in order to gain more authority over his people; and to gain protection and assistance from the Company. Reverend de Graaf decided to postpone Tuterakawera's baptism, as well as his opponent's, the *orang kaya* Pera, thereby avoiding jealousy.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the strength of traditional religion and ritual, Christianity attracted enough *orang kaya* to sustain small communities during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The early 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionary, J.J. Bär, found 1,600 Christians on Kisar in 1825 from a total population of 6,000. Missionary W. Luyke, stationed on Leti in the village of Sėrai, which had a stone church dating from 1717, celebrated the first Holy Supper with 15 persons in 1834.

The second phase of Protestant mission had started with these and other missionaries from the Dutch Missionary Society

(N.Z.G.). The N.Z.G. missions, however, were abandoned after twelve years because the islands were extremely unhealthy for Europeans. After a half century of neglect, the missions were rebuilt in 1878 by the missionary N. Rinnooy, who studied the languages of the so-called Luang cultures. Rinnooy and his colleagues began the most intensive phase of Christianization to date.<sup>73</sup>

### *Conclusion:*

Islām in Maluku spread in two ways: through the centre-periphery relations of the early Islāmic power centres of Tērnate, Tidore, Makian and Bacan and via Islāmic scholars and activists, as well as merchants from Java and the Malay-Makasar world. The Islāmization process was deepened through the efforts of the *kasisi*<sup>74</sup> in educating the local village élite in the fundamentals of Islām. In the newly converted ports and polities, Islām became an important means of alliance during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, Islām served as a force of resistance against the Portuguese and Roman Catholic proselytizing.

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, in pursuit of the Spice Monopoly, the Dutch followed a policy of religious non-interference towards the Malukan sultānates and other Muslim territories (Hitu). But this policy changed into a policy of containment when the VOC gradually grew stronger. The Islāmic regions remained free to worship, but were not allowed to proselytize outside their own territory. In the peripheries of Tērnate (North Sulawēsi, Sangihe-Talaud), Ambon (Western Seram, Buru, Manipa, Boano, Kelang) and Banda (Kei, Aru, Kisar, Babar, Nila, etc.), the enforcement of Dutch suzerainty gradually contained or prevented the introduction of Islām, while expanding Christianity wherever possible. A policy of conquest or contract did not necessarily mean conversion to Protestantism. Often Protestant, mostly Ambonese, schoolmasters were sent at the explicit request of the village élite. The Church, itself, seldom took the first steps to missionize. A political framework of alliances and contracts slowly promoted Protestant beliefs and practices among factions of native groups, while strengthening the prestige and authority of local rulers. VOC protection and mediation were particularly effective in pacifying Southeast and Southwest Maluku.

The VOC facilitated political and religious changes in Maluku, but always with an eye toward satisfying strong and

competing local and regional demands. Deep-rooted traditional religions made real conversions questionable and limited. Only islands close to the colonial centres (such as the Lease Islands) could regularly welcome Dutch ministers and achieve success in Christian education. Despite a seemingly poor record of 'inner conversion', VOC religious policy forced even the most remote communities to make important first choices between Islām or Christian worship. These decisions marked the beginning of further religious changes in Malukan societies during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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1. Reid, Anthony, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993) II, chapter 3. See also his article "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550–1650" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Reid, Anthony, (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1993) 151–79.
2. For the beginning of Catholic Missions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Schreurs MSC, P.G.H., *Terug in het erfgoed van Franciscus Xaverius. Het herstel van de Katholieke missie in Maluku, 1886–1960* (Return to the heritage of Francis Xavier. The restoration of the Catholic mission in Maluku, 1886–1960) (Tilburg: Missiehuis MSC, 1992).
3. Interview with Ketua Klasis (head of the Protestant Church district) Pëndeta A.J. Jambormias, Labuha, 14 September 1998. Bacan belonged to the Protestant Church of Tērnate. During the 1940s and 1950s both Bacan and Obi were frequently visited by the Tērnate missionary Reverend (Pëndeta) Rieuwpassa (b. 1912); interview with Ibu Hetwich, Kainama/Rieuwpasa, Tērnate, 21 September 1998.
4. Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United East India Company) established in 1602. The main Dutch port towns like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburgh, Hoorn, etc. had invested in separate India companies since 1595. Under pressure of the Eighty Years War with Spain; unnecessary rivalry among the Dutch themselves; the rapid loss of capital and ships; and the uncertainty of success in Asia, in 1602, with the approval of the Estates General of the Republic of the United Netherlands, most of the traders agreed to

- unite the separate companies. The Board of the VOC, the Gentlemen XVII, was composed of trading representatives from the participating VOC towns.
5. Their descendants with names like Van Joost and Klavert were still members of the local Church Council in 1998.
  6. For developments in the third Malukan government, Těrnate and its dependencies (Měnado and Sangihe-Talau) see Niemeijer, Hendrik E., "Political Rivalry and Early Dutch Reformed Missions in Seventeenth Century North Sulawesi (Celebes)" in *Missions and Missionaries. Studies in Church History*, Subsidia, 13, eds. Holtrop, P., and Mcleod, Hugh, (to be published by Boydell Press, Cambridge, UK).
  7. Cummings, W., "The Melaka Malay Diaspora in Makassar, c. 1500-1669", *JMBRAS*, LXXI, 1 (June 1998) 107-22.
  8. Fraassen, van-, Ch. F., *Ternate, De Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel* (Těrnate, Maluku and the Indonesian Archipelago) (Ph.D. Thesis, Leiden University, 1987) I, 32-3; Andaya, Leonard Y., *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993) 57.
  9. Fraassen, van-, op. cit., 21-131.
  10. Knaap, G.J., *Kruidnagelen en Christenen* (Cloves and Christians). *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696* (The (Dutch) United East India Company and the population of Ambon 1656-96) (Leiden: KITLV, 1987) 13.
  11. *Ibid.*, 190.
  12. Local villagers on Makian believe that their island was the first to receive Islām. According to the legend, Islām came directly from Baghdād to the spice port, Tafasoho. Interview with Kepala Desa Tafasoho, Ade Hi Hasyim, 18 September 1998. This legend was transmitted to Ade Hi Hasyim by his predecessor, Hi Hasyim Hersan (b. in 1891).
  13. Andaya, *The World of Maluku ...*, op. cit., 99-110.
  14. ARA, VOC, Archives of the Dutch East India Company at The Hague, 1053, dossier Makian. Letter from Commander Appollonius Scotte to the Gentlemen XVII (*Heeren XVII*, the General Board of the VOC in Holland), Tafasoho, 9 January 1611. Chinese traders from Bantěn also traded textiles and rice at Tafasoho. For the Dutch, this strong trading position was sufficient reason to have three fortresses on the island. At the time the Dutch arrived in Maluku, Makian was still the most important spice island, but already subordinate to Těrnate.
  15. Wessels SJ, C., "De Katholieke Missie in het Sultanaat Batjan (Molukken) 1557-1609" (The Catholic Mission in the Sultānate of Bacan (Maluku) 1557-1609), *Historisch Tijdschrift*, VIII (1929) 119.
  16. Fraassen, van-, op. cit., II, 230-8.

17. The Obi group, i.e. Obilatu or 'small Obi', Gomumu (south of Obi) and Tapat and Bisa (north of Obi) was bought by the VOC in 1682 for a sum of 620 *rijksdaalder*; the value of the *rijksdaalder* ranging from  $\pm$  4 shillings and 6 pence to 2 shillings and 3 pence sterling. Latalata remained in the hands of the Sulṭān.
18. ARA, VOC, 1053, dossier Bacan. Letter from Commander Adriaen van der Dussen in the fortress Barneveld to the Gentlemen XVII, 24 December 1610.
19. Bacan's periphery requires further research. The Dutch report from 1610 helps to substantiate Leonard Y. Andaya's presumption that Bacan's links with Raja Ampat predated those of Tidore. Andaya, *The World of Maluku ...*, op. cit., 106. This means that Islām was probably first introduced in this region via Bacan and not via Tidore.
20. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen ...*, op. cit., 75.
21. Ibid., 13.
22. Villiers, John, "The Cash-crop Economy and State Formation in the Spice Islands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, eds. Kathirithamby-Wells, J., and Villiers, John, (Singapore: University of Singapore Press, 1990) 83–105.
23. The Kei Islands south of Banda provided durable boats of various sizes, see Goodman, T., "The *sosolot* exchange network of Eastern Indonesia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" in *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, eds. Miedema, J., et al., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997) 421–54.
24. Andaya, Leonard Y., *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*, VKI, 91 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1981) 34–5.
25. *Massoia aromatica*: bark of a tree found on New Guinea, sold to Java, Bali and Sumatra for medicinal purposes.
26. ARA, VOC, 1221, fol. 176r-184v. Letter of the Political Council (Politieke Raad) of Ambon to the Supreme Government (Hoge Regering: the Governor-General and his Councils) in Batavia, 6 August 1657.
27. ARA, VOC, 1221, fol. 275r-286v. Letter of the Political Council of Banda to Batavia, 27 May 1657.
28. Andaya, Leonard Y., "Local trade networks in Maluku in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries", *Cakalele, Maluku Research Journal*, II, 2 (1991) 72–4.
29. Noorduyn, Jacobus, "De handelsrelaties van het Makassaarse rijk volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670" (The trade relations of the Makasarese state according to the 1670 Report of Cornelis Speelman), *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1983) III, 97–121.

30. Coolhaas, W.Ph., *Generale Missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (General Letters of Governor-Generals and Councils to Gentlemen XVII of the United East India Company ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 14 December 1968) III, 216.
31. In 1662 and 1665, VOC sources list 10 or 12 junks sailing from Makasar to Nila and Leti, see Coolhaas, op. cit., III (30 January 1666) 484–5.
32. ARA, VOC, 1240, fol. 1162–1169, Letter of the Political Council of Banda to Batavia, July 1662.
33. ARA, VOC, 1246, fol. 895–937. Letter of the Political Council of Banda to Batavia, 1 May 1664.
34. According to Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, 284, *Sengaji* or *Sangaji* is a Malukan title derived from the Javanese *sang*, an honorific, and *aji*, meaning 'king'; it was awarded by the sultān to the most important *kolanos* (kings, rulers) who continued to govern their own domains while acknowledging the sultān's superior political position; it was also used for heads of important settlements.
35. The first article of the 6 January 1613 contract between Governor-General Pieter Both and the representatives of the Tērnatēn Sultān and the Sengaji of Makian can be considered typical of other contracts. It reads: 'that both parties will respect each other as free and independent in their beliefs' (*dat voortāen yder malcanderen zullen laten vrij ende liber in haer gelooff*). The formulations in Dutch might differ somewhat, but they mostly contain two elements: Art. 3: everyone shall live free by his own faith, etc.; Art. 4: on the exchange of runaways, this was to prevent making converts from either Muslims or Christians (whether slaves or other subjects) (see *Corpus Diplomaticum*, cited below, the contract with Hitu, February 1605). Another example of a religious stricture can be found in the contract with Tidore in 1657 (*Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 103) where the Governor promises 'not to disturb them in their religion or faith, not to defy them, not to force them to accept the Christian religion, but to leave them as they think is necessary for their own salvation'. Similar laws were developed in Batavia towards Bantēn. Sometimes a Company servant would escape with his Muslim girl, or after committing a crime, and seek protection in Bantēn. Contracts between Batavia and Bantēn included the exchange of such runaways. Conversions of Christians or Muslims to either faith were not permitted.

See eds. Heeres, J. E., and Stapel, F.W., *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum* (A selection of Dutch diplomatic historical documents [pertaining to the history of the VOC in Asia]) I (1596–1650) (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1907). Treaty between Hitu and the VOC, February 1605, 31–3; treaty between the representative of the

- Sultān of Tērnate and the Sengaji (*see* n. 34) of Makian, and the VOC, 6 January 1613, 108–10; *ibid.* II (1650–1675) (1931). Treaty between the Sultān of Tidore and the VOC, 1657, 102–4; treaty between the Sultān of Tērnate and the VOC, 30 March 1677, 356–9.
36. ANRI, Government Archives of Tērnate, 63, 'Alfabet Positive Ordres' (an alphabetical list of former local government decisions), fol. 151 and 177; Letter from the Political Council Tērnate to Batavia, 31 December 1766.
  37. The Peace of Westphalia ended the Eighty Years War between the Dutch Republic and Spain.
  38. *See* 283 *infra*.
  39. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, *op. cit.*, 167 and 171. The 1657 Treaty was reconfirmed in 1667. *See* eds. Heeres, J.E., and Stapel, F.W., *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum* (A selection of Dutch Indies diplomatic historical documents), II, *op.cit.* Treaty between Tidore and the VOC, 29 March 1667, 102–4.
  40. Talens, J., "Tussen macht and onmacht. Veranderende opvattingen in de geschiedschrijving over pre-moderne staten in de Indonesische archipel" (Between power and impotence. Changing opinions in the historiography about pre-modern states in the Indonesian Archipelago), *Theoretische Geschiedenis* (Theoretical History), XXVI, 1 (1999) 42–65.
  41. Jacobs SJ, H., *Documenta Malucensia* (Documents pertaining to Maluku), *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* 119 (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1980) 21.
  42. Jacobs SJ, H., "Ambon as a Portuguese and Catholic Town, 1576–1605", *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 41 (1985) 14.
  43. *Hongi* were fleets of Malukan large war proas, mostly of the *kora-kora* type, armed with small cannon; *see* Knaap, G.J., "Crisis and Failure: War and Revolt in the Ambonese Islands 1636–1637", *Cakalele, Maluku Research Journal*, III (1992) 6.
  44. ARA, VOC, 1070, fol. 517r-518r. Letter from Reverend Danckaerts to Gentlemen XVII, 4 April 1619. However, almost everyone on the island of Bacan who had been converted to Catholicism by the Portuguese had difficulty accepting Protestantism.
  45. Danckaerts, S., *Historisch ende Grondich Verhael van den Standt des Christendoms int quartier van Amboina ...* (Historic and True Story about the Progress of Christianity in the Ambonese Province ...) ('s Gravenhage, 1621) 22; new edn. in *BKI*, VI (1859) 105–36.
  46. In this Danckaerts actually followed a suggestion from the Governor of Ambon, Artus Gijssels (1631–4), who observed well how Muslim teachers (*kasisi*) expanded their influence by teaching sons of the *Orang Kaya*.
  47. Knaap, "Crisis and Failure ...", *op. cit.*
  48. ARA, VOC, 1143, fol. 312.

49. Also known as the Last Supper when Jesus had his last Passover meal with his 12 disciples and declared that one of them who dipped his bread into the bowl with him would betray him, which Judas Iscariot did. The Dutch Reformed Church celebrated the Holy Supper four times a year. During a sober ceremony, each Christian took a piece of bread and a sip of wine, the symbols of the sacrificed body and blood of Christ, the acceptance of which is believed to be sufficient to become pure in God's eyes. All communicant members (those who passed an examination in the Heidelberg Catechism in which the main doctrines of Calvinism are given) participated, but only after being asked by the visiting minister if any member had committed sins within the pure community of believers. If so, a member could be temporarily excluded from the celebrations. Church discipline was one of the cardinal characteristics of Calvinist doctrine.
50. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen ...*, op. cit., 69–98. Several school and church visitation reports made after 1668 have been preserved.
51. On the discovery of the Heurnius correspondence see Niemeijer, Hendrik E., "De correspondentie van Justus Heurnius als zendeling in de Molukken 1633–1638" (The correspondence of Justus Heurnius as a missionary in Maluku 1633–8), *DZOK*, VI, 1 (1999) 20–46.
52. Valentijn, François, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën ...* (Old and New East Indies...) (Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam/Amsterdam: Onder de Linden, 1724) III, 1<sup>st</sup> pt., 52.
53. Final report of departing Governor Gerard Demmer, 3 September 1647 in Knaap, G.J., *Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Reports from departing Governors of Ambon in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1987) 186–8.
54. ARA, VOC, 1271, fol. 107. Governor Jacob Cops (1669–72) to G.E. Rumphius in Hitu, 29 July 1669.
55. ARA, VOC, 1221, fol. 172r-175v. Governor Jacob Hustaert (1656–62) to Batavia, 1 May 1657.
56. ARA, VOC, 1271 fol. 82–3. Governor Anthonio Hurdt to Adriaan van den Pavort on Manipa, 6 February 1669.
57. ARA, VOC, 1271, fol. 258v. Resolutions of the Political Council of Amboina, 18 January 1669.
58. Rumphius, G.E., *Ambonsche Landbeschryving* (Description of the territories of Ambon), ed. Manusama, Z.J., (Jakarta: ANRI, Penerbitan Sumber Sumber Sejarah No. 15, 1983) 162; ARA, VOC, 1286, fol. 205v. *Dagh-register* (Daily remarks or chronicles kept by the secretary of the Political Council), Amboina, 29 July 1672.
59. Coolsma, Sierk, *De Zendingseeuw voor Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (The Age of Protestant Missions for the Dutch East-Indies) (Utrecht: Breijer, 1901) 692–6.

60. Niemeijer, Hendrik E., "Als een Lelye onder de Doornen. Kerk, kolonisatie en christianisering op de Banda-eilanden 1616–1635" (Like a Lily underneath the Thorns. Church, Colonization and Christianization on the Banda Islands 1616–35), *DZOK*, I, 1 (1994) 1–24.
61. Grothe, J.A., *Archief voor de Geschiedenis der Oude Hollandsche Zending* (Archive for the History of the Early Dutch Protestant Missions) (Utrecht: C. van Bentum, 1884–91) VI, 77; Reverend J. Heurnius to Gentlemen XVII in Amsterdam, 2 November 1628.
62. ARA, VOC, 1271, fol. 448r. Letter from the Political Council of Banda to Batavia, 18 September 1669.
63. The *Uli Lima* and *Uli Siwa* were the socio-political entities of Ambon, Banda and some peripheral islands like Aru. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, several Malukan *něgěri* (village communities, which were divided into several *soa*, neighbourhoods or hamlets) had united in 'brotherhoods' or village confederations against unfriendly neighbours. Originally, these *uli* consisted of three to eight villages. Some of the larger *uli* (Hitu and Luhu) might even be considered as the nuclei of 'states'. The *Uli Lima*, 'union of five', and the *Uli Siwa*, 'union of nine' — each number forming a cosmic order and the other's antagonist — became the most important. The confederations were arch-enemies. The island of Ambon was divided into these factions: Hitu belonged to the *Lima* confederation, and large parts of Leitimor to the *Siwa* confederation. Eventually, the *Uli Lima* converted to Islām, the *Uli Siwa* villages co-operated with the Portuguese and became Catholic, and later Protestant. See Knaap, G.J., "Tjengkeh, kompeni, agama. Hoofdlijnen uit de geschiedenis van de Ambonse eilanden 1500–1800" (Cloves, company, religion. Main topics in the history of the Ambonese islands 1500–1800) in *Sedjarah Maluku. Molukse geschiedenis in Nederlandse bronnen* (Sĕjarah Maluku: Malukan history in Dutch sources), eds. Knaap, G.J., Manuhutu, W., and Smeets, H., (Amsterdam: van Soeren & Co., 1992) 21.
64. ARA, VOC, 1275, fol. 373v–377r. Orders concerning the spread of the Gospel on Aru for Daniël Nieuwerk, Banda, 20 March 1670.
65. Pekar is Backer in Dutch sources. After his baptism he was named Frederick Backer. In 1668, the VOC fortress Delfshaven was built on Kisar. The implantation of soldiers fostered a mestizo population on the island, which was 'discovered' by 19<sup>th</sup>-century ethnographers. ARA, VOC, 1267, fol. 37r–40r. Report from Sergeant Jan Blinne concerning a voyage to Damar, Kisar, etc., 23 April 1668.
66. See for some contracts Heeres and Stapel, *Corpus Diplomaticum*, op. cit., II, 272–5, 321, 329, 331–2, 391–2, 431.
67. By contract of 5 August 1674 all five villages of Leti had accepted the overlordship of the VOC, including Batumiau and its village head 'Toetiequeer', probably the same person as Tuterakawera.

68. The Kisar-Damar region is well known for its beautiful golden artifacts. Jonge, de-, N., and Dijk, van-, T., *De Vergeten Eilanden. Kunst & Cultuur van de Zuidoost-Molukken* (The Forgotten Islands. Art and Culture of Southeast Maluku) (Amsterdam: Periplus, 1995) 111, give illustrations of the *mas piring* and *mas bulan* that were also used in religious ceremonies.
69. ARA, VOC, 1497, fol. 111v-138r. Letter of the Political Council of Banda to Batavia, 15 May 1691.
70. The sons of Malukan Muslim *orang kaya* were frequently sent to Grěsik on Java for their education. During the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the Malay Muslims of Batavia played an increasing role in the education of young Muslims, including Malukans. See Knaap, *Kruidnagelen ...*, op. cit., 81.
71. Jonge, de-, N., and Dijk, van-, T., op. cit., 53-7.
72. ARA, VOC, 1516, fol. 182v-188r. Church report from Reverend Jan de Graaf, 6 June 1692.
73. Coolsma, op. cit., 710-21.
74. *Kasisi*: word frequently used in 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century sources for Islāmic teachers who moved from one village to another.

## THE BUNGAYA TREATY OF 18 NOVEMBER 1667

There was nothing mutual in the Bungaya Treaty; it was an 'agreement' enforced by strength of arms. It was a multi-faceted horrendous document which needs to be absorbed by the reader to understand the world of 1667 and the power of the VOC, which was hardly an innocuous trading company; it was a brutal instrument of colonization. This is an abridged translation of the Treaty as cited in F.W. Stapel, *Het Bongaais Verdrag*, 1922: 237–47, translated by Leonard Andaya and reproduced from his *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1981) 305–7 with the kind permission of KITLV, Leiden. Only spellings have been altered to be consistent with the body of this book.

1. The treaty signed between Karaeng Popo, plenipotentiary of the government in Makasar [Goa] and the Governor-General and Council of the Indies in Batavia on 19 August 1660 and that between the Makasar government and Jacob Cau as Commissioner of the Company on 2 December 1660 shall be observed.
2. All European officials and subjects of the Company who have fled recently or in the past and still live in and around Makasar shall be delivered to the Admiral [Speelman] without delay.
3. All remaining ship equipment, cannon, specie, and other goods which had been taken from the *Walvisch* at Salayar and the *Leeuwin* on Don Duango shall be returned to the Company.
4. All those persons found guilty of the murder of various Dutchmen in different places shall receive prompt and appropriate justice before the Dutch Resident.
5. The king and nobles of Makasar shall pay the indemnity and all debts still owing to the Company by the next season at the latest.
6. All Portuguese and English shall be expelled from Makasar territory and never again be admitted to live here or carry

- on trade. No European nation will be allowed to enter or conduct trade in Makasar.
7. The Company alone shall have free trade and commerce in Makasar. No 'Indian' nations, whether 'Moors' [Indian Muslims], Javanese, Malays, Achehese, or Siamese shall be allowed to bring to market any Coromandel, Surat, Persian, or Bengal cloths and wares or any Chinese goods since only the Company will be allowed to do this. All offenders shall be punished and have their goods confiscated by the Company.
  8. The Company shall be exempt from all import and export tolls and duties.
  9. The government and subjects of Makasar may not sail anywhere but to Bali, the Java coast, Jakarta, Bantěn, Jambi, Palembang, Johor, and Borneo and must obtain passes from the Dutch Commander here. Those without passes shall be considered as enemies and shall be treated as such. No ships shall be sent to Bima, Solor, Timor, etc., anywhere east of the Hook of Lasso, north or east of Borneo, Mindanao or the islands in the vicinity, on pain of forfeiting both life and goods.
  10. All fortifications along the coastline of Makasar shall be destroyed: Barombong, Pa'nakkukang, Garassi, Mariso, Boro'boso. Only Sombaopu may be allowed to remain standing for the king.
  11. The Ujung Pandang fort shall be delivered to the Company in good order, along with the village and land belonging to it.
  12. Dutch coinage such as those used in Batavia shall be valid in Makasar.
  13. The king and nobles shall send the value of 1,000 men and women slaves, reckoned at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  taels or 40 Makasar gold *mas* each, to Batavia. Half shall be sent in June and the rest in the following season at the latest.
  14. The king and nobles of Makasar shall henceforth not interfere in the land of Bima and its territories.
  15. The Raja Bima and Karaeng Bontomarannu shall be delivered to the Company for punishment.
  16. All those taken from the Sultān of Butung in the last Makasar attack shall be returned. Compensation shall be paid for those who have since died or are unable to be returned.

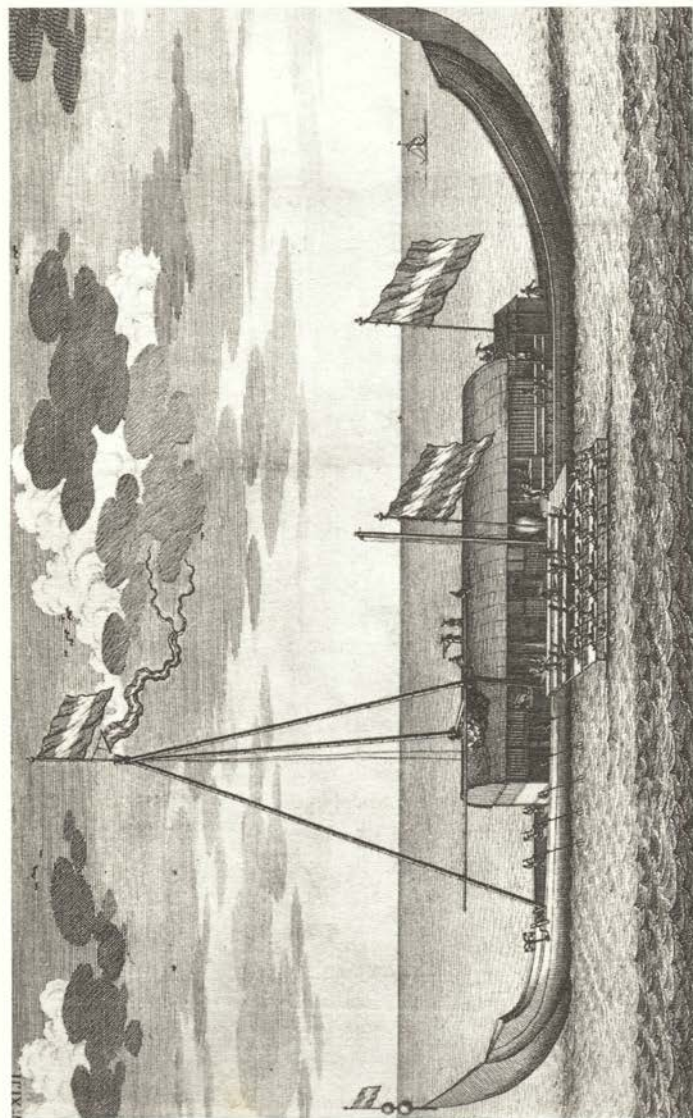
17. To the king of Těrnate shall also be restored all those people taken from the Sula Islands and some cannon and guns. Goa shall abandon all pretensions to overlordship over the islands of Salayar and Pansiano [Muna], the whole east coast of Celebes [Sulawěsi] from Měnado to Pansiano, the Banggai and Gapi Islands and others on the same coast, and the lands between Mandar and Měnado, which in the past have belonged to the crown of Těrnate.
18. Goa shall renounce all overlordship over the lands of Bugis and Luwu'. The old king of Soppeng [La Těnribali] and all his lands and people shall be set free, as well as other Bugis lords held prisoner in Makasar territory and women and children still held by the ruler of Goa.
19. The kings of Layo, Bangkala, and the whole of Turatea and Bajing and their lands shall be acknowledged as free.
20. All lands conquered by the Company and its allies, from Bulo-Bulo to Turatea, and from Turatea to Bungaya, shall remain Company lands by right of conquest.
21. The lands of Wajo', Bulo-Bulo, and Mandar shall be abandoned by the Goa government which shall never again assist them with people, weapons, etc.
22. All Bugis and Turatea men who have married Makasar women and all Makasar men who have married Bugis or Turatea women may keep their wives. Henceforth, any Makasar person hoping to live with the Bugis or Turatea people, or any Bugis or Turatea person hoping to live with the Makasar people, may only do so with the permission of the lawful lord and king concerned.
23. The Goa government shall keep its land closed to all other nations [except the Dutch]. It shall also come to the Company's assistance against its enemies in and around Makasar.
24. There shall be friendship and an alliance of the kings and nobles of Makasar and the kings of Těrnate, Tidore, Bacan, Butung, Bugis [Bone], Soppeng, Luwu', Turatea, Layo, Bajing, Bima, and other lords and rulers who in future may request to enter this alliance.
25. In any dispute between the allies, the Captain of the Dutchmen [i.e. the president or governor of Fort Rotterdam] shall be asked to mediate. If one party should disregard the mediation, then shall the general allies take appropriate action.

26. When this peace treaty is signed, sworn, and sealed, then shall the king and nobles of Makasar send two important lords with the Admiral [Speelman] to Batavia to present the treaty to the Governor-General and Council of the Indies. If the treaty should be approved, the Governor-General may hold two important princes as hostages as long as he sees fit.
27. Further to Article 6, the English and all their goods in Makasar shall be brought to Batavia.
28. Further to Article 15, if the Raja Bima and Karaeng Bontomarranu should not be found alive or dead within ten days, then the sons of these two lords shall be held as security.
29. The Goa government shall pay indemnity of 250,000 *rijksdaalders* in five successive seasons, whether in cannon, goods, gold, silver, or jewels.
30. The king of Makasar and his nobles, the Admiral on behalf of the Company, and all the kings and princes included in his alliance swore, signed, and sealed the treaty in the name of the Holy Lord on Friday, 18 November 1667.

## THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLĀM INTO CHAMPA

Pierre-Yves Manguin

The study of Cham history has long suffered from being treated as a sort of appendage of Vietnamese, or at best 'Indo-Chinese', studies. Champa, with its Austronesian language and culture, belongs as much to Insular Southeast Asia. Further, like Insulinde — the Indonesian Archipelago — Champa cannot be isolated from the maritime network which evolved in Southeast Asia and in the whole of Asia. Its study must be treated in a larger context.



An eastern Indonesian *kora-kora* — large rowing vessel with double outriggers, manned by anywhere from 50 to 200 men — from an engraving in François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*.

IN 1927, when studies on Champa flourished under the auspices of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Antoine Cabaton advanced two hypotheses to explain the introduction of Islām into Indo-China and more specifically into Champa: it could have been brought by 'Arab, Persian or Indian merchants from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, or it might have been introduced later "thanks to a Malay immigration".<sup>1</sup> Cabaton, lacking as yet the relevant data, did not commit himself clearly to either hypothesis. Half a century later, after a long interruption in Cham studies, new data can be added on this subject, which concerns essentially the period after the fall of the Cham capital of Vijaya in 1471.<sup>2</sup> The presentation of some of these results has seemed a good occasion for collecting, and organizing in some fashion, a catalogue of the very scattered sources for study, not to solve here all the problems that emerge — which demands diverse disciplines — but to propound and re-examine them in the light of the most recent research on Islām in Southeast Asia, and more particularly on the world of Nusantara.<sup>3</sup>

The study of Cham history has long suffered from being treated as a sort of appendage of Vietnamese, or at best 'Indo-Chinese', studies. Champa, with its Austronesian language and culture, belongs as much to Insular Southeast Asia.<sup>4</sup> Further, like Insulinde — the Indonesian Archipelago — Champa cannot be isolated from the maritime network which evolved in Southeast Asia and in the whole of Asia. Its study must be treated in a larger context.

The deciphering in 1922 by Paul Ravaisse of two 'Arabic inscriptions certainly constitutes the most tangible proof of the existence of a Muslim community in Champa in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, if it is accepted that their original position was on the coast of this country, which is very likely, but not certain.<sup>5</sup> The first stele, dated 21 November 1039, marked the tomb of a certain Abū Kāmil, 'The Guardian of Roads'. The lettering is "pure Fātimid Kūfīc, planned and executed according to the classical tradition". The second is in very rudimentary Kūfīc and much damaged, but Ravaisse could, none the less, deduce that it concerned "a public instruction designed to advise members of a colony of 'Arabs, Persians and Turks, how they should behave with the

people of the country in their trade, exchange of money and payment of contributions". Its date is lacking, but it would appear to be contemporary with the previous one.

The presence of these two stelae indicates nothing more than the existence in the 11<sup>th</sup> century of a community of Muslim merchants, strangers to the country. After having envisaged various other hypotheses, Ravaisse affirmed nothing further in his commentary.<sup>6</sup> Nothing could be more normal than this settlement, when it is recalled that Muslim merchants had resided in such great numbers in South China since the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The trading station in Champa was only one of the links in a long chain, which connected the Middle East with Africa and China. The funerary stelae of Leran (dated 1082) also testify to the existence of a Muslim community in Java, close to the port of Grěsik (it will be noted that during the reign of Airlanga, that is to say in the same period when the stelae of Champa were created, inscriptions cite the Chams amongst those who frequented the port of Grěsik).<sup>7</sup> These communities were "before all, it must be emphasized, stages of transit and commerce, born of private initiative and of the needs of thriving business with distant lands".<sup>8</sup> Was not Champa "bounded by the seas upon which passed the ships of all nations?"<sup>9</sup> Ravaisse was even astonished that this land had not known the settlement of foreign Muslim colonies of greater importance. But if Champa could, by reason of its position, exercise a form of control over the Trans-Asian maritime route, it was of little importance economically, a small link in this system, into which it injected some luxury products drawn from its forests. There was nothing to justify the installation of a colony of foreign merchants as important as that of South China.

'Arab and Persian geographers often mention the Muslim colonies in South China, but for the most part they are very brief when they speak of Champa, and are content to remark that it is the country that produces the best aloeswood. None the less, one witness confirms the presence of Middle-Eastern Muslims in this country. The author is al-Dimashkī. His cosmography, written about 1325, is confused and often demands to be treated with caution, but it does contain original information, as the following citation testifies:<sup>10</sup>

"... the country of Champa, with its principal town of the same name ... peopled by Muslims, Christians<sup>11</sup> and idolaters. The Muslim religion went there in the time of

Othman ... and the Alids, expelled by the Omeyyads and by Hajjaj, took refuge there ...".<sup>12</sup>

In the 1320s, that is five or six centuries after the events related, there could certainly be seen only a memory of the foundation of an 'Alid<sup>13</sup> colony in Champa. It will be recalled that the inscription on the tomb of Abū Kāmil, the 'Guardian of Roads', according to S.Q. Fatimi, seems certainly to belong to the Shī'a school.

The Song<sup>14</sup> sources furnish a second series of data relevant to Islām and Champa. They concern the persons who, in Southeast Asia and the ports of South China, had the family name which the Chinese generally transliterate as *pu*.<sup>15</sup> Following F. Hirth, W.W. Rockhill, Kuwabara Jitsuzo and Lo Xiang-lin,<sup>16</sup> it has generally been accepted that this *pu* represented the 'Arabic Abū, and that consequently all who bore this patronymic were either 'Arabs, or simply Muslims. Gabriel Ferrand for his part denounced this theory, which he stigmatized as *idola libri*,<sup>17</sup> and has proposed to see in *pu* a transliteration of *pu/mpu/pǝ*,<sup>18</sup> a title used in various Nusantara languages. W. Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan, after having noted that the patronymic *Pu* is attested in China since the Han, and that it is further used in diverse titles, have advanced the hypothesis that all who bear such a name are by no means necessarily of 'Arab origin (or Muslims in religion).<sup>19</sup> Until this problem has become the object of a study in greater depth by Sinologists, no definitive ruling can be given on the question.

The problem, which concerns not only Southeast Asia, but also South China, touches Cham studies in more than one respect. When the Cham king resumed relations with China — which was commencing to reunify — he despatched there in 951 a first embassy; in the course of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries a number of others followed. Amongst these ambassadors some had as the first character of their names, which the Chinese historians attributed to them, the character *pu*. In support of the thesis that Abū equals Pu, the example has often been cited of the first ambassador Pu He San — who went to China several times between 951 and 972 — and whose name has been restored as Abū al-Hassan. Apart from this, other ambassadors have names which commence with *pu*, *bu* or *bo*.<sup>20</sup> It is further known that the famous Muslim families, Pu of Guangzhou (Canton) and of Quanzhou, both of 'Arab origin, and who had arrived in China under the Song, had previously lived in Champa.<sup>21</sup>

Another series of events reported by these same Chinese literary sources, and complemented by certain oral traditions, seems further to confirm the presence of Muslim colonies on the coast of Champa. Following the usurpation of the crown by the Vietnamese Luu Ký Tông, an emigration developed from 986 from Champa to South China. Some hundred 'foreigners from Champa' arrived in that year in Hainan, led by a certain Pu Lo E. Nearly 500 others at Canton demanded the protection of China; they had at their head Li Nian Bing in 987 and Hu Xuan in 988.<sup>22</sup> If it is admitted, as has several times been proposed, that the restoration of *Hu Xuan* is Ḥusayn (the *hu* easily renders the 'Arabic ḥ'), then again it is a question of Muslims having come from Champa.<sup>23</sup> Indeed one of the traditions of the Muslim minority of Sanya shi, a port on the South of Hainan facing the Indo-Chinese coast, claims that these people had previously lived in Champa.<sup>24</sup> This is confirmed by various written sources, amongst which is the genealogy of the Pu family of Sanya shi, which states that these 'foreigners' of South Hainan came from Champa.<sup>25</sup> A linguistic study — unfortunately somewhat superficial, because it is based on the very limited vocabulary brought back by Stübel — has finally recognized a certain affinity between the language of this Muslim community and Cham (or at any rate an Austronesian tongue in which a Mon-Khmer substratum is apparent).<sup>26</sup>

At the present stage of research, it must at least be noted that the convergence of the collected Chinese and 'Arab data previously cited cannot be ignored, for they indisputably establish that at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century there were links between Champa, the colonies of Muslim merchants in South China, and the Pu families. Without prejudicing results which will be furnished by further research on Islām in the Far East, and the use made in Chinese sources of the patronym *Pu*, the most likely hypothesis is to reduce the sum of this evidence to the existence in Champa, certainly in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps even at an earlier period, of a community of Middle-Eastern Muslim merchants, who had connection with their co-religionists in South China. It is evident that such a colony would have had contacts with the Cham people. That Chams would have been converted through this contact, and that there would have been mixed marriages, is also very possible. But as in the rest of Southeast Asia, these conversions would probably have remained isolated phenomena, limited to commercial circles having rela-

tions with the foreign communities. These foreign Muslims (or converted Chams) could none the less have been in direct contact with the Hindu Sovereign. It is known from Ibn Rusta [Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Rusta], who was writing about 903, that an 'Arab merchant [Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq]<sup>27</sup> had stayed for two years at the court of the Khmer Sovereign.<sup>28</sup> It can well be imagined that the Cham king, knowing the influential position of the Muslim colonies in China, would have had as his representatives at the imperial court 'Arab merchants resident in Champa, who had useful contacts in China, and whose language, unlike Cham, would have been readily understood in Chinese circles concerned with foreign commerce. There are other examples of ambassadors chosen by Asian sovereigns from amongst merchants of foreign colonies.<sup>29</sup> But if these Muslim strangers could in fact exercise in Champa a certain power in commercial and diplomatic matters, it is unlikely that they had thereby influenced the culture of the Cham people.<sup>30</sup>

In the literature and oral traditions of Java there frequently figures a country called *Chěmpa*, which is generally associated with the introduction of Islām into the island and the fall of Majapait. It is generally considered to be the Champa of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, but this has not yet been established with any certitude, and it is necessary to take into account various contrary hypotheses, until the question has been resolved by research in greater depth.<sup>31</sup>

The most frequently quoted theme, which the legend has incorporated, is that of the *Putri Chěmpa*, 'the Princess of Chěmpa'. It is found principally in three Javanese and Sundanese texts: *Sěrat Kanda*,<sup>32</sup> *Babad Tanah Djawi*,<sup>33</sup> and *Sějarah Bantěn*.<sup>34</sup>

The variations of these diverse texts, in so far as they concern this episode, are many, as are the details of their development and the names of the persons involved. But the central theme remains the same.<sup>35</sup> The King of Chěmpa receives in his country a traveller, a zealous Muslim come from the Middle East (Raja Pandita Mustakim/Makdum Brahim Asmara/Pandita Ariffin).<sup>36</sup> The latter converts the King and all his people to Islām. The Hindu Sovereign of Majapait takes to wife the Muslim daughter of the King (Darawati/Putri Chěmpa/Andrawati). The 'Arab traveller had meanwhile espoused another daughter of the Sovereign, a sister of Putri Chěmpa. They have a child (Sayyid Raḥmat/Raden Raḥmat), who when he grows up joins his aunt

in Java,<sup>37</sup> where he is given the fief of Ampel (Ngampel), near Surabaya, by the Sovereign of Majapait. There he converts the people to Islām, and under the name of Sunan Ampel will later be counted amongst the Nine Saints (*Walī Sanga*) to whom Javanese tradition attributes the introduction of Islām to the island. His son (Raden Bonang/Santri Bonang/Pangeran Bonang) was also one of the Walī Sanga (under the name of Sunan Bonang) and his granddaughter married his disciple Raden Patah, who founded the Muslim Sultānate of Dĕmak and took the *kraton* (royal compound) of Majapait.<sup>38</sup>

The Putri Chĕmpa, who is most spoken of, was in fact a minor character in the tradition, and her children (when she had any, which is not the case in the *Babad Tanah Djawi*) do not play an important part. It was her sister, of unknown name, the wife in Chĕmpa of the Muslim Saint, from whom were sprung the two Javanese *Walīs* (Saints).

It is not possible to date these events with precision, for the data furnished by the different traditions are contradictory. Only the *Sĕrat Kanda* gives the chronograms of the episodes related: Raden Patah founded Dĕmak in 1326 *Śaka* (AD 1404); the Princess Darawati (Putri Chĕmpa) died in 1320 *Śaka* (AD 1398). But a tomb in the cemetery at Trawulan, close to the site of Majapait, which is considered by oral tradition to be the burial place of Putri Chĕmpa, carries the date 1370 *Śaka* (AD 1448).<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the tomb of Sunan Ampel, who died in 1467, is found in the place from which he derives his name. Historians are in general agreement in dating the seizure of power by the Muslim principalities of Pasisir, with Dĕmak at their head, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>. But the question does not seem solved as to whether this entailed the 'fall' of the *kraton* of Majapait, as it is described in tradition. Many elements remain for the time being irreconcilable, and in so far as this study is concerned, there will be retained only the theory based upon those traditions, which postulate the intervention in the conversion to Islām of Java of persons coming from a country which, until more facts are available, is hypothetically considered to be Champa.

A Javanese text from Cirĕbon, discovered only recently, also makes reference on several occasions to Makka, Chĕmpa and Java. It affirms amongst other things that instruction in Qur'ānic law was given in Chĕmpa by celebrated *maulānās*,<sup>40</sup> one of whom had married the daughter of the Sovereign.<sup>41</sup>

This pattern seems fully confirmed in the lesser known Javanese texts in which Chĕmpa is always associated with the spread of Islām.<sup>42</sup> The texts which describe the genealogies of the *walīs* belong to the same tradition as the preceding, like those which give the genealogies of the prophets, or those of the Javanese kings.<sup>43</sup> But there exist other traditions, which associate Chĕmpa with the spread of Islām in the Archipelago. A text of Pasisir (Cirĕbon), the 'Romance of Sela Rasa' tells the story of four princes of Chĕmpa named Selangkara, Sela Gada, Sela Cara and Sela Rasa, sons of King Sek Beren. The eldest, Selangkara, seizes power on the death of his father, and expels his three brothers; these have many adventures and wage war against the *kāfīrs* (unbelievers), whom they convert to Islām.<sup>44</sup>

A Javan-Balinese text, the *Kĕbo Mundar*, half-history, half-legend, traces the introduction of Islām back to Chĕmpa by a man, the son of a dog, and a princess, the daughter of a sow. A second version of the same text replaces Chĕmpa with Lombok.<sup>45</sup>

The Javanese encyclopaedic novel, *Jatiswara* again establishes links between Chĕmpa and Islām.<sup>46</sup> The story commences in Chĕmpa: King Durnafi has a son, Ji Mortala, who in turn has two sons; the elder succeeds him under the name of Aji Duta Samsu Mukdim. The younger, Ji Lalana, has two sons: Ki Sajati and Jatiswara, who as a *maulānā* goes to Java. Jatiswara has many adventures. The story is mixed with lessons in theology and Islāmic mysticism.<sup>47</sup>

To accept the part played during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in the conversion to Islām of Java and the Archipelago by these people from Chĕmpa is not tantamount to admitting that Champa had become Muslim. The conversion of the King and his people, emphasized by the texts cited, is contradicted elsewhere. This period is still relatively well known from epigraphy and archaeology, which both testify to the religion officially practised by the Cham Sovereign: Mahāyāna Buddhism was progressively abandoned during the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in favour of Śaivism and Vishnuism.<sup>48</sup> The first European travellers systematically confirm these facts and seem to extend them to the mass of the people.

Marco Polo notes the religion practised in the countries which he visited, opposing, as would many Europeans after him, the 'idolators' to the Muslims (the importance of his evidence is shown by the precise details which he gives about the kingdoms of Northern Sumatra, where Islām was making its beginnings). He

went to Champa in the 1280s, and was emphatic concerning the King and his people, "all are idolaters".<sup>49</sup> Half a century later, Friar Odoric of Pordenone<sup>50</sup> in his turn visited Champa, but he only confirms the sacrifice of widows, the *sati*: "when a married man dies in this country, his body is burned and his widow with it".<sup>51</sup>

The state religion of Champa at this period was, then, Hinduism. But it is reasonable to suppose that Muslims made progress in circles close to the Court, whether they were strangers, like the holy man of Javanese tradition, or Cham converts, like the Muslim wife of the same person and her sister Putri Chĕmpa. According to a legend, which appears in a Cham manuscript from Vietnam, a certain Pō Klaū bārāhū — a dignitary whose name is attested nowhere else — had been raised in a Muslim family and had subsequently refused to allow his brother Pō sanimpat to marry the Hindu Princess Pō sah inā.<sup>52</sup> These groups of converts close to the Court very probably included merchants, who had frequented the Muslim kingdoms of the Archipelago, or even of India. In Champa, as elsewhere in Nusantara, the merchants would have been in close contact with the King and his Court, who could control exports and finance commercial voyages.<sup>53</sup> Even at Majapait, the cemeteries of Trâlâyā in Trawulan, close to the site of the Kraton, with Muslim tombstones dating from the most glorious period of the Kingdom (1368, 1376, etc.), attest without any doubt that there had been individual conversions to Islām in circles close to the Court.<sup>54</sup>

The question which now arises is whether a break in continuity must be introduced between Middle-Eastern and Chinese evidence relative to the period from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and that furnished by Javanese sources, which cannot be prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The early evidence is easily limited to the activity of colonies of foreign Muslim merchants in the ports of India, of Nusantara (from Srivijaya to Champa) and South China. But can the evidence of the second group be regarded as prolonging the activity of these colonies in Champa, or should it be considered as forming part of the contemporary Islāmic movement, which from the 13<sup>th</sup> century was spreading over Nusantara until the almost total conversion to the new religion in the 17<sup>th</sup> century? The passage from one to the other of these periods constitutes the core problem of the conversion of this region to Islām and is as yet far from being resolved.<sup>55</sup> The state of knowledge about Champa does not permit of any new solution to this question.

In what concerns more particularly Champa, the evidence, which will be cited further on, is categoric in asserting that Islām was not established in that country before the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which *a priori* would appear irreconcilable with what has been said previously. But most of the authors cited, frequenting the Muslim states of Southeast Asia since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, were accustomed to contrast them with other countries, where Islām was not the religion of state and was not established outside cosmopolitan commercial circles. It goes without saying that, for these observers, Muslims would have been present in various capacities in these 'idolatrous' or 'gentile' states (which formed an integral part of the commercial network of the China Sea), without playing there any preponderant part, either by the quality or quantity of conversions to the new religion.

On this account, before continuing it is necessary to try to define what can be understood from these sources by 'Conversion to Islām'. Different definitions have been given. Louis-Charles Damais, for his part, thought that the term could only be used when the King and his Court officially adopted Islām and carried with them the rest of the people.<sup>56</sup> This restrictive definition applies well to the process which developed at the time of the conversion of the little coastal kingdoms of the Javanese Pasisir. But the reverse process could also be true, in which the merchant population of a maritime town was converted to Islām, and thus carried with it the Sovereign, who was in large measure dependent upon it. This happened at Patani towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>57</sup> at Brunei at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>,<sup>58</sup> at Makasar at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup>,<sup>59</sup> and it is what happened at Champa, during at least a short period in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Here a broader definition of conversion to Islām will be adopted, which will take into account only the result of the process, without considering the order in which it developed: a kingdom will be defined as Muslim when the Sovereign, his Court and a notable portion of the population have been converted. This said, the importance of the precise date is relative: conversion most often only ratifies an existing state of affairs, and constitutes no more than a stage in a process of long duration.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is in Chinese sources that are found the first precise indications of the religion practised in Champa; they are to be found in the accounts collected during the great Ming expeditions made under the command of Zheng He [Chêng Ho].

Ma Huan was an eyewitness, since between 1413 and 1433 he took part in three of these voyages, and in his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (1433) furnished information worthy of belief. Himself a Muslim, he took care to note for other states, such as Aru, Lambri, and Mēlaka, that the kings, like the people, were Muslims (*huihui*). As far as the ports of the Javanese Pasisir were concerned, he notes that only a fraction of the population had been converted. At Champa, on the other hand, he notes that the King "follows the doctrine of Shi", that is to say Sakyamuni, in other words, he was a Buddhist.<sup>60</sup> Ma Huan confuses Buddhism with Hinduism (Mahayanism had disappeared two centuries previously), but this confusion is comprehensible on the part of a Chinese Muslim, who in addition might have referred to earlier sources, while he could not have failed to recognize Islām, if it had been practised officially. Gong Zhen, who also participated in one of these expeditions of Zheng He, confirms the indications of Ma Huan (1433) in his *Xiyang fanguo zhi* (1434).<sup>61</sup>

The *Sējara Mēlayu*, in a passage devoted to Champa,<sup>62</sup> indirectly furnishes information about the religion which was practised there by a son of the Sovereign (whom the text calls Indera Berma Shah [Indravarman?], his wife (Kini Mernam) and his suite in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. When, after the fall of Vijaya in 1471, they took refuge at Mēlaka, where Sultān Mansūr Shāh (d. 1477) was reigning, they had to embrace Islām.<sup>63</sup> It is evident then that they were not Muslims before their arrival, and it can safely be concluded that the Cham Sovereign was not Muslim either. Of the other Prince, his brother (*Shāh Palembang*, or *Shāh Pau Ling* (*Pō Liang?*), according to the manuscripts), who took refuge in Acheh, nothing is said concerning his religion.<sup>64</sup>

The *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires is the first Portuguese document to speak of the religion of the Chams. "The King is a gentile... .<sup>65</sup> There are no Moors in the kingdom."<sup>66</sup> Written between 1512 and 1515, during its author's stay in Mēlaka, the *Suma Oriental*, by its luxuriance of detail and its exactitude, constitutes an exceptional document.

In what concerns more particularly the information given by Tomé Pires on the religion of the Chams, in order to appreciate its full weight, it must be recalled what importance the Portuguese attached to the religion of the people with whom they dealt, in distinguishing clearly between the 'gentiles' and those who followed, in the words of the *Suma Oriental*, "the false and diabolical doctrine of the abominable, ignominious and false

Mahomet, chief of all the vain Moorish religion".<sup>67</sup> Tomé Pires specifies for the whole of Southeast Asia the religion of the king as well as that of the people, and notes, when he can, the percentage of the latter, who have embraced Islām (in Maluku), the date of the introduction of the new religion (in Borneo and Maluku), the presence of Muslim colonies in a 'gentile' country (in Siam). His categorical affirmation concerning Champa could have been furnished in the very city of Mēlaka by Cham merchants, of whom he says elsewhere that they resort frequently to this city.<sup>68</sup>

Duarte Barbosa, who composed his description of Asia about 1518, only a few years after Tomé Pires, is a less reliable source than his predecessor as far as Southeast Asia is concerned, for he never visited it.<sup>69</sup> None the less, he confirms Pires and deserves to be quoted: "... a large island<sup>70</sup> of gentiles, which is called Champa, and which has a gentile king ...".

It is probably about this time (in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) that Cham art — statuary and architecture — gives the last authentic proof of Śaivism practised as a state religion. In spite of the Cham tradition which makes Pō ramō a king of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>71</sup> it is necessary to see the temple of the same name as a structure dating from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>72</sup> The *mukhalingga* of Pō Klaū garai,<sup>73</sup> which Jean Boisselier considers as 'the last authentic image', belongs to this same style of Pō ramō and its installation could date from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>74</sup>

In the last years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, projects for the conquest of Southeast Asia saw the light, fomented specially by certain circles in Manila linked with the Dominicans, and to a lesser extent in Mēlaka, under the inspiration of the Bishop, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio.<sup>75</sup> By reason especially of the part played in Cambodia by a handful of Portuguese and Spanish adventurers, they have produced abundant documentation on that country and its neighbours, which has been extensively used by such authors as A. Cabaton, L.P. Briggs and then B.P. Groslier and C.R. Boxer.<sup>76</sup> Amongst the countries which it was proposed to conquer (Acheh, Java, Siam, Vietnam and even China), Champa holds a prominent place: its key position on the maritime Trans-Asian route made it an object of envy to many. But the reasons invoked to justify its conquest were not always so straightforward: its king was treated as a pirate, he was accused of indulging in human sacrifices and collecting the bile of his sub-

jects (to bathe in), and above all favouring the expansion of Islām in his country, while he, himself, was a pagan.

The collections of documents used by the authors previously cited (Boxer excepted) had been printed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and are therefore secondary sources. A large proportion of the original manuscripts is still preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (Archives of the Indies) at Seville. Amongst these there exists a description of Champa, collectively drafted at Manila on 7 December 1595 by a certain number of the participants in the recent events in Cambodia, amongst whom Diogo Veloso noted that he had obtained his information from the Cham colony in Cambodia, while Gregorio de Vargas Machuca, Blas Ruiz de Hernán Gonzalez and Francisco de Sagredo declared that they had obtained their information in Champa, itself, where they had been held prisoner. Here is an extract:

In this Kingdom [there are] many Mahometans, and the King desires, and is pleased that the doctrine of Mahomet should be spoken of and taught, and for this purpose there are found many mosques. There are also many other temples of the gentiles.<sup>77</sup>

All printed documents and manuscripts assert that the king is a 'gentile' (that is to say a non-Muslim), and they describe both the carts on which the 'pagodas' (images) are taken in procession and the *sati* of the widows of dignitaries of the kingdom.<sup>78</sup> Another document of the period confirms this information, and in particular the part played by Brunei in the propagation of Islām.

It is a cause for shame to consider that amongst this population by way of Brunei and other Mahometan [countries] there are spread the venom and poison of their false doctrine.<sup>79</sup>

This collection of Iberian documents from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century could be impugned for partiality, in view of the avowed objective which it proposed. But an early Dutch document, slightly later, confirms it with interesting details. In October 1607, the fleet of Admiral Cornelis Matelief, when returning from China, anchored for some ten days at Champa in order to take on provisions. The king resided, it seems, at Phan-ri ("he held his Court to the north of the cape situated at 11° of latitude"). He was a pagan, but the '*orang kaya*' who came aboard

was a Muslim.<sup>80</sup> The 'young king', the brother of the reigning one, "wished to embrace the religion of the Moors, but he dared not do so because of his brother". The king entertained good relations with the Muslim Court of Johor.<sup>81</sup>

It seems, then, that this was a crucial stage in the introduction of Islām into the country. Following the usual pattern, the dignitaries in charge of foreign relations had been converted to the new religion (and certain merchants would also have been). The king, himself, remained attached to the religion practised by his ancestors, but the rising generation (his young brother in this case) was ready for conversion. The Cham royal chronicles attest clearly that the succession of a younger brother was habitual in Champa. Following these same chronicles, it would seem that Pō nit was then reigning, and it was in fact his brother, Pō jaiparan, who succeeded.<sup>82</sup> But nothing is said about the religion that he practised.

The conversion to Islām of a part of the population is again confirmed by diverse sources in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Fr. Escalona OFM, passing along the Cham coast in 1640, saw his ship attacked by "numbers of natives of this kingdom ... Mahometan people..."<sup>83</sup>

The information noted in October 1665 by M. Hainques, first priest of the Missions Étrangères to traverse the region, confirms it again:

The greater part of the native subjects of the country ... are infected with the errors of the Sarazins [Muslims]; but none the less he did not notice any mosque in the towns that were on his route, and he remarked that chiefly those who live in the country are so ignorant of the religion that they profess that all the indications are that, by the grace of God, it would be easy to get them to pass to our holy religion, if Verity and Morality were explained to them.<sup>84</sup>

And again in 1675:

They are almost all committed to Mahometism, of which they observe only the smallest part, because they are ignorant of most of its doctrines and usages.<sup>85</sup>

M. Mahot MEP was the first priest to have been attached to the Champa mission, where he disembarked at the end of 1676; he stayed there until the end of 1678, principally occupied with Vietnamese Christians. It is from him that there comes the first

precise information about the spread of Islām and, above all, he is the first to mention the conversion of the Cham Sovereign:

The King and one part of the Kingdom are Mahometans, but ignorant; the other part is buried in paganism.<sup>86</sup>

As for the state of religion in this Kingdom, the Malays, who are Mahometans, have been much more vigilant than we; they immigrated and settled<sup>87</sup> in great numbers; they attracted the King and his whole Court to their accursed religion.<sup>88</sup>

The Chams, of whom more than half are Moors with the King, without however understanding their religion; the other part worship the sky, and in their sicknesses, or in accidents which overtake them, offer sacrifices to devils to be cured.<sup>89</sup>

The King is a Mahometan... . The King and his Mahometan people having retired twenty leagues from the seacoast, into the interior of the Kingdom ...<sup>90</sup>

In 1685, M. Feret MEP in turn bears witness to the Muslim religion of the Sovereign and received from the Missions Étrangères a copy of *al-Qur'ān* for his personal use.<sup>91</sup>

Dutch sources corroborate the documents emanating from the French missionaries, which affirm the conversion of the king to Islām. In a letter written by the Cham Sovereign to the Governor-General at Batavia, he carries the manifestly Malay title of Paduka Seri Sulṭān (Paducca Siry Sulṭhān).<sup>92</sup> The use of the title Sulṭān confirms his adhesion to Islām.<sup>93</sup> This letter, which is known only in its Dutch version, translated word for word from the Malay,<sup>94</sup> was brought in May 1680 to the capital of the Netherlands Indies by two ambassadors of the Cham King, the Orangkaya Poeranja Mantri and Intche (or Intie) Noman.<sup>95</sup>

The Muslim King of Champa, who was reigning during the period 1676–85,<sup>96</sup> had three brothers, Muslims like himself, living at Ayudhya. One of them 'is held in great consideration' at Court; he translated into the Cham language the letters of Constance Faulkon and of the Fathers of the Missions Étrangères to the King, his brother.<sup>97</sup> But his two brothers took part in a Muslim revolt in Ayudhya in 1686. Fr. Tachard SJ has left this account:

Three sons of the late King of Champa escaped here on the accession to the crown of their elder brother, for fear of being

ill-treated. Of these three brothers, one is close to the King and an officer of the household, and did not belong to the faction, and the two others lived as private persons... [The youngest] joined with a Malay captain, also born in Champa, a man of courage, of capacity, and of letters, ... and it was he, with one of their priests, who organized the whole affair.

The insurrection was prepared jointly with the Makasarese, the Malays and the Muslim Chams of Ayudhya, and directed by the demands of the Cham princes "who had resolved to crown the youngest brother of His Majesty, and then to give him the choice between the turban [conversion to Islām], or death", before, said Fr. Tachard, placing one of themselves on the throne.<sup>98</sup>

Between 1607, the date at which it is known that the Cham King was still a Hindu, and 1676, when it was learned that he was a Muslim, nearly 70 years elapsed, during which time there is no evidence which specifies the religion of the Sovereign. The Cham royal chronicles, according to the different versions, enumerate seven or nine sovereigns over this period,<sup>99</sup> and it was, then, under one of them that Champa had been, strictly speaking, converted to Islām.

What can be learned from Cham sources and oral traditions for this period? Tradition has it that the famous king, Pō ramō (1627–51, according to E. Aymonier, confirmed by Pō Dharma), a clever politician, succeeded in putting an end to the quarrels between the Cham *bani* (Muslims) and *kāfir* (unbelievers) and initiated the presence of *bani* priests at certain Hindu ceremonies, and of Hindu priests at the masjid during the celebration of Ramaḍān.<sup>100</sup> But tradition also says that at his death he was cremated and also preserves the memory of the *sati* of the widows of the Sovereign.<sup>101</sup> It seems, none the less, that one of the wives of Pō ramō might have been Muslim.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, the manuscript *Mābalai*, studied by Aymonier, refers clearly to a king, during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to whom the Cham *bani* (Cham Muslims) 'owe their happiness'. Pō thaut "ceaselessly called together the turtle-doves (the people) to make them embrace Islam", says this manuscript; but oral tradition affirms that he was a *kāfir*. Tradition also refers to a certain king, Pō Klaū gahul, whose tomb is preserved in the dune (*gahul*) of Phan-ri, where even today only Muslims are buried. This tradition states, on the other hand, according to Aymonier, that no king had been

Muslim, except perhaps a certain Pō li ('Alī?), who is not mentioned in the chronicles. In the burial enclosure of Pō nraup, successor of Pō ramō, are found the tombs of two of his wives; according to tradition one was *kāfir* and the other *bani*.<sup>103</sup>

It is, then, still impossible to get precise information on this subject from either the royal chronicles or Cham tradition. From reading them, or reading the commentaries based upon oral tradition, one constant fact emerges: during the 17<sup>th</sup> century the spread of Islām was a phenomenon which stood out prominently. This accords with what is known from European sources.

A Dutch witness of 1644 none the less gives the impression that at that date the Sovereign had not yet been converted. In fact in July of that year, during the reception of Domkes by the King at his hunting lodge at Cana, the latter confided to the Dutchman his opinion about the accession to the throne of King Barom Reachea VI (Paranaraja) of Cambodia, who upon embracing Islām had taken the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm in 1642; an accession which is known from other sources to have been assisted by the Cham and Malay communities in Cambodia.<sup>104</sup> The Cham King told him that Ibrāhīm had acted traitorously, and that he completely failed to understand the course of events. He, himself, had been a firm ally of the previous King, and since the atrocious murder committed by Ibrāhīm in 1642, he considered the alliance broken.<sup>105</sup> Did he fear similar events — a Muslim *coup d'état* — might occur at home? Was he merely condemning the doubtful manner of the accession to the throne of the new Khmer King and the murder of the Dutch in 1643? If this Cham King could be identified with Pō ramō of the chronicle (1627–51, according to E. Aymonier and Pō Dharma), whom tradition makes a Hindu, it would seem that there is a new presumption, very weak it is true, in favour of his having continued in this religion.<sup>106</sup>

It was then, in any case, between 1607 and 1676 that the Cham king embraced Islām and, if these presumptions are confirmed, after 1644. Of the religion practised by the Sovereigns who succeeded this king, or these kings, the later sources as yet accessible unfortunately say nothing. Little was said about Champa in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, before the first studies on this country appeared from the pens of J. Moura and then of E. Aymonier.<sup>107</sup> Finally the account of the visit of the French frigate *La Galathée* to Phan-ri in 1720 should be recalled, in which it is affirmed that 'Mahométism' is one of the dominant religions, and that "idolatry also reigns there".<sup>108</sup> A century later, the

priests of the Missions Étrangères furnish the first detailed descriptions of the religions practised in Champa, amongst which Islām holds a prominent position; but nothing is said of the religion of the Sovereign.<sup>109</sup>

The study of the style of statuary confirms the written sources. The last Cham statues were replaced by the *kut*, funerary stela, which according to J. Boisselier testify to "a deliberate intention of eliminating the human figure". The influence of Islām is doubtlessly not to be excluded; "the *kut* of the Phan-ri region are not without relation to the Muslim tombs of Java, to which resemblances are found in certain stela in the Cham Muslim cemeteries in Cambodia".<sup>110</sup>

There remains, then, one single certitude: the Cham Sovereigns embraced Islām in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It could be considered that at this period Champa was converted to Islām, but without going as far as to state that this conversion had been definitive, since it is not known if the following kings continued to profess the new religion. The course of development was further interrupted by extraneous factors (the annexation by Vietnam), so that the conversion can finally be considered as having been only partial. The Sovereigns and an important part of the population were converted, more than half about 1676, according to M. Mahot MEP, only a third in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Binh-thuân (was emigration to Cambodia the cause of this decline?). As elsewhere in Nusantara, the remainder of the population would probably have followed; if the Cham immigrants in Cambodia are counted, almost 80 per cent of the total Cham population was converted.<sup>111</sup>

It is not inappropriate, in order to understand the process by which Champa received Islām, to look more closely at the relations of this country with neighbouring Muslim states and with Muslim colonies residing in non-Muslim states, reviewing what has already been said above and amplifying it, if possible, with further evidence.

It has already been noted that a Cham colony was established in Mēlaka at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Chams likewise had an important colony in Cambodia, whose political schemings were shared with those of the far less numerous Malay colony. The collusion of these two colonies had put upon the throne in 1642 the Khmer Sultān Ibrāhīm; their alliance, however, was already evident in 1599, when the rebels having at their head the Cham, Pō rat, and a Malay known only by his title

Laksamana, after having destroyed a Spanish expedition, had assassinated the young Khmer King, and had finally taken refuge in Champa.<sup>112</sup> In Siam in 1686–7, the Cham Muslims plotted again in collusion with the Malay and Makasarese colonies.

On the other hand, good relations between the King of Champa and the Sulṭān of Johor were mentioned by the Dutch in 1607. It is known that in 1594 the Cham King had sent help to assist the Sulṭān of Johor in his combat with the Portuguese of Mēlaka.<sup>113</sup>

The Chams had had their share in the maritime commerce of Southeast Asia and continued to participate in these exchanges, despite the progressive weakening of their country. Tradition in West Java speaks of a certain Juragan (captain) Kadirinyah, or Ḥajī Dulkadir [Dhu'l Qādir], a captain from Chēmpa, who took part in a pilgrimage to Makka.<sup>114</sup> In the *Sējarah Mēlayu* chapter which describes the organization of rituals at the newly-converted Court of Mēlaka, the only strangers to be allocated places in the Hall of Audience by name were the Cham captains of high rank (*nakhoda Champa yang pilehan*).<sup>115</sup> Nearly a century later,<sup>116</sup> there is mention of another Cham *nakhoda*, named Saidi Aḥmad, who helped Hang Nadim to carry off Tun Teja, daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, and to bring her in his ship so that Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mēlaka might marry her. As a reward he received, apart from rich presents, the title of *Tun Setia diraja* (Winstedt version) or of *Shah Andeka Menteri* (Shellabear version) and permission to stand at the foot of the Sulṭān's throne with the heralds (*bēntara*).<sup>117</sup> The name which the ship's captain bears makes him a Muslim. One of the Shahbandars of Mēlaka at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese was in charge of, amongst other merchants, those coming from Champa, and Cham ships were found both at Pahang and in Siam.<sup>118</sup> Some 40 years later, Fernão Mendes Pinto — the author of the famous *Peregrinaçam* — noted at Patani "many Cham and Minangkabau Moors".<sup>119</sup> A little later he fought a pirate squadron commanded by the Gujarātī Khoja Ḥasan, whose crews consisted of 'Luçon, Bornean, Javanese and Cham'.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, the Chams were frequenting the ports of Makasar, where they met people from Pahang, Patani, Johor and the Minangkabau country.<sup>121</sup>

The information drawn from Malay and Sundanese tradition, or furnished by Fernão Mendes Pinto, should not perhaps be taken quite literally,<sup>122</sup> but does provide evidence, along with the testimony which follows, of the presence of Cham Muslim

merchants amongst those of all nationalities, who ploughed the seas of Southeast Asia and formed large foreign colonies in its ports. These merchants of different origin frequented the Cham ports, from which were exported especially the famous eagle-wood (*kelambak* or *gaharu*), ivory and ebony. In 1637, again, amongst the foreign merchants of Manila (Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Japanese and others from Maluku, Borneo and the Middle East), are found also the Chams.<sup>123</sup> In 1668, the Sultān of Bantěn sent one of his ships to Champa to trade there.<sup>124</sup> In 1680, two ambassadors of the Sultān of Champa arrived in Batavia: again in 1682, this Sovereign sent two of his ships to trade at Mēlaka.<sup>125</sup> The Dutch had regular relations with Champa, and the Portuguese also, though to a lesser extent.<sup>126</sup> The Japanese, for their part, assiduously frequented the country at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>127</sup>

This evidence on the relations of Champa with the rest of Asia throws light on two essential points in the history of the last centuries of its existence as a kingdom. In the first place, it flatly contradicts the myth of the disappearance of Champa from the history of Southeast Asia after the fall of its capital Vijaya in 1471. "It is here that the history of the Kingdom of Champa finishes", concluded G. Maspero in the last chapter of the only complete history that has been written of this country.<sup>128</sup> But this kingdom was sufficiently strong at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to send help to Johor, and its merchants continued throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century to frequent the ports of Southeast Asia. The process of the disappearance of this country from the scene was in fact very protracted, and the most serious blow was probably sustained when between 1691 and 1697, the Vietnamese — endorsing the realities of the situation — made it a province, Binh-thuân, of the domain of the Nguyen, and the last Cham ports passed under their control.<sup>129</sup> Isolated from the rest of Asia, withdrawn to the interior of the country, the Chams survived in hostile surroundings, under the authority of a Kinglet nominated by Hué, and controlled on the spot by the Vietnamese administration.

This evidence throws new light on the process by which the country was converted to Islām. Ever since the foundation of Mēlaka, the Malays had played a predominant part in it:<sup>130</sup> first, via the State of Mēlaka, itself, and then of Johor, where the Sultānate had been established after the fall, but also via the turbulent Malay colonies, in Cambodia especially, which had been in permanent contact with emigrant Cham colonies, which in

turn had been converted to Islām by this contact; in the same way, Malay immigration into Champa seems to have played its part in influencing the people.<sup>131</sup> It seems clear that the Chams, like the Malays, were of the Sunnī Shāfi'ī rite, and that like them they kept traces of Shī'a devotion.<sup>132</sup> 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are particularly revered and invoked.<sup>133</sup> If to this is added the old established relations with the rest of Southeast Asia, which was progressively converted to Islām, it is easy to see that the Chams would try to cling to this world, of which they already formed part culturally, in the more and more isolated situation in which they found themselves, concurrently with their absorption by Vietnam and the dissolution of their state. It can be seen that in speaking of 'Malay immigration', Antoine Cabaton had well understood the part played by this people; but the idea of immigration (into the Indo-Chinese peninsula), if it is confirmed by sources cited above, is none the less too restrictive, the active participation in the network of the maritime world of Southeast Asia having certainly played an essential part in the process of the conversion of Champa to Islām.

The fact that Champa had been converted during the last century of its independence also explains the so-called 'degeneration' of the religion. The evidence of French missionaries is unanimous in recognizing since the 17<sup>th</sup> century the superficial character of the religion practised by the Chams. But in the 18<sup>th</sup> century what was left of Champa was definitely cut off from the rest of the Muslim world and had partially imposed upon it a culture derived from China, which was totally alien to it.<sup>134</sup> Islām, established in too precarious a manner in Champa, could not know there the depth and intensity that would be its own in a great part of the world of Nusantara.

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*Introductory note:* This article owes much to the work, suggestions and information furnished by the Cham Research Group of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (IVe section), P.-B. Lafont, Nara Vija, Pō Dharma, G. Moussay and C. Jacques. It has benefited equally from the advice of the late Denys Lombard. To all of them I express my sincere gratitude. I am also very grateful for Alijah Gordon's very thorough editing of my paper. The transliteration used is that which was worked out by the same research group ("Essai de translitération raisonnée du Cam", BEFEO, LXIV (1977) 243-55). But for the purposes of this publica-

tion Cam has been rendered Cham and Campa, Champa. See also the catalogue of Cham manuscripts by P.-B. Lafont, Pö Dharma and Nara Vija, PEFEQ, CXIV (Paris, 1977).

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1. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1927) 538 under *Indochine*. Antoine Cabaton had already advanced this hypothesis, in identical terms, in his "Notes sur l'Islam dans l'Indochine française" (Notes on Islām in French Indochina), *RMM*, I (1906) 30. Mus, P., "Religion des Chams" (Religion of the Chams) in *l'Indochine*, ed. Lévi, S., (Paris, 1931) I, 144-56, added nothing further to what concerns Cham Islām.
  2. In what more especially concerns the Cham sources, the recent thesis of Pö Dharma, *Chroniques du Panduranga: Introduction, textes et traductions annotées* (Chronicles of Panduranga: Introduction, texts and annotated translations), Diplome de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> section (Paris, 1978), brings some interesting material and a new interpretation of the texts, which Aymonier described as 'the Cam chronicles'. This work, based on a larger number of texts (almost 60) and on a better knowledge of the Cham language, successfully replaces the unreliable translation, made by E. Aymonier especially, when Cham studies were still in their infancy.
  3. Ed. Note: 'Nusa' is a very old word in the Indonesian Archipelago; particularly in the eastern parts of the archipelago and in and around Java, one finds islands and villages with *nusa* as part of their names. 'Nusantara' was already in use at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; the name is found on copper inscriptions dated 1305, as well as in some Javanese manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Its best known occurrence is in the *Pararaton* passage in which Gajah Mada, chief minister of Majapait, takes a solemn oath not to enjoy *palapa* (spices) until Nusantara has been subjugated. Sylvain Lévi argued that *nusantara* might be a partial Javanization of the older term *dvipantara* in which *dvipa* was replaced by the Javanese *nusa* (island). *Nusantara* has been understood and used to refer to the whole, that is the mosaic of *nusas* which constitute the Indonesian Archipelago. See, Avé, Jan B., "'Indonesia', 'Insulinde' and 'Nusantara': Dotting the I's and Crossing the T'", *BKI*, CXXXV, 2-3 (1989) 229-30.
  4. Damais, Louis-Charles, was the first to include lectures on Champa in his seminars on 'Langues et civilisations indonésiennes' at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, beginning in 1964 and until his death, but his researches did not result in any publi-

- cation; refer to the summaries of his lectures published in the *Annuaire de l'EPHE IVe section* for the appropriate years.
5. Ravaisse, Paul, "Deux inscriptions coufiques du Campa" (Two Kūfīc inscriptions from Champa), *JA*, XX (1922) 247-89. One should bear in mind the conditions, doubtful to say the least, in which these inscriptions came to light: Ravaisse received the two rubbings through two intermediaries, about 20 years after the stelae, which have never been found, had been discovered "on a point not far from the coast of Annam by an officer of the French navy, whose name is unknown". It would be well for all deductions based on the existence of these two stelae in Champa, to take account of the doubt cast upon the authenticity of the evidence. Ravaisse, who relied upon data now largely abandoned (the valleys of Phan-rang and Phan-ri, 'the place of origin of the Cam'), thought, though with reservations, that the stelae could very likely have come from Panduranga. Fatimi, S.Q., *Islām Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: MSRI, 1963) 43, 59-60, who gave them an important place in his study, describes them simply as 'Phan-rang inscriptions'. There is no proof that these rubbings were made at Panduranga. The 'coast of Annam' extends to the north of Hué. But since the year 1000, the capital of Champa had retreated southwards to Vijaya, in Binh-dinh. This said, Panduranga cannot be excluded from consideration: it was sufficiently important to proclaim its independence in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. See Maspero, Georges, *Le royaume de Champa* (The Kingdom of Champa) (Paris: G. Vanoest, 1928) 148; Boisselier, Jean, *La statue de Champa* (The Statuary of Champa), *PEFEO*, LIV (Paris, 1963) 312.
  6. Fatimi, op. cit., 45-7, in his commentary on this inscription reaches the conclusion that it was drawn up by Shī'ā, on the basis of the articles of faith and the attributes of God quoted in its text. This is confirmed by what is otherwise known of the origin of Middle Eastern Muslim colonies in the Far East.
  7. Ravaisse, Paul, "L'inscription coufique de Lérān à Java" (The Kūfīc inscription at Leran in Java), *TBG*, LXV (1925) 668-703; Damais, Louis-Charles, "L'épigraphie musulmane dans le sud-est asiatique" (Muslim epigraphy in Southeast Asia), *BEFEO*, LIV (1968) 570-1. For the inscriptions of the time of Airlanga, cf. Krom, N.J., *Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese history) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1931) 264.
  8. Miquel, André, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman* (The human geography of the Muslim world) (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1975) II, 516-22. See also Arnold, Thomas W., *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., London: Luzac, 1935) 263.

9. Passage of the *Linyi ji* written in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (transl. Arousseau, Léonard, *BEFEO*, XIV, 9 (1914) 13. On the strategic position of Champa on the maritime Trans-Asian route, cf. Manguin, "La traversée de la Mer de Chine méridionale, des Detroits a Canton, jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (The Crossing of the South China Sea, from the Straits to Canton, until the 17<sup>th</sup> century), *Actes du XXIX<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes, Section Asie du Sud-Est continentale* (Paris, 1973) 2, 110–15.
10. Ferrand, Gabriel, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* ('Arab, Persian, and Turkish travel accounts and geographical texts dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century relating to the Far East), *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à l'Indo-Chine* (Historical and geographical documents relating to Indo-China) (Paris: E. Leroux, 1914) II, 363–93 (citation 391).
11. The Christian population of the capital is nowhere else attested. But it is known that the Nestorians, then numerous in South China, also frequented the maritime routes of the China Sea: Phillips, G., "Nestorians at Canton", *China Review*, VIII (1879–80) 31–4. See also the example given by Abu 'l-Fidā of a Nestorian monk, who went to China by sea and furnished him with precise information about Champa. Reinaud, Joseph Toussaint, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda, Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux* (Geography of Abu 'l-Fidā, general introduction to the geography of the Orientals) (Paris, 1848) I, cdxvi.
12. 'Uthmān, the Third Khalīf, died in 656. The Umayyads seized power between this date and 661 (the assassination of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib). Ḥajjāj [al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam b. 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī, Abū Muḥammad], Governor of 'Irāq in 694, defended them until his death in 714. It seems that these dates, which clearly mark the start of the 'Alids' flight towards the East, are too early for the installation of real colonies of 'Arab-Persian Muslim merchants in India and the Far East. The foundation of the urban centre of Baghdād in 762 — with Baṣra as its outlet to the 'Arabīyan Gulf and on towards the Indian Ocean — transformed the conditions of trade, contributed to the development of commerce between the Persian Gulf and the Far East, and is thus the true date for the expansion of the Islāmic world's commerce with the Far East. See Lombard, Maurice, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Islām in its initial grandeur (VIII<sup>th</sup>-XI<sup>th</sup> centuries)) (Paris, 1971) 126–7, 221–3; Sauvaget, J., *Akhbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind: relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, rédigée en 851* (The Chinese and Indian Report: Relation of China and India, written in 851) (Paris, 1948) xxxvi-xxxvii.

13. Ed. Note: 'Alids were the descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Claims made by Shī'a on behalf of the 'Alids were broadly of two kinds: for the extremist Shī'a, the 'Alid Imāms were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet as heads of the *umma* — world-wide Muslim community — with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Khalīfas whom the Shī'a regarded as usurpers. In the early period, the claims of the 'Alids were based on descent from 'Alī, the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fāṭima, his daughter; thus claims based on kinship could be advanced on behalf of descendants of 'Alī by wives other than Fāṭima, and even collateral descendants of Abū Ṭālib; only later was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima. See Lewis, B., "'Alids", *EI*, I (1986) 402.
14. Ed. Note: Song (Sung) period: Northern Song, 960–1127; Southern Song, 1127–1279; see Hartmann, M. – [Bosworth, C.E.], "al-Ṣīn", *EI*, IX (1997) 622.
15. There is a note by Huber, which must be left aside. In a Cham invocation used during the sacrifice of a buffalo, transcribed in the *Song shi* by a *lo he qi ba*, he read a very hypothetical rendering of *Allāhu akbar* (*qi ba* can also transcribe the Cham *kapaw*, buffalo). On this single premise, Huber declared that there had been Cham converts to Islām in the time of the Song. See note in Durand, E.-M., "Les Chams Bani" (The Cham Bani), *BEFEO*, III (1903) 55.
16. Hirth, Friedrich, *Die Insel Hainan nach Chao Yu-kua* (Hainan Island according to Chao Yu-kua) (Berlin: Bastian Festschrift, 1896) 487; Hirth, Friedrich, and Rockhill, William Woodville, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Printing office of the Imperial Academy of Science, 1911) 16, 60, 64, 280; Kuwabara Jitsuzo, "On P'u Shou-keng, a man of the Western Regions, who was the Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'uan-chou towards the end of the Sung Dynasty", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* (Tokyo: The Tōyō Bunko, 1928, 1935) II, 1–79; VII, 1–104; Lo Xiang-lin (Lo Hsiang-lin), *Pu Shougeng zhuan* (A biography of Pu Shougeng) (Taipei, 1955); *Pu Shougeng yanjiu* (Researches on Pu Shougeng) (Hong Kong, 1959); see also Tasaka Kōdō, "\_\_\_\_\_" (Introduction to the History of Islām in Champa: The introduction of Islām in Southeastern Asia) *Tōhōgaku* (Eastern Studies) IV (July 1952) 52–60.
17. *Idola libri*: Latin for 'book idol', a rhetoric form meaning that a statement has become a truth or established fact that is no longer double checked, just because it is found in printed form, in a book.
18. Ferrand, Gabriel, "L'empire soumatranais de Crivijaya" (The Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya), *JA*, XX (1922) 9, n. 2. In this note he only envisages the case of Śrīvijaya, of which the *Zhufanchi* says

succinctly that many of the inhabitants had *Pu* for their family name. But he should have considered the numerous examples drawn from Chinese sources in which Chinese transcriptions of 'Arab names can be seen; and certainly in the case of the names of envoys coming from the countries of the *Dashi* (the 'Arabs). On missions conducted by men named *Pu* and coming from other parts of Southeast Asia and the Middle East, cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 52, 122-3, 157; Kuwabara, *op. cit.*, 3, 18-20; Fatimi, *op. cit.*, 68. P. Pelliot in commenting on the phonetic rendering of *Pu* seems to accept the remark of Gabriel Ferrand in Pelliot, Paul, *Notes on Marco Polo* (Paris, 1963) II, 389. A third author has treated of this problem, but I have been unable to get access to this article: Kikuchi Saburo, "\_\_\_\_" (Is Pu a transliteration of Abū or Mpu? A problem in the ancient history of Champa), *Ajia Afurika Gogakuin Kiyō* (Bulletin of Asian and African Linguistics), II (1969) 103-6.

19. Ch'en T'ieh-fan and Franke, Wolfgang, "A Chinese Tomb Inscription of AD 1264, discovered recently in Brunei", *Brunei Museum Journal*, III, 1 (1973) 91-9. The inscription revealed in this article is that of the tomb of a 'Master Pu'; it is the oldest dated Chinese inscription in the Southeast Asian islands.
20. The collected list of these embassies is in the *Song shi* (ch. 489, 3b-11a, Pona edn.). For references to complementary Chinese sources see also Maspero, *op. cit.*, 119-51. But care must be taken to refer to the original texts, for in these few pages Maspero has accumulated many bad readings, transliterations and translations; furthermore, this author ignores the problems raised by the rendering of the ambassadors' names, as given in Chinese transcription.
21. The best known member of this family is Pu Shougeng. At the end of the Song period, he held high office as Commissioner of Customs; he went over to the Yuan with his entire fleet in 1270. Another Pu family lived at Canton, whose members also held high office, including that of Controller of the Foreigners' Quarter. But contrary to what Kuwabara affirms, they were not the same family as the Pu Shougeng of Quanzhou. See Kuwabara, *op. cit.*; Lo Xiang-lin, *Po Shougeng yanjiu*, *op. cit.*
22. *Song she*, 489, 4b-5a; Maspero, *op. cit.*, 123-5.
23. Kuwabara, *op. cit.*, 22; he also proposes to restore *Pu Lo E* as Abū Rao.
24. Stübel, H., *Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan* (The Li Tribes on Hainan Island) (Berlin, 1937) 263-5, 315-7. Stübel writes 'Annam', but it is necessary to read Champa. The date furnished by oral tradition is on the other hand difficult to accept; the migration would have taken place only 400 years previously. Savina, M., *Monographie de*

- Hainan* (Monograph of Hainan) (Hanoi, 1929) 4, 22, erroneously mentions 'Malays stranded on the Southern coast'.
25. Kuwabara, op. cit., 21-2 and Lo Xiang-lin, *Pu Shougeng yanjiu*, op. cit., 165-226, where the genealogy of the Pu of Hainan is published.
  26. Benedict, Paul K., "A Cham Colony on the Island of Hainan", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI (1941) 129-34. But would a community of Middle-Eastern origin installed some time in Champa have abandoned its mother tongue to adopt Cham? If the stelae transcribed by P. Ravaisse are to be believed, it would seem not. Was it then a question of Cham converts? But Stübel, who recalls the memories which they kept of their Middle-Eastern origins, discovered amongst them Semitic features. Can it be that they were descendants of marriages between 'Arabs and Chams? It seems, none the less, that in so far as the population of Hainan and South China is concerned, the problem is much more complex, and surpasses the question of Islām. The part played in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries in the formation of early Linyi (the future Champa) by 'barbarians' more or less subject to Chinese administration, still remains obscure, but it is unequivocally attested. The Li of Hainan have a privileged place in this connection. Cf. Stein, R., "Le Lin-yi, sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine" (Le Lin-yi, its geographical position, its contribution to the formation of Champa and its ties with China), *Han Hsiue*, II, 1-3 (1947) 116, 130-45, 241 sqq. The Tanka also are said to have come from Linyi; cf. Ho Kê-ên, "A Study on the Boat People of South China", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, V, 1-2 (1959-60) 3; "The Tanka or Boat People of South China", *Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, Southeast Asia and the Hong-kong region* (Hong Kong, 1967) 123; Stein, op. cit., 307-9.
  27. Ed. Note: *EI*, III (1986) 920.
  28. Ferrand, op. cit., I, 69.
  29. Drewes, G.W.J., "New Light on the Coming of Islām to Indonesia?" 138-9 *supra*. In 977, the envoy of Po-ni (Brunei) at the Chinese court had *Pu* as a patronym. Hirth and Rockhill, op. cit., 157, 159, n. 13. The Chinese, themselves, were often thus sent to the Ming Court. See Chiu Ling-yeong, "Sino-Javanese Relations in the Early Ming Period", *Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, Southeast Asia and the Hong-kong region* (Hong Kong, 1967) 219-21.
  30. Tasaka Kōdō reached the same conclusions in 1952.
  31. G.P. Rouffaer, from Javanese sources, tried to site Chēmpa at Jeumpa, on the north coast of Acheh, but nevertheless he saw it as a corruption of Champa, see "Cempa", *ENI*, IV (1<sup>st</sup> edn., 1905)

206. See also in this connection Damais, op. cit., 573-4; and *infra* nn. 36, 45 & 46 and n. 62. Further consult Graaf, de-, H.J., and Pigeaud, Theodore G.Th., *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java. Studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15<sup>de</sup> en 16<sup>de</sup> eeuw* (The First Muslim Kingdoms of Java. Studies in the Political History of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries), VKI, 69 (1974) 10, 20-4, 112, 138, 170, 244-6, 271, 290-1, 318.
32. Brandes, J.L.A., ed., "Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het Boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit" (Pararaton (Ken Arok) or the Book of the Kings of Tumapël and Majapahit), 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., rev. by Krom, N.J., et al., VBG, LXII ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1920) 222-4, where a summary is given of the chants 396 to 399 of the *Sêrat Kanda*.
33. Olthof, W.L., *Babad Tanah Djawi in proza (...) naar de Uitgave van J.J. Meinsma* (Babad Tanah Djawi in prose, after the edition of J.J. Meinsma) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1941) 18-31. This is a translation of Meinsma's summary in prose of the *Babad Tanah Djawi*.
34. Summary in Djajadiningrat, Raden Hoesein, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten: Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Critical Essay on the Sêjarah Bantën: A contribution to characterizing Javanese historical writing) (Dissertation, University of Leiden, Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913) 22-5. Commentaries and variants of more recent Sundanese traditions, *ibid.*, 252-5, 263-4, 275-6.
35. Apart from the publication of the texts already cited, an important literature has already developed on Putri Chěmpa: Kern, R.A., "De verbreiding van den Islam" (The propagation of Islām), Chapter 6, 51 *supra*; Cowan, H.K.J., "Comte rendu de Kern, 1938", (Summary of Kern, 1938) *Djâwâ*, XIX (1939) 121-6; Damais, op. cit., 573-4; Krom, op. cit., 452, 462-7; Maspero, op. cit., 228-9.
36. Variations of the names, as they appear in the above-mentioned three texts, are given in the same order. In a more recent Sundanese tradition is found a genealogy of this holy man (who bears the name of Samsu Tamres): he is sprung from incest, his mother having cohabited with her own father, a prince of an 'Arab city. His mother later married a merchant of Chěmpa who had gone on pilgrimage to Makka, named Juragan (captain) Kadiriyah or Hajī Dulkadir [Dhu'l Qādir] (Djajadiningrat, op. cit., 263-4).
37. Raḥmat was accompanied to Java by three other young men, according to the *Babad Tanah Djawi*, one of whom was the son of the King of Chěmpa, Raden Burereh, and his own brother Raden Santri. They both settled at Grěsik. A late Sundanese tradition, the *Sêjarah Bantën rante-rante*, declares that after the departure of

- Raden Raḥmat and his companions, Chěmpa was devastated by the King of Koci. Djajadiningrat, op. cit., 254, did not recognize in this toponym Viêt Nam: *Giao-chi*, in Cantonese *Kawci*, Malay *Kuci* or *Koci*; it is this name which is the origin of the Portuguese Cochin (China). It is an argument in favour of assimilating Chěmpa with Champa; but this is a late text and the only one to give this episode, while another version declares that Chěmpa was destroyed by the pagan King of Aanggora (Singora/ Songkhla?).
38. The *Hikayat Banjar*, in a passage which concerns Majapait, also gives a story which develops along almost parallel lines. The Princess no longer comes from Chěmpa, but from Pasai. It is her brother, Raja Bungsu, who goes to Majapait, and then settles at Ampel, where he converts the population. See Ras, J.J., transl. and ed., *Hikajat Bandjar: A Study in Malay Historiography*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, I (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1968) 417.
  39. Rigg, Jonathan, "Ancient Javanese Inscriptions at Panataran", *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, V (1851) 439; Brandes, J.L.A., "Note sur la datation de l'inscription tombale de la Putri Cěmpa" (Note on the dating of the tomb inscription of the Putri Chěmpa), *NBG*, XXIV (1886) 42. It will be recalled that a completely different tomb, since it is on the site of Bukit Sěguntang in South Sumatra, is also attributed by oral tradition to a Putri Chěmpa. It has not yet been deciphered: Damais, Louis-Charles, "Bibliographie indonésienne, V, Compte rendu de 'Bahasa dan Budaja' VII" (Indonesian Bibliography, V, book review on 'Bahasa dan Budaya', VII), *BEFEO*, LI, 2 (1963) 584.
  40. Ed. Note: *Maulānā*: our Lord; the honourable; honorific for a Muslim scholar.
  41. Javanese text in *Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari* (An Account of Olden Times of the Něgěri of Cirěbon), ed. Atja (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1972) 76, 80. An Indonesian translation has been published: *Purwaka Tjaruban Nagara* (Olden Times of the Něgěri of Cirěbon), ed. Sulendraningrat, P.S., (Jakarta, 1972) 13, 16-17.
  42. The texts cited here have been selected from Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th., *Literature of Java* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1967-70); cf. index III, 209, s.v. *Cěmpa*. Pigeaud seems to hold as evident the equivalence of Chěmpa and Champa; but he pronounces formally in this sense on only one occasion (I, 226).
  43. Pigeaud, op. cit., II, 464, 489-92, 850, 859.
  44. *Ibid.*, I, 226; II, 35; III, 69. The poem according to Pigeaud's translation commences: "What is offered in the poem is a tale from the history of Cěmpa ... ." A long summary is given in Vreede, Albert Cornelis, *Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Catalogue of the

- Javanese and Madurese manuscripts in the Leiden University Library) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1892) 198–200.
45. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, II, 204. Juynboll, Hendrik Herman, *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Deel II: Nieuwjavaansche gedichten en oud-, middel- en nieuwjavaansche prozageschriften* (Supplement to the Catalogue of the Javanese and Madurese Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, II: New Javanese Poetry and old, middle and new Javanese prose) (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911) 107. I can only judge on the basis of the summaries of the texts given by these two authors. But does not the attribution of these two versions of the same text — which introduce an identical character named Kěbo Mundar — to two different countries, Lombok and Chěmpa, suggest that this Chěmpa could be a toponym for the island of Lombok? Unless tradition can establish a connection between these two countries, which were converted to Islām very late, in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Only a specialist in Javanese could solve this question by a study of these texts.
  46. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, II, 97. Vreede, *op. cit.*, 327–30 gives a detailed summary. Curiously enough, towards the end of the story, war breaks out between Chěmpa and Pratokal (Portugal?), which has invaded it. Jatiswara attacks, surrounded by an army of savage animals, which understand human speech. The prince of Pratokal is defeated and Jatiswara is enthroned under the title Prabu Satmata. Apart from some skirmishes, there was never any conflict between Portugal and Champa, and perhaps in that can be seen an argument for locating Chěmpa in some part of the Archipelago.
  47. This toponym is attested by traditions, which are certainly pre-Islāmic (although they were written down at a much later date): the myth of the origin of rice of *Sri* and *Sědana* begins at Chěmpa. It appears again in a legal treatise, the *Sastra Paniti*, which declares that an official of the Majapait court, named Udayaka, was descended from a Brahmin of Chěmpapura. Finally it is found in incantations under the form of Chěpah. Cf. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, II, 501, 518, 733.
  48. Boisselier, *op. cit.*, 334–40, 359–69, for a summary of the different data.
  49. "They have a king for themselves and their own people and their special language and are all idolaters" (*adorant ydola* in the Latin text); Moule, A.C., and Pelliot, P., *Marco Polo: The Description of the World* (London, 1938) I, 366, II, lxii.
  50. Ed. Note: For a brief history of Friar Odoric of Pordenone see Chapter II, n.28, 89–90 *supra*.

51. Yule, Henry, transl. and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, rev. edn. by Cordier, Henri, II (London: HS, Second Series, No. 33, 1913) 166. If Champa were accepted as the Ṭawālīsī of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as T. Yamamoto has attempted to demonstrate in a skilful but not entirely convincing manner, there would be a third witness to the 'idolatry' of the country in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. But, apart from the identification of Ṭawālīsī, it might be contended, as Gabriel Ferrand has done, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa never went further east than India. See Yamamoto Tatsuro, "On Ṭawālīsī Described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko*, VIII (Tokyo: The Tōyō Bunko, 1936) 93-133; Ferrand, *Relations de voyages ...* (1914) op. cit., II, 426-58.
52. Pō Dharma, op. cit., 165, n.195. According to the chronicles, Pō sahinā is given as the daughter, or the sister, of the King Pō kasit (this king would have reigned, according to the chronicles, either between 1421 and 1448, or between 1433 and 1460: *ibid.*, 110, n.56a).
53. In Champa, about 1100, the connection of the Sovereign with commercial circles is well attested by the marriage of his daughter to a Chinese merchant, who had lived six years in the country: Mori Katsumi, "The Beginning of Overseas Advance of Japanese Merchant Ships", *Acta Asiatica*, XXIII (1972) 12. On the participation of the sovereigns of Nusantara in commercial activities, see also Schrieke, B.J.O., "Ruler and Realm in Early Java", *Indonesian Sociological Studies* (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1957) II, 237-9 and notes on 386-7.
54. Damais, Louis-Charles, "Études Javanaises I: Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trâlâyâ" (Javanese Studies: The Muslim tombs dating from Trâlâyâ), *BEFEO*, XLVIII, 2 (1957); "L'épigraphie musulmane ...", op. cit. (1968) 570-7. It will be recalled that a stele with an 'Arabic inscription has also been found in Cambodia at Phnom Bakheng. It contains only a devout formula and a verse from *al-Qur'ān* and is not dated. The script would be 'relatively modern'. See the brief note devoted to it in *BEFEO*, XXII (1922) 160.
55. For a recent historical account of the question, refer to Drewes, op. cit. The author concludes by setting the various theories side-by-side: "... the investigation has been reopened, but without new data it seems that the results will as yet be scanty" (*supra* 147). More recently Attas, al-, Syed Muhammad Naguib, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969) 29-32, has defended a thesis according to which there would be no break in continuity.
56. Damais, "L'épigraphie musulmane ...", op. cit., 570.

57. Teeuw, Andries, and Wyatt, David K., *Hikayat Patani: The Story of Patani* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1970) I, 3–5; II, 221.
58. The situation is described in a laconic phrase by Ruy de Brito, Captain of Mēlaka, in January 1514: “*Ho rey he carefe, os mercadores sam mouros*”: The king is a pagan, *kāfir*, the merchants are Muslims. Sá, de-, Arturo Basílio, *Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Insulindia* (Documentation for the History of the Portuguese Patronage of the Orient Mission) (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1954) I, 46.
59. Noorduyn, Jacobus, “De islamisering van Makasar” (The Islāmizing of Makasar), *BKI*, CXII (1956).
60. Feng Ch’eng-Chün, *Ying-yai sheng-lan chiao-chu* (The overall survey of the ocean’s shores) (Shanghai, 1935) 2; Mills, J.V.G., *Ma Huan: Ying-yai Sheng-lan, “The overall survey of the ocean’s shores”* (1433), (Cambridge: HS, Extra Series, No. 42, 1970) 79.
61. Xiang Da, commentary editor, *Xiyang fanguo zhi* (Records of the Foreign Countries in the Western Ocean) (Beijing, 1961) 2. A later unpublished text, full reference in Mayers, cited below, the *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* (Records of the tribute sent by countries of the Western Ocean) of 1520, gives the same indications. But it was largely inspired by works previously quoted, and it is then likely that the information which it furnishes is more than a century old: Mayers, W.F., “Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean During the Fifteenth Century”, *China Review* (Hong Kong) III, 6 (1875) 322.
62. Cf. on this subject the excellent article of Marrison, G.E., “The Chams of Malacca”, *JMBRAS*, XXIV, 1 (February 1951) 90–8. The contents of this passage of the *Sējarah Mēlayu* allow without question the identification of the Chēmpa mentioned here with Champa. The fact that in Malay the latter should be designated as Chēmpa (= Champa) constitutes a further argument in favour of the equation: Javanese Chēmpa = Champa. The text of the *Sējarah Mēlayu* (after the manuscript, Raffles, No. 18) is found in Winstedt, R.O., “The Malay Annals, or Sejarah Melayu”, *JMBRAS*, XVI, 3 (1938) 134–7 for the relevant passages, and the second text in Shellabear, W.G., *Sejarah Malaya or the Malay Annals*, Malay Literature Series, IX (Singapore, 1910) II, ch. 21, 131–4; *Sejarah Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1977) 118–20. Reference will also be made to the commentaries on this text by Hooykaas, C., *Over Maleise Literatuur* (About Malay Literature) (Leiden, 1947) 235; and to the translation by Brown of the manuscript edited by Winstedt: Brown, C.C., “Sejarah Melayu or ‘Malay Annals’, a translation of Raffles Ms. 18”, *JMBRAS*, XXV, 2–3 (February 1953 for October 1952) 108–11. Marre, A., “Madiapahit et le Tchampa” (Majapait and Champa), *Publication*

- du Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales* (Paris, 1895) 93–113, was the first to draw attention to these passages in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*. Later, Gerini, G.E., *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (London: Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Geographical Society, 1909) 693–7, also took them into account.
63. *Sakaliannya disuroh masok Islam*.
  64. The W.G. Shellabear version, however, adds that Shāh Pau Ling was the first of the Sovereigns of Acheh (*ialah asal raja Acheh*). To the best of my knowledge, no other text confirms this assertion. It is certainly very hazardous, on the sole evidence of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, to make a Cham dynasty reign at Acheh between 1471 and 1505, and further to justify this on a linguistic ground common to both languages; none the less, this is what Gerini, *op. cit.*, 696–8, has done, and more recently Fatimi, *op. cit.*, 58. On the relations between the Cham and Achehnese languages, cf. the articles of Cowan, H.K.J., "Het Atjĕhsch metrum 'Sandja' in verband met een Tjamsch gedicht" (The Achehnese metre 'Sandja' in relation to a Cham poem), *BKI*, XC (1933) 149–55; "Rectification de quelques affixes cams, rendus inexactement dans les grammaires" (Correction concerning some Cham affixes, given incorrectly in the grammars), *AO*, XVI (1938) 181–91; "Aanteekeningen betreffende de verhouding van het Atjĕhsch tot de Mon-Khmer-talen" (Notes concerning the relation between Achehnese and Mon-Khmer language), *BKI*, CIV (1948) 429–514, and Shorto, H.L., "Achinese and Mainland Austronesian", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVIII, 1 (1975) 81–102.
  65. *Gentile*, that is to say pagan, as opposed to Muslim. This designation was applied without distinction to all religious groups which were neither Judaeo-Christian or Muslim.
  66. See for the Portuguese text, an English translation, and a long study on its author: Cortesão, Armando, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, I, 112–15, and II, 390–2 (London: HS, Second Series, Nos. 89, 90, 1944). For an annotated French translation of the chapter on Champa, cf. Manguin, Pierre-Yves, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viet-nam et du Campa* (The Portuguese on the coasts of Vietnam and Champa), PEFEO, LXXXI (Paris, 1972) 39–42.
  67. Cortesão, *op. cit.*, I, 2; II, 324.
  68. Although the text of *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* gives the impression that the Cham exiles settled down in Mĕlaka, there is no ground for asserting that there was still a Cham colony in the city in 1511. Tomé Pires, contrary to what Marrison, *op. cit.*, 91, says, does not

speak of a Shahbandar charged to watch over such a community; he only affirms that this officer was in charge, amongst others, of Cham ships, which came to trade there, and that their cargoes and crews were on this account under his jurisdiction. See Cortesão, op. cit., I, 265; II, 493.

69. The Portuguese text of Duarte Barbosa, which exists in very many manuscripts, is to be found in: *Collecao de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinos* (Collection of notices for the history and geography of overseas nations) (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Lisboa, 1867) II, 237–88; 373 for this quotation; also found in Ribeiro (Lisboa, 1961) 301. An English translation has been published, ed. & annot. by Dames, Mansel Longworth, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa. An Account of the Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the year 1518 A.D. Translated from the Portuguese Text First Published in 1812 A.D. by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, in Vol. II of its Collection of Documents regarding the History and Geography of the Nations beyond the Seas* (London: HS, Second Series, No. 49, 1921) II, 208.
70. Champa is referred to as an island: Barbosa, who received this information in India, has probably misinterpreted a term derived from *dvīpa*, which designates both an island and a territory; see also the Chinese *zhou*.
71. According to calculations made by Pö Dharmā, op. cit., 53, the nine chronicles of Panduranga all give the date of the reign of Pö ramō as 1627–51. This confirms the calculations of E. Aymonier.
72. Boisselier, op. cit., 383–7.
73. A *mukhalingga* is a lingga (the phallus of Siva) with Siva's face (*mukha*) represented on it. This *mukhalingga* is to be distinguished from the Sanctuary of the same name (where it is housed), which for its part is dated at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Boisselier, op. cit., 436–7.
74. Ibid. 385 and fig. 238.
75. For a study of the whole of these projections and their aims refer to Boxer, C.R., "Portuguese and Spanish Projects for the Conquest of Southeast Asia", 157–79 *supra*.
76. Cabaton, Antoine, "Quelques documents espagnols et portugais sur l'Indochine aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles" (A few Spanish and Portuguese documents on Indochina in the XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries), *JA*, XII (1908) 255–92; "Une intervention européenne au Cambodge a la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (An European intervention in Cambodia at the end of XVI<sup>th</sup> century), *Revue Indochinoise*, XI (1909) 1171–88; *Brève et véridique relation des événements du Cambodge par Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio* (Brief and true account of events in Cambodia by Gabriel Quiroga of San Antonio) (Paris, 1914); "Le

- Mémorial de Pedro Sevil à Philippe III sur la conquête de l'Indochine (1603)" (The Memorial of Pedro Sevil to Philip III on the conquest of Indochina (1603)), *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine* (1914-16) 1-102; Briggs, Lawrence Palmer, "Spanish Intervention in Cambodia, 1593-1603", *TP*, XXXIX (1950) 132-60; Groslier, Bernard Philippe, and Boxer, Charles Ralph, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Angkor and Cambodia in XVI<sup>th</sup> century according to Portuguese and Spanish sources) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), give the best documented account of these events. Boxer has published a manuscript description of Champa from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see "A Spanish Description of the Chams in 1595" in *Readings on Asian Topics*, Monograph 1 (Lund: Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1970) 35-44.
77. Archivo General de Indias (General Archive of the Indies), Seville, *Patronato* (Patronato Collection), legajo 25, ramo 3<sup>o</sup>, documento 58 (25, folder 3, document 58), fol. 7<sup>vo</sup>--11<sup>ro</sup>. There is an 18<sup>th</sup>-century copy of this document in the Museo Naval, Madrid (*Collección Navarrete*, 18, fol. 302-4<sup>ro</sup>). Complete text of this document, with a detailed commentary, is found in *Étude Cam*. See also Manguin, Pierre-Yves, "Une relation ibérique du Campa en 1595" (An Iberic account of Champa in 1595), *BEFEO*, LXX (1981) 253-69. On the stay of Ruiz and Vargas Machuca in Champa, cf. Cabaton, *Brève et véridique relation ...*, op. cit., 104, 124; Blair, E.H., and Robertson, J.A., eds., *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland, 1903-9) IX, 163, 173; X, 237.
78. Cabaton, *Brève et véridique relation ...*, op. cit., 21, 123; Blair and Robertson, op. cit., X, 237. It is only the text published by Boxer, "A Spanish Description ...", op. cit., which describes only Hindu ceremonies, without making mention of the progress of Islām. However, the texts which follow clearly confirm the establishment of the new religion. Perhaps it must be concluded from this that the text given by Boxer is prior to the compilation at Manila of the collection of which it forms part, and which was made to justify the projects of conquest in Asia and is dated at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The tone and content, moreover, differ very clearly from that found in the descriptions given by Veloso and his companions.
79. Letter of Hernando de los Ríos to Philip II, 27 June 1597 (Archivo General de Indias, *Filipinas*, legajo 18b).
80. "... den Orangkaya ... de welke Mahometist was, doch de Coningh is Heydens ... ." By *Orang Kaya*, Europeans meant dignitaries, the powerful people in the Malay kingdoms. The expression itself is Malay, but its equivalent is attested in Cham (information communicated by Nara Vija and Pō Dharma).

81. *Historische Verhael van de treffelijcke Reyse ... door Cornelis Matelief de Jonge, indien jaren 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608* (Historical Narrative of the important voyage of Cornelis Matelief Jr., in the years 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608) in *Begin ende Voortgang ...* (Beginning and Development ... ([n.p.], 1640) 119–21. A French translation is found in *Recueil des Voyages ... de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales ...* (Anthology of Travels ... of the (Dutch) East India Company ...) (Amsterdam, 1705) III, 499–502.
82. Aymonier, E., "Legendes historiques des Chams" (Historical Legends of the Chams), *Excursions et Reconnaissances* (Excursions and Surveys), XIV, 32 (1890) 187–93. Four amongst the chronicles studied by Pō Dharma confirm that Pō nit was reigning in 1607, but five others suggest that there was an interregnum that year; see Pō Dharma, *op. cit.*, 40–1.
83. Fr. Francisco de Jesus de Escalona, "Relacion del viaje al Reino de la gran China ..." (Account of a voyage to the Kingdom of Great China ...) in Wyngaert, van den-, A., *Sinica Franciscana* (Franciscan Chinese Affairs) (Quaracchi, 1933) II, 303–4.
84. *Relations des Missions des Evesques François aux Royaumes de Siam, de la Cochinchine, du Cambodge, et du Tonkin ...* (Accounts of Missions of French Bishops in the Kingdoms of Siam, Cochinchina, Cambodia, and Tonkin ...) (Paris, 1674) 105–6.
85. *Relations des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques Vicaires Apostoliques, et de leurs Ecclesiastiques et années, 1672, 1673, 1674 et 1675* (Accounts of the Missions and Travels of the Apostolic curate Bishops, and of their ecclesiastics and years, 1672, 1673, 1674 and 1675) (Paris, 1680) 332.
86. Archives de la Société des Missions Étrangères (ASME), *Lettre de M. Mahot*, July 1678, v. 734, 293. This document and those that follow were kindly communicated to the author by G. Moussay.
87. The word used is 'Habitué', meaning resided.
88. *Relation de voyage de M. de Courtaulin (1678)* (Account of the travel of M. de Courtaulin), ASME, v. 734, 755.
89. *Lettre de M. Mahot*, 1683, ASME, v. 735, 199.
90. *Lettre de M. l'Évêque d'Héliopolis (F. Palu)*, 29 November 1682, ASME, v. 106, 104. See also Launay, A., *Histoire de la Mission de Cochinchine. Documents historiques, I: 1658–1728* (History of the Cochinchina Mission. Historical documents, I: 1658–1728) (Paris, 1923) 243–4.
91. *Relation des Missions de Chine, Tonkin, etc. année 1686* (Account of the Missions of China, Tonkin, etc. in the year 1686), ASME, v. 855, 556; *État des Missions de Chine, Tonkin, etc. en 1686* (State of the Chinese Missions, Tonkin, etc. in 1686), ASME, v. 879, 565; *Mémoire de ce qu'on a envoyé en Cochinchine ...* (Memoir of what was sent to an Envoy in Cochinchina ...) le 20 May 1686, ASME, v. 736, 111. See also Launay, *op. cit.*, 352.

92. *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India* (Daily Record kept at Batavia Castle of happenings at that place and throughout the Netherlands East Indies) *Anno 1680* (Batavia 1912) 242, 252–3. The contents of this letter, of a commercial character, have little relevance to the present work.
93. This title is attested in the form *sūlūtan* in the genealogy of the princely family of Pali canar. See Durand, E.-M., "La déesse des étudiants" (The goddess of the students), *BEFEO*, VI (1906) 279–89. It is not found in the royal chronicles translated by E. Aymonier, "Grammaire de la langue chame" (Grammar of the Cham language) and "Légendes historiques des Chams" (Historical Legends of the Chams), both in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, XIV, 31/32 (1889–90) 5–92; 145–206.
94. It was normal for the Cham King, in view of his contacts with the Malays and the Malay colony resident in his country, to use the Malay language in his relations with maritime Southeast Asia. The Cambodian King in the 17<sup>th</sup> century expressed himself in Malay, and used it with the Portuguese and in his correspondence with the Dutch. See Cabaton, Antoine, "Les Hollandais au Cambodge au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" (The Dutch in Cambodia in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century), *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises* (Review of the History of the French Colonies), II (Paris, 1914) 47 of the offprint.
95. The names given in the Dutch text for these two Cham *orang kaya* are only partially identifiable. 'Poeranja mantri': /*purana*/ is difficult to restore; it seems desirable to cut it in two and to use the title, common in Nusantara, *pi/mpu* (Cham *pō*) followed by a personal name or the title of some office. It might be compared with the old Javanese *pu ranjan*, or better still with *pu ranyā*, both attested in the 9<sup>th</sup> century; in both cases *pu* should be followed by a personal name. See Damais, Louis-Charles., *Repertoire onomastique de l'épigraphie javanaise* (Index of proper names in Javanese epigraphy), *PEFEO*, LXVI (Paris, 1970) 227, 239. The Sanskrit *rajan* might also be considered, preceded by the above mentioned title used in Nusantara, which would give *pu/po rājño mantri*. 'Mantri' is not difficult: it, of course, concerns the title, which is the original of 'mandarin' in European languages: Malay: *mēntēri/mantri*, Cham: *mantrī*, Skr: *mantrin*. The whole expression could again be compared in its construction to *Pō ganvār matrī*, Lord Chief of the Ministers, a name attributed to Śiva on the pediment of the Phan-rang temple (*Dictionnaire Cam* of E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, s.v. *muntri*). 'Intche (or Intie) Noman': the Malay *Ēnche*, a much used title, should normally be followed by a personal name; but *Noman* in Malay does not seem to have been attested as a personal name. It can only be compared here with the Balinese *Nioman*.

96. According to the calculations of Pö Dharma, op. cit., 49, 53, 135, Pö sau reigned between 1660 and 1692.
97. *Lettre de Mgr. Laneau*, 3 July 1686, ASME, v. 800, 123.
98. *Second voyage du Père Tachard ... au Royaume de Siam* (Second voyage of Father Tachard ... to the Kingdom of Siam) (Paris, 1689) 97–101. The alliance between the Cham and Makasar colonies is confirmed in a letter of Fr. Morelli OFM of 1686, published in Civezza, da-, M., and Dominechelli, T., *La Palestina e le rimanenti missioni franciscane* (The Palestinians and the remaining Franciscan mission) (Firenze, 1890) I, 751. The Cham colony in Ayudhya is mentioned for the first time in 1662 without its religion being specified. See *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Beryte ... par M. de Bourges* (Account of the Voyage of His Excellency the Bishop of Berythe ... by M. de Bourges) (3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Paris, 1683) 112.
99. Pö Dharma, op. cit., 53; Aymonier, "Légendes historiques ..." (1890) op. cit., 151–2. The intricacies of these calculations may be questioned and the precise dates obtained rejected, but a simple reckoning of generations provides broad XVII<sup>th</sup> century dates for certain sovereigns.
100. Pö Dharma, op. cit., 127, n.90b.
101. Durand, E.-M., "Le temple de Pö Romé a Phan-rang" (The temple of Pö Romé at Phan-rang), *BEFEO*, III (1903) 601–3. The *suttee* of the widows is also attested by four royal chronicles: see Pö Dharma, op. cit., 124–5. The facts which follow, drawn from texts and from Cham oral tradition, have been furnished, save where otherwise indicated, by Aymonier, "Légendes historiques ..." (1890) op. cit., 170–2. Certain pieces of the information he collected and which came from the Chams of Cambodia should be accepted with reserve. Cf. Pö Dharma, op. cit., 44.
102. Pö Dharma refers in this connection to the expression used in a chronicle concerning Byā sumūt, the wife of Pö ramō; *ibid.*, 126–7.
103. Parmentier, H., *Inventaire archéologique de l'Indochine, II, Monuments chams de l'Annam. Description des monuments* (Archaeological inventory of Indochina, II, Cham monuments of Annam. Description of the Monuments), *EFEO, PEFEO XI* (Paris, 1909) 49.
104. Mak Phoeun, *Les chroniques royales du Cambodge (de 1594 a 1677)* (The royal chronicles of Cambodia from 1594 to 1677) (Ph. D. dissertation, Paris, 1975) 52, 212, 413–4. The chronicles name this King "The August Rama, who has embraced the religion [Islām]"; 'Rāmma Cūla Sāsna', or again 'The Cam', according to Cabaton, "Les Hollandais ..." (1914) op. cit., 53 of the offprint.
105. Cited from documents in the archives by Dijk, van-, L.C.D., *Neerland's vroegste betrekkingen met Borneo, den Solo-archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochinchine* (The earliest relations of the

- Netherlands with Borneo, the Solo Archipelago, Cambodia, Siam and Cochinchina) (Amsterdam: Schelteme, 1862) 331.
106. Perhaps researches in the archives of the Dutch East Indies Company would clarify this point. During this period relations had been close between the VOC and Champa, see Buch, W.J.M., "La Compagnie des Indes Néerlandaises et l'Indochine" (The Dutch Indies Company and Indochina), *BEFEO*, XXXVI (1936) 97-196; XXXVII (1937) 121-237.
  107. Moura, J., *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (The Kingdom of Cambodia) (Paris, 1883) I, 458 sqq. For the works of E. Aymonier, cf. the bibliography given by George Coedès in Aymonier's obituary, *BEFEO*, XXIX (1929) 542-8.
  108. According to Mannevillette, de-, d'Apres, *Le Neptune Oriental* (The Oriental Sea-pilot) (Paris, 1775) 148 sqq. The author has made an extensive search in the Marine Section of the National Archives in the hope of finding more specific information in the log book of *La Galathée*, upon which de Mannevillette must have based his account. Unfortunately it was not to be found.
  109. *Lettre de M. Grillet*, 18 July 1803, ASME, v. 747, 79 sqq.; *Lettre de M. Tabard*, 25 February 1829, *ibid.*, 1030 sqq.
  110. Boisselier, *op. cit.*, 391-3.
  111. Moura, *op. cit.*, I, 494; Maspero, *op. cit.*, 13. These figures must be treated with caution, for Malays and Muslims from Insulinde were frequently reckoned amongst the Chams of Cambodia.
  112. Mak Phoeun, *op. cit.*, 83-4, 99-100; Piat, M., "Les Chroniques royales khmer" (Chronicles of Khmer royals), *BSEI*, XLIX, 1 (1974) 44; Morga, de-, Antonio, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Dr. Antonio de Morga* (Successes of the Philippine Islands) (Mexico, 1609); ed. Retana, W.E., (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1909) 146-8, 278; Moura, *op. cit.*, II, 54, who cites the Royal Khmer chronicle with an erroneous date; Briggs, Lawrence Palmer, "Les missionnaires portugais et espagnols au Cambodge, 1555-1603" (The Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in Cambodia, 1555-1603), *BSEI*, XXV, 1 (1950), 27.
  113. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, X, 239.
  114. *Supra* n. 36.
  115. Shellabear, *Sejarah Malaya ...* (1910) *op. cit.*, 64; *Sejarah Melayu* (1977) *op. cit.*, 57; Winstedt, *The Malay Annals ...* (1938) *op. cit.*, 85; Brown, *op. cit.*, 55.
  116. Under Sultān 'Abd al-Jamīl of Pahang (c. 1497-1511) and Sultān Maḥmūd of Mēlaka (1488-1528), therefore between 1497 and 1511, the date of the fall of Mēlaka.
  117. Shellabear, *Sejarah Malaya ...* (1910) *op. cit.*, 184-90; *Sejarah Melayu* (1977) *op. cit.*, 172; Winstedt, *The Malay Annals ...* (1938) *op. cit.*, 170-3; Brown, *op. cit.*, 145-8.

118. *Supra* n. 68; Cortesão, *op. cit.*, I, 103, 113, 268.
119. "mtos. mouros Chamos e Menancabos", Ayres, Ch., *Fernão Mendes Pinto. Subsídios para a sua biografia e para o estudo da sua obra* (Fernão Mendes Pinto. Contributions for his biography and for the study of his work) (Lisboa, 1904), 79. It is well known that only limited trust can be placed in the details of the picturesque episodes of the *Peregrinaçam* (Peregrination), written from memory after the return of the author to Portugal, and published half a century later after his death in 1614 (a work which in any case had no historical pretensions). But these objections do not apply to the document cited here, the copy of an original letter of Fernão Mendes Pinto, 20 November 1555, when he was still a member of the Society of Jesus. Chapter 220 of the *Peregrinaçam*, which mentions his passage at Patani in 1555, omits all reference to the encounter of the author with these 'Moors'.
120. 'Mouros, Lusões, and Borneos, and Iaos, and Champaas" (Moors [i.e. Muslims] from Luzon, Borneo, Java and Champa) in *Peregrinaçam* (Peregrination), ch. 57, ed. Pimpao, Costa (Porto, 1944-6) II, 113.
121. Noorduyn, *op. cit.*, 248.
122. The more so as the same episode is attributed in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* to the hero, himself (who became the first *Laksamana* of Mēlaka), and not to Hang Nadim (who was also a *Laksamana*). As to this *nakhoda Champa*, he does not appear in Shellabear, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, Malay Literature Series, III (Singapore, 1914) II, 191 sqq.
123. *Memorial* of Gran y Monfalcon in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 82.
124. Coolhaas, Willem Phillipus, *Generale Missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (General Letters of Governor-Generals and Councils to the Gentlemen XVII of the United East India Company) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1968) III, 638.
125. *Dagh-Register ... Anno 1682*, *op. cit.*, 1463.
126. Buch, *op. cit.*; Manguin, *Les Portugais ...* (1972) *op. cit.*, 167-8, 236, 244, 247.
127. Péri, N., "Essai sur les relations du Japon et de l'Indochine aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles" (Essay on the relations of Japan and Indochina in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries), *BEFEO*, XXIII (1923) 31, 34, 52.
128. Maspero, *op. cit.*, 240. Boisselier, *op. cit.*, in a work of which the field of research far surpasses statutory, is alone in dealing with the last centuries of Cham history. The researches of E. Aymonier, and above all of Pō Dharma, concentrate on the chronicles up to 1822.

129. *Dai-nam thuc-luc tiên-biên* (Annals of Dai-nam [i.e. Việt Nam]), VII, 4a-13b, trs. Hà-nôi (1962) I, 147-53. *Dai-nam chinh-bien liet-truyen* (Principal biographies of Dai-nam), I, 33, 21b-22a. For an account of these events by the Chams, see Pö Dharma, op. cit., 53, 60, 64, 131.
130. It is a process similar to that which developed in Southern Sulawësi: the settlement of Malay merchants, numerous already at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the conversion to Islām of the various Sovereigns in the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; see Noorduyn, op. cit.
131. Malay influence is apparent in Cham literature: there are texts such as the *Dēvāmanō* and *Inrāpatrā*, which are the counterparts of the Malay *Hikayat Dewa Mandu* and *Inderaputera*. Cf. the translation with commentary of these two Cham texts by G. Moussay and Nara Vija respectively; both are unpublished theses of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section. Their summaries are to be found in the *Annuaire* of the IVe Section of the EPHE (1975-6) 1085-91. The part played in Cham literature by King Nushirwan also seems a Malay importation; see Durand, E.-M., "Le livre d'Anouchirvan" (The book of Anouchirvan), *BEFEO*, VII (1907). Also must be cited an interlinear Malay translation of an 'Arabic religious text, copied by a Malay *imām*, a native of Chau-doc, in 1893, "with the purpose of leading back to a more enlightened Islām, his Cam co-religionists of Annam"; Cabaton, Antoine, "Une traduction interlinéaire malaise de la Aqidah d'Al-Senusi" (A Malay interlinear translation of al-Sanūsī's 'Aqīda), *JA*, III (1904) 115.
132. The influence of the various rites upon the world of Nusantara remains to be studied; it could help in determining the origin of Islām which is practised there. On the survival of the Shī'ā trends in the Archipelago, cf. amongst others Snouck Hurgronje, C., *The Achehnese* (Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1906) I, 202 sqq., and for a recent discussion of the question, Baroroh Baried, "Le Shi'isme en Indonesie" (Shī'ism in Indonesia), *Archipel*, 15 (1978) 65-84.
133. Cabaton, Antoine, "L'Islam dans l'Indochine française" (Islām in French Indochina), *Encyclopedie de l'Islam* (Encyclopaedia of Islām) (Leiden, 1927) II, 540.
134. The Cham colony in Cambodia, which was linked to the Muslim world by the intermediary, once again, of the Malays, up until the ascendance of the Khmer Rouge, practised a more orthodox Islām.

## APPENDICES

- I Anglo-Siamese Agreements: The Splitting of Peninsular and Patani Malays
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## APPENDIX I

### ANGLO-SIAMESE AGREEMENTS: THE SPLITTING OF PENINSULAR AND PATANI MALAYS

**B**Y the 1826 Treaty of Bangkok between Siam and Britain, the Malay States of Kédah and Patani are described as provinces of Siam, whereas the status of Kélanan and Těřngganu is ambiguous. Article 12 defines the obligations of the contracting parties towards the two States:

Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the two states of Tringganu and Calantan; English merchants and subjects shall have trade intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had; and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb those states upon any pretence whatever.

See Mohamed b. Nik Mohd. Salleh, "Kelantan in Transition: 1891-1910" in *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, ed. Roff, Wm. R. (Kuala Lumpur: OUP, 1974) 33.

In 1897 a Secret Convention was concluded which guaranteed Siam's territorial integrity and recognized its authority over the Malay States as long as British commercial predominance at Bangkok was maintained and no other foreign power was given a concession for mining or any other purpose in the region south of Muang Ban Tapan without first obtaining the written consent of the British Government.

The motive behind the 1902 Anglo-Siamese Agreement, which Britain considered a 'clarification' of the 1897 Secret Convention, was British alarm at Siamese inability to prevent Malay rulers from granting concessions on their own. The nightmare of the Foreign Office was of Germany gaining any concession, particularly for a coaling station off the Malay Peninsula which Germany would then fortify. As Siam pushed to reorganize the administration of their 'outer provinces' and 'tributary states', stripping Malay 'governors' of their traditional rights, Malay resistance grew, particularly when in 1902, the Siamese arrested

and exiled the 'Patani governor', Tengku Abdul Kadir Kamarudin bin Tengku Sulaiman Saifudin, to Phitsanulok (where he was detained for 33 months) and the Ra-ngae governor to Songkhla, while the Raman governor's son, Luang Rayaphabdi, was taken away to be imprisoned in Bangkok, but was to die on the way when his boat sank. The Foreign Office was concerned that 'disturbances' in any part of the Malay Peninsula might create ideal conditions for foreign intervention. It was this apprehension which thwarted the Colonial Office's 1901 proposal to press Siam to appoint British officials as Siamese representatives in Patani, Kĕlantan and Tĕrĕngganu. The scramble for concessions in China since 1898 led the Foreign Office to fear a similar scenario developing in Siam with dire consequences for British commercial and strategic interests. Britain also considered that should the Malays succeed to drive out the Siamese that Britain might lose out to some foreign power by sheer default.

The Anglo-Siamese Agreement was signed on 6 October 1902 to ameliorate shortcomings in the 1897 Secret Convention. There was a Declaration agreeing upon the terms of the draft agreement to be concluded between Siam and Kĕlantan and Tĕrĕngganu to allow for the appointment of Advisers to these States and there was a secret exchange of notes stipulating that the Advisers would be British with the British right to participate in their appointment and removal. The Kĕlantan ruler alone signed the agreement with Siam and accepted an Adviser. As for the 'recalcitrant' Tĕrĕngganu ruler, the British stance was that sign or not, they would not allow him to enter into relations with or to give concessions to any other power.

(See Chandran Jeshurun, "Lord Lansdowne and the 'Anti-German Clique' at the Foreign Office: Their Role in the Making of the Anglo-Siamese Agreement of 1902", *JSEAS*, III, 2 (1972) 229-46.)

Siam's purpose in the 1902 Agreement was to establish a definite and public claim to suzerainty over Kĕlantan and Tĕrĕngganu. "At no time had any treaty or written agreement been entered into between Siam and either of the two States, but in the lengthy negotiations which were conducted at this period between Great Britain and Siam there was the assumption that both Kĕlantan and Tĕrĕngganu were already dependencies of Siam; this Britain had already conceded in what Chamberlain was to characterize as the 'unfortunate' 1897 Secret Agreement. In a declaration attached to the draft agreement which Sir Frank

Swettenham brought to Těřngganu Sultān Zainal Abidin (Zayn al-'Abīdīn) on his visit, the preamble read "The State of Trěngganu has been recognized to be a dependency of Siam".

While the Sultān of Kělantān signed the agreement during Swettenham's visit to Kota Bharu, the Sultān of Těřngganu refused to accept either the English version or the more harsh Siamese version which had been sent from Bangkok. In Swettenham's account of his visit, he states that from Sultān Zainal Abidin's point of view "... the Siamese are friends or acquaintances and nothing more and it is quite evident that his object is to stand aloof and to have no closer connection with any power". (See M.C. ff Sheppard, "A Short History of Trengganu", *JMBRAS*, XXII, 3 (1949) 51.

On the conclusion of the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907, Strobel, the General Adviser to the Siamese Government, approached the British for negotiations. Strobel sought the abolition of extraterritoriality in exchange for cession to Britain of the States of Kědah, Kělantān and Těřngganu. To Strobel these States were a source of weakness, danger and annoyance, and Kělantān and Těřngganu had never formed an integral part of Siam. Siam had no allusions as to their sultāns' loyalty. In fact the Sultān of Těřngganu, a man of character as compared with the Sultāns of Kědah and Kělantān, had blocked an attempt to establish control over his State under the 1902 Agreement. Strobel convinced the Thai king that with Siam exercising only ineffective control, eventually Siam would lose all her Malay 'possessions' to Britain with no benefit in return. While a frontier which would include all Malay Muslims would be logical, leaving Siam as T'ai and Buddhist, Strobel made clear that the cession was based entirely on the wish of Siam to disencumber herself of territory over which she exercised no control. The question of the rights of the Malay Muslim peoples was irrelevant to both the negotiating powers. The British negotiators succeeded also to gain Perlis, the southern part of Raman and the Langkawi Islands. What had been the Kingdom of Patani, as well as a district of Kědah which became Satun Province, was recognized by Britain as coming within Siam's sovereignty. Britain renounced extraterritoriality and gave Siam a loan for the construction of a railway at 4% interest. The Malay-Muslim States being negotiated over were not a party to the bilateral 10 March 1909 Anglo-Siamese Agreement. The terms of the Agreement were not conveyed to Těřngganu until after signatures had been affixed. Article One of the Treaty reads:

Transfer of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Adjacent Islands to Great Britain.

The Siamese Government transfers to the British Government all rights of suzerainty, protection and administration and control whatsoever which they possess over the states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and adjacent islands.

On 22 April 1910 an agreement was signed between Těřngganu and Great Britain providing for mutual help, extradition of offenders, protection of Těřngganu by Great Britain against attacks, prohibition of political dealings by Těřngganu with any foreign power without the consent of Great Britain and the appointment of a British officer to reside in Těřngganu and to be an Agent with functions similar to those of a consular officer. (Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 53-4.)

Under the Japanese Military Administration, the Malay States of Kělantan, Těřngganu, Kědah and Perlis 'reverted' to Siamese (Thai) rule in October 1943. They were regained by Malaya with the reoccupation by the British Military Administration at the end of World War II.

APPENDIX II  
MALAY-MUSLIM REALITY IN PATANI

**M**USLIMS in Patani are rice-farmers, fishermen and rubber-tappers; the more fortunate work on their own small-holdings. Thai and Chinese Buddhists (6 per cent of the population) own most of the tin mines, large rubber and coconut plantations, and operate virtually all business concerns of any substance. Even the Islāmic Councils are controlled by the Thai Government. Few bureaucrats in the Malay-Muslim States of South Thailand are drawn from the indigenous Patani Malays.

At the Patani campus of the Prince of Songkhla University, Muslim students comprised 18.14 per cent of student enrolment in 1996: 616 of 3,391 total enrolment. In the Science programme, of 449 students, only 76 were Muslims or 16.93 per cent, but by the fourth year, total enrolment was 92 of which only six were Muslims or 6.52 per cent. In Liberal Arts, of 532 students, 55 were Muslims, but by the fourth year of 134 students only 15 were Muslims. In the faculty of Humanities and Social Science, of 1,269 students there were 142 Muslims, but again by the fourth year of 282 remaining students only 27 were Muslims. In the Faculty of Science and Technology, there were 293 students, of whom 16 were Muslims; by the fourth year, only 49 students remained and only four were Muslims. In the Graduate School of 522 students, 66 were Muslims. In many programmes Muslim women considerably outnumbered Muslim men; for instance, in the Science programme, of the 76 Muslims, 56 were women; in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, 96 were women and 46 men; in Science and Technology of the 16 Muslims, nine were women. Only in Graduate School did the number of Muslim women become significantly less than Muslim men, 20 out of 66. Of the total Muslim enrolment in all faculties of 615, 202 or 32.85 per cent began their student life in Islāmic Studies but even here, by the fourth year only 48 students remained.

*Muslim Students Remaining in Various Faculties by the 4th year:*

<i>Faculty</i>	<i>Initial Enrolment</i>	<i>4th Year</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Science	76	6	7.89
Liberal Arts	55	15	27.27
Humanities and Social Science	142	27	19.01
Science and Technology	16	8	50.00
TOTAL	289	56	19.38

(Data collated for MSRI by Dr. Seni Mudmarn.)

These vast disparities in Muslim enrolment have to be seen against the total population in Patani province, itself, where 77 per cent of the population is Muslim. In 1982, the indigenous Malay-Muslim population of the four provinces that once comprised a unified Patani was as follows:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Area (sq. km.)</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Rural (%)</i>	<i>Muslim (%)</i>
Patani	2,109	467,621	91	77
Narathiwat	4,227	469,735	87	78
Yala	4,716	291,166	76	63
Satun	2,669	179,565	89	66
TOTAL	13,721	1,408,087	Aver. 86	71

*Source:* Wan Kadir Che Man, *Muslim Separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand* (Singapore: OUP, 1990) 36, citing Thailand's National Statistical Office (1982); Siamban (1985).

Although we requested from the Royal Thai Embassy at Kuala Lumpur updated population data and percentage of Muslims in the four southern provinces, they could only provide the total population without specifying percentage of Muslims. They cite the *Statistical Yearbook Thailand 1998* and give Patani: 590,739; Narathiwat: 646,871; Yala: 418,790; Satun: 253,177. Since these figures represent substantial population increases, it's most unfortunate they could not inform of the percentage of Muslims.

### APPENDIX III

#### CONVERSION OF THE SUMATRAN BATAKS

As a result of reading Franz Junghuhn's work on the Batak people,<sup>1</sup> missionary Neubronner — 'Pondortuk' (Big Nose), as van der Tuuk was called — became interested in the Bataks. In 1849, he was sent by the Dutch Bible Society to stay in Barus on the west coast of Sumatra. Van der Tuuk advised the missionaries as follows: "There is no hope to be successful among the people of Angkola and Mandailing. The largest portion of them have already entered Islam, as have most of the Batak people under the governmental control of the Dutch. To spread Christianity, therefore, it will be necessary to take resolute action. All of the missionaries will have to be directed to other places. If we do not follow this plan, it is my opinion that the whole society will become Islamized before we realize it. Usually the Malayan language enters alongside governmental control, bringing many people from Malaya with the intention of converting these people to Islam." See Müller-Krüger, Th., *Sedjarah Geredja di Indonesia* (History of the Church in Indonesia) (Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1959) 181-2, cited in Pedersen, Paul Bodholdt, *Batak Blood and Protestant Soul: The Development of National Batak Churches in North Sumatra* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1970) 54.

Christian missionary penetration of North Sumatra was a phenomenon of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1679, the Dutch East Indies Company had established a Christian congregation at Padang on the west coast but made no move to evangelize the indigenous population. With the arrival of the English in Java and Sumatra in 1811 this policy was changed. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the local British representative, strongly encouraged Christian missionary work among the Bataks. Some sources claim Raffles was trying to divide the strong Muslim Achehnese to the North of Batakland from the strong Muslim Minangkabau to the South. See Parlindungan, Mangaradja Onggang, *TuanKu Rao*

(Imam Bonjol) (Jakarta: Penerbit Tandjung Pengharapan, 1962) 626. This policy, reputedly designed by Raffles and Lord Moira, British Governor-General at Calcutta, was presumably part of the divide-and-conquer pattern colonial powers were frequently accused of following in Indonesia (*ibid.*, 47).

But it was not only Islām which confronted the Dutch and the missionaries. Singamangaradja XII was militantly against the missionaries who had begun to move into the Toba region. In 1866 he tried to block the penetration of 'the white eyes', the missionaries (also referred to as 'goat eyes', the only other blue eyes ever seen!). In preparation for his big assault, Si Singamangaradja hired a number of soldiers from Aceh to help him, circulating rumours that the Ottoman Sultān would attack from the south and soon all of Sumatra would be freed from the white man. In 1883, Singamangaradja tried for the last time to drive the Dutch and the missionaries out of Toba. He hired a number of Malay troops and secured a large following of Bataks to attack Balige on the shore of Lake Toba. But after a brief engagement, the Dutch garrison drove the Bataks off and followed up with an invasion of Singamangaradja's stronghold at Bakara, eliminating any strong organized opposition to Dutch rule and Christian missionary penetration (*ibid.*, 64-5).

Batak unity was severed when the Toba, Simalungun, and Karo Bataks accepted Christianity, while the Angkola and Mandailing groups had turned to Islām. The antagonism became so strong that around 1920 the Mandailing Bataks initiated a campaign for separate recognition, that they might no longer be regarded as Bataks. (Keuning, Johannes, *The Toba Batak, Formerly and Now* (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1958) 3f., quoted in Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 44.) "Islam was particularly active along the coastal borders of Batakland when Christian missionaries first penetrated the area. The Padri War of the 1820s brought Muslim armies (*sic*) of Imam Bondjol, or Tuanku Rao, from the southern Minangkabau stronghold of Islam as far north as Lake Toba, causing many Bataks to accept Islam along the way" (*ibid.*). "It is ironic that the Muslim armies of Imam Bondjol invaded Batakland just as missionaries began to concentrate on the Bataks. While the invading armies did not convert more than the southernmost tribes, they accelerated the breakdown of traditional Batak society. The missionaries were not hesitant to plant the seeds of Christianity in the newly-ploughed fields of Batakland." (Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 46.)

The Bataks were attracted to Islām for several reasons. Islām offered the promise of education and entrance into modern society associated with the coastal cities, and coastal trade was for the most part in the hands of Muslims. Missionaries commented on the underlying assumption that Islām was the religion of the future. "How often on the East Coast of Sumatra, when I asked the heathen if they were Mohemmedans, did they answer: 'Not yet!' They were quite convinced they would be someday." (Simon, Gottfried, *Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra*, introd. Zwemer, Samuel M., (London: Marshall Brothers, 1914) 223, quoted in Pedersen, op. cit., 45.) In any case, the Bataks recognized that their traditional religion was inadequate to cope with modern civilization.

The Dutch Government inadvertently supported the advance of Islām. The progress of missions was severely restricted by the government which feared "that the spread of Christianity might arouse the fanaticism of the Mohammedan and, thereby, make difficulties for the Government". (Klerck, de-, E.S., *History of the Netherlands East Indies* (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1938) II, 390, quoted in Pedersen, *ibid.*). Later these restrictions were modified and the government sought help from the missionaries as allies. However, many of the government institutions and staff were associated with Islām. The official language of office and school was Malay, often written in 'Arabic script, and the civil servants as well as teachers were coastal Malays, all devout Muslims. While the Dutch were bringing new influences into Batakland, "the agents of civilization also for the most part wear the white turban, the badge of the worldly-wise Mecca pilgrim". (Simon, op. cit., 34, quoted in Pedersen, *ibid.*) "The association between civilization and Islam was so strong that even Christian missionaries were obliged to assure Bataks they were not Muslims in disguise!" (*Ibid.*, 26, quoted in Pedersen, 45-6.)

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1. See 110, n. 130 *supra* for full reference.

#### APPENDIX IV

#### PADRI REFORM MOVEMENT AND THE WAR OF 1821-38

Excerpted from M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia, c. 1300 to the present* (London: Macmillan, 1981; 7<sup>th</sup> repr. 1990) 133-4 by kind permission of Macmillan Press Ltd.

Royal authority in Minangkabau rested primarily upon the control of gold. "The villages supporting royal interests occupied the main gold-producing areas (in the Tanah Datar district) and the main export routes, and followed the system of customary law called *Kota Piliang*.<sup>1</sup> By the 1780s, gold supplies were running out and the old order of Minangkabau society was threatened by the rise of new sources of prosperity, especially coffee, salt, gambier and textiles. These were centred in the hill areas of Agam and Limapuluh Kota districts, in villages which followed a different customary law system called *Bodi Caniago*<sup>2</sup> and which traded primarily with the Americans and the British (whose establishment of Penang in 1786 greatly stimulated this commercial revolution).

"Out of this new commercial activity arose an Islamic reform movement which began in Agam in the 1780s. After about 1803-4, this became known as the Padri movement because of the leadership of the *orang Pidari*, the 'men of Pědir' who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca via the Acehese port of Pědir. The reform movement derived its impetus from Agam and Limapuluh Kota, from hill districts, from *Bodi Caniago* villages, and from merchants who sought protection in a revitalised Islamic law from the prevailing violence and insecurity which threatened their contracts, their goods and their persons. Sufi teachers, especially of the Shattariyah order, played important roles, although in later stages of the movement there were signs of anti-Sufi sentiments.

"A group of three *hajis* (pilgrims) who returned to Minangkabau in 1803 or 1804 were inspired by the conquest of Mecca (early in 1803) by the puritanical Wahhabi reformers, and were similarly willing to use violence to reform Minangkabau society.

The Padri movement opposed gambling, cockfighting, aspects of the local matriarchal customary law (especially concerning inheritance), the use of opium, strong drink, tobacco and betel nut, as well as the generally lax observance of the formal ritual obligations of Islam. They did not, however, share all the puritanism of the Wahhabi movement in Arabia, for they did not oppose reverence for saints or holy places.

"The main Padri leaders were accorded the Minangkabau title of respect for religious teachers, *tuanku*; the most prominent among them was Tuanku Imam Bonjol (1772-1864). Dutch observers tended to see the conflict in terms of Islam versus *adat* (customary law), or of *tuanku* (religious leaders) versus *pěnghulu* (clan heads, the *adat* or 'secular' leaders). This assumption later became a principle of Dutch administration here as elsewhere in Indonesia ... . This does not, however, adequately depict the complex social and theological issues involved in the Padri movement, as preceding paragraphs show. Indeed, *tuankus* were in dispute among themselves about both the aims and the methods of the reform movement, and *pěnghulus* existed who were supporters of it.

"In the course of the civil war which grew out of the attempts at reform, the Padris faced greatest resistance in Tanah Datar and in plains areas, i.e. in those regions least involved in the commercial revolution. But the reformers won victory upon victory. In about 1815 most of the Minangkabau royal family was murdered in Tanah Datar, and the Padri victory was nearly complete. Now the Padris spread into South Tapanuli and began the Islamisation of the pagan Bataks there. But the military success of the Padris was soon threatened by the return of the Dutch (after the British interregnum) to Padang in 1819. Anti-Padri *pěnghulus* and the remnants of the royal family turned to the Dutch for support. In February 1821 they signed a treaty surrendering Minangkabau, over which they no longer held any real authority, to Dutch sovereignty. The first Dutch attack upon the Padris followed shortly thereafter, and the Padri War (1821-38) began.

"The colonial forces found that they faced a formidable enemy. Their victories were mixed with failures, including a serious defeat in Lintau in 1823. During the Java War (1825-30) the Dutch were unable to act decisively, but reinforcements later became available. By this time Imam Bonjol had Acehese support, but nonetheless by 1832 the Padris seemed to be

subdued. In 1833, however, the war resumed and renewed colonial offensives were required. The economic lifelines of Minangkabau resistance were progressively cut as the Dutch sealed off the west coast and then the east coast outlets for Minangkabau trade. In 1837 the fortified town of Bonjol was finally taken. Tuanku Imam Bonjol fled but then surrendered. He was exiled first to Priangan, then to Ambon, and finally to Měnado, where he died in 1864. The Padri War ended with a final colonial victory at Daludalu at the end of 1838.

"Dutch rule was now imposed throughout Minangkabau. The colonial government relied upon the 'adat chiefs' (the *pěnghulus*) to counteract what it saw as Islamic fanaticism. The Dutch thereby artificially enhanced the distinction between customary law (*adat*) and Islam in Minangkabau society, and contributed to a decline in the prestige of the *pěnghulus*. The colonial government did not allow Minangkabau royalty to regain any autonomous power, but treated them as mere *regents* (*bupatis*), on the Javanese model.

"Despite their military defeat, the Padris had left a deep and lasting mark upon Minangkabau society. A strong commitment to Islamic orthodoxy remained. In the fluid balance between *adat* and Islam, the role of Islam as a part of the whole set of rules which governed Minangkabau society had been greatly increased. Under Dutch rule, there was indeed a further wave of reform in the mid-nineteenth century, when the Qadiriya and especially the Naqshabandiya orders of Sufism, with a greater concern for orthodox ritual, forced the Shattariya order to lose its predominant position in the area."

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1. Ed. Note: the *Kota Piliang* system of customary law recognizes the position of a *puncak* (chief) as the *primus inter pares* and is thus assumed to be more autocratic.
  2. Ed. Note: *Bodi Caniago* is based on 'egalitarian' principles in the sense that the *nagari* — village republics — were ruled by a group of *pěnghulu* (clan heads) as the representatives of their respective *sukus* or clans, the smallest political and religious units.

## APPENDIX V

### MORO RESISTANCE TO SPANISH COLONIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

Moro Resistance to Spanish Colonization of the Philippines is based on Cesar Adib Majul's "The historical background of the Muslims in the Philippines and the present Mindanao crisis", paper read during the Second National Conference of the Philippine Muslims' Lawyers League, 15-18 December 1971 (Manila: Convislam, 1972).

**I**SLĀM represented an ideological force and provided elements of an elementary form of nationalism against the forces of Western imperialism, colonialism and 'Christianity'. The long series of wars between the Spaniards and the Muslims in the Philippines have conveniently been lumped together under the term 'Moro Wars'. Spanish chroniclers, as well as other historians sympathetic to their view, have projected such wars as Spanish expeditions against Muslim pirates or defensive acts against Muslim depredations in Spanish-held territories.

The first stage of the Moro Wars refers to the contest between the Spaniards and the people of Brunei, aided by the Sulus, for the religious and commercial dominance of the Archipelago. It began at the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines in 1565 and ended in the invasion and defeat of Brunei in 1578. The Sulu Sultān, a brother-in-law of the Sultān of Brunei, was led to offer some pearls and gold to the Spaniards, which was interpreted by the latter as tribute.

The second stage refers to the attempt of the Spanish to reduce the *rajas* of Sulu and Maguindanao to vassalage and to found new colonies in their territories. In 1576, the newly-designated Governor of Mindanao was killed by the people of Buayan. Soon after, the Spanish colony in Sampakan and the fort in La Caldera (close to Zamboanga) were abandoned. In this stage, the people of Ternate were the staunch allies of the people of Mindanao.

The third stage, beginning around 1599, represented a contest between the Maguindanaos, aided by the people of Buayan and Těrnate, and the Spaniards as to who would collect tribute from the Visayas. The fall of Těrnate to the Spanish in 1606 weakened this alliance. However, to this stage belongs the devastating raids of the Sulus, aided by Borneans, on Spanish-held coastal towns in Luzon and in the Visayas. The Sulus were mainly victorious in their expeditions to weaken the Spanish presence.

The fourth stage began in 1635 when, on Jesuit advice, the Spanish fortified Zamboanga. The Spaniards were determined to conquer the sultānates, Christianize the Muslims, and exact tribute from them as vassals of Spain. In 1637, Qudārat (Qudratullah), the Maguindanao Sultān, was defeated and his dynastic rival, the Raja of Buayan, thoroughly intimidated by the Spaniards. In 1638, after a magnificent defence, the major *cotta* (fort) of the Sulu Sultān fell to Governor-General Corcuera. Intense guerilla warfare ensued in Sulu and Mindanao. Because of their fear of Dutch designs, and more so because Sultān Qudārat eventually was able to strengthen himself in Mindanao, the Spaniards entered into a Treaty with the Sultān in 1645. They recognized the sovereignty of Qudārat over the areas now known as Cotabato, Lanao, Bukidnon, Davao, and parts of Zamboanga and Cagayan de Oro. No native leader in the Philippines had ever exercised so much power over so much territory. In 1646, the Spaniards entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the Sulu Sultān. Nevertheless, as a result of Spanish incursions into his territories, as well as attempts to convert him and other Muslims to Christianity, in 1656 Sultān Qudārat declared *Jihād* (Holy War) against the Spanish government in Manila. He sent letters to the sultāns of Sulu, Těrnate, Makasar, Brunei, and possibly other sultānates, to help him in the defence of Islām and the *Sharī'a* (the canon law of Islām). The wars that followed were fearful. However, in 1663, on account of Koxinga's threat,<sup>1</sup> the Spaniards abandoned the fort of Zamboanga, and Qudārat was able to exercise his rule over his Samal subjects there.

In this fourth stage, the Spaniards pursued a deliberate policy of destroying all Muslim-owned orchards, farms, and settlements. All sea-craft, whatever their size, were captured or burned. Muslim prisoners, if not used for the galleys or sold as slaves, were executed and their corpses publicly displayed to inspire

terror. Coastal settlements in Tawi-Tawi, as well as interior settlements in Jolo Island, were systematically destroyed. Decimation of the population, especially in Sulu, had become official Spanish policy. The effects are still visible after three centuries.

From 1663 to 1718, there was peace. Left alone, the Muslims stopped bothering the Spanish-held coastal towns and resumed their commercial activities. However, they began to quarrel with one another principally over dynastic rivalries or the collection of tribute.

In 1718, as a result of continuous Jesuit agitation, Zamboanga was occupied and refortified by the Spaniards. The fifth stage of the Moro Wars soon commenced. The Sulus and Iranuns tried to dislodge the Spaniards from the fort but to no avail, while some of the Maguindanaos helped supply food to the Spaniards in return for concessions. At this stage, the Spaniards adopted the tactic of concluding peace and commercial treaties with the Muslim rulers providing Catholic missionaries would be accepted in Muslim realms. Sultān 'Azīm al-Dīn (Alimudin) (r.1735-48 and 1764-74) and members of his family were converted to Catholicism. His deposition and the succession of his brother led to a desultory war between the Spaniards and the Muslims. The Spaniards reverted to their policy of enslaving Muslims, branding them, and burning their settlements, orchards, plantations, and sea-craft. The brother of Alimudin tried to contact the Ottoman Sultān at Constantinople (Istanbul, Turkey) and the Chinese emperor for help against Spain.

The sixth stage of the Moro Wars began around 1851 and ended in the last days of Spanish rule. The Spanish campaign in 1851 was waged to prevent the French, British or Dutch from forging an alliance with the Muslims or gaining a foothold in Muslim areas. To this stage belongs the despoliation of the Balanguingui Islands and the dispersal of its population. 'Moro piracy' was the excuse for the campaign, as well as for later ones, notwithstanding that as sharp traders the Sulu Sultāns hated piracy and punished pirates out of an interest in keeping all commercial lanes open.

If a seventh stage is to be looked for, then it would refer to the American 'pacification' campaign against the Muslims. A few bloody wars took place during this stage. But American officials in general did not care to convert Muslims to Christianity.

1. Ed. Note: Koxinga or Cheng Ch'eng-kung was a Chinese free-booter who conquered Formosa from the Dutch in the early 1660s. In May 1662, Chinese emissaries of Koxinga, accompanied by a Dominican, Vittorio Ricci, arrived in Manila carrying a letter which threatened attack unless the Spanish colony paid him tribute. This threat caused the Spanish to panic. They recalled their garrisons from various parts of the Philippines and Maluku and concentrated them in Manila; however, the attack never materialized.

## APPENDIX VIA POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGION, SABAH, 1991

Ethnic Group	Muslim	Christian	Tribal Folk	Others	No Religion	Unknown	TOTAL
Malays	106,006	-	-	-	-	43	106,049
Dusun	42,907	155,081	97	3,115	15,499	112	216,811
Kadazan	14,373	82,513	142	3,740	3,905	75	104,748
Bajau	202,694	271	9	24	57	262	203,317
Murut	5,688	41,589	93	540	2,281	15	50,206
Other Bumiputera	174,004	63,872	69	7,459	9,607	393	255,404
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>545,672</b>	<b>343,326</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>14,878</b>	<b>31,349</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>936,535</b>
<b>BUMIPUTERA</b>	<b>3,284</b>	<b>52,787</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>134,550*</b>	<b>8,233</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>199,140</b>
Chinese	131,898	7,287	3	90	24	16	139,318
Other Citizens	22,764	6,124	9	3,040	96	10	32,043
<b>TOTAL CITIZENS</b>	<b>703,618</b>	<b>409,524</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>152,558</b>	<b>39,702</b>	<b>1,086</b>	<b>1,307,036</b>
Non-Citizens	358,596	60,847	19	2,282	1,024	294	423,062
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>1,062,214</b>	<b>470,371</b>	<b>567</b>	<b>154,840</b>	<b>40,726</b>	<b>1,380</b>	<b>1,730,098</b>

Source: Banci Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia, Laporan Penduduk Negeri Sabah, Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

\* Note: 'Others' for Chinese includes: Buddhists: 115,946; Confucianists/Taoists: 16,969; Hindus & Others: 1,635; TOTAL 134,550.

## APPENDIX VIB POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGION, SARAWAK, 1991

Ethnic Group	Muslim	Christian	Tribal Folk	Others	No Religion	Unknown	TOTAL
Malays	349,362	-	-	-	-	26	349,388
Iban	5,517	266,215	136,315	15,146	58,350	140	481,683
Bidayuh	2,474	118,309	8,794	3,128	2,719	33	135,457
Melanau	74,024	14,808	2,984	163	1,501	30	93,510
Other Bumiputera	18,503	71,137	6,782	1,061	1,995	21	99,499
<b>TOTAL</b>							
BUMIPUTERA	449,880	470,469	154,875	19,498	64,565	250	1,159,537
Chinese	1,917	122,148	1,440	262,417*	57,450	176	445,548
Other Citizens	9,768	1,813	78	2,763	76	2	14,500
<b>TOTAL CITIZENS</b>	461,565	594,430	156,393	284,678	122,091	428	1,619,585
Non-Citizens	9,886	4,510	151	1,107	459	40	16,153
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<u>471,451</u>	<u>598,940</u>	<u>156,544</u>	<u>285,785</u>	<u>122,550</u>	<u>468</u>	<u>1,635,738</u>

Source: Banci Penduduk dan Perumahan Malaysia, Laporan Penduduk Negeri Sarawak, Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

\* Note: 'Others' for Chinese includes: Buddhists: 167,222; Confucianists/Taoists: 94,147; Hindus & Others: 1,048; TOTAL 262,417.

## VII: INDONESIA: RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION BY REGION, 1990

<i>Region</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Christian</i>	<i>Hindu</i>	<i>Buddhist</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Numbers (in '000)</b>						
Jakarta	6,920	899	20	382	7	8,228
Rest of Java: urban	27,760	1,986	45	289	34	30,114
Rest of Java: rural	68,248	668	137	102	29	69,184
North Sumatra	6,483	3,389	19	341	20	10,252
Rest of Sumatra	24,904	683	120	406	106	26,219
North Sulawěsi	1,179	1,279	12	3	3	2,476
South Sulawěsi	6,178	680	70	27	25	6,980
Rest of Sulawěsi	2,597	361	88	6	1	3,053
West Kalimantan	1,795	1,083	1	220	128	3,227
Rest of Kalimantan	5,073	552	165	32	46	5,868
Maluku	1,052	791	1	1	7	1,852
Bali	225	29	2,509	14	0	2,777
West Nusatěnggara	3,246	25	87	10	1	3,369
East Nusatěnggara	298	2,812	6	1	150	3,267
East Timor	28	702	4	3	11	748
Irian Jaya	331	1,293	3	2	1	1,630
<b>ALL INDONESIA</b>	<b>156,317</b>	<b>17,232</b>	<b>3,287</b>	<b>1,839</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>179,244</b>
<b>Percentage distribution</b>						
Jakarta	84.1	10.9	0.2	4.7	0.1	100
Rest of Java: urban	92.2	6.6	0.1	1.0	0.1	100
Rest of Java: rural	98.7	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	100
North Sumatra	63.2	33.1	0.2	3.3	0.2	100
Rest of Sumatra	95.0	2.6	0.5	1.5	0.4	100
North Sulawěsi	47.6	51.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	100
South Sulawěsi	88.5	9.7	1.0	0.4	0.4	100
Rest of Sulawěsi	85.1	11.8	2.9	0.2	0.0	100
West Kalimantan	55.6	33.6	0.0	6.8	4.0	100
Rest of Kalimantan	86.5	9.4	2.8	0.5	0.8	100
Maluku	56.8	42.7	0.1	0.0	0.4	100
Bali	8.1	1.0	90.4	0.5	0.0	100
West Nusatěnggara	96.4	0.7	2.6	0.3	0.0	100
East Nusatěnggara	9.1	86.1	0.2	0.0	4.6	100
East Timor	3.7	93.9	0.5	0.4	1.5	100
Irian Jaya	20.3	79.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	100
<b>ALL INDONESIA</b>	<b>87.2</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Sensus Penduduk 1990, Seri S2, Table 5.

Notes: Small differences between totals and subtotals due to rounding. 'Christian' includes the categories 'Catholic' and 'Protestant/Other Christianity'.



## CONTRIBUTORS

- The late Professor Gerardus Willebrordus Joannes Drewes, since his student days affectionately known as 'Hari', one of the manifestations of the god Wisnu, was born on 28 November 1899. From 1917 to 1925, he studied Oriental languages at the University of Leiden, after which he went to Indonesia. He became Head of the Balai Pustaka, Indonesia, in 1930 and in 1935 Professor of Islāmic Law and Malay at the Faculty of Law, Jakarta. From 1938–40, he was Visiting Professor of Javanese at Leiden University. Professor G.W.J. Drewes was held as a hostage by the Germans through 1940–44, a year of which he was incarcerated in Buchenwald. After the war, he was made Visiting Professor of Malay and Javanese at Leiden University (1945–46), Dean of the Faculty of Law and the Literary Faculty, Jakarta, Indonesia (1946–47), Professor of Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, Leiden University (1947), of Islāmic Studies (1952), and of 'Arabic and Islāmic Studies (1959).

BKI's "In Memoriam" by Andries Teeuw, 150 (1994) 39–49, lists 156 publications of Professor Drewes among which were *The admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16<sup>th</sup> century Javanese Muslim text attributed to the Saint of Bonan*, re-edited, translated and provided with an introduction (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969) vii+149 pp.; *The romance of King Anlin Darma in Javanese literature* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975) viii+375 pp.; *Directions for travellers on the mystic path: Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's Kitāb Faḥ al-Rahmān and its Indonesian adaptations with an appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1977) viii+256 pp.; *Hikajat Potjut Muhamat: An Achehnese epic* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1979) x+286 pp.

It is to Drewes' moral credit that he was one of the founders of the Stuuw Group which in 1930 published an appeal for an emancipation policy for Indonesia 'which would have to culminate in the creation of an independent Indonesian commonwealth. Owing to this principle and the

sympathy they showed for Indonesian nationalism, the European press in the Netherlands Indies classed them with the extreme left.'

Professor Drewes died on 7 June, 1992.

- The late Professor Charles Ralph Boxer had the distinction of having been the holder of five university chairs without a degree to his name! He was born on the Isle of Wight on 8 March 1904, and educated at Wellington and Sandhurst. He served in the Lincolnshire Regiment from 1923 until 1947. From 1930 until 1933 he was a language officer in Japan, and in 1933 was appointed an official interpreter in Japanese. Later stationed in Hongkong, he was imprisoned following the Japanese invasion in 1941. In 1946 he returned to Japan with the British delegation of the Far Eastern Commission. During this period, Boxer published extensively on many aspects of the history of Asia. His flair for languages enabled him to master Dutch and Portuguese, to which he added French, Spanish, German and Italian. In 1947 Boxer resigned from the army when he was offered the Camões Chair of Portuguese in London University. He held this post until his resignation in 1967, except for two years (1951–53) when he became the first Professor of the History of the Far East in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. In 1967, after his retirement, he began teaching at Indiana University in Bloomington. He moved to Yale in 1969 as Professor in the History of the Expansion of Europe Overseas, finally retiring in 1972.

Among his wide-ranging and extensive publications are *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600–1817* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1936); *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951); *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1699–1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1965); *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969); *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415–1815* (London: Duckworth, 1975).

Professor Boxer died on 27 April 2000.

- Denys Lombard/Claudine Salmon: The late Denys Lombard was born in Paris in 1938 and died on 8 January 1998. He was the son of the noted Islāmologist, Professor Maurice Lombard and the husband of the eminent scholar, Dr. Claudine Salmon. Denys was educated at the Sorbonne in Paris, at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and at the École des

Langues Orientales. He included in his studies Cambodian and Thai, but his major subjects were Chinese and Malay/Indonesian. In 1964, he and his wife, Claudine Salmon, pursued their study of Chinese at the University of Beijing. In 1965, he joined the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* and in 1967 he was posted to Jakarta where he took over the work of the late distinguished epigraphist, Louis-Charles Damais, who had been his mentor. There, as always accompanied by Claudine Salmon, he commenced what was to be thirty years of intensive contact with Indonesia. Their first two years there resulted in the excellent joint study, published in 1977, *Les Chinois de Jakarta: temples et vie collective* (The Chinese of Jakarta: temples and collective life), the first of many which brought their sinology to bear on the Indonesian scene. In 1969, they returned to Paris, where Denys joined the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, and Claudine the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS).

In 1967, Denys brought out *Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda 1607-1636* (The Sultanate of Aceh at the time of Iskandar Muda 1607-1636); in 1968, *Histoires courtes d'Indonésie, soixante-huit 'tjerpén' (1933-1965)* (Short stories of Indonesia: 68 'Short Stories' [1933-1965]); in 1970, *Le 'Spraeck ende Woord-Boek' de Frederick de Houtman. Première méthode de malais parlé (fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (The 'Conversation guide and word list' of Frederick de Houtman: first manual of spoken Malay [end of XVI century]).

It was Denys Lombard who inspired the creation of *Groupe Archipel* which in 1971 published the first issue of the research journal *Archipel*. His initial contribution began with a study of French travellers in the Malay archipelago, and his last was on the links in the destinies of France and the East Indies. Denys was primarily a historian but one 'who dealt with long periods of time and extensive regions, aware of the networks of exchanges and influences which control at various scales [world-regional-local] the history of Asia, of Europe, of Africa and their mutual relations' (Marc Augé). He was praised for his magnificent three-volume monograph *Le carrefour javanais, essai d'histoire globale* (The javanese crossroads, an attempt in global history).

Dr. Claudine Salmon, is Senior Researcher at CNRS, the French National Centre of Scientific Research at Paris. She

has published extensively on Malay translations of traditional Chinese novels. The results of her earlier research are summarized in her important monograph *Literature in Malay by the Chinese in Indonesia, A Provisional Annotated Bibliography* (Paris, 1981). This was followed by *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries)* (Beijing, 1987) which she edited, providing a general survey for each of the areas concerned and including three articles by herself: "A Note on Javanese Works Derived from Chinese Fiction", "Malay Translations of Chinese Fiction in Indonesia", and "Writings in Romanized Malay by the Chinese of Malaya: A Preliminary Inquiry" and, together with Gilbert Hamonic, "Translations of Chinese Fiction into Makassarese". Each regional section is preceded by her introduction in which she points out correspondences and differences in the reception of Chinese fiction in each of the countries concerned. Her publications also include *Un exemple d'acculturation chinoise: la province de Guizhou au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (An example of Chinese acculturation: Guizhou Province of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) (1972); *Le moment sino-malais de la littérature indonésienne* (The Sino-Malay period of Indonesian literature) (1992); and many other valuable writings, some of which are cited in "Islām and Chineseness", 181–208 *supra*.

Denys and Claudine were an extraordinary twosome to whose collaboration the world of scholarship is indebted.

- Christian Pelras was born in Draveil, an outer suburb of Paris, on 17 August 1934. He studied anthropology, sociology, social psychology and the history of religions at the Musée de l'Homme (the Paris Museum of Mankind) and at the Sorbonne University, where he specialized in anthropology of both rural France and the Malay World, obtaining his Ph.D. in 1966. He worked as a researcher from 1962–64 for the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, and from 1964 to his retirement in 1999 for the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris, being successively a member of the "Centre de Documentation et de Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde Insulindien" (CEDRASEMI), the "Dynamique, Espace, Variation en Insulinde" (DEVI) research unit, and the "Laboratoire Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Austronésien" (LASEMA). He also taught on an irregular basis in such academic institutions as the Université de Paris X-Nanterre, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales,

the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and the *Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales*. Since his first stay in Indonesia, thanks to an Indonesian scholarship of which he benefited in 1960–61, he visited Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore many times. Since 1967 his main subject of interest has been the Bugis people, among whom he did fieldwork in Johor (1967 and 1991), in South Sulawěsi (1968, 1972–73, 1978–79, 1984) and in Singapore (1992).

Christian Pelras was co-founder in 1971 of the *Journal Archipel* and in 1984 of the *Association Française pour la Recherche en Asie du Sud-Est* (AFRASE). In the field of Indonesian and Malay Studies, he has published more than a hundred articles and one book: *The Bugis* (Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996). He also edited *Dialog Prancis-Nusantara: Aneka ragam pendekatan dalam penelitian ilmu-ilmu sosial dan budaya tentang Asia Tenggara maritim* (French-Nusantara Dialogue: Examining various approaches to socio-cultural sciences of maritime Southeast Asia) (Jakarta: CNRS-LASEMA/Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1998).

- Dr. Hendrik Everwinus Niemeijer was born in Groningen, the northernmost province of the Netherlands, in 1964. He studied history and language at the teachers academy of Hogeschool Windesheim in Zwolle. In 1990, he wrote a book on the modern history of higher education in the Netherlands. He also studied early modern European and non-western history at the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam, where he took his Ph.D. in 1996. His Ph.D. research concerned religion and popular culture in 17<sup>th</sup> century Jakarta/Batavia. During 1996–2000 he worked for *Kampen Theological University* on an edition of historical sources pertaining to the early modern religious history of Maluku, a project sponsored by the *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences* (KNAW). He is currently project manager for the *Asian/South-African/Dutch history project 'Towards a New Age of Partnership'* (TANAP) at the *Research School for Asian, African and Amerindian Studies*, CNWS, Leiden University.

His articles in English to be published in the year 2000 include: "The free Asian Christian Community and Poverty in Pre-Modern Batavia" in *Jakarta/Batavia, Socio-cultural Essays*, eds. Nas, P., and Grijns, C., (Leiden: KITLV) 81–98; "Slavery, Ethnicity and the Economic Independence of

Women in Seventeenth-Century Batavia" in *Other Pasts: Perspectives on Women and Gender in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Watson Andaya, Barbara, (Hawaii University Press); "Political Rivalry and Early Dutch Reformed Missions in Seventeenth-Century North Sulawesi" in *Missions and Missionaries. Studies in Church History*, v. 13, eds. Holtrop, P. and Mcleod, H., (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).

- Pierre-Yves Manguin was born in Lisbon, Portugal, on 30 June 1945. He obtained his university degrees from various Paris faculties (Vietnamese Studies at École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes/School of Oriental Languages, 1967; Social Anthropology at Sorbonne University, 1967; Southeast Asian History at the École Pratique des Hautes Études/Research School of Advanced Studies, 1970; Ph.D. in History at the Sorbonne, 1977).

In 1970, he joined the research staff of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, i.e. French School of Far Eastern Studies), where he now holds a position of Senior Research Scholar. He has lived more than ten years in Jakarta, carrying out researches at the EFEO Research Centre in Jakarta, which he headed from 1986 to 1989. Since 1991, he has been teaching a doctoral seminar on History and Archaeology of Coastal States of Southeast Asia at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. From 1989 to 1996, he was the co-director of the EFEO/Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional Joint Archaeological Program on Śriwijaya in South Sumatra and is presently co-director of the EFEO/Institute of Social Sciences at Hô Chi Minh City Joint Archaeological Program on the Archaeology of the Mekong Delta. Pierre-Yves Manguin has published extensively on themes related to Maritime History and Archaeology of Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, and more recently on the archaeology of the maritime oriented states of Śriwijaya and Funan. His publications include: *Nguyên Anh, Macau et le Portugal. Aspects politiques et commerciaux d'une relation privilégiée, 1773-1802* (Nguyên Anh, Macau and Portugal: Political and economic aspects of a favoured relationship, 1773-1802) (Paris: EFEO, CXXXIV, 1984) 278 pp.; "The Merchant and the King: Political myths of Southeast Asian coastal polities", *Indonesia*, 52 (1991) 41-54; "The vanishing jong: Insular Southeast Asian fleets in war and trade (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries)" in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade,*

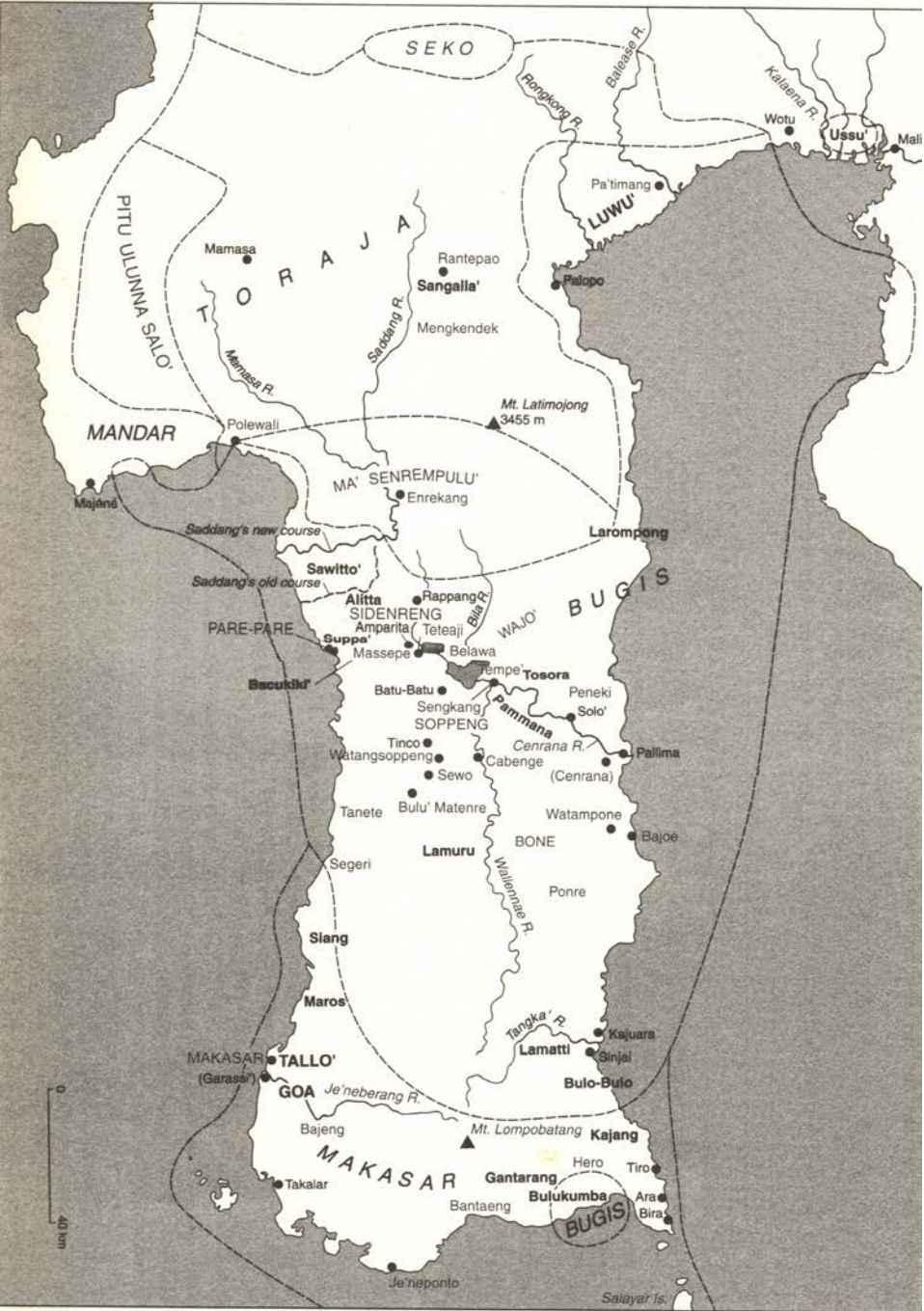
*Power, and Belief*, ed. Reid, Anthony, (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1993)197–213; “City-states and city-state cultures in pre-15<sup>th</sup> century Southeast Asia” in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, ed. Hansen, Mogens Herman, (Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2000) 409–16.



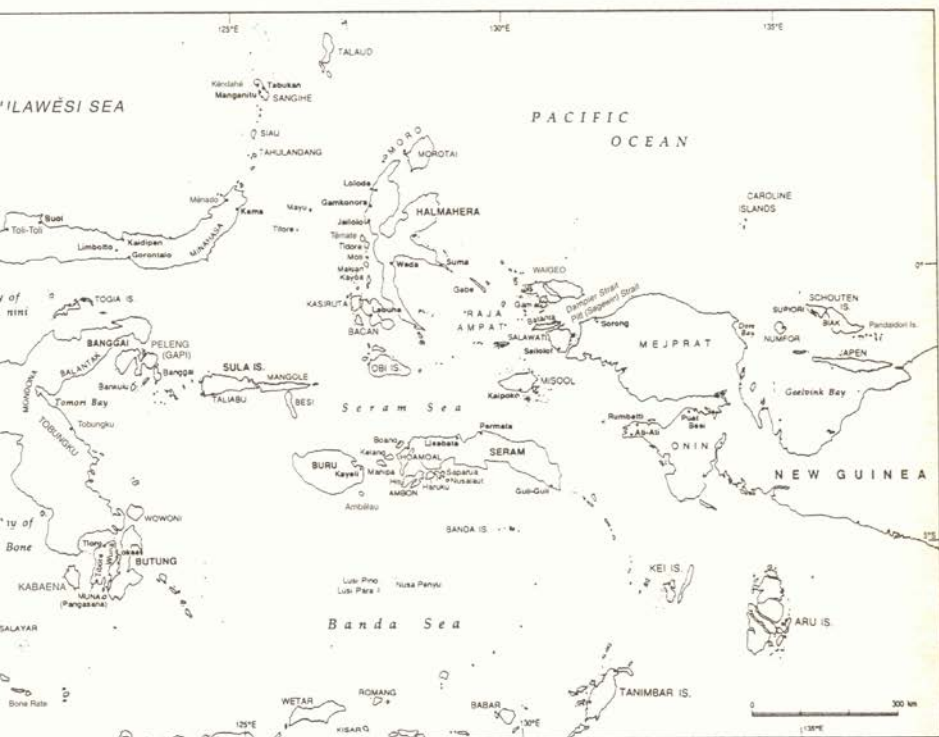
# ISLAND-WORLD OF SOUTHEAST ASIA



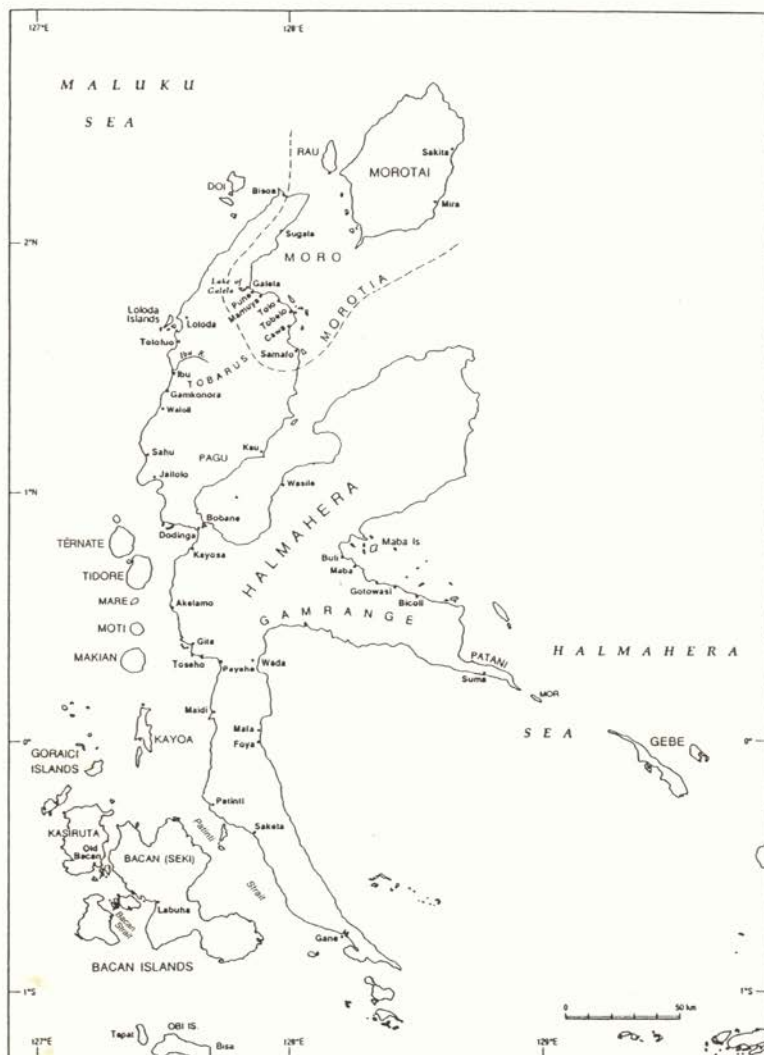
15<sup>TH</sup>-17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOUTH SULAWĒSI



## MALUKU WORLD



## NORTH MALUKU



## ABBREVIATIONS

AD (Lat)	<i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord; of the Christian era.
AH (Lat)	<i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hijra; the Muslim era.
ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (The National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia) in Jakarta.
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (Netherlands State Archives) at The Hague.
ASME	Archives de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (Archives of the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris).
BAKOM PKB	Badan Komunikasi Penghayatan Kesatuan Bangsa (The Communicating Body for Appreciation of National Unity), founded December 1977.
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> (Bulletin of the French School of the Far East) (Hanoi/Paris).
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië)</i> uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië) (Contributions to [the] Philology, Geography, and Ethnology [of the Netherlands East Indies]) published by KITLV (q.v.).
BSEI	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises</i> (Bulletin of the Society of Indochinese Studies).
DZOK	<i>Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken</i> (Journal for the History of Dutch Missions and Overseas Churches) (Published from 1994 by Stichting WZOK in Kampen).

- EFEO           École Française d'Extrême-Orient (French School of East Asian Studies).
- EI              *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, a dictionary of the geography, ethnography and biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*: Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists (1<sup>st</sup> edn., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1913–38) 4 v. and suppl.; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*: Prepared by a number of leading Orientalists (Leiden: E.J. Brill; London: Luzac, 1960; repr. 1967; 1979; 1986–2000, 10 v. through 'T-U' and ongoing).
- ENI            *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Encyclopaedia of the Netherlands-Indies) (1<sup>st</sup> edn., The Hague, 1896–1905, 4 v.; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1917–39, 4 v. plus 4 suppl.).
- EPHE           École Pratique des Hautes Études (Research School of Advanced Studies).
- FEER           *Far Eastern Economic Review*.
- HS              Hakluyt Society, London.
- IG              *De Indische Gids: staatkundig, economisch en letterkundig tijdschrift* (The Indies Guide: political, economic and literary journal) (Amsterdam: De Bussy).
- JA              *Journal Asiatique; ou recueil de mémoires, d'extraits et de notices relatifs à l'histoire, à la philosophie, aux sciences, à la littérature et aux langues des peuples orientaux* (Asiatic Journal, or collection of recollections, excerpts and accounts relating to the history, philosophy, sciences, literature and languages of Oriental peoples) (Paris).
- JAS             *Journal of Asian Studies; review of Eastern and Southern Asia and the adjacent Pacific Islands* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Association for Asian Studies). Continuation from 1956 of *Far Eastern Quarterly*.
- JMBRAS        *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore). Continuation from 1923 of JSBRAS. Title from 1964: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Kuala Lumpur).
- JRAI            *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (London).

- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
- JSBRAS *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore). Continued from 1923 as JMBRAS.
- JSEAH *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (Singapore: Department of History, National University of Singapore, 1960–9) 10 v.; from 1970 continued as JSEAS.
- JSEAS *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore: Department of History, National University of Singapore).
- KBG (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen ([Royal] Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences); from 1950: Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia.
- KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië) (Royal Institute for Philology, Geography, and Ethnology [of the Netherlands-Indies]) (Leiden).
- KS *Koloniale Studiën; Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Studie van Koloniaal-Maatschappelijke Vraagstukken* (Colonial Studies: Journal of the Association for the Study of Colonial Social Problems) (Weltevreden). From 1936 published by Bataviaasch Genootschap, Afdeeling Sociale Economie.
- KT *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Journal) ('s Gravenhage and Batavia: Vereeniging van Ambtenaren bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië) (Association of Civil Servants in the Netherlands-Indies).
- MEP Missions Etrangères de Paris (French Foreign Missions Society).
- MRG Minority Rights Group, London.
- MSRI Malaysian Sociological Research Institute (Kuala Lumpur; previously Singapore).
- MTZ *Mededeelingen, Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap* (Communications: Journal of Missionary Sciences). Published from 1857–1919 (Year 1–63) as *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch zendelinggenootschap* (Communications of the Dutch Missionary Society). From 1920–8 (Year

- 64-72) as MTZ. From 1928-43 (Year 73-85) as *Tijdschrift voor Zendingswetenschap: Mededeelingen* (Journal of Missionary Sciences: Communications); discontinued in 1943. (Oegstgeest: Zendingsbureau).
- NBG *Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (Not.Bat.Gen.) van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, founded 1778; after 1899 known as *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Minutes of the General and Board Meetings of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff/Batavia: Kolff).
- n.d. no date given
- n.p. no publisher given
- NST *New Straits Times*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
- NZG Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (Dutch Missionary Society).
- OFM Order of Friars Minor.
- OUP Oxford University Press.
- PEFEO Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Publications of the French School of East Asian Studies).
- PIT Persatuan Islam Tionghoa (Muslim Chinese Union) founded 1936.
- PITI Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Chinese Union) continuation of PIT, in 1953; in 1972, name changed to Pembina Imam Tauhid Islam (Action for the faith and the unity of Islām).
- PITII Partai Tionghoa Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Chinese Party) founded 1933.
- RMM *Revue du Monde Musulman* (Journal of the Muslim World) (Paris: La Mission Scientifique du Maroc). Continued from 1927 as *Revue des Études Islamiques* (Journal of Islāmic Studies).
- RNI *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Reports of the Archaeological Survey in Netherlands-Indies) (Batavia).
- SJ *Societas Jesu: Society of Jesus: Jesuits.*

- TBB *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Civil Service Journal) (Batavia: Kolff).
- TBG *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology published by the [Royal] Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences) (Batavia: Lange/Albrecht; 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff).
- TKNAG *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Journal of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society) (Amsterdam).
- TNI *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Journal of the Netherlands-Indies) (Batavia/Zaltbommel, etc.).
- TP *T'oung Pao*. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale (Archives concerning the history, languages, geography, ethnology and the arts of Oriental Asia) (Leiden).
- UZV Utrechtsche Zendingsvereniging (Utrecht Missionary Society).
- VBG *Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Proceedings of the [Royal] Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences) (Batavia: Albrecht; Den Haag: Nijhoff; Bandung: Nix).
- VG Kern, H., *Verspreide Geschriften onder zijn Toezicht Verzameld* (Scattered Writings) ('s Gravenhage: 1913-36) 15 v. plus 1 v. index and biblio.
- VGGS Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Verspreide Geschriften (Gesammelte Schriften)* (Scattered Writings), ed. Wensinck, A.J., (Bonn, Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1923-7) 6 v. in 7 pts.
- VIG *Verslagen der Algemeene Vergaderingen van het Indisch Genootschap* (Reports of the General Meetings of the Indisch Genootschap) ('s Gravenhage, 1861-1920).
- VKAWA *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde* (Publications of the Royal

- Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam, Literature Section).
- VKI           Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlandsch-Indië) (Publications of the Royal Institute for Philology, Geography, and Ethnology [of the Netherlands East Indies]) (The Hague).
- VOC           Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie ([Dutch] United East India Company).
- WLV           Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging (Works issued by the Linschoten Society) ('s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, till c. 1980).
- WNI           Warga Negara Indonesia (Indonesian Citizen).
- WZOK        Werkgroep voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken (Work Group for the History of Dutch Missions and Overseas Churches).

## GLOSSARY

CODE:	Ach - Achehnese	Lat - Latin
	Amb - Ambonese	Mal - Malay
	'Ar - 'Arabic	Min - Minangkabau
	Bgs - Bugis	Mks - Makasar
	Ch - Chinese	Per - Persian
	Cham - Cham	Por - Portuguese
	Dut - Dutch	Skr - Sanskrit
	Fr - French	Span - Spanish
	Hin - Hindi	Sun - Sundanese
	Ind - Bahasa Indonesia	Tër - Tèrnaten
	Jav - Javanese	Th - Thai

### A

<i>abangan</i> (Ind)	nominal Muslim; <i>see also under santri</i>
'Abbāsids ('Ar)	(Banū 'l-'Abbās), dynasty of Khalīfs from AD 759-1258; takes its name from al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, uncle of Prophet Muḥammad
'ādat (Mal)	customary law; custom
'ādat-istiadat (Mal)	various traditional customs and rules
Adatrecht-Stichting (Dut)	'Ādat or Customary Law Foundation
Adelantado (Span)	the governor of a frontier zone; General or Chief Captain
Adipati (Dipati) (Jav)	'lord', ruler, regent; Javanese title sometimes followed by <i>arya</i>
<i>afdeling</i> (pl. <i>afdelingen</i> ) (Dut)	district(s)
<i>aguy</i> (Fr)	<i>hajjī</i> : person who has completed the pilgrimage to Makka
<i>Ahl al-Kitāb</i> ('Ar)	'possessors of the Scripture' or 'people of the book'; term in <i>al-Qur'ān</i> denoting Jews and Christians, repositories of the earlier revealed books, <i>al-Tawrāt</i> = the Torah, <i>al-Zabūr</i> = the Psalms, and <i>al-Injīl</i> = the Gospel
<i>akad nikah</i> (Ind) <i>'aqd nikāh</i> ('Ar)	in Muslim law, the legal act of marriage which involves a bilateral declaration, namely offer ( <i>'ijāb</i> ) and acceptance ( <i>qabūl</i> )
<i>akikah</i> (Ind)/ <i>aqīqa</i> ('Ar)	the sacrifice on the seventh day after the birth of a child; religiously recommended on that day to name the child, shave off its hair and make a sacrifice; if the offering is neglected on the seventh day, it can be done

	afterwards, even by the child, itself, when it comes of age; greater part of the flesh of the sacrificial animal is distributed amongst the poor, but a meal for the family is recommended
'Alid ('Ar)	descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib; claims made by Shī'a on behalf of the 'Alids were broadly of two kinds: for the extremist Shī'a, the 'Alid Imāms were the spiritual as well as the religious and political heirs of the Prophet as heads of the <i>umma</i> — worldwide Muslim community — with a better claim to the succession than that of the reigning Khalīfas whom the Shī'a regarded as usurpers; in the early period, the claims of the 'Alids were based on descent from 'Alī, the Prophet's kinsman rather than from Fāṭima, his daughter; thus claims based on kinship could be advanced on behalf of descendants of 'Alī by wives other than Fāṭima, and even collateral descendants of Abū Tālib; only later was stress laid on direct descent from the Prophet via Fāṭima
<i>aliran kēpěrcayaan</i> (Mal)	mystical sects
<i>Allāh Tu'ālā</i> ('Ar)	God the Most High/Exalted/Supreme
<i>al-salāmu 'alaykum wa-rahmatu llāhi wa-barakātuhu</i> ('Ar)	'Peace be upon you, with the mercy and the blessings of Allāh!'
Amīr ('Ar)	commander, governor, prince
Amma Toa (Mks)	Old (respected) Father
Andī' (Bgs)	Prince; aristocrat (man or woman) of high nobility
<i>arajang</i> (Bgs)	sacred heirloom of a family or of a polity (kingdom, principality, seigniory)
<i>asal</i> (Ind)	origin
Aspirant-controleur (Dut)	Junior District Officer
<i>azān</i> ('Ar)	'announcement', a technical term for the call to the Friday divine service and the five daily <i>ṣalāts</i> or prayers
<b>B</b>	
<i>babad</i> (Jav)	Javanese text written in chronicle form; abbreviation of <i>Babad Tanah Djawi</i> ( <i>Jawi</i> ) or similar phrase; title of book on descent of rulers of Mataram; later, appellative for 'book on the past' or 'description of historical facts'
<i>bahar</i> (Ind)	measure of weight, three picul or six bags, equivalent to 360–600 lb
<i>basmala</i> ( <i>Bi'ism Allāh</i> ) ('Ar)	In the name of Allāh
<i>batigslot</i> (Dut)	balance credit, surplus of receipts emanating from the Netherlands Indies and taken back to Holland
<i>batin</i> (Ind)	interior; inner self, inner feelings; mysticism
Bëndahara (Mal)	traditionally the principal official or minister of the kingdom of Mēlaka; in Riau-Johor the principal Malay official after the Sultān
<i>běntara</i> (Mal)	heralds

<i>benteng</i> (Mal)	fort
<i>běrpindah</i> (Mal)	refined expression of 'to die'
Bestuursacadamie (Dut)	Civil Service Academy
<i>bid'a</i> ( <i>bida'a</i> ) ('Ar/Mal)	innovation; came to suggest individual dissent and independence to the point of heresy, although not of actual unbelief ( <i>kufr</i> )
Binnenlandsch Bestuur (Dut)	Civil Service, under the Department of Home Affairs
<i>bissu</i> (Bgs)	transvestite pagan priest; transvestites symbolically combined the male and female aspects of humankind and could thus deal with both male and female aspects of the sacred sphere
<i>Bodi Caniago</i> (Min)	one of the two systems of customary law among the Minangkabau, based on 'egalitarian' principles in the sense that the <i>nagari</i> — 'village republics' — were ruled by a group of <i>pěngghulu</i> (clan heads) as the representatives of their respective <i>sukus</i> or clans, the smallest political and religious units
<i>Bumiputěra</i> (Mal)	Sons of the Soil
Bupati (Skr/Old Jav)	'lord', 'ruler' in the Mataram and Dutch periods; high administrative official; title used both for officials within the <i>kraton</i> and in the countryside

## C

Capgome (Ch)	the night of the 14 <sup>th</sup> to the 15 <sup>th</sup> day of the first month of the Chinese calendar which is a festive day
Cham Bani	'Bani' derives from the 'Arabic <i>bin</i> , meaning 'son of' and has come into use among the Chams to designate those following the Muslim faith
<i>Chinese totok</i> (Mal)	newcomers; 'pure blooded' Chinese
<i>Ciri</i> (Mal)	the inauguration formula of the Malay rulers
Conquistador(es) (Span)	leader(s) in the Spanish conquest of the 'New World' — the Americas — in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Controleur (Dut)	District Officer
<i>cotta/kota</i> (Mal)	a fort, usually of stone
<i>cruzados</i> (Por)	Portuguese currency; was worth about four English shillings

## D

<i>Dagh Register</i> (Dut)	Daily Register kept in Batavia by the (Dutch) United East India Company or VOC
<i>dakwah</i> (Ind) / <i>da'wa</i> ('Ar)	invitation, addressed to man by Allāh and the prophets, to believe in the true religion: Islām
<i>dalam</i> (Mal)	fortified enclosure surrounding the Sultān's palace
<i>Dār al-Harb</i> ('Ar)	the 'Land of War'

<i>Dār al-Islām</i> ('Ar)	the 'Land of Islām', territories in which the law of Islām prevails
Dashi (Per)	perhaps derived from the Persian <i>tajik</i> , meaning Persian, and later applied to all people from the Middle East, and then to the 'Arabs <i>per se</i>
Dato' (Ind)	title of respect given to the three main propagators of Islām in South Sulawēsi: Dato' ri Bandang, Dato' ri Pa'timang and Dato' ri Tiro
Datu (Bgs)	title of the ruler, meaning 'Lord', in a few ancient Bugis kingdoms (but in the other kingdoms, most Bugis rulers were called <i>arung</i> ); aristocrat of the highest rank
<i>Deus otiosus</i> (Lat)/ Dewata Seuwae (Bgs)	term used in comparative religious studies to describe a god who played a major role at the origin of the world and/or humanity, but since then does not intervene in worldly affairs
<i>Dewata</i> (Skr)	god/gods
<i>Dewata mulia raya</i>	<i>Dewata</i> (Skr): godhead, god, statue of a god; <i>mulia</i> (Skr): noble, sublime, lofty, of gods, persons; <i>raya</i> (Mal): supreme, honourable; <i>dewata mulia raya</i> : 'the great and most high God'
<i>dukun</i> (Mal)	traditional healer; medicine-man or woman

## F

<i>fallāh/fellah</i> ('Ar)	Egyptian peasant
Fray (Span)	title given to members of the mendicant orders, but not to Jesuits; derived from Latin <i>frater</i>

## G

<i>gaharu/gharu</i> (Skr)/ <i>kelambak</i> (Mal)	aloeswood, eaglewood, agarwood; a rare resinous wood harvested from the <i>karas</i> or <i>tengkaras</i> tree ( <i>Aquilaria malaccensis</i> ); it is used in traditional medicine and to produce incense
<i>gahul</i> (Cham)	dune
gentile (Lat)	used by the Spaniards/Portuguese for a 'pagan', as opposed to a Muslim
Gentlemen XVII	Board of Directors of the (Dutch) East Indies Company consisting of 17 men
<i>gěrombolan</i> (Ind)	rebel group/groups
Golden Chersonese	Malay Peninsula
Grootambtenaarsexamen (Dut)	competitive examination for the higher echelon of the Netherlands Civil Service
<i>guru</i> (Skr/Mal)	master

## H

<i>Hadīth</i> ('Ar)	an account of what Prophet Muhammad said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his
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	presence; <i>khobar ātharuhu illā Rasūl Allāh</i> refers to information that goes back to the Prophet, sometimes from his Companions or Successors
hajjī ('Ar)	man who has made the pilgrimage to Makka
Ḥanafī Mazhab ('Ar)	School of Law founded by Imām Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Thābit; b. AH 80/AD 699; d. AH 150/AD 767
Ḥanbalī Mazhab ('Ar)	School of Law founded by Ibn Ḥanbal (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal); b. AH 164/AD 780; d. AH 241/AD 855
Hijra ('Ar)	the Muslim era which began with Prophet Muḥammad's exodus from Makka to Madīna
Hogere Burgerschool (Dut)	Dutch secondary school in which neither Latin nor Greek was taught; its school-leaving certificate gave admission to the university; abolished in 1968
Holy Supper	also known as the Last Supper when Jesus had his last Passover meal with his 12 disciples and declared that one of them who dipped his bread into the bowl with him would betray him, which Judas Iscariot did; the Dutch Reformed Church celebrated the Holy Supper four times a year
hongī (Tēr)	fleet of Malukan large war proas armed with small cannon, mostly of the <i>kora-kora</i> (q.v.) type
huaqiao (Ch)	Overseas Chinese
huihui (Ch)	Chinese Muslim

## I

<i>Idola libri</i> (Lat)	'book idol', a rhetoric form meaning that a statement has become a truth or established fact that is no longer double checked, just because it is found in printed form, in a book
<i>ijtihād</i> ('Ar)	independent reasoning; 'striving with full exertion' to form an opinion
<i>Imām</i> ('Ar)	leader of the congregational prayer; Khalīfa, as leader of the community; applied as honorific to eminent doctors of Islām, such as founders of <i>mazhabs</i> (schools of law); to the Shī'a, a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as the supreme ruler of the world of Islām
Indisch Genootschap (Dut)	'Indies Society', founded in 1854 at The Hague
Indische Instelling (Dut)	training college for Netherlands Indies Civil Servants at Delft
Insulinde	'Insulinde' was the creation of Eduard Douwes Dekker (Multatuli); he used this name three times in his manuscript of 1859, and 'Insulinde' met with approval particularly in literary circles; the term became a synonym for the East Indian Archipelago and was particularly current in the French scholarly world; see Avé, Jan B., "'Indonesia', 'Insulinde' and 'Nusantara': Dotting the I's and Crossing the T", <i>BKI</i> , CXXXV, 2-3 (1989) 228
Islam-Stichting (Dut)	Islām Foundation

## J

<i>jalan</i> (Mal)	road, street
Jesuits	the founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius of Loyola, named it <i>Compañía de Jesús</i> [Span, (military) company of Jesus]; it is the largest single religious order; Jesuits have no distinctive habit; their training is rigorous: two years of spiritual training and then five years of study in arts and sciences, a further five years of teaching, and finally three years of theological study followed by another year of spiritual training, in the course of which a Jesuit is ordained; St. Ignatius originally had the idea of a limited band working in the Holy Land of Palestine to convert the Muslims, from which he was only deterred because of war; the founding members of the Jesuits were St. Ignatius and six companions including Francis Xavier, later canonized as a Saint; with the Portuguese onslaught and capture of Goa in India it was to the discredit of Francis Xavier that he had instituted the iniquitous Inquisition, which burned many at the stake
<i>jihād</i> ('Ar)	effort directed towards a determined objective: upon oneself for the attainment of moral and religious perfection, or military action for the expansion or in defence of Islām, commonly termed 'Holy War'
Juragan (Mal)	captain
<i>juru mudī</i> (Mal)	pilot

## K

<i>kabupaten</i> (Ind)	administrative districts
<i>kāfir</i> ( <i>kufir</i> ) ('Ar)	'concealing God's blessings', 'ungrateful to God'; unbelief; obstinate opposition; unbeliever
<i>kali</i> (Bgs/Mks)/ <i>kadhi</i> (Ind)/ <i>Qādī</i> ('Ar)	judge; registrar of Muslim marriages and divorces, with some judicial powers
<i>kampung</i> (Mal)	hamlet
<i>kampung pĕranakan</i> (Mal)	local-born Chinese district
<i>kancil</i> (Mal)	mousedeer
Karaeng Matoaya (Mks)	'The Old [venerable] Ruler', name specifically given to I Mallingkaang Daeng Mayonri' of Tallo' (later known as Sultān 'Abd Allāh Awwāl al-Islām) to distinguish him from the younger I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia (later known as Sultān Alā al-Dīn) of Goa, who was his nephew and pupil
<i>kasisi</i> (Malukan Mal)	word frequently used in 16 <sup>th</sup> - and 17 <sup>th</sup> -century sources for Islāmic teachers who moved from one village to another
<i>kĕbatinan</i> (Mal)	Javanese mysticism
<i>kĕcamatan</i> (Ind)	district
<i>kĕjawen</i> (Jav)	Javanism

<i>kĕpala desa</i> (Mal)	head of a village or hamlet
<i>kĕrajaan</i> (Mal)	kingdoms
<i>ketua klasis</i> (Mal)	head of a Protestant Church district
<i>khatib</i> ('Ar)	anyone, religious official or layman, who delivers the <i>khutba</i> : sermon in the masjid; masjid official
<i>kimalaha</i> (Tĕr)	Tĕrnaten village or district head
<i>Kitāb Barzanji</i> ('Ar/Ind)	book in praise of Prophet Muḥammad
Kleinambtenaarsexamen (Dut)	Dutch colonial competitive examination for locally-employed Indonesian clerical staff
<i>klenteng</i> (Ch)	from <i>Guanyin ting</i> : Temple to Guanyin and by extension any Chinese temple in Indonesia
Kolano Mahede (Tĕr)	'king of the end'; king of Bacan/Seki, the southernmost kingdom of Maluku
<i>kora-kora/kura-kura</i> (Tĕr)	a large rowing vessel with double outriggers used in eastern Indonesia, with covered deck for sleeping, a sloping stem, carved and painted and equipped with sails, generally armed; two and sometimes three rows of floats were attached to the beams where additional paddlers sat; an ordinary <i>kora-kora</i> was manned by fifty to seventy men, while the largest could hold some two hundred
<i>Kot Monthieraban / Mont'ien Ban</i> (Th)	The Palatine Law
<i>Koto Piliang</i> (Min)	one of the two systems of customary law among the Minangkabau; recognizes the position of a <i>puncak</i> — chief — as the <i>primus inter pares</i> and is thus assumed to be more autocratic than the Bodi Caniago (q.v.)
<i>kramat</i> ('Ar)	holy tomb; Chinese: <i>shengmu</i> ; <i>karāma</i> , pl. <i>karāmat</i> , may be considered as the <i>maṣdar</i> (verbal noun) of <i>karuma</i> : to be generous, be beneficent, be <i>karīm</i> (one of the 99 <i>ṣifat</i> : attributes of Allāh); favour bestowed by Allāh completely freely and in superabundance; comes to denote 'marvels' wrought by the 'friends of God', <i>awliyā'</i> (sing. <i>walī</i> ), which God grants to them to bring about
<i>kraton</i> (Jav)	ruler's palace and its surroundings
<i>kūfīc</i> ('Ar)	a style of 'Arabic calligraphy
<i>kut</i> (Cham)	funerary stelae
<i>Kyai/Ki</i> (Ind)	'senior', article prefixed to names or titles of officials or persons of rank; appellation for an independent religious teacher; venerated scholar, teacher of Islām; a religious preceptor

## L

*La Galigo* Manuscripts

*La* is a linguistic particle used in front of male personal names; *Galigo* is the personal name of one of the main protagonists of the epic, Sawerigading's son; the

- manuscripts are rhythmically segmented texts written in a highly literary style and archaic language, which narrate in detail destinies over five generations of hundreds of princely characters of divine descent living at an undetermined period in a number of South Sulawēsi kingdoms and on adjacent islands; until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century widely considered to be sacred; many Bugis still believe the events described really occurred in a golden age of the past
- lahir* (Ind) external
- landelijk bestel* (Dut) a land-tax introduced by Raffles, based on existing land-tax systems in British India
- lēbai* (Tamil/Mal) expert on religious matters
- Lēmēs* (Sun) Sundanese formal language
- li* (Ch) a Chinese mile, about 633 yards
- lontara'* (Bgs/Mks) manuscripts originally written on leaves taken from the *lontar* (palmyra) palm (*Borassus flabellifer*); although the huge majority have now been written on paper, they are still known by that name; over many centuries thousands of manuscripts were produced, now catalogued under the title *Naskah Lontara' Sulawesi Selatan*, compiled by Universitas Hasanuddin and the office of the National Archives in Makasar; catalogue lists 4,000 texts written in the principal regional languages or in 'Arabic
- luli* (Luang) image of an ancestral mother on Leti and Lakor
- M**
- Majapait (Jav) name of a kind of bitter fruit, looking like an apple; name of the most famous and powerful of the Javanese kingdoms, founded AD 1294; its decline and fall are shrouded in mystery; according to modern Javanese tradition, kingdom fell in Śāka 1400, or AD 1478
- makkurwae lawi'* (Bgs) ceremony of the purification of the young mother
- Mālikī Mazhab ('Ar) School of Law founded by Imām Mālik b. Anas, b. AH 90 or 97/AD 708 or 716; d. AH 179/AD 795
- Maluku ('Ar) name derived from the 'Arab traders' term for the area: *Jazīrat al-Mulūk*, the land of many kings
- Mamlūk sultānate ('Ar) *mamlūk*: literally 'thing possessed', hence 'slave', especially used in the sense of 'military slave'; the Mamlūk sultānate was the regime established and maintained by emancipated *mamlūks* in Egypt from 1250 to 1517 and in Syria from 1260 to 1516
- manurung* (Bgs/Mks) so-called white-blooded people descended from heaven, which local dynasties (Makasar, Bugis, Mandar, Toraja) claimed as their founders
- mappenre' ri tojang*  
(Bgs) a traditional ceremony of putting a child in his cradle for the first time

Mardijkers (Skr/Mal)	derived from 'Merdeka': freedom; manumitted slaves; free Asians
<i>marga</i> (Min)	clan
<i>Marhum, al-</i> , ('Ar)	the late, the deceased
<i>mas bulan/mas piring</i> (Mal)	golden plates; fee to settle disputes between villages, usually paid in livestock or gold
<i>masjid</i> ('Ar)	noun of place from <i>sajada</i> 'to prostrate oneself', hence 'place where one prostrates oneself (in worship)'; mosque
<i>masooi</i> (Lat)	<i>Mossoia aromatica</i> ; bark of a tree found in New Guinea, used for medicinal purposes
<i>Maulānā</i> ('Ar)	our Lord; the honourable; honorific for a Muslim scholar
<i>Mazhab</i> ('Ar)	School of Islāmic Law
<i>mestizo</i> (Por)	'mixed', a term applied to offspring of unions between two different racial groups; in Maluku the reference to a Chinese <i>mestizo</i> was to the offspring of a Chinese and a local person
<i>mimbar</i> ('Ar)	the raised structure or pulpit in the masjid from which solemn announcements are made to the Muslim community and from which sermons are preached
Moro ('Ar)	derived from 'Mauri' or Mauretania, the Berbers of North Africa and those who went to Spain; denotes the Muslim conquerors of Spain, including 'Arabs; to the Portuguese and the Spaniards, 'Moor', 'Moro' became a pejorative synonym for 'Muslim' regardless of ethnic origin
<i>muballigh</i> ('Ar)	preacher(s)
<i>mukhalingga</i> (Skr)	a lingga (the phallus of Siva) with Siva's face ( <i>mukha</i> ) represented on it
<i>musu' sälləng</i> (Bgs)	Islāmic war(s)

## N

<i>Nāgarakērtāgama</i> (Old Jav)	a verse epic by the Buddhist poet Prapantja (Prapanca) at the Court of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapait, traditionally dated 1365
<i>nakhoda</i> (Per)	shipowner or his representative on a ship
Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (Dut)	Dutch Bible Association which sent Protestant missionaries and ministers abroad
<i>nēgəri/nagari</i> (Mal)	settlement, city, state
<i>nisan</i> ('Ar/Mal)	gravestone
<i>Nusantara</i> (Jav)	'Nusa' is a very old word in the Indonesian Archipelago; particularly in the eastern parts of the archipelago and in and around Java, one finds islands and villages with <i>nusa</i> as part of their names; 'Nusantara' was already in use at the beginning of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century; the name is

found on copper inscriptions dated 1305, as well as in some Javanese manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries; its best known occurrence is in the *Pararaton* passage in which Gajah Mada, chief minister of Majapait, takes a solemn oath not to enjoy *palapa* (spices) until Nusantara has been subjugated; *Nusantara* has been understood and used to refer to the whole, that is the mosaic of *nusas* which constitute the Indonesian Archipelago; see Avé, Jan B., " 'Indonesia', 'Insulinde' and 'Nusantara': Dotting the I's and Crossing the T'", *BKI*, CXXXXV, 2-3 (1989) 229-30

## O

Oidor (Span)	the judge of an <i>audiencia</i> : the highest tribunal of justice in a Spanish colony
Oostersch Instituut (Dut)	Oriental Institute at Leiden
Orang Asli (Mal)	'Original People' of Peninsular Malaysia
<i>Orang Kaya</i> (Mal)	literally, a 'powerful person', dignitary
Orang Laut (Mal)	sea nomads; (Por) <i>celates</i>
Orang Pidari (Mal)	'men of Pëdir', those who made the pilgrimage to Makka via the Achehnese port of Pëdir

## P

<i>padrão</i> (Por)	memorial stone
Panëmbahan (Jav)	'object of veneration'; title of certain Javanese rulers
<i>pangadakkang</i> (Mks)/ <i>pangadërrëng</i> (Bgs)	a body of customs and laws which combines <i>adë</i> (Mal 'adat - from 'Ar 'āda - local customary law), <i>rapang</i> (oral tradition), <i>sara</i> (Mal <i>shariah</i> ; 'Ar <i>sharī'a</i> ; Islāmic Law, in force since the beginning of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century) and <i>adë pura onro</i> (judicial precedents, jurisprudence)
Pañji stories	known in Java, Sumatra, Malaya and Cambodia; the central theme is that Pañji, bereaved of his beloved Angreni — who was murdered by Pañji's mother — roams the country and gets involved in all kinds of adventures and love affairs
<i>parewa adë</i> (Bgs)	customary officials
<i>parewa sara</i> (Bgs)	religious officials; the instruments of the <i>sharī'a</i>
<i>pasar gëlap</i> (Mal)	a market for irregular goods, where things of doubtful origin are sold at a low price
<i>pasisir</i> (Jav)	coast, in particular the north coast of Java
<i>patan</i>	term used in VOC documents for a traditional religion in Western Seram
Pati (Skr/Old Jav)	master, lord; used in compounds such as Adipati, Bupati to form titles of high Javanese officials and princes
Patih (Jav)	chief administrator of a Javanese kingdom; 'vizier', chief adviser to a ruler

Patuntung (Mks)	followers of a pre-Islāmic religious tradition specific to the eastern mountainous area and part of the eastern coast of the Makasarese districts
<i>Pēcat tanda</i> (Jav)	head of the market
<i>pějoang</i> (Ind)	fighter(s) for Indonesian Independence, 1945–9
<i>pěndapa</i> (Jav)	a kind of shelter; verandah; vestibule
<i>Pěndeta</i> (Mal)	Reverend
<i>Pěnghulu</i> (Mal)	clan head in Minangkabau
Pěranakan (Mal)	offspring of an indigenous person and a foreigner; local-born Chinese
<i>pěsantren</i> (Ind)	Islāmic religious school
<i>Pesta rěbutan/Tjioko</i> (Ch)	literally 'the snatch away festival' held on the 15 <sup>th</sup> day of the 7 <sup>th</sup> month of the Chinese calendar during which alms are given to the poor who have to fight for their share
<i>Petjoen (Pěcun)</i> (Ch)	literally 'boat race festival' held on the fifth day of the fifth month of the Chinese year
<i>Pribumi</i> (Mal)	indigenous person
<i>priyayi</i> (Ind)	<i>see santri</i>
Punggawa (Skr)	literally, bull; hero, eminent person, chief; Bugis title for war commander
<i>putri/putěri</i> (Ind)	princess; daughter of royalty

## Q

<i>Qur'ān, al-</i> , ('Ar)	the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form
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## R

<i>raja</i> (Skr/Mal)	ruler, king; prince
Raja Muda (Mal)	Crown Prince
Ramadān ('Ar)	Muslim fasting month; ninth month of the 'Arabic calendar
<i>Ranreng</i> (Bgs)	men or women elected from among the highest nobility, who exercised in common effective government over the Wajo' kingdom under a nominal ruler (Arung Matoa) whose function was almost purely symbolic
<i>revolusi</i> (Ind)	unless specified to the contrary, refers to Independence War fought by the Indonesians against the Dutch from 1945–9
<i>rijksdaalder/rixdollar</i> (Dut)	a silver coin and money current c. 1600–1850 in various European countries and in their commerce in Asia, whose value ranged from ± 4 shillings and 6 pence to 2 shillings and 3 pence sterling
<i>ru fan</i> (Ch)	merging into a foreign society

## S

<i>Śāka/Çāka</i> (Skr)	Javanese era which began AD 78
Sangyang (Old Jav)	title of Sunda Kalapa ruler
<i>santari</i> (Bgs/Mks)	student
<i>santri</i> (Ind)	a <i>santri</i> is not only a strict Muslim, but one who has received the kind of thorough knowledge of Islām which is delivered in a <i>pēsantren</i> ; the categories <i>santri</i> , <i>abangan</i> and <i>priyayi</i> were systematically used by Clifford Geertz in his book <i>The Religion of Java</i> to characterize three contrasted religious collective attitudes he observed in the East Javanese town of Pare, where the <i>santri</i> were mostly traders, landowners and civil servants; the <i>abangan</i> , mostly uneducated peasants and workers, practised a kind of popular, syncretic Islām, incorporating many pagan, local beliefs; the <i>priyayi</i> were not only 'members of the official class', but those who were attached to the specific traditions of the Javanese aristocracy, incorporating a large part of mysticism and Hindu-Javanese cultural elements; although the over-generalization of these categories has been widely criticized, the terms <i>santri</i> and <i>abangan</i> have come into general use all over Indonesia to differentiate between orthodox and syncretic Muslims, while the term <i>priyayi</i> is too specific to Java to be applied elsewhere
<i>Sara'</i> (Bgs)	the <i>Sharī'a</i> , the canon law of Islām
Saracen/Sarazin (Fr)	among the later Greeks and Romans, a name for the nomadic peoples of the Syro-'Arabīyan desert; hence an 'Arab; by extension, a Muslim
Sayyid/Syed ('Ar)	pl. <i>Sāda</i> ; originally, chief of an 'Arabīyan tribe; title of honour for descendants of Prophet Muḥammad, in many ways coterminous with <i>Sharif</i>
<i>sēlamētan</i> ('Ar/Mal)	religious meal
Sengaji/Sangaji	a Malukan title derived from the Javanese <i>sang</i> , an honorific, and <i>aji</i> , meaning 'king'; it was awarded by the sultān to the most important <i>kolanos</i> (kings, rulers) who continued to govern their own domains while acknowledging the sultān's superior political position; it was also used for heads of important settlements
<i>sēngkala</i> ( <i>sangkala</i> , <i>sēngakala</i> ) (Jav)	chronogram
Shāfi'ī Mazhab ('Ar)	School of Law founded by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shāfi'ī; b. AH 150/AD 767; d. AH 204/AD 820
Shāh/Syāh (Per)	an honorific suffix to the personal name of a reigning sultān
<i>Shahāda</i> ('Ar)	Muslim Profession of Faith: <i>Ashhadu an lā ilāha illā 'llāh</i> I testify that there is no God save Allāh <i>wa ashhadu anna Muḥammadan Rasūlu 'llāh</i> and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh

Shahbandar (Mal)	Persian-derived title meaning 'Lord of the Port'; function was to oversee international trade and foreign traders in the port
<i>shair</i> ('Ar)	poem; piece of writing in verse form; <i>shā'ir</i> ('Ar), poet
<i>Sharī'a</i> ('Ar)	the canon law of Islām
Shattariah (Shattāriya) ('Ar)	a Sūfī order introduced into India by Shāh 'Abd Allāh (d. AH 890/AD 1485), a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī
Shī'a (Shī'ī) ('Ar)	general name for a large group of very different Muslim sects, the starting-point of all being the recognition of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib as the legitimate Khalīfa after the death of Prophet Muhammad
<i>Silṣilah</i> ('Ar)	chain of affiliation; genealogy
<i>soa</i> (Tēr)	smallest socio-political unit in a settlement under a local leader; wards or quarters within a village
<i>sosolot</i>	may be a cognate of the Malay <i>solo</i> or 'single', denoting the singular exchange relationship between certain east Seramese and Papuan coastal populations (Goodman, T., "The <i>sosolot</i> exchange network ...", 423, n. 2)
<i>Sūfī</i> ('Ar)	one who devotes himself to the mystic life
Sultān ('Ar)	the holder of authority
Sunan (Jav)	abbreviated form of <i>susuhunan</i> : 'he who is held in high esteem', the venerated one; honorific before names of the Nine <i>Walis</i> or saints
Sunnī ('Ar)	majority current of Islām
<i>surat jalan</i> (Mal)	safe-conduct letter
<i>surau</i> (Mal)	small prayer-house
Suttee / <i>Sati</i> (Skr) / <i>Satti</i> (Hin)	Hindu custom of self-immolation; a Hindu widow cremated alive on her husband's funeral pyre

## T

<i>tahyul</i> (Ind)	superstition, nonsense, irrational belief
<i>taman bacaan</i> (Mal)	reading-room
<i>Tangren</i> (Ch: Hokkien)	'people from the Tang dynasty'; Han people from the north migrated into Fujian Province which at that time was inhabited by other ethnic groups; <i>Tangren</i> became synonymous with 'Chinese'
<i>taqlīd</i> ('Ar)	'clothing with authority' in matters of religion; the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating the reasons; traditionalism
<i>tasawwuf</i> ('Ar)	Sūfism or Islāmic mysticism
<i>tawhīd</i> ('Ar)	literally 'making one' or 'asserting oneness'; applied to the oneness of Allāh in all its meanings; 'unity' intolerant of all pluralism

<i>tinajas</i> (Por)	large earthen jars
Touan (Fr)/ Tuanta (Mks)/ Tuanku (Ach)	renowned 'ulamā' (q.v.); title of respect for religious teachers
<i>tre pang</i> (Mal)	sea cucumber; also the eviscerated, boiled, smoked, and dried body of any of several species of sea cucumbers, used especially for making soup
Tumenggung/Tēmenggung (Jav/Mal)	official title in Mēlaka-Johor, the minister ranking second in the state after the Bēndahara
<i>tunggu mati</i> (Mal)	awaiting death

## U

'ulamā' ('Ar)	plural of 'ālim, often used as the singular, i.e. an 'ulamā; one who possesses the quality of 'ilm, knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense, and in a high degree
<i>uli</i> (Amb/Mal)	village confederation
<i>Uli Kompeni</i>	Oele Compagnie, i.e. the VOC (q.v.)
<i>Uli Lima; Uli Siwa</i> (Amb/Mal)	<i>Uli Lima</i> and <i>Uli Siwa</i> were the socio-political entities of Ambon, Banda and some peripheral islands like Aru; during the 16 <sup>th</sup> century, several Malukan <i>nēgĕri</i> (village communities, which were divided into several <i>soa</i> , neighbourhoods or hamlets) had united in 'brotherhoods' or village confederations against unfriendly neighbours; originally, these <i>uli</i> consisted of three to eight villages; some of the larger <i>uli</i> (Hitu and Luhu) might even be considered as the nuclei of 'states'; the <i>Uli Lima</i> , 'union of five' and the <i>Uli Siwa</i> , 'union of nine' — each number forming a cosmic order and the other's antagonist — became the most important; the confederations were arch-enemies; the island of Ambon was divided into these factions: Hitu belonged to the <i>Lima</i> confederation, and large parts of Leitimur to the <i>Siwa</i> confederation; eventually, the <i>Uli Lima</i> converted to Islām, the <i>Uli Siwa</i> villages co-operated with the Portuguese and became Catholic, and later Protestant
<i>umma</i> ('Ar)	world-wide community of Muslims; Qur'ānic word for people, community, bringing together people of very different stocks and nations to form a higher unity, embodied in the Khalīfat

## V

<i>vecinos</i> (Span)	Spanish householders
Vereeniging van Ambtenaren bij het Binnenlandsch Bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië (Dut)	Association of Civil Servants in the Netherlands-Indies

## VOC (Dut)

Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United East India Company) established in 1602; the main Dutch port towns like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburgh, and Veere, had invested in separate India companies since 1595; under pressure of the Eighty Years War with Spain, unnecessary rivalry among the Dutch themselves, and growing competition with the British, the Estates General of the Republic of the United Netherlands managed to bring all participants together in the founding of a united trading company in 1602; the Board of the VOC, the Gentlemen XVII, was composed of trading representatives from the participating VOC towns: Amsterdam 8, Middelburgh (Zealand) 4, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen 1 each; to ensure that Amsterdam didn't dominate the Board, a 17<sup>th</sup> Membership was created and given by rotation to participating cities, excluding Amsterdam

## W

Wahhābī (Wahhābīya)  
(‘Ar)

community founded by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87); members call themselves *Muwahhīdūn*, ‘unitarians’, and their system (*tarīqa*) ‘Muhammadan’ and regard themselves as Sunnīs of the Ḥanbalī School of Law as interpreted by Ibn Taymīya (d. AD 1328), who strongly attacked the cult of saints; general aim of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb was to do away with all innovations (*bid‘a*) later than the third century of Islām; community recognizes the authority of the four Sunnī (orthodox) *mazhabs* (Schools of Law) and the six books of tradition

Wali (*walī*) (‘Ar);  
pl. *awliya‘*

from *walā*, to be near, and *walīya*, to govern, to rule, to protect someone; friend of God or ally of God; according to Jurjānī, equivalent of ‘*arif bi’llāh*: ‘he who possesses mystic knowledge’, ‘he who knows Allāh’

Wali Sanga (Jav)

Nine Saints of Java

wayang (Jav)

Javanese shadow play performed with flat leather puppets

wayang beber (Jav)

*wayang* stories depicted on a paper scroll, which the puppeteer narrates as he unrolls the scroll

## Z

Zamzam (‘Ar)

the sacred well of Makka, also called the well of Ismā‘īl monastery

zāwiya (‘Ar)

zindīq (‘Ar)

dualist; the believer in no religion; the deviator in religion; the impugner of religion; the believer in the eternity of the world



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3	XXVIII	1880	261-338	1541-55
4	XXVIII	1880	395-482	1556-78
5	XXIX	1881	153-215	1578-99
6	XXX	1882	141-242	1598-1605
7	XXXII	1884	49-118	1606-10
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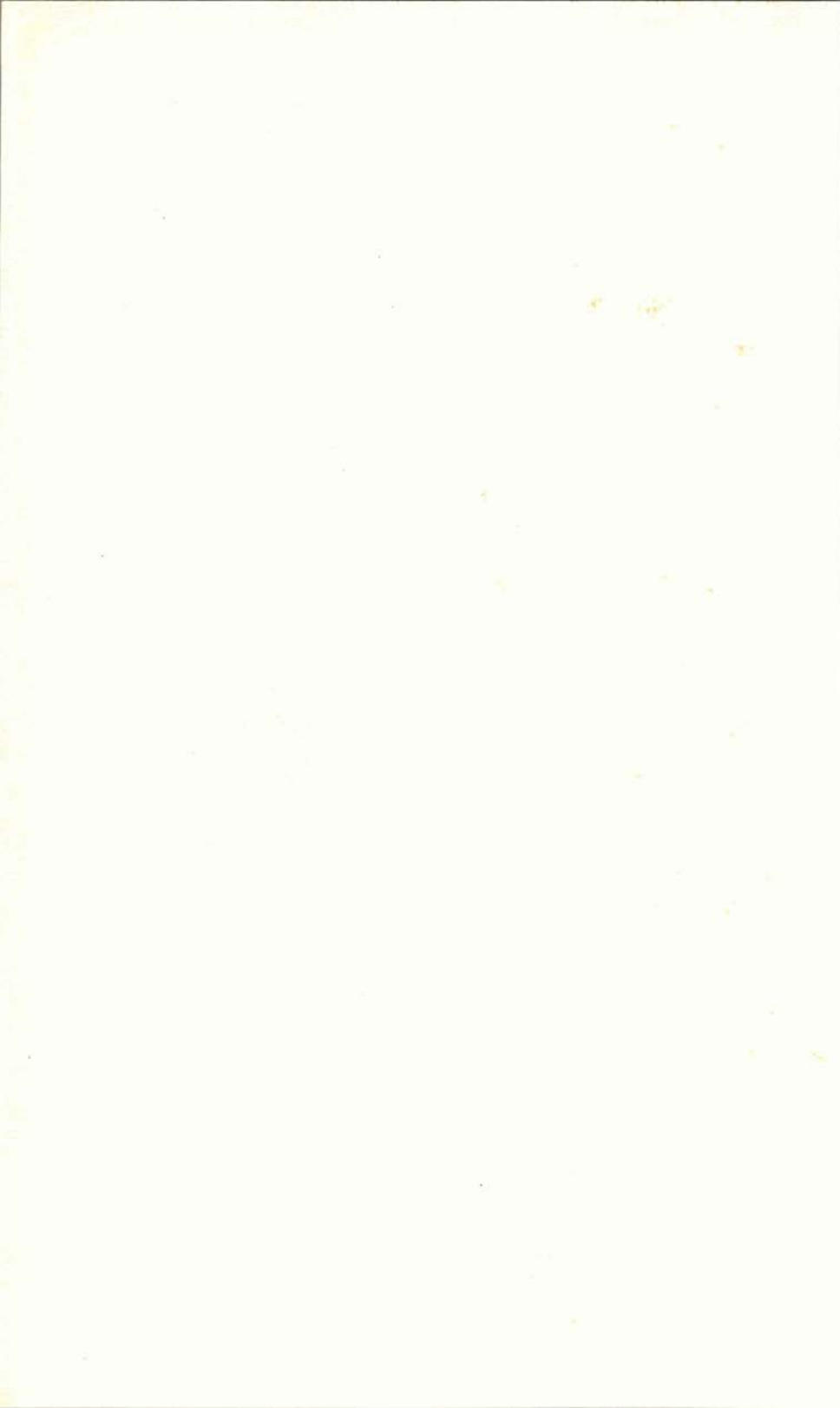
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