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THE ARRIVAL AND EXPANSION OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA

Uka Tjandrasasmita

The Arrival of Islam

Many theories concerning the arrival of Islam in Indonesia originate from a Chinese source, namely the *Hsin-T'ang Shu*. It mentions that in A.D. 674 Ta'-shih was planning to attack the kingdom of Ho-ling, ruled by Queen Sima.[1] References to Ta'-shih can also be found the following centuries, e.g., a Japanese source of 749 which mentions a number of Po-sse and Ta'-shih Kuo ships harbouring in Khanfu (Canton). The *Chau-ju-kua* of Chau-ku-fei also mentions the Ta'-shih colonies in 1178.

Considering the various ways in which Ta'-shih has been understood in different periods, it is difficult to decide and to locate with certainty the origins and the settlements of this Muslim community in the 7th century A.D./ 1st century A.H. Groeneveldt thinks that the Ta'-shih were Arab tribes and that their settlements would have been located along the coastal areas of west Sumatra.[2]

Wheatley locates the Ta'-shih at Kuala Brang, about 25 miles from the Trengganu river. If 'Po-sse' refers to people of Malay origin, then, suggests Rita di Miglio, Ta'-shih could only refer to Arabs and Persians who were, by the 7th and 8th centuries, largely Muslim communities.[3]

In spite of the differences of interpretation concerning the Ta'-shih, we may assume that during the 7th and 8th centuries Arab, Persian and Indian Muslims arrived in parts of Indonesia and Malaya, e.g., along the Strait of Melaka. They had by then made contact with Indonesian islanders and people from other parts of Southeast Asia.[4]

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[1] W. P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya, Compiled from Chinese Sources (Jakarta, Bhratara, 1960), p. 14.

[2] Ibid., p. 14, n. 4; among the scholars who suggested that Islam came to Indonesia in the 1st century A.H. were: Syed Naguib Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on A General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementrian Pelajaran Malaysia,1969), p. 11; Hamka & Mohammad Said, *Risalah Seminar Sejarah Masuknya Islam ke Indonesia* (Medan, 1963), p. 87 and p. 207; Sir John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh, 1820), vol. 2, pp. 260-71.

[3] Rita Rose Di Meglio, 'Arab Trade with Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula from the 8th to the 16th Century' in D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia: a Colloqium*, Papers on Islamic History, 2 (Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 108-110 and p. 115 n. 29.

The ongoing arrival of Islam in these parts of Southeast Asia during the 7th and 8th centuries coincided with the development of maritime trade across Asia. This was mainly due to the rise and development of three powerful dynasties: the Umayyad Caliphate (660-749) in West Asia, the Kingdom of Sriwijaya (7th-14th centuries) in Southeast Asia, and the T'ang dynasty (618-907)in East Asia.[5]

In the 10th century the Strait of Melaka, an important sea route in Southeast Asia, was under the control of Sriwijaya. Muslim seafaring and trade through the Strait of Melaka had gradually increased so that by the early 13th century a permanent Muslim settlement was established at Samudra-Pasai, about 15 km from Lhokseumawe, in North Aceh.

The gravestone inscription of Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (1297) at Gampong Samudra, a report of Marco Polo on Perlak in 1292 and chronicles, such as *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (The Story of the Pasai Kings) and *Sejarah Melayu* (The Malay History) all lend support to this conclusion concerning the first Muslim kingdom in Indonesia. Snouck Hurgronje, Moquette and other scholars believed that Islam did not come directly from the Arabian peninsula, but from Persia and India – primarily from Gujarat. This opinion was based on the similarities of customs derived from the Shāfiʿī school of jurisprudence, adopted in Indonesia, to those described in Muslim chronicles in India.[6] The comparison, made by Moquette, between the gravestones found in Cambay (in Gujarat) and those of Samudra-Pasai and Gresik (Java) also supported this view.[7] The 13th century might then be seen as the culmination of the first period of Islamization with the establishment of the first Islamic kingdom in Indonesia.[8]

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[4] Uka Tjandrasasmita, 'The Introduction of Islam and the Growth of Moslem Coastal Cities in the Indonesian Archipelago', in Haryati Soebadio and Carinne A. du Marchie Sarvaas (eds.), *Dynamics of Indonesian History* (Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1978), p. 145.

[5] George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton Oriental Studies, 13 (Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 62.

[6] C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'De Islam in Nederlandsch Indie', *Groote Godsdienste*, Baarn, Hollandia-Drukkerij, Serie 2, No. 9 (1913).

[7] J. P. Moquette, 'De Grafsteenen te Pasé en Grissee vergeleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan', *TBG*, 54 (1912), pp. 536-49; J. P. Moquette, 'De Eerste Vorsten van Samoedra-Pase (Noord-Sumatra)', *ROD* (1913), pp. 1-12; S. Q. Fatemi, *Islam comes to Malaysia & Singapore* (1963), p. 14 and pp. 18-21; M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'Trade and Islam in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago Prior to the Arrival of the Europeans', in D. S. Richards (ed.) *Papers on Islamic History II*, p. 143. Moquette also stated that Islam was not introduced by people from Southern India but from Benggala.

[8] Tjandrasasmita, 'Introduction of Islam', p. 143.

The emergence of Samudra-Pasai as the first Islamic kingdom was related to the political situation at that time. In the 13th century, the Sriwijaya kingdom had been in decline due to the political expansion of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Singasari, under the leadership of Kertanegara. The process of its disintegration was probably accelerated by Kublai Khan's expansion of his Chinese empire.[9] The situation was advantageous to the Muslims in the area, especially to those dwelling along the Strait of Melaka. They successfully established an economic network between settlements and later appointed Marah Silu, the Chief of Gampong Samudra, as their first Sultan, bearing the title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.[10]

From Samudra-Pasai, Islam was introduced to Trengganu (in present-day Malaysia) in the 14th century. In the early 15th century a Muslim kingdom was established there.[11]

The gravestone inscription at Leran in Gresik, which refers to Fāṭima bint Maymūn bin Hibat Allāh, who died in 1102, suggests that in the 12th century Muslim traders had also reached the north-east coast of Java.[12] However, there is no indication that they had established a kingdom.

Islam started to flourish on the north coast of Java during the 14th and 15th centuries. Some indigenous chronicles and Portuguese accounts, as well as historical relics, such as the Trolyo, Trowulan and Gresik gravestone inscriptions, all describe the development of Islam on the north coast of Java. Muslim traders came from Arabia, Persia, India, Samudra-Pasai and from the newly-established Muslim kingdom of Melaka, to the ports of Cirebon, Indramayu and Banten (in West Java) and Tuban, Gresik and Sedayu (in East Java).

The disintegration of the Majapahit royal family seems to have contributed to the rapid growth of Muslim settlements, particularly along the Java's north-east coast. Tome Pires in his *Suma Oriental* describes the situation:

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[9] Uka Tjandrasasmita, 'The Process of Islamization in Indonesia through the Channels of Architecture and Decorative Art', a paper presented at the International Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archaeology at Peshawar, Pakistan, 1-6 March 1981, pp. 3-4.

[10] Moquette, *ROD* (1913), pp. 1-12.

[11] R. A. Kern, 'De Verbreiding van den Islam', in Gescheidenis van Nederlandsch-Indie dl. I.N.V. Uitgevers maatschhappij Joost van den Vondel (Amsterdam, 1938), p. 316 illustration.

[12] J. P. Moquette, 'De oudste Moehammedaansche Inscriptie op Java n.m. de Grafsteen te Léran', *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java* (Weltevreden, Albrecht & Co., 1921), pp. 391-99.

At the time, when there were heathens along the seacoast of Java, many merchants used to visit. Arabs, Gujaratese, Bangalese, Malayans and other nationalities, among them many Moors. They began to trade in the country and grew rich. They suceeded in building mosques, and mollahs - Muslim lords - came from abroad. Their numbers grew. The sons of these Moors were already Javanese and rich, for they had been in these parts for about seventy years. In some places the heathen Javanese lords themselves wanted to become Mohammedan, and thus the mollahs and merchants Moors took possession of these places. Some fortified the places where they lived. They used their own people to sail their junks and they killed the Javanese lords and made themselves masters of the seacoast and took over trade and power in Jawa.[13]

The Jiu inscription (1486), found in East Java, indicates that the downfall of the capital of Majapahit was caused not by the growing Muslim influence, but was mainly due to the attacks of the Hindu kingdom of Daha (Kediri), which then moved the capital to Kediri in 1478. During the political chaos, some of the Majapahit governors in the coastal regions broke off with the centre and collaborated with the Muslims. Local chronicle reports suggest that Raden Patah, the son of Barawijaya, the last Majapahit king, had established the Islamic kingdom of Demak. Raden Patah was identified by de Graaf as the figure referred to by Tome Pires as 'Pate Rodim'.

From the north coast of Java, the Muslim traders went on to visit the eastern islands of Indonesia, including the Maluku islands, well-known for their spices. Local sources report that the 12th king of Ternate, Molomateya (1350-7) had a close friendship with an Arab Muslim who became an instructor in shipbuilding. During the reign of Marhum in Ternate, a Muslim called Mawlānā Ḥusayn came to Maluku from Java. His skill in composing Arabic texts and reading the Qur'an attracted the attention of the islanders.

The King of Maluku, who publicly declared his belief in Islam, was King Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who ruled from 1486 to 1500. He became Muslim while at Giri (Gresik), East Java. He brought cloves from Maluku as gifts to his teacher at Giri and thus became known as the 'King of the *Bulawa* (Cloves)'. On his return to Maluku, he was accompanied by a preacher named Tuhubahahul. According to the chronicle written by Rijali, King Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn is said to have gone to Giri in the company of his minister, Jamilu.

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[13] H. J. de Graaf, 'Tomé Pires "Suma Oriental" en het Tijdperk van godsdienstovergang op Java', *BKI*, 108 (1952), pp. 132-71.

The owner of the vessels that plied the route between Maluku and Gresik was, according to Tome Pires, Pate Cucuf. The King of Ternate used the title of *sulṭān,* thus distinguishing himself from other local rulers. Tome Pires said that Muslims could be found in Banda, Hitu, Haruku, Makian and Bacan. The King of Maluku was converted to Islam about 50 years before the arrival of Tome Pires in the area, i.e., between 1460 and 1465.[14]

The account of Antonio Galvao, who was in Maluku in the period 1540-45, reports that Islam had developed in the area 80 or 90 years earlier.[15] This corresponds to the period suggested by Tome Pires.[16]

Muslim traders came from Melaka to Maluku via the north coast of Java, then passing through the coastal areas of South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. The chronicle of Banjar[17] mentions the arrival of Islam in southern Kalimantan in the 16th century, a development related to the conflict between Raden Samudra of Negara Dipa and his relative, Prince Tumenggung, the King of Daha, from Negara Daha. Cense notes the arrival of Islam in South Kalimantan around 1550.[18]

Local folklore and the Chronicle of Kutai describe the arrival of Islam in East Kalimantan.[19] Before the arrival of Islam, the Kingdom of Kutai was Hindu-oriented. In the hinterland lived a number of tribes who strongly adhered to animism. During the Crown Prince's reign, two Muslim preachers from Makassar, Tuan di Bandang and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, came to see the Prince. There ensued a contest between the Prince and the preachers, each demonstrating his supernatural powers, in which the preachers proved superior; following this, permission for preaching Islam in the area was granted. These preachers came from Makasar. The process of Islamization in Kutai took place around 1575.[20] The expansion of Islam to Muara Kaman and other surrounding areas, according to the Kutai chronicle, occurred during the era of Aji di Langgar and his successors.

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[14] H. J. de Graaf, 'South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century' in P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton and B. Lewis (eds.), *Cambridge History of Islam* (2 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2: 135.

[15] H. Th. Th. M. Jacobs (ed. and tr.), *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c.1544),* Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, 3 (Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), p. 83 and p. 85, n. 14.

[16] Tome Pires, *The* Suma Oriental *of Tome Pires: an Account of the East...,* ed. and trans. A. Cortesão, works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 90 (2 vols., (London, Hakluyt Society, 1944), p. 312.

[17] A. A. Cense, 'De Kroniek van Banjarmasin' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1928).

[18] Ibid., p. 107 and p. 109.

[19] The Chronicle was studied by C. A. Mees and later became the topic of his dissertation 'De Kroniek van Koetai' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1935).

[20] Ibid., pp. 90-3.

Muslim traders from Melaka, Sumatra and Java probably arrived in South Sulawesi during the 15th and 16th centuries. Tome Pires reports that in Sulawesi there were 50 kingdoms whose kings and people worshipped images. Islam was formally professed by the rulers of Gowa and Tallo on 22 September 1605. From Gowa, Islam spread to Bone, Wajo, Soppeng and other areas. Among the Muslim preachers who worked in these area, we may note Dato ri Bandang from Minangkabau who, according to a Javanese source, was also a pupil of Sunan Giri.[21]

Islamization in Indonesia

Muslim traders who arrived to sell their goods would usually stay for a period until their products were sold out. Later they would purchase local goods to take back to their own country. However, their voyage home also depended on the season and weather patterns. Thus their stay might extend a number of months. Muslim traders tended to live in groups. They built temporary houses close to each other. As each settlement grew, it acquired its own identity – *pakojan* was the term commonly used. We can still find such settlements in Banten, Jakarta and many other coastal towns in Java, although over time they have undergone considerable change.

Gradually the group would establish friendly relationships with local people. Intermarriage occurred between members of the Muslim group and local women. Since Muslim traders were wealthy in comparison to the majority of local people, even kings or noble families looked upon marriage between their daughters and Muslim merchants with favour. As an example, *Babad Tanah Jawa* (the Chronicle of Java) mentions the marriage between Princess Campa and Brawijaya, the marriage between Mawlānā Isḥāq and the daughter of King Blambangan, who later gave birth to Sunan Giri, and the marriage between Raden Rahmat, alias Sunan Ampel, and Nyi Gede Manila, the Princess of Tumanggung Wila-Tikta (Majapahit).[22] The history of Cirebon records the marriage of Princess Kawung Anten to Sunan Gunung Jati.[23] In the Tuban chronicle, the marriage between Princess Raden Ayu Teja, the daughter of Aria Dikara and a Muslim Arab named Syeh Ngabdurahman is mentioned. They had a child named Syeh Jali.[24]

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[21] J. Noorduyn, 'Een Achttiende-Eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo' (Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden, 1955), p. 99 and pp. 100-3, n. 12.

[22] W. L. Olthof (ed.), *Poenika serat Babad tanah djawi wiwit saking nabi adam doemoegi ingtaoen 1647 : kaetjap wonten ing tanah Nèderlan ing taoen Welandi 1941* ('s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1941).

[23] J. L. A. Brandes and D. A. Rinkes, '*Babad Tjerbon*: Uitvoerig inhoudsopgave en noten', *VBG*, 59 (1911), p. 93.

[24] De Graaf, *BKI* 108 (1952), p. 144.

Such marriages had a positive impact on the process of Islamization. Traditionally, kings were regarded as divine representatives; the use of such titles as *panembahan, susuhunan, sunan,* and *pangeran* was the people's acknowledgement of the divine power of their rulers. Therefore, when their leaders adopted a new religion, the people readily followed.

Marriages of this kind tended to benefit both Muslims and locals. For the Muslim traders, it facilitated their commercial activities, earned them the protection of local rulers and eased their efforts to spread Islamic teachings. By virtue of marriage to a member of a noble family or local *adipati*, Muslim traders were often appointed as port officers (*shāhbandar*), judges (*qāḍī*), or other important positions. On the other hand, since local and international sea routes were mainly under the control of Muslim merchants and traders, intermarriage could facilitate the export of local commodities. Through commerce and marriage, Islam managed to permeate all levels of society.[25]

Educational institutions, known as *pesantren*, also played a very important role in spreading Islamic teachings among the Indonesian people. In the *pesantren*, religious teachers (*kyai*) and Muslim leaders received their education. The *pesantren* attracted students (*santri*) from all over the region, even from very remote areas. When they had completed their studies, they would usually return to their own communities to teach religion privately or to establish their own *pesantrens*.

Sufism played an important role in shaping the character of Muslim communities.[26] Hinduistic culture had engendered a predilection for mysticism, which paved the way for the acceptance of Sufi teachings. Many Muslim missionaries were themselves mystical teachers. Among the well-known Sufis or writers on *taṣawwuf*, we may note Hamza Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrani from Aceh, and Seh Lemah Abang alias Siti Jenar from Java. Hamza Fansuri and Seh Lemah Abang, who shared the belief that man emanated from the Godhead, were opposed by al-Rānirī who, like many other Sufis, held to the concept of God as the absolute Creator. The Sufis lived in coastal towns, such as

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[25] J. C. van Leur suggested that the converts to Islam belonged to the lower ranks of society; see his *Indonesian Trade and Society: essays in Asian social and economic history*, Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars (The Hague and Bandung, W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1955), pp. 98-9. Schrieke, however, believed that Islamization began among the aristocratic community, because traders primarily belonged to this group: B. Schrieke *Indonesian Sociological Studies: selected works of B. Schrieke*, Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars (The Hague & Bandung, W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1955), 1: 28 and 1: 33-4. See also de Graaf, 'Islam in South-East Asia', p. 135.

[26] A. H. Johns, 'Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History', *JSAH*, 2 (1961), pp. 10-23.

Samudra-Pasai, Banten and Cirebon, among others. The policy of local rulers to a significant extent determined the level of Sufi influence.

Islam had also influenced traditional arts, such as *wayang* (shadow play). Although its stories and performances existed long before the arrival of Islam, and these pre-Islamic themes were preserved in the repertoire, the characters of the stories were gradually 'Islamized'. The Muslim attestation of faith, for instance, was used as the name of an arrow that possessed magical power (*kalimasada*). Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the famous Nine Saints (*walisanga*), regarded as the creator of *wayang*, introduced new heroes, derived from Islamic tradition, such as Amīr Hamza, 'Alī and others, to the *wayang* tradition.

In addition to education, Sufism and literature, architecture and the decorative arts also reflect the gradual process of Islamization in Indonesia. When we examine Indonesian mosques constructed between the 16th and 18th centuries, our attention is drawn to design features that distinguish them from mosques in other parts of the Muslim world. Although most of the mosques have been restored several times, they still conform to the original plan:[27]

1) Very large square-shaped foundation.
2) Each mosque has stepped roofs, consisting of two, three, four, five or more layers. Each layer is narrower than the one beneath.
3) A veranda at the front or side. In Javanese this is known as the *surambi*, in Sundanese it is referred to as *tepas masjid*.
4) The open space around the mosque is enclosed by a wall with one or more entrances.

These mosques remind us of East Java buildings of the pre-Islamic period. Those buildings had stepped roofs which can still be seen on the reliefs of present-day Surawana, Jawi, Panataran and Kedaton.[28]

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[27] See G. F. Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica : studien over het Islamisme in Nederlandsch-Indie* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1934); and his 'The Minaret in Java' in *India Antiqua: a volume of oriental studies presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C. I. E., om the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1947), pp. 274-83.

[28] Th. P. Galestin, 'Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempel-reliefs' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1936) p. 26 and p. 139; J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van de Ruïne bij de desa Toempang genaamd Tjandi Djago in de Residentie Pasoeroean: samengesteld naar de gegevens verstrekt door H. L. Leydie Melville en J. Knebel*, Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura, 1 (Batavia and 's-Gravenhage, Albrecht & Co., and Martinus Nijhoff, 1904), p. 59, plate 147; W. F. Stutterheim, 'Tjandi Djawi op een relief?', *TBG* 81 (1941), pp. 1-25.

Another interesting feature of some of the mosques, for instances the great mosque at Sendangduwur of Old Banten, and the great mosque at Demak, are their low doors, of about 1.3m - 1.5m in height. Such low doors force those who enter to bow and cast their heads down. This implicitly reminds worshippers of their humble position before God and to desist from arrogant behaviour.

Some of the old mosque doors are decorated on their upper sections with a *kalamakara* arch. The inner hall is divided into two sections: the left-hand (or southern) section for women, the right-hand (or northern) section for men. In several mosques, the women's section is separate from the main building. This additional hall is called in Javanese *pawadonan* or *pawestren*. This section can be found in the mosque at Panjunan, in the great mosques at Cirebon and Giri-Gresik, as well as in the great mosques at Kanari and Banten, West Java. The Kuta Gede and Imogiri mosques in Yogyakarta also have a separate hall for women.[29] In the mosque at Demak, this hall is separated by a corridor from the main building. In Pijper's opinion, the arrangement was so that women could participate in the congregational prayer (*jamāʿa*).[30] The style and decoration of the ancient mosque pulpits (*minbar*) not only convey classical Hindu-Javanese styles and motifs, but also the traditional Hindu-Javanese representations of heaven and earth.[31] This is expressed in a symbolic idiom: for example, the lotus represents life, the *kala* (scorpion head) symbolizes the forest, etc.

Divided gates (*candi bentar*) and closed gates (*paduraksa, kori agung*) were built after the fall of Hindu-Indonesian kingdoms, a time when Islamic influences were growing. The mosque and cemetery at Mantingan,[32] the mosque and cemetery compound at Sendangduwur,[33] and the cemetery of Sunan Muria at Colo, north of Kudus,[34] are among those Islamic constructions that feature both divided and closed gates. These gates are richly decorated with reliefs of flora and fauna, such as trees with many branches, *kala* and *makara*, peacocks, snakes and geometrical motifs. The trees are representations of the 'tree of life', the celestial tree or the tree of wishes (Javanese: *kalpadruma, kalpawrksa, kekayon* or *gunungan*). Stutterheim, Bergema and several others believed that *kekayon* and winged gates, depicting *garuda* (the sunbird) are related to concepts of *meru* and celestial existence.

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[29] U. Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities of Sendang Duwur*, trans. Satyawati Suleiman (Jakarta, The Archaeological Foundation, 1975), p. 39.

[30] Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica*, pp. 16-17, 38-40, 48-9.

[31] 'Rede van den Heer P.A.J. Moojen ter gelegenheid van de opening der houtsnijwerktentoonstelling', *Djawa*, 1 (1921), pp. 279-83, plate opposite p. 278.

[32] *OV*, 1930, plate 13a, Jakarta 1959, plate 8.

[33] Tjandrasasmita, *Sendang Duwur*, pp. 45-9.

[34] J. F. G. Brumund, *VBG*, 33 (1968), p. 172.

The tombs of kings, royal families and noblemen were usually constructed as stepped buildings on hilltops. The tombs of Sunan Sendang, Ratu Ibu and King Cakraningrat and Sultan Agung Hanyokro Kusumo at Imogiri were built in this manner. Rouffaer considers the style and the choice of location to be a continuation of the traditional stepped buildings of the Hindu-Javanese period.[35] Historically, this type of building has been known since the megalithic period.[36] In South Sulawesi, we see that megalithic traits are blended with Islamic influences. The royal tombs at Watan Lamuru in Bone and those of Jera Lompoe in Soppeng resemble the sarcophagi and menhirs of megalithic burial sites. Some of the gravestones are in the form of daggers or the blade of a *keris*. It is interesting to note that certain royal tombs at Jene Ponto feature statues of the figure commemorated. The tombstone motifs are mostly lotus flowers and leaves.

The Arabic script introduced to Indonesia was of two styles, and both can be found on several old tombstones. The first style is the Kufic and the other is the Taʿlīq or Nastaʿlīq. The latter was not widely used among the Arabs themselves; it is considered the native calligraphic style of Persian, Indian and Turkish Muslims. It is this latter script which was widely used by Indonesian Muslims.[37] Most of the tombstone inscriptions are of the Nastaʿlīq style. For example, the inscriptions on the tombstones of Malik Ibrāhīm at Gresik (A.H. 822/A.D. 1419) and of Samudra-Pasai are written in this style. The Kufic script is used in particular cases only, mostly for certain words and phrases, e.g., Allāh, Muḥammad, the basmala etc. The gravestone of Fāṭima bint Maymūn bint Hibat Allāh at Leran, Gresik, dated A.H. 498 (A.D. 1102) is inscribed in Kufic script.[38] Islamic calligraphy is used not only for writing *āyās* or *sūras* from the Qur'an on tombstones, but also for carving sculptures and drawing sketches. In the collections in Cirebon, Yogyakarta and other sites, we find calligraphic sculptures and drawings depicting humans, animals and flora.

Some of the tombstones in Aceh, such as those at Teungku Peuet Ploh Peuet Gampong Minye Tujoh, Meunasa Minye Tujoh, and Mukin Ara Keumidi have Arabic script on one side and old Javanese on the other. According to Bosch, these old Javanese scripts are similar to those found in East Java. One of the Arabic inscriptions records that a princess died on Friday 14 Dhī 'l-Ḥajj 791 (= Saturday 4 December 1389). In South Sulawesi some of the royal tombstones at Watan Lamuru also feature two different scripts, in this case Buginese and

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[35] G .P. Rouffaer, 'Beeldende Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indie', *BKI* 89 (1932), p. 551.

[36] H. R. van Heekern, 'The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia', *VKI*, 32 (1958), p. 52 and p. 69.

[37] Y. H. Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London, Thames and Hudson Limited, 1978), p. 27.

[38] N. A. Baloch, *Advent of Islam in Indonesia*, 1st edn, 1980, pp. 29-30.

Arabic. Several tombstones found at Trowulan are engraved with the sun figure of Majapahit and old Javanese figures dating from 1457.

Conclusion

Before the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, Hindu and Buddhist influences had long been incorporated into Indonesian culture. The coming of Islam through seafaring and trade enriched all aspects of life, including education, architecture, art and literature.

The success of Muslim teachers, either from abroad, or those of local origin such as the Nine Saints (*walisanga*), in spreading Muslim teachings is partly due to the political conditions of the time. Disintegration among the royal families of the Indonesian kingdoms gave Islam the opportunity to flourish.

The gradual acceptance of Islam and the lack of accompanying political, social or religious dislocation perhaps serves to demonstrate that the spirit of Islam suited the characteristics of Indonesian society.