The Architecture of the Early Mosques and Shrines of Java: Influences of the Arab Merchants in the 15th and 16th Centuries?

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Abstract

**Architecture of the Early Mosques and Shrines of Java:
Influences of the Arab Merchants in the 15th and 16th Centuries?**

In spite of the Malay Archipelago's location at the crossroads of the maritime spice route which allowed reception of ideas and influences from China, the Middle East and Europe, Javanese mosques and shrines are widely believed, by local Indonesian and international scholars, as originating from earlier local Hindu-Buddhist predecessors. Variations of local buildings such as temples, cock-fight arenas, communal buildings, and vernacular houses have been suggested as the prototype on which the masjid was modeled. The mausoleums were linked to earlier mountain sites and Hindu-Buddhist practices of veneration of the dead. Two scholars however, Graaf and Slametmuljana, contested the dominant perception and suggested a foreign origin for the Javanese mosque; the former, on basis of similarities in the use of timber as the construction medium, suggested the western Coast of India and the latter on basis of reports in a local Javanese history which records the visit of the Chinese Zheng He to a mosque in Java in the early 15th century, proposed China as the source for the earliest Javanese masjid.

This dissertation addresses the issue of the origin of the Javanese Islamic buildings (mosques and shrines) by means of an architectural approach. Architecture, as suggested by Hillenbrand, being a combination of form, function, and meaning, the approach used here, therefore, looks beyond the external features of the buildings and into the embedded ideas in order to inspect whether the mosque concept, plan, orientation, functions, and construction, or any of its given cosmic associations relied on contemporary or older local or foreign beliefs. Not only are the mosques concerned here, but the shrines as well.

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first is a broad historical introduction that gives an overall picture of he Malay Archipelago from the 3rd century A. D. when the Indians arrived to the islands till the 16th when the Portuguese established there hegemony in the region. Theories regarding the arrival of Islam and the foundation of Muslim polities in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java and the "Islamization" of the Spice Islands are addressed in more detail.

The second chapter is a descriptive and pictorial catalogue of the case monuments; 15th-16th century mosques and shrines of the northern coast of Java. Mosques selected are those of Demak, Banten, Cirebon and the Masjid Panjunan in Cirebon. The shrines are those of Drajat, Gunung Jati, Ratu Kalinyamat, Sendang Duwur, Bonang and Kudus.

The third chapter is an analytical comparison between the architecture of local buildings, their associated iconography and religious beliefs, architectural details, and decorations and those of the Javanese mosque and shrine. The aim is to asses whether the Javanese mosque and shrine are products of the local architecture.

The fourth chapter questions the theories on China and India as the source for the Javanese Islamic buildings and hypothetically reconstructs the Javanese mosque design process in an attempt to unveil the source of the mosque's architectural concept. The chapter concludes by evaluating the role of the Arab merchant in the design and construction of the Javanese mosque and shrine.

Zusammenfassung

Architektur der frühen Moscheen und Heiligengräber in Java: Einflüsse der arabischen Händler im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert?

Trotz der Lage des malaiischen Archipels am Schnittpunkt der Seehandelsrouten für Gewürze, die die Rezeption von Ideen und Einflüssen aus China, dem Mittleren Osten und Europa möglich machte, werden javanische Moscheen und Heiligengräber von indonesischen und von ausländischen Wissenschaftlern zumeist für aus früheren hinduistischen und buddhistischen Vorläufern entstanden angesehen. Abwandlungen lokaler Gebäude wie Tempel, Hahnenkampf-arenen, Gemeinschaftsgebäuden und einheimischer Häuser sind als Prototyp für die Moschee vorgeschlagen worden. Die Mausoleen wurden mit früheren Bergheiligtümern und hindu-buddhistischen Praktiken der Totenverehrung in Verbindung gebracht. Jedoch haben zwei Wissenschaftler, Graaf und Slametmuljana, die vorherrschende Auffassung bezweifelt und sind von einem ausländischen Ursprung der javanischen Moschee ausgegangen. Ersterer befürwortete wegen Ähnlichkeiten in der Verwendung von Holz als Baumaterial die indische Westküste, und letzterer schlug auf der Basis von Berichten in einem lokalen javanischen Geschichtswerk, die den Besuch des Chinesen Zhèng Hé in einer Moschee in Java im frühen 15. Jahrhundert verzeichnet, China als die Quelle der frühesten javanischen Moschee vor.

Diese Dissertation behandelt den Ursprung der islamischen Bauten Javas (Moscheen und Heiligengräber) mit Hilfe architektonischer Methoden. Architektur ist, wie Hillenbrand vorgeschlagen hat, eine Verbindung von Form, Funktion und Bedeutung. Daher sieht die hier verwendete Zugangsweise hinter die äußeren Merkmale der Gebäude und in die ihnen eingeschriebenen Philosophien, um zu prüfen, ob Konzept, Plan, Orientierung, Funktionen und Bauweise der Moschee, oder irgendeine ihrer gegebenen kosmischen Assoziationen sich auf zeitgenössische oder ältere und auf einheimische oder ausländische Glaubensvorstellungen stützt. Nicht nur die Moscheen werden hier behandelt, sondern auch die Heiligengräber.

Die Dissertation ist in vier Kapitel eingeteilt. Die erste ist eine breite historische Einführung, die eine Übersicht des malaiischen Archipels vom 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. [oder: unserer Zeitrechnung], als die Inder an den Inseln ankamen, bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, als die Portugiesen ihre Vorherrschaft in der Region errichteten. Theorien von der Ankunft des Islams, die Grundlage der moslemischen Herschaften in Sumatra sowie in der malaiiischen Halbinsel und Java, und die Islamisierung der Gewürzinseln werden ausführlicher besprochen.
Das zweite Kapitel ist ein deskriptiver Bilderkatalog der betreffenden Monumente, nämlich Moscheen und Heiligengräbern der javanischen Nordküste aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Für die Moscheen wurden die von Demak, Banten, Cirebon und die Masjid Panjunan in Cirebon ausgewählt. Die Heiligengräber sind die von Drajat, Gunung Jati, Ratu Kalinyamat, Sendang Duwur, Bonang und Kudus.
Das dritte Kapitel ist ein analytischer Vergleich zwischen der Architektur einheimischer Gebäude, der damit verbundenen Ikonographie, den Glaubensvorstellungen, architektonischen Details und Dekorationen, und der der Moscheen und Heiligengräber von Java. Das Ziel dabei ist, zu bewerten, ob die Moscheen und Heiligengräber von Java Produkte der einheimischen Architektur sind.

Das vierte Kapitel stellt die Theorien zu China und Indien als Quelle für die islamischen Gebäude in Frage und rekonstruiert hypothetisch den Anlageprozess der javanischen Moschee, um die Quelle des architektonischen Konzepts der Moschee herauszufinden. Das Kapitel schließt damit, dass es die Rolle des arabischen Händlers bei Planung und Bau der Moscheen und Heiligengräber von Java auswertet.

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Introduction

In spite of the Malay Archipelago's location at the crossroads of the maritime spice route which allowed reception of ideas and influences from China, the Middle East and Europe, Javanese mosques and shrines are widely believed, by local Indonesian and international scholars, as originating from earlier local Hindu-Buddhist predecessors. Variations of local buildings such as temples, cock-fight arenas, communal buildings, and vernacular houses have been suggested as the prototype on which the masjid was modeled. The aim of this study is to re-examine the early Islamic buildings of Java (the mosque and shrine) with the intention to assess whether they follow a local prototype or where they influenced by external factors? This dissertation addresses the issue of the origin of the Javanese Islamic buildings by means of an architectural approach. Architecture, as suggested by Hillenbrand, being a combination of form, function, and meaning; the approach used here, therefore, looks not only at the external features of the buildings but also into the embedded ideas in order to inspect whether the mosque concept, plan, orientation, functions, and construction, or any of its given cosmic associations relied on contemporary or older local or foreign beliefs. Not only are the mosques concerned here, but the shrines as well.

The Early mosques and shrines of Java represent a unique demonstration of how Islamic thoughts, forms and culture penetrated a deeply rooted Hindu-Buddhist civilization that continues to be felt in many traits of the Javanese culture till today. Furthermore, Java was never conquered by a Muslim army, but rather by an influx of traders and adventurers, and therefore, the system of patronage and the newly introduced buildings (mosque and shrine) reflects the locals' approach in expressing their new religion; a case seldom seen in the areas that constituted the "Dar al Islam".

The ten cases covered in this dissertation represent the earliest mosque examples surviving in the commercial ports on the northern coast of Java that were frequented by the Muslim merchants in the 15th and 16th centuries. The shrines represent those of the nine saints of Java and prominent figures that were active in propagating the new religion on the Island. These shrines are pilgrimage sites that are visited and highly revered by the Javanese. The mosques selected are those of Demak, Banten, Cirebon and the Masjid Panjunan in Cirebon. The shrines are those of Drajat, Gunung Jati, Ratu Kalinyamat, Sendang Duwur, Bonang and Kudus.

The earliest serious scientific efforts that addressed this matter were started by the Dutch archeologists and orientalists in Indonesia in the first half of the 20th century. Two Dutch scholars were prominent in this regard: Guillaume Frédéric Pijper who published his English article "the Minaret in Java" in 1947,[1] and about the same time,. Hermanus Johannes de Graaf, who made available his Dutch article "*De Oorsprong der Javaanse Moskee*" in 1947-8, which was republished eleven years later in English under the title

[1] Pijper, G. F. "The Minaret in Java". F. D. Bosch *et al. India Antiqua, a volume of Oriental studies presented to J. P. Vogel*, (Leiden, 1947), pp.274-83.

"*The Origin of the Javanese Mosque*".[2] However, the two scholars promoted two different theories. Pijper advocated a local derivation for the Javanese mosque while de Graaf suggested a foreign origin.

Pijper was not the first to suggest a local origin; he was preceded by a Dutch archaeologist, namely Willem Frederik Stutterheim, who in 1935, in his book *De Islam en zijn komst in den archipel* suggested a local building used as a cockfight arena to be the prototype on which the Javanese mosque was based.[3] Since then, many scholars have followed in their footsteps and approved of the idea of a local origin for the Javanese mosque.[4] However, as mentioned earlier, de Graaf, joined later by the Indonesian scholar Slametmuljana[5] contested the dominant perception and they both suggested a foreign origin for the Javanese mosque; the former, on basis of similarities in the use of timber as the construction medium, suggested the western Coast of India and the latter on basis of reports in a local Javanese history which records the visit of the Chinese Ming Admiral Zheng He to a mosque in Java in the early 15th century, proposed China as the source for the earliest Javanese masjid.

The latest to attribute to this subject was Bambang Setia Budi who in his article "*A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque; Part 1: A Review of Theories on the Origin of the Javanese Mosque*", evaluated the different theories that were brought forward by the four prime scholars: Pijper, Stutterheim, Wirjosuparto, and de Graaf.

Budi reached the conclusion that "the reliable theories" are those of Piiper, Stutterheim, and Wirjosuparto, yet with more emphasize on that of Stutterheim. Furthermore, Budi stated that "To make a definite theory of the origin of the Javanese mosque still needs further careful study. Not only does it need historical or archaeological evidence, but an architectural point of view as well".[6]

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first is a broad historical introduction that gives an overall picture of he Malay Archipelago from the 3rd century A. D. when the Indians arrived to the islands till the 16th when the Portuguese established there hegemony in the region. Theories regarding the arrival of Islam and the foundation of Muslim polities in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java and the "Islamization" of the Spice Islands goes beyond the 16th century and are addressed in more detail.

The second chapter is a descriptive and pictorial catalogue of the ten case monuments. A descriptive method is used which aims at conveying to the reader the essence of these buildings. For each monument the location of the site will be clearly determined, the overall site order will be briefed, then a more detailed description of the site elements such as gates, courtyards, and auxiliary buildings as one proceeds from the main entrance towards the prime attraction of the site is given. The ground plan, facades, structure system, and interior will also be addressed in details. Furthermore, decoration

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[2] Graaf, H. J. de. "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque". *Journal of South East Asian History* 5, 1959, pp.1-5.

[3] Stutterheim, W. F. *Leerboek der Indische Cultuurgeschiedenis: III De Islam en Zijn Komst in den Archipel* (Groningen – Batavia, 1935), p.137.

[4] This is discussed in more details in Chapter 3 section 3-3-1

[5] Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit* (Singapore, 1976).

[6] Budi, B. S. "A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque; Part 1: A Review of Theories on the Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.194.

elements and inscriptions will be described and read and lastly the date and patron of the monument will be discussed.

The third chapter is an analytical comparison between the architecture of local buildings, their associated iconography and religious beliefs, architectural details, and decorations and those of the Javanese mosque and shrine. The aim here is to asses whether the Javanese mosque and shrine are products of the local architecture. The basics of Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, iconography, architecture, decoration and ideas are all explained in detail. The different theories regarding the local prototype on which the Javanese mosque was founded are also addressed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter questions the theories on China and India as the source for the Javanese Islamic buildings and hypothetically reconstructs the Javanese mosque design process by implementing modern architectural thinking and design procedures on a project that took place five centuries earlier, yet within a framework determined by the historical, political, and technological circumstances of that period, in an attempt to unveil the source of the mosque's architectural concept. The chapter concludes by summarizing the findings of this research.

Chapter 1:

Historical Introduction

1-1: The Aim of This Chapter

The aim of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with historical events that occurred in the Malay world and led to the area adopting Islam as a faith and consequently building mosques and shrines. As the title of this dissertation may imply; ideally, only happenings of the 15th and 16th centuries in Java should be addressed. However, our confinement to events of those two centuries and our sharp focusing on Java alone would not suffice to paint a relatively clear picture of the status quo at that time. Limiting the study to this period would also risk the loss of understanding many collaborating factors that had shaped the settings and the history of the region in adopting the new religion. It is therefore the intention here to widen the geographical scope to include the Indian Ocean, China, the Arabian Peninsula and the coasts of the Red Sea, and deepen the historical era to include events which starts from the 3rd century A. D. when the Indians arrived to the islands. Indeed this is a necessity due to the fact that Southeast Asia was under strong Indian influences before the arrival of Islam; this Hindu-Buddhist influence is felt in the arts of the region still today. However, later on into the chapter, the Malayan Archipelago will be the main focus of events and as the centuries progress, Java alone will be the prime concern.

1-1-1: Historical Sources Available and Related Problems

The history of the Malay Archipelago is not in its entirety known. This is due to the fact that relatively scarce historical records are to be found in this part of the world. This deficiency is due to several combined reasons: climate, insect pests, ignorance of printing, political instability, and lack of organization. According to Ho Kuang-Chung the Indian mind is religion-oriented as opposed to Chinese historical-oriented thinking; countries that were under the Chinese sphere of influences such as Korea and Japan also retain good historical records, while India and its cultural dependencies do not.[7] Material on Southeast Asia could be found in Chinese and Arab sources and to an extent in local Southeast Asian histories known as *Babads* or *Hikayat*. It is historical irony that Indian sources are totally lacking in this regard. Suárez describes it as an “enigma” and comments “despite the profound influence of Indian civilization on much of Southeast Asia, there remains hardly any trace of Indian voyages to the east. No Indian maps of Southeast Asia whatsoever are known, nor geographic treaties detailing the itineraries and commerce of Indian sailors and traders. How is the contradiction between the undeniably extensive Indian presence in Southeast Asia and the utter void in cartographic and historical evidence reconciled?” [8] However, from the available material, according to Barbara and Leonard Andaya, “The Chinese records are the most promising for a historical reconstruction of the early history of the Malay region, yet they also present the historian with specific problems. Imperial dynastic histories usually devote one section to a description of foreign countries, but these sections were often compiled years later from notes and are thus subject to error. Descriptions by Buddhist pilgrims of their voyages to India, navigational guides for mariners and, in the Ming period (1368—1644), accounts by travelers are also important Chinese sources. But here too questions of chronology and veracity may arise because supposed eyewitness reports could incorporate much earlier

[7] Ho Kuang-Chung, “Contribution of Sinology,” p.333.
[8] Suárez, T. *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia* p.44.

material or be based on second- or third-hand information".[9] As for the Arab sources, in spite of much copying and the fact that many of the authors of these texts never set foot in Southeast Asia, these sources are the sole reference for the region in the 8th-10th centuries.[10] The third group of references, or the local histories, was written around the turn of the 17th century mainly in mystical poetry.[11] As the words *babad* (Javanese for chronicles) and hikayat (Arabic for stories) might indicate, the content of these works are not historical in today's sense. The Andayas explain that "the *Sejarah Melayu*, [for instance], does not purport to adhere to a strict chronology or provide a precise rendering of events in the past. It was not written according to the Western conception of a historical document, and to treat it as such is to misunderstand its fundamental aims. Like other Malay court annals, the *Sejarah Melayu* should be regarded as a particular genre of Malay literature whose primary concern was the edification of future generations".[12] And as Jones states, "the value of these accounts [*babads*] lays in the fact that they are indigenous, that they are the products of the same cultural tradition, not so much in their worth as 'history' in the Western sense".[13]

Indeed what concerns us from the previous introduction is that the History of the Malay Archipelago is not well documented, and that the inhabitants of this region were not good keepers of historical accounts. What follows in this chapter is an augmentation of documented historical facts, and in some cases local myths, in an attempt to reconstruct the socio-political and urban environment in Java when Islam arrived and mosques and shrines were introduced.

1-2: The Spice Route: Commercial and Economic Exchanges

In spite of China's isolated geographical location, relative to the civilizations of the Middle East and the Mediterranean, China was a business magnet that was connected to the West by means of two strong commercial routes: the overland silk route, and the maritime spice route. The silk route was a long road that started in China and ended at the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The sea route, which actually combined an overland part, made use of the Indian Ocean monsoon winds and connected the sea ports of China with those of the Persian Gulf and the Red sea, from which commodities and travelers continued overland to the ports of the Mediterranean in Syria and Egypt and once again by ships to Europe. Chinese history mentions that in 166 A.D. a Da-ts'in[14] (Roman) embassy, sent by An-dun (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, r.161-80 A. D.) reached the court of the Han emperor Huan Di (r.146-168) by sea.[15] It is of significance to note that a Syrian merchant headed the embassy.[16] Another factor that later contributed to the

[9] Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* pp.7-8.
[10] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.17.
[11] Drewes, "Indonesian Mysticism and Activism," p.288.
[12] Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* p.32.
[13] Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths," p.130.
[14] Pinyin: Dàqín
[15] Yule, *Cathay*, 1: pp.53-4; al-Sini, *al-`Ilaqat* p.12.
[16] Yule, *Cathay*, 1: pp.53-4.

prosperity of the sea route was the movement of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to and from India.[17]

The Arabs benefited greatly from the wars between the Romans and the Persians; with the emphasis of trade shifting towards the sea routes. The ports of Oman, Yemen, and Bahrain (the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf) witnessed increased activity. According to Strabo the geographer, "the people of Gerrha (on the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain) sent goods by raft up the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, and also by caravan to Yemen".[18] The Arabs played a key role in carrying the merchandise of China and India to Mediterranean ports by means of the two famous caravans: the winter caravan to Yemen in the South, and the summer caravan to Syria in the North.[19] The Arabs' knowledge of the Far East was greatly concerned with China. Their interest must have been sparked by the delicacy, value, and importance of Chinese goods in which they were dealing. However, their information was not very accurate due to their dependence on tales of sailors and merchants at Yemeni and Omani ports. The best reflection of how Arabs viewed China is the Prophet's saying: "search for knowledge as far as China". Although this saying has been considered uncertain, it does prove two major points: first, the Arabs' knowledge and interest, before and during the time of the Prophet, in distant China; it seems that Southeast Asia did not in any way catch their attention. Second, that China was a civilized country that possessed great sciences. Al-Tha'labi writing in the eleventh century confirmed this concept; he wrote: "The Arabs used[20] to call every delicately or curiously made vessel and such like, whatever its real origin, 'Chinese', because finely made things are a specialty of China."[21]

1-3: The Malay Archipelago before Converting to Islam: Topography, Geography, and Principalities

The topography of Southeast Asia has dictated three distinguished areas: the coastlines of the Peninsula and the islands; the cultivated interiors; and the lush Jungle areas. The coasts attracted merchants and thus were trade oriented. The agrarian lands were the basis for the Hindu and Buddhist dynasties that originated in the interior, while the jungles were the abode of the "*Orang Asli*" tribes (native people) whom did not want to join in any of the civilizations on their borders.[22]

Geography dictated the Malay Archipelago's location on the spice route which made it open to influences from India as early as the end of the third century A.D.[23] and two centuries later by the Chinese.[24] However, it was Indian Hinduism and Buddhism that actually affected the region. It is unfortunate that we do not have any Indian accounts or travel reports similar to the Chinese itineraries from this period.[25] One

[17] Luo Xiaowei, "China," p.209.
[18] Jones, "Asian Trade in Antiquity," p.3.
[19] These two caravans were the backbone of Qurayash's economy. They are recorded in the Quran in the *sura* of Quraysh (Quran 106).
[20] Notice the use of the past tense.
[21] Bosworth, *Lata'if al-ma`arif* p.141.
[22] Kling, "Social Structure," p.53.
[23] Nainar, S. M. H. "Basic Concepts of Javanese Culture," p.501.
[24] Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p.2.
[25] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.14.

example is the report by the Chinese monk Fahien[26] who passed through Java in 414. He wrote: "In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning".[27] How did Indian thoughts and beliefs arrive and penetrate the Archipelago is a matter of scholarly debate. Berg has forwarded the hypothesis of "Indian warrior immigrations". He believes that they married local women and produced a royal society.[28] On the other hand, Krom suggested that it was Indian trade and traders that carried Indian ideas and ideology to Southeast Asia.[29] Coedès does not support the hypothesis of mass immigration of what he calls "Indian fugitives" and rather stresses the idea of "intensification of Indian trade with Southeast Asia in the early Christian era"; Indian trade settlements arose throughout Southeast Asia through which came the more cultivated elements.[30] A point of view which is shared by the Andayas is that "for indisputable evidence of Malaya's centuries-old relationship with India, which trade initiated and sustained, one must look at the influence of the sub-continent on Malay culture. The growth of trade with India brought the coastal peoples in much of the Malay world into contact with two major religions, Buddhism and Hinduism and with well established concepts of political power in India. Without the physical testimony of great monuments or inscriptions, it is not possible to discuss the effects of Indian influence in any depth. All one can say is that they were pervasive and long lasting. Seventh-century inscriptions in Old Malay are heavily Sanskritized and much of the ritual vocabulary and notions of kingship still preserved in Malay courts are clearly Indian in origin. Numerous royal genealogies in classical Malay texts, seeking to enhance the royal patron, include genealogical traditions linking his ancestors with the kings of Kalinga, a semi-mythical kingdom once situated on India's east coast".[31] It was the use of Sanskrit in Southeast Asian inscriptions that Hall finds to be evidence for actually refusing the "Trader Theory" because Sanskrit is the language of the court and the royal elite; it could not have traveled with merchants and traders. Furthermore, the Indonesian social system does not show the famous Hindu caste hierarchy. He further stresses that "if trade had played a role, then one would find the old centers of Indian Southeast Asia on the coast not in the interior".[32] The Dutch scholar Van Leur who has devoted much attention to this era reached the conclusion that "There were … no 'Hindu colonization' in which 'colonial states' arose from intermittent trading voyages followed by permanent trading settlements; no 'Hindu colonies' from which the primitive indigenous population and first of all its headmen took over the superior civilization from the west; and no learned Hindus in the midst of Indian colonists as 'advisers' to their countrymen. … It is ominous that trade has not anywhere been defined in detail historically, neither by Krom, … nor Berg. If that had been done, the impossibility of traders having figured in such a role would have appeared. The majority of the traders in the peddling trade belonged to the lower social groups, and foreigners from all sorts of countries were intermingled with them. The same thing held for the crews of the ships, often African Negroes and slaves. It is impossible for such people to have been administrators of ritual, magical consecration

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[26] Pinyin: Fǎxiǎn.
[27] Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p. 7.
[28] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.19.
[29] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.19.
[30] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.17.
[31] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.14
[32] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.19.

and disseminators of rationalistic, bureaucratic written scholarship and wisdom".[33] The reason for Indian cultural influences in Southeast Asia as he finds them "emanated from the Indonesian ruling groups, or was at least an affair of both the Indonesian dynasties and the Indian hierocracy. … The course of events amounted essentially to a summoning to Indonesia of Brahman priests, and perhaps alongside them of Indian condottieri and Indian court artificers. … The Indian priesthood was called eastwards - certainly because of its wide renown - for the magical, sacral legitimation of dynastic interests and the domestication of subjects, and probably for the organization of the ruler's territory into a state".[34] Wisseman, in examining early unexploited inscriptions from Java covering a period extending from the 5th to the 9th century A.D., concludes that there were merchant settlements of traders of anonymous nationalities and there is no evidence of them having links with the local governments in the interior.[35] So as Hall concludes, "we must be very careful to distinguish between the court culture and that of the people, for it was to be a very long time before Indian cultural elements were in any real way absorbed by the mass of the people themselves. … It was not until from the 13th century onwards Theravada Buddhism and somewhat later Islam began to be propagated as popular religions."[36] To describe the period from the 3rd century A. D. to the 8th, it is safe to say that it was characterized by Indianized interiors and a multi-ethnic coastline which was mainly engaged in a low profile trade. There is no mention or archaeological findings of great ports in the Archipelago during that period.[37] The small ports of Southeast Asia served as provision stations for ships sailing the long route to China.[38]

It is a historical coincidence, that during the 7th century, while the Tang dynasty was being formed in China and rising to power over the former Sui dynasty, and while Islam was spreading in Arabia and was taking over kingdoms and empires to the east and west, a strong Buddhist maritime dynasty, called Srivijaya, obscurely established itself in Palembang in Sumatra and stretched its influence all over the Malay peninsula, the Malacca straits and the Indonesian archipelago.[39] "It has been generally accepted that Srivijaya was probably the earliest of the great maritime kingdoms, arising some time in the seventh century and lasting until the end of the thirteenth".[40] The formation of this dynasty and its swift development, according to Coédes, "marked the beginning of a new era" for Southeast Asia.[41] Unlike the earlier dynasties that were interior-oriented, Srivijaya recognized the potential and importance of the location of its territories, waters, and ports to the maritime trade routes that passed by its coasts and decided to exploit its location to its own benefits. Instead of being content with its role in provisions trade for ships passing by, Srivijaya "developed into a mighty emporium which served as a distribution centre for products from India, western Asia and China as well as those from

[33] Leur, J. C. Van *Indonesian Trade and Society* p. 98-9.
[34] Leur, J. C. Van *Indonesian Trade and Society* p.103-4.
[35] Wisseman, J. "Markets and Trade in pre-Majapahit Java," p.205.
[36] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.22.
[37] Wisseman, J. "Markets and Trade in pre-Majapahit Java," p.204.
[38] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.51 and Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.108.
[39] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.108. and Mutalib, "Islamic Malay polity," pp.3-4.
[40] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.19.
[41] Coédes, G. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* p.248.

its own empire". [42] In attracting merchants to their ports, Srivijayan rulers had to clear its waters from pirates who were neutralized by being incorporated into the Srivijayan navy due to their excellent martial and navigational skills.[43] Srivijaya's determined policy to control the trade of the islands of Southeast Asia, led to its gaining unrivalled power over the Straits of Malacca in the 8th and up till the 10th centuries.[44]

Due to its success in trade, Srivijaya became an established center for learning. The Srivijayans mastered mathematics and astrology. However, the best clue to the state of the learning environment in Srivijaya is seen in the study of religion. A Chinese traveller named I Ching [45] who had visited Srivijaya in 671 reported the presence of over a thousand Buddhist monks. [46] In his accounts, Cheng wrote: "The country of Malayu, which has now become Bhoga (Palembang); there are many states under it. … Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoga Buddhist priests number more than 1000 whose minds are set on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist in the middle kingdom (In India): the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original texts), he had better stay here one or two years and practice the proper rules and then proceed to central India".[47]

1-4: Geographers and Travelers: Tales and Accounts

Sketching a historical, political, sociological, and economical picture of the period from the 8th-10th centuries A. D. is a difficult task due to the lack of adequate historical sources. However, we are fortunate in having the texts written by Arab geographers and travelers that we can rely on. The local histories do not offer any help for this period, nor are there any contemporary Indian or Chinese works to enable us to compare information or names.[48] For later periods, Chinese, European, and local Southeast Asian material offer additional diverse views for events and will be quoted in due place.

The Arabic texts almost agree on placing Southeast Asia in the sphere of Indian influences. The texts distinguish between dark and white complexion races, the latter being of Chinese origin and usually were frequent in Indo China rather than the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Buddhism and Hinduism were also understood as two different beliefs; the followers of the former were Buddhists, while those of the latter were idolaters.

The route to Southeast Asia from the ports of Yemen, and/or the Persian Gulf is usually described **[Figure 1.1a]** associated with stories of the inhabitants and the sovereigns of kingdoms on the way. Products of these kingdoms, what Tibbetts describes as "Economic Geography", are mostly mentioned[49], but also described are methods of

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[42] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.19.
[43] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia*, p.25.
[44] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.108.
[45] Pinyin: Yi Jing. Also romanised as Yijing, Yiqing, I-Tsing or Yi Ching.
[46] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.25.
[47] Benda, Harry J. and Larkin, J. A. *The world of Southeast Asia* p.6.
[48] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.17.
[49] This interest, is according to Tibbetts, is because it was for economic reasons that the Arabs sailed to the East. Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.19.

production, market systems, and exchange rates.[50] Political struggles and dynasty successions were noted by the Arabs, but did not receive much attention in terms of why they happened or any related details. Again this could only be attributed to the Arab's interest in economic and mercantile information. For example, the accounts by Ibn Khurdadhbih, in his book *al-masalik wa al-mamalik*, written about 850 A.D., mentions that: "The king of Zabaj [Srivijaya] is called *Pungawa,* and the king of the islands of the Eastern sea is called the Maharaja".[51] This indicates two different kingdoms. However, later on Ibn Khurdadhbih mentions that: "The king of Zabaj [Srivijaya] is called the Maharaja … The Maharaja receives every day the revenue of two hundred *mann* of gold. He melts down this money into the form of a brick and throws it into the water saying, 'There is my treasure'. Part of this money to the amount of fifty *mann* comes to him from cockfights. One of the legs of the winning cock belongs by right to the king and the owner buys it back by gold".[52] To explain this discrepancy, we must turn to Java where in about 760 A.D. "a Buddhist dynasty abruptly succeeded a Sivaite[53] sovereign. This new dynasty revived the imperial title "King of the mountain" (Sailendra), covered the country with great Buddhist monuments[54] and seems to have exercised a sort of hegemony in the Southern seas that extended even to Cambodia.[55] … In the 9th century

[50] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* pp.17 and 19.
[51] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.27.
[52] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.29
[53] A Shiva Hindu dynasty called Sanjaya.
[54] The great Borobudur Temple belongs to the era of this dynasty.
[55] The story of the campaign of The Maharaja of Zabaj is quoted in detail in Abu Zaid's *al-Kitab al-Thani min Akhbar al-Sin wa al-Hind* written in A.D. 916: "It was said that once the kingdom [of Qmar = modern Cambodia] fell into the hands of a young and hasty prince. He was one day sitting in his palace, which commanded a fresh water river like the Tigris in Iraq. Between the palace and the sea it was a day's journey. The chief minister was before the king and had been questioned on the empire of the Maharaja, his power, the number of his subjects and the islands which obeyed him. Suddenly the king addressed the Minister, "I have developed a craving which I wish to satisfy". The Minister who was sincerely attached to his master and who knew his recklessness, said to him, "And what is this craving, O king?' The prince replied, "I wish to see before me, resting on a plate, the head of the king of Zabaj". The Minister guessing that it was jealousy which made the king speak thus, replied, "Is not pleasing that the king should nourish such thoughts. No hate should be shown between us and this people, either in actions or words. It would only turn out ill for us. However he comes from a far isle and only has distant reports of us and has never shown a desire to injure our country. No one must be informed of what the king has said neither should the king repeat a single word." This language irritated the king, and he did not take any notice of this good advice and he repeated his desire before the officers and all the principal persons of the court. This statement passed from mouth to mouth and spread so much that it came to the ears of the Maharaja. The latter was a man of strong character and active mind and endowed with experience; for he had reached middle age. He sent for his Minister and told him what he had heard, then added, "It is not right that we should ignore what has been reported about this fool, these senseless desires of his due to his youth and presumption, which are being circulated at the moment; for this is one of the things that a king should not do, for they lower and debase him". He commanded him to say nothing about what had passed between them, but, at the same time he gave orders for the preparation of a thousand ships of medium size together with their machines of war and for the furnishing of each with arms and as many warriors as each would hold. The king made it appear that he was about to make a journey around some of the many isles which made up his kingdom. He wrote to the governors of these isles, to announce to them his idea of visiting and staying in their islands; all this was noised abroad and each governor set about preparing a suitable reception for [the Maharaja]. But when all the preparations were ready and everything set in order, the king embarked on his ships and went with his soldiers towards the kingdom of Qmar. The king and his warriors made use of the tooth-pick, each man cleaning his teeth several times a day, each carried his tooth-pick

the power of the Buddhist Sailendra in Java progressively declined … [it] was accompanied by a Sivaite renaissance in the center of the Island … the Sailendras did not disappear, however; they established a new center of power in Sumatra at Srivijaya, which they had governed in the middle of he 9th century as a dependency, and their power there was to last for many centuries".[56] "Historians believe that in the mid-ninth century a marriage alliance joined the royal family of Srivijaya with the Sailendra dynasty of central Java. An inscription from Nalanda in India dated about 860 refers to a younger son of the Sailendras who was then ruling in Srivijaya."[57]

Ibn Rusta writing in c. 900 A.D., mentions that Zabaj is in the far limit of the Eastern Sea. He explains that the entrance to this Kingdom is Kalah (in the Malay peninsula). However, of interest is Ibn Rusta's account of one of the vassal islands of Zabaj: "After that comes an island called Harang. It is called this after the name of its governor. This is not its own name. This Harang is the chief of the army of the Maharaja. He [the Maharaja or the governor?] also possesses another island called Tawaran from which camphor comes. Camphor did not appear in this island until the year 220 H. [. 835 A.D.]".[58] This reflects the administration system by which Srivijaya was ruling the

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with him, and was never separated from it or at best confided it to his personal servant. The king of Qmar had no knowledge of the danger which menaced him until the fleet entered the river which led to his capital, and the warriors disembarked.

The Maharaja then seized the king unawares, captured him and imprisoned him in his palace, the officers of the king of Qmar had all fled. The Maharaja then proclaimed a cessation of hostilities, and seated himself on the throne of Qmar. He then brought forth the king of Qmar whom he had taken prisoner, as well as his Minister. Then he said to the king, "Why did you form a desire which you were unable to carry out, and which if you had realized would not have given you any advantage nor would have justified the success?" But the king did not answer. The Maharaja then went on, "If, besides wishing to see my head on a plate before you, you had wished to ravage my land, and to make yourself master of it, or to lay it waste, then I would have treated yours in the same manner; but as you only desire one thing in particular, I will apply the same treatment to you, then I will return to my country without having touched anything that belongs to you, great or small. That will serve as a lesson to those who come after you, that each one should only desire what his own forces and means enable him to hold, then he will think himself happy to be safe". Then he cut off the head of the king. Next the Maharaja approached the Minister and said to him, "You have conducted yourself as a worthy Minister, be rewarded for your manner of acting, I know that you have given good counsel to your master had he only agreed to it. Look now for a man who is capable of occupying the throne after this fool and put him in his place".

The Maharaja re-embarked again at the same time for his own country without having touched anything that belonged to the king of Qmar. When he had returned, he sat on his throne with his face towards the lake and placed before him the plate on which was the head of the king of Qmar. Then he gathered together the elders of the land, and told them what had happened, together with the motives which had made him make the expedition. Then the people of Zabaj offered up prayers for him, wished for him all sort of good fortune. Then the Maharaja washed the head and embalmed it, then put it in a vase and sent it to the prince who was on the throne of Qmar at that time. With the head was a letter which read, "The only reason which caused me to treat your predecessor as I did, was the way he treated us unjustly and the necessity of teaching a lesson to others like him. Therefore we applied to him the treatment he would have given to us. We therefore think we ought to return to you his head, seeing that we have no use for it, nor do we attach any honour to the victory which we gained over him". When the news of this spread abroad amongst the kings of India and China, the Maharaja appeared greater in their eyes, and beginning from this time the kings of Qmar turned their face towards Zabaj every morning and prostrated and worshipped the Maharaja out of respect. Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* pp.34-6.

[56] Coédes, G. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* pp.248-9.

[57] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.27.

[58] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.32.

archipelago; the governor was later to be replaced by the *Shahbandar* who in a similar way was governing the ports and islands on behalf of the central authority in the interior of the peninsula.
Abu Zaid writing in 916 A.D. describes the Kingdom of Zabaj as follows: "Also counted among his [the Maharaja's] possessions is the island of Kalah which is situated midway between the lands of China and the country of the Arabs. The area of Kalah is eighty *parasangs*. Kalah is the centre of commerce for aloes wood, camphor, sandal-wood, ivory, tin, ebony, baqamwood, spices of all kinds and a host of objects too numerous to count. It is thither that the trading expeditions which start from Oman nowadays go, and from here trading expeditions start for the country of the Arabs. The authority of the Maharaja is exercised over these various islands and the island in which he resides is extremely fertile, and patches of habitation succeed each other without interruption. A very trustworthy man affirms that when the cocks crow at daybreak, as in our country, they call out to each other throughout the whole extent of a hundred *parasangs* or more, showing the uninterrupted and regular succession of villages. In effect there are no uninhabited places in this country and no ruins. He who comes into the country when he is on a journey if he is mounted he may go wherever he pleases; if he is tired or if his mount has difficulty in carrying on, then he may stop wherever he wishes".[59]

Abu Zaid's account regarding Arab ships from Oman terminating their voyage at Kalah can be explained in light of events that took place in Canton in China. For it was towards the end of the ninth century, when the grasp of the aging Tang dynasty weakened and thus allowed uprisings, that the most disastrous was the revolt of Huang Chao in 878 A.D. took place: a wave of peasant riots sacked the city of Canton and massacred over 120,000 people, a great number of whom, no doubt, were Muslim merchants.[60] It was this tragedy that ended the city's favoured status among the Arab merchants. Mas'udi, writing in the early tenth century, was aware of the incident and believed that it affected China's commercial ties with the Arab World.[61] During his time, the merchants fleeing China had settled in the Malay Peninsula, which became the meeting-point for ships sailing from both sides.[62]

It has been mentioned earlier that the Arabs prime interest was China and that Southeast Asia was only a transit point on the long way there. However, in light of the incidents that occurred in Canton, Abu Dulaf in c. 940 A.D. gives a description of an uncertain city called Saimur which is part of the land of Camphor. Although his itinerary has been deemed doubtful by modern scholars, this part in particular is important in regards to his mention of the existence of synagogues, churches, mosques and houses of fire in a kingdom that worshiped Idols. He wrote: "towards the North is a city called Saimur, whose people are renowned for their beauty. This is because the population is descended from the Chinese and the Turks. From this place is obtained Saimuri aloes wood, which does not grow there but is only imported. They have a place of worship at the head of a great pass, which has a curtain, and there are idols of turquoise and precious stones. They have minor kings and their clothes are like those of the people of China.

[59] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.33.
[60] Hartmann and Bosworth, "Sin; Geographical," p.620.
[61] Shboul, *Al-Mas`udi and His World* p.161.
[62] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua* p.18.

They have synagogues, churches, mosques and houses of fire and they do not slaughter animals nor do they eat what has died. I continued my voyage to a town called Jajulla [Qaqulla], which is on top of a mountain of which half juts out to sea and half is on dry land. There they have a king like the one of Kalah. They eat wheat and eggs, but they do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals. They have a large house of prayer. They were the only ones to oppose Alexander when he came to the land of India. They bring cinnamon here and then export it to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree belongs to everyone communally and has no particular owner. The inhabitants dress as do the people of Kalah, except that they wear a Yemeni robe (*Hibara*) on feast days. They venerate from among the constellations the heart of the Lion. They possess an observatory and have a complete knowledge of the stars, and study their properties assiduously. [63]

If this so called city of Saimur had such houses of worship, then a corresponding community must have existed. This could be taken as the first indication of real settlements, like in specified quarters of the town[64] rather than the old patterns of passer by merchants on their way to China.[65] Furthermore, the passage in mentioning the Yemeni robes, hints to its origins and *vis a vis* the influences arriving with the Arab merchants.

Buzurg b. Shahriyar in his *'Aja`ib al-Hind* written in c.1000 does not give a detailed picture of the trading activities, nevertheless, one can conclude from it a mercantile atmosphere at its zenith, he wrote: "Yunus ibn Mahran al-Sirafi, the merchant, who had been to Zabaj said to me, "In the city where the Maharaja, the king of Zabaj resides, I have seen innumerable streets of merchants. In that of the moneychangers alone I have counted up to eight hundred merchants, without taking into account those who live in other streets". He mentioned many other things about this island of Zabaj, its cultivated fields, and the multitudes of its towns and villages, which pass all description".[66] Furthermore, he gives an account of the city of Sribuza in which he hints to its architecture and planning: "The bay of Sribuza penetrates, it is said, fifty *parasangs* into the island. It is a river much larger than the Tigris at Basra, and its waters are fresh like those of the Tigris. There is no other bay so long in all the island, and the flood tide appears every twelve hours. There are found crocodiles but those who live in that part do not come to any harm, for they are enchanted as we have said. But outside it is impossible to build because of these animals. Some houses are built on the land, but most float on the water, kept up by pieces of wood tied together in the form of a raft and last forever. They do this for fear of fire, for their houses, constructed of wood, are very flammable, and when one catches fire all are burnt down. Placed on the water, the houses are well protected, and if fire is detected each owner cuts the cables, floats away and then ties up elsewhere far from the conflagration. Whenever they do not like a particular quarter they can always move. The houses in the bay are arranged in streets, and the

[63] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.40-1.
[64] Like the specified quarters for foriengers in the Chinese coastal towns.
[65] According to Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.123. "There is, in fact, no proof that they settled anywhere in these regions before the 9th century. Between the end of the 9th century and the 11th century they are to be found at Kalah and also, perhaps, at Takuapa, Qaqullah, and Lambri". However, Risso, *Merchants* p.46 believes that "Arab Muslim enclaves existed in Southeast Asia by at least the 8th century, and some of the foreign Muslims expelled from Canton in 879 resettled there.
[66] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.46.

water between the houses is very deep. It is fresh water which arrives from the high country, enters the estuary and flows on to the sea, as does that of the Tigris".[67]

The place names mentioned in the Arabic texts concerned with this period **[Figures 1.1b-c],** represent what the Arab knew of Southeast Asia at that time, and therefore could safely be regarded as a reflection of the islands and ports that were used and frequented by the Arab merchants. What the Arabs knew by the beginning of the11th century is best summarized by Tibbetts. By examining all the Arab materials on Southeast Asia, he has concluded that "the Arabs had knowledge of the Indian coast as far as Orissa and a little beyond. Whether they visited any more of this coast we cannot tell from existing sources. The next place on the coast, again mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbih, is Rahma, usually identified with Ramanya or Pegu. From here, several localities seem to have been known down the coast. Sanfin, Qaqulla and Kalah, all appearing in the *'Ajaib al-Hind,* seem to be in this locality perhaps the whole coast was known as far south as the limits of Kalah, i.e. probably as far as Selangor and the Klang river in the Malay Peninsula. In the Ocean, both the Nicobar and the Andaman groups had been described fairly accurately. The north and west coasts of Sumatra were well known as far south as the islands of Barawa.[28] Nothing on the northern part of the East coast has been mentioned, perhaps because the Arab ships sailed straight across to the Malay Peninsula at this point. Further south, from the latitude of Malacca, the Sumatran coast was again visited if we regard Ibn Khurdadhbih's trio of islands, Jaba, Salahit and Harang as existing here. The coast was probably known as far as Palembang where the Srivijayan (Zabaj?) empire had its capital. Apart from Sumatra no other islands of the Archipelago are really mentioned. Vague references to Bartayil and Waqwaq may show that the Arabs had heard of other islands. Ibn Khurdadhbih's report of the Spice Islands shows that they were not completely ignorant of the rest of the Archipelago, although they were by no means familiar with it. The coast of the continent they knew better. The end of the Malay Peninsula and the island of Tioman are described. The Pahang coast is vaguely suggested although nothing else from the Gulf of Siam, which Arab traders do not seem to have penetrated. The next stop after the Malay Peninsula was the coast of Indo-China or possibly the western mouth of the Mekong (Kampot). To the north, the whole coast of Indochina was known and a considerable portion of the Chinese coast perhaps as far as Korea".[68]

By the end of the 10th century, The Song dynasty (960-1279) was firmly in charge of matters in the southern ports of China. Canton did revive and regained some of its popularity amongst merchants, but other ports such as Zaytun (Quanzhou) were also attracting tradesmen back to China.[69] However, the course of history can not be reversed. It seems that the Arabs were already making good profits in Southeast Asia and, in spite of the temptation to trade with China, the Arabs were already content with their business in the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago.[70] A Chinese text, by Chou Ku Fei written in 1178, mentions the resumption of trade with China and records that the Palembang (Srivijaya) was the main route for ships on their way to and from China. He specifically

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[67] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.47.
[68] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* pp.76-7.
[69] Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W. *Chau Ju*-Kua p.18.
[70] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.110.

mentions that merchants coming from the land of the Ta- shi [71](Arabs) transit in Quilon (Southern India). There they disembarked from their small sized ships and boarded bigger ones bound for Palembang and from there to China.[72] Furthermore, he states that: "of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpass the realm of the Arabs. Next to them comes Java, the third is Palembang."[73]

Al-Idrisi, from the first quarter of the 12th century, is the first of the Arab authors to give a picture of the extent of the trade networks in the Indian Ocean of his time and to actually mention the sharing of the indigenous Malays in the trade that was taking place: "The Zanj [East Africans] have no ships of their own in which to travel, so they board the boats of the land of Oman and others destined for the islands of Zabaj, which is part of India, then these foreigners sell their goods and buy the products of the country. The inhabitants of the islands of Zabaj go to *Zanzibar* in various kinds of ships, and profit by selling their goods since they understand each other's language".[74] This concluding remark by Idrisi shows that the Indians were a dominant element in the trade networks of the Indian Ocean. However, Idrisi has made it clear that they used the ships of Oman which must have belonged to the Arabs. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the Arab merchants were using the Indians as translators for their business that extended from East Africa to Southeast Asia where Indians were there for centuries and fairly frequent. We do not get a similar account regarding the trade with China which certainly did not have an Indian element the way it was in the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago. The Indians served a double role: they translated on behalf of the Arabs to whom they were linked by ties of faith, and second they propagated Islamic beliefs and thoughts to the Indians of Southeast Asia whom they shared a common language with.

After almost five centuries,[75] and in spite of exposure to diverse external influences that accompanied the international trade in Srivijayan ports, Buddhism was still the faith adopted and respected in Sumatra. Idrisi, in giving an account of the islands of Jaba, Salahit and Harang, mentions that: "he shows much respect to Buddha. This word *budd* signifies temple in the Indian language. That of the king is very beautiful and is covered externally with marble. Inside and all around Buddha, can be seen idols made of white marble, the head of each adorned with golden crowns. The prayers in these temples are accompanied by songs, which take place with much pomp and order. Young and beautiful girls execute dances and other pleasing games, before the people who pray or are in the temple".[76]

Chau Ju Kua, in his *Chu fan chi* (description of the Barbarous Peoples) written around the middle of the 13th century, mentions that the trade of Palembang was mainly in the hands of the Arabs. He also wrote that after a five day sail from Java, one arrives at a land of the Arabs.[77] This must have meant a settlement of some sort with a concentration of Arab inhabitants.

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[71] Pinyin: Da shi
[72] Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W. *Chau Ju*-Kua pp.23-4.
[73] Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W. *Chau Ju-Kua* p.23.
[74] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.51.
[75] After I Ching's account of 671 in which he described the presence of a community of over a thousand Buddhist monks in Srivijaya.
[76] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.53.
[77] Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W. *Chau Ju-Kua* pp.61 and 76.

By the mid 13th century, Srivijaya was disintegrating. In reporting on Sunda (Western Java), Chau Ju Kua mentions that, in spite of the harbor's suitability to receive large ships, it was avoided by merchants due to the lack of a government. In a separate account regarding Kampar on the Eastern coast of Sumatra, Chau Ju Kua informs us that this kingdom used to be a dependency of Srivijaya but has become independent after a war.[78] These two accounts can only indicate that the once mighty kingdom of Zabaj was growing old and that matters were slipping from its hands. As the Andayas summarize, "Srivijaya's commercial and political dominance in the Malacca Straits ultimately depended on its ability to tie a large number of scattered harbors to an acknowledged centre. Neither force nor rewards nor threats of divine retribution could achieve this unless local chiefs recognized that allegiance was in their own interests. As long as they were convinced that a powerful and prosperous capital was to the benefit of all, they remained the Maharaja's loyal vassals and sent their products to be sold in his port. However, the centrifugal forces which remained an enduring problem in Malay society eventually undermined Srivijaya's hold over its dependencies. The natural wealth so freely available, the favorable position of the Malay world on the maritime trading paths, and the profits to be drawn from this commerce made the lure of independence great. From the twelfth century Srivijaya's vassals became increasingly less amenable to its authority. … So vulnerable had it become that in 1275 the ruler of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, Kertanegara (1268—92), launched an attack against Srivijaya's capital in Jambi and also laid claim to Pahang, a dependency of Srivijaya on the peninsula. From the thirteenth century Java regarded itself as the rightful overlord in southeast Sumatra.[79] But the challenge to Srivijaya did not come only from Java. In the late thirteenth century the chiefs of Ligor in southern Thailand were also extending their control over the northern Malay peninsular states, which then became vassals of the Thai kings of Sukhothai".[80]

The consequence of these events on the trade of the region was, according to Di Meglio, "disastrous"; heavy taxes were levied from merchants, and ships were forced to anchor in certain ports.[81] Such measures definitely scared foreign merchants and made the voyage through the area a greater risk. However, it was not long that many former vassals of Srivijaya recognized its weakness and declared themselves independent states. Soon many kingdoms were to dot the coastlines of the Malacca straits and the Archipelago, among which Samudra-Pasai on the north-east coast of Sumatra was conceivably the most prominent.

1-5: The Malay Peninsula and Archipelago Turn to Islam: Arabia, India or China?

1-5-1: The Early Islamic Kingdoms [Figure 1.3]

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[78] Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W. *Chau Ju-Kua* pp.70 and 71.

[79] According to Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.115. "It was … the kingdom of Majapahit … which dealt Srivijaya the coup de grace in the middle of the I4th century. The expansion of Majapahit occurred above all during the first years of the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350-89): by 1365 it had extended its supremacy over most of the Malay Peninsula (as far as Kalah, Langasuka and Patani), the western coast of Borneo, South Celebes, and the Moluccas. Majapahit also claimed the protectorate of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, including Siam, Cambodia, Champa and Annam"

[80] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* pp.26-30.

[81] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," pp.114-5.

1-5-1-1: The Kingdom of Samudra –Pasai in Sumatra

In 1292, on his way back to Venice, Marco Polo was stranded in Sumatra for a while waiting for the Monsoons to be able to sail West. Polo mentioned the existence of "eight kingdoms and eight crowned kings",[82] all of which were idolaters except for the kingdom of Ferlec on which he reports: "This Kingdom … is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants[83] that they have converted the natives to the law of Mohammet.[84] I mean the town people only, for the hill people live for all the world like beasts, and eat human flesh, clean or unclean. And they worship this, that. And the other thing; for in fact the first thing that they see on rising in the morning, that they do worship for the rest of the day".[85] As regarding the Kingdom of Basma, he describes its subjects as "beasts without law or religion". Polo also mentions another kingdom which he names Samara. Polo's Samara and Basma are what is known today by the Samudra-Pasai Kingdom. The first ruler of this kingdom bore the title al-Malik al-Salih[86] whom Winstedt believes was a son-in-law of the ruler of Perlak.[87] The grave stone of al-Malik al-Salih has survived **[Figure 1.5]**; the epitaph revealing that the monarch, died in 1297 A.D. But the main question remains: When did his reign start? Or let us be more concerned with the influences of Islam and ask when did he convert to the religion that was known for centuries, but never thought of as a faith? According to Polo's accounts, only Perlak had converted at his time, which means that Samudra-Pasai had converted some time between Polo's visit in 1292 and the departure of al-Malik al-Salih in 1297. However, there is consensus amongst scholars that Polo's version is inaccurate. According to Djajadiningrat, there is a Malay account which mentions that the first king of Samudra converted to Islam some time between 1270-75 A.D. and assumed the title of Malik al-Salih.[88] Azra further clarifies that this was done "by a wandering Arab, Sheikh Isma'il, who came from Arabia *via* the Malabar Coast".[89] Furthermore, "The History of the Yuan Dynasty states that in 1282 a Chinese envoy in Quilon met a minister from the kingdom of Su-mu-ta (Samudra) and pointed out that it would be a wise move if the ruler of Samudra were also to send an emissary to China. Shortly after, two envoys from Samudra went to China. It is clear from their names, Hasan[90] and Sulayman, that they were Muslims".[91] As Baloch argues, if Polo's account was to be credited, then al-Malik al-Salih would had reigned for almost five years which would not have been long enough for his great accomplishments which were recorded in later local histories,[92] and as Djajadiningrat believes, accomplishments "that ultimately gave the name Sumatra to the

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[82] This indicates the disintegration of Srivijaya.

[83] According to local Malayan history accounts, the Sejarah Melayu, mentions that these Muslim merchants came from the Coromandel coast of India. Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.84

[84] This is the fierst mention of mass conversion to Islam, and notice that it was done by merchants according to Polo's story.

[85] Quotation from Benda, Harry J. and Larkin, J. A. *The world of Southeast Asia* p.13.

[86] His original name according to Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.117. was Merah Silau

[87] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.84

[88] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.376.

[89] Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.148.

[90] In other sources the name is quoted as being Husayn.

[91] Baloch, N. A. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* p.37 also Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," pp.124-5.

[92] Baloch, N. A. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* p.37.

whole Island".[93] In light of the above it is accepted that Samudra-Pasai was actually the first kingdom to embrace Islam, some time around the third quarter of the 13th century, in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

An excellent description of this Kingdom is to be found in Ibn Battuta's *Rihla*. In 1345, on his way as an ambassador on behalf of the Delhi sultan to the emperor of China, Ibn Battuta disembarked in Sumatra where he was welcomed as a privileged guest. Ibn Battuta's own words are quoted here in describing his arrival to the port. He wrote: "When we reached the harbor the people came out to us in little boats bringing coconuts, bananas, mangoes and fish. It is their custom to make a present of these to the merchants and each of the latter gives what recompense he can. The vice admiral[94] also came on board. He inspected the merchants who were with us and gave us permission to land. We landed at the port which is a big village on the seashore with houses called Sarha about four miles from the town. Then Buhruz the vice admiral wrote to the Sultan informing him of my arrival. The Sultan ordered the amir Daulasa[95] to come to meet me with the noble qadi Amir Sayyid of Shiraz and Taj al-Din of Isfahan and other jurists. They came out accordingly and brought a horse from the Sultan's stables and other horses. I and my companions mounted and we entered the Sultan's capital, the city of Sumutra, a fine, big city with wooden walls and towers".[96]

Samudra-Pasai was at that time ruled by a grandson of al-Malik al-Salih named al-Malik al-Zahir (r.1326-48). Ibn Battuta found him to be "one of the noblest and most generous of kings, Shafi'i in *madhhab,* and a lover of jurists who come to his audiences for the recitation of the Qur'an and for discussions. He often fights against and raids the infidels. He is unassuming and walks to the Friday prayer on foot".[97] After being left to rest for three days, Ibn Battuta tells us that "on the fourth day, which was a Friday, the amir Daulasa came to me and said: 'you will greet the Sultan in the *maqsura* of the mosque after prayers.' I came to the mosque and prayed the Friday prayer with the chamberlain Qayran. Then I went to the Sultan. I found the qadi Amir Sayyid and the men of learning on his right and left. He gave me his hand, I greeted him, and he made me sit on his left. He asked me about Sultan Muhammad and my travels. I replied. He then resumed the discussion on jurisprudence according to the Shafi'i *madhhab.* This lasted till the afternoon prayer".[98] Ibn Battuta's account definitely conveys the picture of an Islamic state with institutions as were to be found in the rest of Dar al-Islam: a congregational mosque, attended by the sultan and his dignitaries, two *qadis*, and as Azra calls it "a *halaqah*" for the study of religious matters that was attended not only by theologians, but by the sultan himself.[99]

Although Ibn Battuta has only mentioned the merchants that were passengers on the ship that sailed him to Sumatra, there is no doubt that at this stage, scholars and others were arriving there too. A marble gravestone found near Pasai bears an inscription which

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[93] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.376.

[94] The Arabic is Naib sahib al-bahr which Azra, "Education, Law, and Mysticism," 149 translates as the deputy of the Shahbandar.

[95] This man was an acquaintance of ibn Battuta; he had met him a few years earlier in India where this Amir was sent as an ambassador.

[96] Gibb H. A. R. ed. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* p.876.

[97] Gibb H. A. R. ed. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* p.877.

[98] Gibb H. A. R. ed. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* p.878.

[99] Azra, "Education, Law, and Mysticism," p.150.

mentions that the deceased is a descendant of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustansir (1226-42 r. A.D.)[100]. It gives the date of his departing as in (1407 A.D.).[101] Furthermore, the rulers of Samudra-Pasai not only adopted the title of sultan, but actually used the full title formulas used by the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria, which no doubt reflects the influences arriving from the main Islamic lands.[102]

Samudra Pasai was not only appealing to scholars from far away Islamic lands but it was also magnetizing more locals from the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. A good example of a scholar who was educated in Samudra-Pasai is Nur al-Din Ibrahim Mawlana Izra'il or Nur Allah, who is better known as Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the notable 'Nine Saints' to whom the spread of Islam in Java is credited.[103]

It should not be gathered from what has been said so far that Samudra-Pasai was the only Islamic kingdom of its time. It might have been the earliest and the strongest but certainly not the sole realm. “At the beginning of the I5th century there were also other localities in Sumatra where Islam had penetrated: Ma Huan, the Muslim Chinese who accompanied the celebrated Zheng-He [104] on a mission in 1413 noted in his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* the existence of Islam in the States of A-lu (Haru, north-east of Sumatra) and Nan-po-li (Lambri in the extreme north-west of the island). The creation of Muslim states in the above-mentioned localities could be proof that Muslims arriving from the west used to stop on the northern coastline of Sumatra and, if they wished to go further east, did not pass through the Straits of Malacca, which was at that time infested with pirates, but instead crossed the open sea in the direction of the Straits of Sunda”.[105]

However, as history shows, no single dynasty can remain in power for ever; Samudra-Pasai was weakening and another port-state called Malacca was rising to prominence.

1-5-1-2: The Malacca Sultanate in the Malay Peninsula [Figure 1.3]

Malacca was founded in 1402 by a Srivijayan prince named Parameswara who ruled in Palembang. Pressured to leave under Javanese Majapahit attacks, Parameswara fled his capital to Singapore. According to the *Serajah Melayu* and the *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires, “after eight days in Singapore [Parameswara] kills the local chief there, an Ayudhyan vassal, and sets himself up as lord. In Singapore he and his followers eke out a living by growing rice, fishing and piracy, but after five years a force from Ayudhya drives them out and they flee to Muar. After another five years the Orang Laut [pirates] discover an attractive site for a settlement at Bertam where Paramesvara moves. He rewards his faithful followers with noble titles, and his son marries the daughter of their leader, who then becomes chief minister. One day this son, Iskandar Syah,[106] is out hunting, but as he approaches Malacca Hill the mouse deer his dogs are chasing suddenly

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[100] According to Di Meglio, R. “Arab Trade with Indonesia,” p.117. this was 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Qadir ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn al-Mansur Abu Ja'far al-'Abbasi al-Muntasir bi'llah.

[101] Djajadiningrat, “Islam in Indonesia,” pp.376-7.

[102] Mutalib, “Islamic Malay Polity,” p.8 and Di Meglio, R. “Arab Trade with Indonesia,” p.117

[103] Azra, “Education, Law, and Mysticism,” p.150.

[104] This is the famous Chinese Admiral better known by the wade-giles spelling system as Cheng Ho.

[105] Di Meglio, R. “Arab Trade with Indonesia,” p.119

[106] There is debate amongst scholars whether Paramesvara is Mohammad Iskandar shah who had converted to Islam, or was the latter his son and that actually Paramesvara did not convert at all. See Johns, “Modes of Islamization,” p.67.

turns on them. Attributing this strange behavior to the fact that the sea is so close, or to some quality in the hill itself, Iskandar Syah asks his father's permission to settle there. 'And at the said time, he built his house on top of the hill where the Kings of Malacca have had their dwelling and residence until the present time”.[107]

A Chinese book, written in 1436 by Fei-Hsin,[108] mentions that Malacca did not initially rank as an independent kingdom. Rather it was a vassal of the kingdom of Siam. In 1409 the Chinese Muslim admiral Zheng He visited Malacca on one of his great Ming expeditions. Malacca was promoted to an independent kingdom that paid tribute to China at the objection of Siam. In return, the ruler of Malacca along with his son visited China as a gesture of gratitude.[109] The exact details of this visit are to be found in Ma Huan’s *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*.[110]

In 1414 Paramesvara married a daughter of the Muslim sultan of Pasai and changed his name to Muhammad Iskandar Shah indicating his conversion to Islam;[111] a conversion that according to one Portuguese historian was at the hands of an Arab *qadi*.[112] As stated by Diego de Cuoto (1542-1616): "When he had founded Malacca, ships started to arrive from Arabian ports. One year a Cassiz [qadi] arrived on one of these ships who had come to preach the faith of Muhammad in those parts. He resided with the king (who grew attached to him) and eventually converted him to Islam and renamed him, in the name of the Prophet, Shah Muhammad".[113] The *Sejara Melayu* gives more details of this Arab *qadi* and mentions that he was a *Makhdum* from Jeddah named Sayyid Abdul Aziz.[114]

According to the Chinese Ma-Huan’s *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, it is stated that “the King and the people [of Malacca] are Mohammadans and they carefully observe the tenets of their religion”.[115]

One important question which concerns us primarily is why did Malacca turn to Islam? It would be superficial to think that it was due to the works of the above mentioned *qadi*. This whole story of the *qadi* is only an excuse for legitimizing or explaining such a move and to make it more appealing or in line with the Islamic process.[116]Nor is it plausible that Parameswara converted to be able to marry a Muslim princess. It is widely accepted by scholars that the true reason was the economic benefit

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[107] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.32-3.
[108] Pinyin Fei Xin. A Muslim translator that accompanied Zheng He in the infamous Ming voyages. The book is called Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Star Raft
[109] Benda, Harry J. and Larkin, J. A. *The world of Southeast Asia* p.14.
[110] See Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* p.108-9.
[111] Both the marriage and the change of name indicate the conversion, because due to Islamic doctrines, a Muslim woman can only be married to a Muslim man. Given the fact that Pasai was a center of Islamic studies at the time, it seems probable that the condition for this marriage to take place was Paramesvara’s acceptance of the Islamic faith. Graaf, H. J. de. “Southeast Asian Islam,” p.125.
[112] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.373.
[113] Di Meglio, R. “Arab Trade with Indonesia,” p.119
[114] Majul, “Theories,” 362 strange enough, the name is Arabic and he comes from Jeddah, but the title makhdum is an Indian word!
[115] Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipilago* p.123.
[116] Where would one go if he wants to convert? It was the *qadi* that rectified and legalized such an act upon hearing the *shahadatayn* pronounced by the converter; for it was within the authority of the *qadi* to announce him becoming a Muslim in order that he becomes accepted as a member of the Islamic Umma.

gained by joining the Islamic commercial network that had formed in the area.[117] It has been mentioned earlier that the Malacca straits was threatened by pirates and was dangerous for sailing. Malacca alone could not secure navigation from both coastlines of the straits and was in need of the support of the kingdom of Pasai on the Sumatran side of this vital commercial passage.[118] When peace and co-operation were brokered between the two kingdoms, the straits was once again navigational; the consequences as reported by Tome Pires were "... some rich Moorish merchants moved from Pasai to Malacca, Parsees as well as Bengalese and Arabian Moors, for at that time there were a large number of merchants belonging to these three nations, and they were very rich, with large business and fortunes, and they had settled there from the said parts, carrying on their trade. . . . The said king (Muhammad Iskandar Shah) was very pleased with the said Moorish merchants; gave them places to live in and a place for their mosques. ... In the meantime there flocked thither those merchants who were in Pasai, and more Moorish merchants, and they traded in Malacca, and from Malacca in Pasai, and they went on augmenting the land of Malacca, and this was not felt in Pasai because of the large number of people who were there".[119]

Arab texts of the 15th century show that Malacca was the main destination of that era. Although many small ports were visited in the region, Malacca was the "commercial center of the whole of Southeast Asia".[120] The Arabs either sailed to Malacca from ports in the Arab world, or from Indian ports where they had settled in large numbers.[121] Tome Pires gives us a detailed account of Malacca in which he wrote: "And so both the *Gujaratis* and the merchants who have settled in Cambay . . . sail many ships to all parts, to Aden, Ormuz [sic], the kingdom of the Deccan, Goa, . . . Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Pedir, Pase (Pasai) and Malacca, where they take quantities of merchandise, bringing other kinds back, thus making Cambay rich and important. . . . The Cambay merchants make Malacca their chief trading centre. ... As the kingdom of Cambay had this trade with Malacca, merchants of the following nations used to accompany the Gujaratees there in their ships, and some of them used to settle in the place, sending off the merchandise, while others took it in person, to wit, Maçaris [122]and people from Cairo, many Arabs, and chiefly from Aden, and with these came Abyssinians and people from Ormuz [sic], Kilwa, Malindi, Mogadishu and Mombassa, Persians, to wit, Rumes, Turkomans, Armenians, Guilans, Khorasans and men of Shiraz. . . . Because those from Cairo and Mecca and Aden cannot reach Malacca in a single monsoon, as well as the Parsees and those from Ormuz, and Rumes, ... at their own time they go to the kingdom of Gujarat, bringing large quantities of valuable merchandise; and they go to the kingdom of Gujarat to take up their companies in the said ships of that land, and they take the said companies in large numbers . . . and from there [Gujarat] they embark in March and sail direct for Malacca; and on the return journey they call at the Maldive Islands".[123] Furthermore, the Sejarah Melayu gives a similar account of Malacca in which it is described as "a port

[117] Meilink-Roelofsz, "Trade and Islam," pp.147-8 and Majul, "Theories," p.361
[118] Johns, "Modes," p.67.
[119] Quotation from Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.121. See original text in Pires, *Suma Oriental* p.241.
[120] Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.230.
[121] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.121.
[122] From "masri" Arabic for Egyptians.
[123] Quotation from Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.120.

thronged with Indian traders, Hindu and Muslim, with settlers from China, Java, and Sumatra".[124]

Of great interest is an account by an Italian traveler, Ludovico De Varthema (d.1517) who had visited Malacca in 1505-6, in which he observed that the inhabitants of Malacca dressed similar to the Cairenes.[125] In addition, Ma Huan earlier mentions that the King of Malacca "uses a fine white foreign cloth to wind round his head [turban?]; on his body he wears a long garment of fine patterned blue cloth, fashioned like a robe; [and] on his feet he wears leather shoes".[126]

In spite of Malacca's mercantile glory which is recorded in abundance in all the written literature of its time, very little is mentioned regarding its architecture or planning. A few Chinese sources do mention that Malacca was encircled by two city walls of which the external had four gates. Each gate had a watch and drum tower. The walls encompassed a harbour and warehouses for goods arriving by sea.[127] The king's palace was constructed near a stream. A bridge with 20 booths was built over this stream. In these booths trading is known to have taken place.[128] However, a Chinese account of 1537 mentions that "the king lives in a house of which the fore part is covered with tiles, which have been left here by Zheng He in the time of Yung-lo (r. 1403-24). The other buildings all arrogate the forms of imperial halls and are adorned with tin foil."[129] Malaccan houses were naturally not in such splendour; they were constructed on poles so that they would be raised above the ground. These houses had rattan floors[130] and there is, unfortunately, no mention of their roofs.

As Malacca grew richer towards the end of the 15th centaury, not only did it attract merchants, but scholars flocked as well. According to Johns, "there was a constant traffic of religious teachers, whether from India or via India from the Middle East attending to the spiritual needs of the Malaccan court".[131] Malacca became the center of learning for the Islamic faith in the region to the extent that Sultan Mahmud believed Malacca to be the "right Mecca".[132] Furthermore, prominent Muslim figures such as Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri (two of the nine saints of Java discussed in the next section) studied Islamic sciences such as *hadith* and *shari'a* there.[133]

There is however, no clear evidence of Islamic institutions functioning in Malacca. According to Azra, there is "suggestion that Mawlana Abu Bakr, who presented a book '*Durr al-Manzum*' to Sultan Mansur Shah, was appointed the *qadi* of the Sultanate of Malacca in addition to his function as a religious adviser to the Sultan. There

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[124] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.84.
[125] Bausani, "Indonesia and Malaysia in the travelogues of Ludovico," p.145. Is this an indication that Cairo was the fashion capital for the Malays?
[126] Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* p.110.
[127] Benda, Harry J. and Larkin, J. A. *The world of Southeast Asia* p.17 and Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* p.113.
[128] Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* p.109.
[129] Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p.126.
[130] Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p.124.
[131] Johns, "Modes of Islamization," p.68.
[132] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* pp.84-5.
[133] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.85 and Mutalib, "Islamic Malay Polity in Southeast Asia," p.9.

were several other religious advisers in Malacca who apparently also functioned as the *shari'ah* functionaries, for they were called *qadi*; the most prominent among them were *qadi* Yusuf, *qadi* Munawwar, and *qadi* Sadr Jahan. These *qadis* were also reported to have exerted considerable influence upon court circles, and socially on the same par as the traditional dignitaries and notables".[134] To what extent did these *qadis* actually exercise influence is uncertain. One account regarding the inhabitants of Malacca by Ahmad ibn Majid, one of the very well known Arab navigators of the 15th century, mentions that: "They [the Malaccans] have no culture at all. The infidel marries Muslim women while the Muslim takes pagans to wife. You do not know whether they are Muslim or not. They are thieves for theft is rife among them and they do not mind. The Muslim eats dogs for meat for there are no food laws. They drink wine in the markets and do not treat divorce as a religious act. They think little of promises and presents and generally despise them. They appear liars and deceivers in trade and labor. Be always careful of them for you cannot mix jewels with ordinary stones".[135] Furthermore, Ludovico De Varthema mentions that it was unsafe to wander around alone at night. He also reported that merchants preferred to sleep on their ships.[136] His account on the whole conveys the absence of the rule of law. According to Hall, the Javanese merchants who comprised a very important portion of the Malacca inhabitants had their own body guards. "One Javanese merchant prince is said to have had 6000 slave troops".[137] In spite of such negative accounts, as a matter of historical agreement, it was from Malacca that Islam actually spread in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.[138] Malacca's influences can be traced in Pahang, Terengganu, Kedah and Johor in the Malay Peninsula, and Siak, Kampar, Indragiri and Jambi in Sumatra, and Patani in southern Siam.[139] According to Pires, "the Sultans of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri together with some of their relatives studied Islam in Malacca under the sponsorship of Sultan 'Aala` al-Din Ri'ayat Shah (r. 1477-88)".[140]

Malacca's fortune lasted till the early 16th century when in 1511 the Portuguese took the city. "Sultan Mahmud fled Malacca to the island of Bentan in the Riau-Lingga archipelago. [His] choice of Bentan as the location for a new capital was a well-calculated move. According to the *Sejarah Melayu* the island was considered a friendly area, and it was also the home of one of the largest Orang Laut (pirate groups) in the Riau-Lingga archipelago. With their support Sultan Mahmud hoped to oust the Portuguese from Malacca. Though this goal was never attained, the orang laut did make possible the re-establishment of Sultan Mahmud's court and the resumption of trade at the new site. Its success led to a Portuguese punitive expedition which destroyed Bentan in 1526. But, as in the past, the Orang Laut were summoned to fetch the ruler and to begin once again the entire process of restoration. With Orang Laut assistance Sultan Mahmud Shah escaped the destruction of Bentan by the Portuguese in 1526 and fled to Kampar in east coast Sumatra where he died. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan 'Aala' al-Din

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[134] Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.187.
[135] Quotation from Tibbetts, G. R. *A Study of the Arabic Texts* p.206.
[136] Jones, J. W. (tr.) Badger, G. P. (ed.) *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema* p.226.
[137] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.229.
[138] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.222.
[139] Mutalib, "Islamic Malay polity in SE Asia," p.9.
[140] Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.154.

Ri'ayat Shah, who married the sister of Pahang's ruler and then established his royal residence at Pekan Tua in the upper reaches of the Johor River some time between 1530 and 1536. He therefore became the first of the Malacca dynasty to rule in what became known as the kingdom of Johor".[141]

The fall of Malacca prompted the Muslim merchants to use the ports of Aceh in North Sumatra,[142] and thus the growth of a new Muslim kingdom. Aware of the events in the Straits, the Ming History records the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese and mentions that Malacca's "customs are good and their way of trading is fair, but since the Franks (Portuguese) have taken the country, things have become worse and merchant vessels seldom go there anymore, mostly proceeding directly to Sumatra".[143]

1-5-1-3: The Early Muslim Kingdoms in Java [Figure 1.4]

Material evidence on the existence of Islam on the island could be gathered from Java's Arabic inscribed stele dated 1082 or 1101. The so called Leran tombstone was found in Leran near Gresik in the eastern part of the island. The Kufic inscription informs us that the deceased was a Fatimah bint Maymon.[144] In addition, the earliest known written account of an attempt to take Islam to Java was by a royal Javanese. The story told is that the eldest of the two sons of the first Javanese king of Pajajaran, in West Java, decided to become a business man and traveled to India for trade. While he was away, his younger brother ascended to the throne in 1190. The older brother on his way back was convinced by Arab merchants to convert to Islam. He did and chose the new name Haji Purwa. However, his efforts to convert his brother with the aid of Arab missionaries are reported to have failed.[145] Nevertheless, the Arabs are believed to have succeeded in converting the prince of Tuban around the middle of the 13th century.[146]

At the time when Ibn Battuta was visiting the region, he gives us an account of his meeting with the king of mul Jawa (Java) which he clarifies was an infidel.[147] Ibn Battuta's account does not give an impression of the presence of Islam on the Island. However, this was definitely not the case. The situation at that time in Java was a Hindu dynasty that was ruling from the interior of the island, and several settlements that were scattered on the coastlines. The settlements were ruled by harbor masters or *shahbandars* on behalf of the Majapahit Hindu King who resided in his capital in the interior.[148] According to Ricklefs, the ports were not governed by Javanese, rather mostly Arabs, Indians, Malay, and Chinese. They were already Muslim when they arrived in Java and

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[141] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* pp.56-7.
[142] Majul, "Theories," p.348; Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.156; and Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.61.
[143] Groeneveldt, W. P. *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p.134.
[144] Nothing is known about this woman. Djajadiningrat "Islam in Indonesia," p.376 casts doubts on whether this headstone actually belonged to where it was found.
[145] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.378.
[146] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," pp.116 and 118.
[147] Gibb H. A. R. ed. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* p.863. Mul Jawa is also suggested to be Malacca before converting.
[148] Ma Huan gives the following directions on how to reach the Majapahit capital: "from Su-erh-pa-ya [Surabaya] small ships travel for seventy or eighty li to a port called Chang-ku there you go ashore and after traveling towards the Southwest for a day and a half, you reach Man-chi-po-i [Majapahit] the place where the king lives" quotation from Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-La,* pp.90-1.

therefore were "not Islamized rather Javaniesed".[149] From the *Annals of Semarang*, De Graaf and Pigeaud, concluded that the ports' inhabitants were "middle class mercantile communities of mixed ancestry" that not only kept good relations with the Majapahit king, but also maintained links with their original homelands.[150]

The best accounts regarding the coastal towns of Java are found in Chinese records. According to Ma Huan: "The country has four large towns, none of which is walled. … The ships which come here from other countries first arrive at a town named Tu-pan [Tuban]; next at a town named new village (Gresik) then at a town named Su-lu-ma-i (Surabaya)then again to a town named man-che-po-i (Majapahit) where the king of the country lives". He further clarifies: "The country contains three classes of persons. One class consists of the Muslim people- they are all people from every foreign kingdom in the West who have migrated to this country as merchants; [and] in all matters of dressing and feeding everyone is clean and proper. One class consists of Tang people; they are all men from Kuang tung [province] and from Chang [chou] and Ch'iian [chou] and other such places who fled away and now live in this country; the food of these people, too, is choice and clean; [and] many of them follow the Muslim religion, doing penance and fasting. One class consists of the people of the land; they have very ugly and strange faces, tousled heads, and bare feet; they are devoted to devil-worship".[151] Tome Pires a century later wrote: ""At the time in which pagans were living on the coasts of Java, many Persians, Arab and Guajarati traders used to come to these places. They began to grow rich and to increase in number; their sons by that time had become Javanese and were wealthy, having lived in those parts for more than seventy years. In some places the pagan Javanese rulers became Muslim, and there the merchants and their *mohalla* (mullahs) took over the authority from them and reigned in their stead. In other places, the merchants instead killed the local Javanese lords and seized the power. They thus succeeded in monopolizing Javanese trade".[152] By the middle of the 16th century, the Javanese coastline was Muslim, but as was the case in Sumatra, the Javanese Muslim principalities were individual entities intertwined in some cases by bonds of marriages or blood relations and in others by mutual commercial interests.

1-5-1-3-1: The Demak Sultanate 1500-1588

Of the many Javanese coastal kingdoms, the sultanate of Demak stands out as the most prominent. It was founded in the year 1500 by Radan Patah, who, according to the Babad Tanah Jawi, was a descendent of the last King of Majapahit by a relation with a Chinese concubine.[153] Demak served as the base from which Islam was propagated to the rest of the island at the hands of the infamous nine Saints of Java. The roles palyed by each saint is discussed in the forthcoming section 1-6 of this chapter.

Demak's expansions reached Banten at the western end of the Island in 1526. On the eastern side of Java, Hindu-Buddhist dynasties were still independent and resisted the advent of the the Demak forces. According to al-Attas "The Hindu-Javanese state in east

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[149] Ricklefs, M. C. "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," pp.105-6.
[150] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java*, p.171.
[151] Quotation from Mills, J. V. ed. and tr. *Ma Huan Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan,* pp.86 and 93 respectively.
[152] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," p.117-8.
[153] Raffles, *The History of Java* vol. II pp.115-7.Howeevr, Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.132 does not merit the Javanese chronicle in relating Raden Patah to the Majapahit royal family. See section 1-6-2 for the complete story.

Java, Singasari (Tumapel), which continued to maintain itself, was aided in its futile struggle by Kediri and Mataram, which had not yet been won over to Islam. In Balambangan, the independent states of Panarukan and Pasuruan were in the power of the Shivaite prince of Bali, who from his stronghold of Matjan Putih directed the defence against Islam. Raden Trenggana completed the conquest of Singasari and Mataram, and it was while the expedition against Pasuruan was in progress that he died (c.1546). After some confusion due to quarrels between sons and relatives following Trenggana's death, Adiwidjaya, the regent of Padjang in east Java, assumed control and under him the realm of Padjang, consisting of ten districts, rapidly rose in power. The districts were governed by governors responsible to the Sultan. This was toward the end of the 16th century, when civil war followed as a result of the governor of Mataram's rebellion against the Sultan. Sutawidjaya, the governor of Mataram, known as the Senopati (Commander of the Princely Guard), emerged victorious and founded the Sultanate of Mataram (1582-1601)".[154] In 1588 or 1589 the last sultan of Demak fled the city and seeked asylum in Banten.[155] As a direct consequence of the disintegration of Demak, the coastal towns of the Island, once under Demak's, suzerainty declared autonomy.

Unlike Demak that was a coastal principality, the rising kingdom of Mataram was based in the interior of the island.[156] It was very soon that the dynasty's rulers embarked on expanding their territories and pushed their boundaries in all directions. However the greatest accomplishments were those achieved by Sultan Agung (r.1613-45) who had accepted Islam as the dynasty's religion.[157] By the year 1625, the whole coastal area from Gresik to Cirebon was under Mataram's suzerainty;[158] the last independent ruler of Kudus fled in 1590, Jepara was sacked in 1599, and Tuban[159] was under a Mataram governor's rule in 1619.[160] According to de Graaf and Pigeaud, "Cirebon never developed into an important state. Sunan Gunung Jati's successors, revered as saintly men, maintained fairly good relations both with the Javanese kings of Pajang and Mataram in Central Java and with the new power in West Java, the V.O.C. (Dutch East India Company) of Batavia. In 1705 the Mataram king finally ceded his claim of suzerainty over Cirebon to the V.O.C.".[161]

Not much is known about the structure of the Demak sultanate but the most well known of its institutions, which fortunately survives still today, is predictably its mosque. It is revered in Southeast Asia as one of the most sacred historical Islamic sites. The mosque, however, was built in 1479 according to its foundation slab, some time before

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154 Al-Attas, S.M.N. "Indonesia; iv History; a Islamic Period," in in Encyclopedia of Islam C. E. Bosworth, et al. eds. CD-Rom version. Brill, (2003)

155 De Graaf, and Pigeaud, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700* p.9.

156 The dynasty was founded near Yogyakarta. The royal burial grounds of the great Mataram sultans is found at the peak of the Imagiri hill.

157 Johns, "The Role of Sufism," p.144.

158 Suryhudoyo, S. "Sultan Agung: Epitome of Javanese Kingship," p.54.

159 According to de Graaf, and Pigeaud, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700* p14, Tuban was a vassal of Majapahit in the early 16th century. However, when Demak declared war against Majapahit, Tuban did not take sides. Nonetheless, the defeat of Majapahit prompted Tuban to recognize the suzerainty of Demak in the 1520s. Tuban remained a strong vassal of Demak and resisted the advent of Mataram forces till its fall in 1619.

160 De Graaf, and Pigeaud, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700* pp.10, 11 and 14.

161 De Graaf, and Pigeaud, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700* p.12.

the actual declaration of the Sultanate. Demak also had a qadi; a post that was filled by the two prominent sunans; Kudus and Kalijaga respectively.

1-5-1-3-2: The Banten Sultanate 1526-1682[162]

In spite of trade being in the area for a long time, Banten did not gain its importance till the 16th century after the arrival of the Portuguese and their dominion over the Malacca Strait. Banten's location allowed the traders to use the Sunda Strait instead and thus avoided the Portuguese navy.[163] Banten was a seaport for the Hindu Sunda Kingdom that ruled in the interior from the city of Pajajaran.[164] However, in 1527, the city was seized by a combined Islamic force from Demak and Cirebon. It then became the most important port in Northwest Java. After the Fall of Demak, Banten was totally independent and resisted the near by Dutch (in Jayakarta) for almost a century until its fall in 1682.[165] Sunan Gunung Jati or Shayikh Sharif Hidaytullah, as he is called locally, was the first ruler of Banten, however he was not enthroned, rather his son Hasanuddin was proclaimed sultan in 1552. Hasanudin had married the daughter of Sultan Trenggana (r.1521-46) of Demak in 1526.[166] The early sultans of Banten encouraged trade and the economy boomed; by the year 1596 the population of the city reached 100 000 inhabitant.[167] According to Ambary, "the first Dutch expedition under Cornel is de Houtman reached the city in 1596, and several of its members provided accounts of the city's life. Jan Hans Kaerel reported that foreign ships anchoring at Banten needed the permission of the shahbandar, and that to enter the city from the port one had to pass through the toll gate. … The fullest account … was that of Willem Lodewijcks. He described three markets; the biggest to the east of the town … where each morning were found 'merchants of all manner of nations, such as Portuguese, Arabs, Chinese, Turks, Kelings, Pegus, Malays, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Malabaris and Abbyssinians, and from all quarters of India'. Lodewijcks described a free wheeling city governed in the interest of commerce in the name of a boy king, Abdul Kadir".[168] Banten was divided into a northern and southern section; the latter was reserved for the sultan's palace that was placed on the southern side of the city's alun-alun. The northern section was reserved for the houses of the elite Bantenese. Foreigners were not allowed to reside inside the city walls; only the Shahbandar was given a residential complex on the eastern side of the city's alun alun.[169] The Bantanese Sultan's were able to execute a policy that allowed them independence in spite of the growing influences of the Dutch who were ruling the territories bordering their kingdom. In 1619 the Dutch managed to carve out the city of Jayakarta from the borders of the Banten sultanate and founded there the head office of the "Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie" or shortly known as the VOC. As a consequence, rivalry began between the Dutch and the Bantenese regarding the shares of imported pepper. According to Ambary, "In 1628 Banten's fortunes looked up when the

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[162] 1682 is the year when the Dutch control matters in the Sultanate in spite of the existence of the Bantenese Sultan.
[163] Ambary, "The Establishment of the Islamic," p.84.
[164] Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.1.
[165] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.102
[166] Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.2.
[167] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.102
[168] Ambary, H. "Banten: From Pepper Port to Emporium," p.51
[169] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.102

English decided to establish their major Southeast Asian base in the city, guaranteeing both an outlet for pepper and some security against continuing attempts at blockade by the VOC. Peace with Batavia was agreed in 1639, and the following 40 years marked the high point of Banten's fortunes. In particular, in the years 1660 to 1680, under Sultan Abulfatah Ageng and guided by the capable Chinese shahbandar Kaytsu, Banten surpassed Makasar and Aceh as the greatest non-Dutch port in the Archipelago".[170] Nevertheless, the Sultanate's prosperity ended in 1682 when a civil war ensued amongst the Bantenese and the Dutch intervened by aiding Sultan Haji against his father Sultan Ageng. As a consequence, Sultan Haji was victorious and the Dutch gained the upper hand in the Sultanate. Banten's autonomy was lost for the subsequent 150 years.[171]

1-5-1-4: The Aceh Kingdom in Sumatra [Figure 1.3]

Like Malacca and Pasai, Acheh's formation was due to its location and mercantile activity. Its power reached over the west coast of Sumatra, parts of the eastern coast, and subdued many of the kingdoms in the Peninsula.[172]

Aceh's fame as a learning center surpassed that of Malacca and became known as "the Gate to the Holy Land, the point of departure for the pilgrimage to Mecca".[173] Not only a departure point, but many scholars Indian, Persian, Arab, Malay and Javanese were resident or remained in Aceh on their way back after performing the pilgrimage, and taught there. It is during this period that we learn of many names of teachers that were active in Aceh. We are fortunate in having al-Raniri's[174] book *Bustan al-Salatin*, which was sponsored by sultan Iskandar Thani (r. 1637-44) in which many names are recorded: Abu al-Khayer b. Shaikh b. Hajar who was from Mecca, Mohammad of Yaman, Mohammad Jailani b. Mohammad Hamid al-Raniri from Gujurat, Mohammad al-Azhari from Egypt, Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani from Pasai, and Ibrahim b. 'Abdallah al-Shami from Syria.[175] During the 16th and 17th centuries, and due to Arab influences, Aceh witnessed a period of scholarly activity; many books and treatises were translated.[176] Also names of Malay scholars such as Hamza Fansuri, Shams al-Din of Pasai, and 'Abd al-Ra'ouf of Singkel became famous.[177]

As scholars were eminent during this period, institutions flourished too; not only mosques were functioning as learning institutions but new structures were in use as well. According to Azra, "the Sultanate of Aceh had had numerous religious schools at various levels, which were called *"meunasah"* (probably a corrupt form of the Arabic *madrasah), "rangkang",* and *"dayah"*. It is difficult to trace the origins of these educational institutions; there was no reliable account as to when they were first established. But it can be assumed that they gained momentum at least from the reign of the famous Sultan

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[170] Ambary, H. "Banten: From Pepper Port to Emporium," p.51
[171] Ambary, H. "Banten: From Pepper Port to Emporium," p.51
[172] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* pp.234-5.
[173] Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.235.
[174] According to Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam," 142 al Raniri was an orthodox Muslim scholar from Rander, Gujarat. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1620 and in 1637 left the declining city of Gujarat to Aceh where he stayed at the Court of Iskander Thani. When Thani died in 1644, Raniri returned to his native Rander where he died in 1658.
[175] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.136-7.
[176] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.90.
[177] For details see Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam," pp.141-2.

Iskandar Muda onwards".[178] Iskander Muda (r. 1607-1636) also founded a *Bayt al-Mal* (ministry of finance), and raised the ranking of the post of *qadi* to a greater level.[179]

1-5-2: The Conversion of the Spice Islands.

The 16th and 17th centuries witnessed the mass conversion of the Spice Islands to Islam. De Graaf's contribution on Southeast Asia in the Cambridge *History of Islam* is the best summary for the proliferation of the new faith in the Archipelago.[180] According to this reference, the Sulu islands were converted initially by the efforts of an Arab Sharif named Karim al-Makhdum and later by a certain Abu Bakr who had married the already Muslim daughter of the sultan. As for Borneo, two areas should be distinguished: the northern part which was on the trade routes linking Malacca to the Philippines, and the southern portion which was under certain influences from Java. The former was converted by the many Arab merchants who were calling at the ports of these islands in their frequent business trips. In 1514 a Portuguese report mentioned that Brunei's King was not converted. However, in 1521, when Magellan called at Brunei, his pilot left a record from which concluded that the ruler of Brunei was converted and was called sultan. The local traditions mention a sultan Muhammad who was converted in Johor (ruled by the Malaccans after their flight due to the Portuguese conquest).[181] Sultan Mohammad's brother and successor Ahmad was introduced to Islam by an Arab from Ta'if (A city in the Arabian Peninsula; in modern Saudi Arabia). This Arab man was married to the Sultan's daughter. The case of southern Borneo was a matter of competition between two rival chiefs. One asked for the help of the Javanese Muslim Demak kingdom, which he was granted on the condition that he would convert to Islam, which he did. In the Moluccas islands, Islam was present as early as the mid 14th century, when its ruler then was a friend of an Arab ship builder. There is mention of a Maulana Hussayn who taught the natives the Quran and the Arabic scripts. However, true conversion is attributed to Zayn al-'Abidin (r.1486-1500). It is said that he succumbed to demands from merchants to study Islam, which he did in Giri. Zayn al-'Abidin was known as Raja Bulawa (King of Cloves) because tradition has it that the payment to the Javanese preachers was in cloves.[182] Ambon was converted by the efforts of *qadi* Ibrahim, Who was appointed chief *qadi* and principal teacher of the island. In the Makasar Islands it took the prince of Tallo fourteen years to decide. It is reported that he consulted converting with a neighbouring kingdom that was also considering. However, long contacts with Muslim merchants on his islands and lessons in Giri made the prince determined to convert which he did on September 22nd, 1605. Mindano in the Southern Philippines is believed to have been converted by a Sharif Kabungsuwan; a native of Johor from an Arab father and a Malay mother.[183]

1-5-3: Theories on the Coming of Islam to Southeast Asia.

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178 Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.156.
179 Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.181.
180 Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," pp.128-38.
181 Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.58.
182 Majul, "Theories," p.365.
183 Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," pp.128-38.

In light of the above narrated events, it is now appropriate to address the issue of the source of Southeast Asian Islam; was it Arabia, India, or China. But prior to answering this highly debatable question, the theories concerning the mean or means by which Islam arrived to the Area must be considered.

1-5-3-1: The Trade/Merchant Theory

According to Baloch, "the process of Islam becoming the faith of most of the peoples of Malaysian/Indonesian regions went through two main stages. The first stage consisted of the early contacts and initial introduction and acceptance of Islam mainly in the port towns and coastal belts. This was achieved during the long period of five centuries beginning from the 7th century A.D. and extending to the 12th century. A.D. The second stage of more extensive propagation and universal acceptance of Islam, not only in the coastal belts but also into the interior, commenced from the 13th century A.D.".[184] These early contacts have developed what is known as the trade theory. This theory, has gained most support from scholars,[185] and furthermore, all the other theories, one way or the other, are linked to the merchants. The most straight forward reliable historical account of the merchants' role in spreading Islam is found in Pires's *Suma Oriental*. He wrote: "Some of them [the merchants] were Chinese, some Arabs, Parsees, Gujuraties, Bengalees and of many other nationalities and they flourished so greatly that Mohammad and his followers are determined to introduce their doctrine in the sea coast of Java [together] with merchandise".[186]According to Baloch, "at the initial stage, it was the simple, straightforward and exemplary behavior of the first-arriving Muslims whose firm faith, sincerity of purpose, honesty in business dealings, sense of justice and equality in human relations, sympathy for the poor, and charity in the name of Allah, and their community conduct both inside the Mosque and outside in the market had a direct impact on the local population. Those who came in contact with them were so much impressed and inspired by their clean living and honest dealings that they were motivated to embrace the faith of Islam which guaranteed justice and equality and a worthwhile role in the Islamic community. This was in direct contrast with their previous experience of the formal priest-directed religious rites, or the superstitious-ridden rituals of paganism".[187] Arnold further supports Baloch's beliefs by pointing out the fact that the Muslims did not come as conquerors, as did the Portuguese and the Spanish, nor did they impose themselves or their religion on the native inhabitants.[188] On the contrary, ties with the locals were strengthened by means of marriages.[189] "Once Islam had arrived in Indonesia the further dissemination of the faith took place chiefly through the activities of Muslim merchants who married women from the places where they settled either temporarily or

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[184] Baloch, N. A. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* p.2.
[185] for example: Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," p.124; Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.381; Risso, *Merchants* p.54; Majul, "Theories," p.349; Al-Atas, "Hadhramout," p.23.
[186] Quotation from Majul, "Theories," p.349.
[187] Baloch, N. A. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* p..2-3.
[188] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* pp.365-6. This is also the opinion of Snouck Hurgronje see Berg, C. C. "The Islamization of Java" p.111.
[189] Majul, "Theories," p.350 and Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.365.

permanently. Before marriage the women had been converted to Islam, and such a marriage often led to the adoption of Islam by members of the woman's family".[190]

One fascinating idea linked to the trade theory that does not adopt the old classical mould has been expressed by Risso. She believes that, because Islam is not linked to a certain temple or deity residing some place in particular, it became very well suitable for merchants who traveled around. Islam, according to her, not only helped Muslim merchant minorities to live in non-Muslim regions, but it also attracted other merchants to convert.[191]

1-5-3-2: The Political Theory

The so called "Political Theory" is based on two major points: first as van Luer believes, a ruler sought alliances against a foreign threat; being it a military threat, or an economic hazard. And second, as Benda forwards it, conversion was needed for the legitimization of the ruler.[192] The rulers of Southeast Asian kingdoms were in need not only of legitimacy, but also sources of revenue and wealth to be able to assert their power. "The foreign trade was in Muslim hands and thus the culture and ethos of city-ports were Muslim. The idea or concept of Islam as an aspect of authority, or wealth or rule must, therefore, have been of early significance in Southeast Asia".[193] Therefore, as Majul explains, "the economic status of the ruler was dependant upon the patronage of the Muslim traders; when the mutual interests increased, the traders became more influential …especially the *Shahbandars* who not only served as contacts between traders and rulers, but even served as advisors to the latter. … A time would come when they [*shahbandars*] would introduce Muslim scholars to the rulers and even create a negative attitude on the part of the rulers against non-Muslim competitors".[194] It also seems that the rulers of these coastal kingdoms weighed the benefits of being Muslim against the dangers of breaking away with the powers of the interior such as Majapahit in Java, and found it far more profitable to join the vast international network of Muslim trade[195] in spite of the fact that this network had no strong naval force to protect it and its members. Perhaps the lack of such force was considered an advantage as Coatalen suggests; "the defeat of the Muslim Caliphate was a supplementary advantage for the local rulers who had no central Islamic power to fear by converting. They had commercial advantages and no political inconvenience by submitting to a foreign power"[196]

1-5-3-3: The Missionary Theory

Another theory concerned here is known as the "missionary theory". However, there is a general agreement amongst scholars that the Muslim trader himself was the missionary.[197] As mentioned earlier, not only the merchant's personal qualities and fair

[190] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.381.
[191] Risso, *Merchants* p.6.
[192] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.106 and Majul, "Theories," pp.375-6.
[193] Hooker, "Introduction," p.7.
[194] Majul, "Theories," pp.357-8.
[195] Ricklifs, M. C. "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," pp.104-5.
[196] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.113.
[197] See for example: Hall, D. G. E., *A History of Southeast Asia* p.232; Risso, *Merchants* pp.5-6; van Luer quoted in Majul, "Theories," p.373.

dealings spoke for his religion, but also the merchant propagated his faith when ever he had the chance.

1-5-3-4: The Sufi Theory

The so called "Sufi Theory", introduced by Gibb in 1946,[198] did gain momentum later on.[199] The question asked is: if Muslim merchants were frequent in Southeast Asia starting from the 8th century, why did Islam only spread after the 13th century? The answer that Gibb provided was that, after the fall of the Caliphate in Baghdad in 1258, there was a Sufi mystical movement that dominated the Muslim world.[200] However, Johns has suggested that one way or the other, these wandering Sufis were engaged in the trade or any of its associated activities.[201] One hint to the role of Sufism, as suggested by Azra, could be found in the terms used for students in *suraus* (small classroom schools). The student is called *murid* which is the Sufi term for a disciple of a *tarikah*, and sometimes *faqih* and *faqir*.[202]

Before we move to the next theory I find it important to add some comments: First, it is hard to imagine when comparing a wandering Sufi in his worn clothes with a poor faqir as opposed to the rich merchants in their fancy attire and all their wealth, that the former were the actual propagators of the faith on both the popular and royal levels. Even considering the above, we do not have any evidence of an organized brotherhood that might have had some powers or influence the way we had in China or India. Ibn Battuta, in his account of Kin-sai (Hangzhou), apart from mosques and markets that were already existent from previous times, mentioned a *zawiyya* called al-'Uthmaniyya, named after its founder Ahmad b. Uthman al-Misri. The *zawiyya* had beautiful architecture and its own endowed property, of which the revenues were spent for its up keeping, and the fulfillment of the needs of poor Muslims.[203] Southeast Asia has no Sufi institutions like the ones found elsewhere in the Islamic world; there is no mention of *zawiyya*, *khanqah* or *kuliyya* to make us even assume that there was a certain active brotherhood the way the "Sufi theory" wants us to believe. On the contrary, Sufism was oppressed by orthodox Islam. According to van Nieuwenhuijze, "in the early 17th century … in northern Sumatra, we see a struggle between two conceptions of Islam which were being introduced, namely mysticism … and orthodoxy. This struggle is exceptionally well documented. The general picture shows the mystics going in first … wherever the mystics went, the orthodox followed on their heels. In the end, orthodoxy has for all practical purposes superseded mysticism yet with out eliminating it every where".[204] One can only gather from the previous that Sufism had a relatively limited role.

1-5-3-5: The Crusader Theory

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198 See Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," pp.104-5.
199 The most devoted scholar of this theory is A. H. Johns. See list of reading bibliography for details.
200 Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," pp.104-5. and Johns, "The Role of Sufism," p.145
201 Johns, "The Role of Sufism," p.145. This suggestion was not accepted by Drewes. However, Wheatly and al-Attas both assume that the Sufis actually accompanied the merchants and were not necessarily engaged in trade See Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," pp.105-6.
202 Azra, "Education, Law, Mysticism," p.160.
203 Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat,* p.166.
204 Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. "Indonesia," p.146.

Another theory which is labeled "the crusader and the holy wars theory" did not gain much support. The crusader hypothesis suggests that the arrival of the Portuguese promoted the mass conversion of the islands as a mean of forming a larger entity in order to counter balance the Portuguese. The weakness of this theory lies in the fact that the Muslims did not have a strong naval presence in Southeast Asia that would actually defend them against the Portuguese. If the idea of conversion was considered, why not convert to Christianity, alley with the Portuguese, and thus pacify their threats. As for the idea of the Jihad or holy wars, it has already been shown that the peaceful means of the traders was the main attraction that invited people to convert, rather than forced means of conversion, as were used by the Portuguese and the Spanish.

1-5-3-6: The Qualities of Islam Theory

The last theory suggests that it was the inner qualities of the Islamic faith that really tempted the mass conversions and the wide spread of the religion.

To conclude for this section, no further proof is needed to show that it was mainly by way of trade and commercial interests that Islam proliferated in Southeast Asia. The merchant, one way or the other is the key player in all these theories. I would rather quote Coatalen here: "The trade theory seems to be the most likely one. But to give a more credible picture scholars have to articulate trade with politics and with religion. Success is its own justification. If people converted it was because Islam was on the ascending slope, not politically, but commercially and spiritually".[205]

1-5-4: The Source for Southeast Asian Islam: Arabia, India, or China?

In addressing the issue of where Southeast Asian Islam comes from, scholars have debated three main geographical areas: Arabia, India, and China **[Figure 1.2]**. As indicated by Baloch, it is a too broad a generalization to be accepted as is.[206] It has already been shown that the Arab merchants had been active in the area for centuries before its actual conversion, and thus there is no doubt that they had played a certain role. Therefore I would rather start by discussing the Indian role which has gained wide scholarly support.

1-5-4-1: India

The supporters of the India region are divided into three main groups: The first group asserts India in general without going into any details. For an example of this opinion I will quote Drewes, for he summarizes it as follows: "as is well known, Islam reached Indonesia by the same channel through which in earlier centuries Indian civilization and Indian religions had been transmitted: the Southeast Asian trade route from India to China along the coast of the Malay Peninsula. It is to the proselytizing efforts of Indian merchants who had settled in the parts of Malaya and Northern Sumatra that Indonesian Islam owes its existence".[207]

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[205] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.113.
[206] Baloch, N. A. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* p.1.
[207] Drewes, G. W. "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism," p.287.

However, the second group[208] is more precise and suggests Gujarat in Cambay based on the observation that it was after Cambay's fall to the Arabs in 1297 that Islam proliferated in Sumatra. In other words, the arrival of the Arabs in Gujarat coincided with the arrival of Islam in Sumatra. Moreover, the account by Pires that the Guajarati merchants were abundant in the region gives more support to this hypothesis. However, the prime evidence on which this theory is totally based is the use of Guajarati carved tomb stones for the graves of Malik Ibrahim in Java **[Figure 3.42]** and other rulers in the region. This idea of imported gravestones has gone as far as Moquette claiming that they were plundered from Jain temples and were exported for re-use in Southeast Asia.[209] However, this theory has been refuted by what it is based on. Marison remarked that Islam in Sumatra, which has already been discussed in this chapter, existed in Sumatra in 1292, which clearly pre-dates the 1297 conversion of Gujarat. In addition, Gujarat follows the Shi'i or Hanbali doctrine and not the Shafi'i as is in Southeast Asia. As regarding the tombstones, they were imported in quantities,[210] inscribed in Arabic with the name and dates blank to be added according to need later.[211]

The third group designated Southern India. The main argument for their selection is the adoption of the Shafi'i jurisdiction doctrine in both Southeast Asia and Southern India.[212] Furthermore, the accounts of the conversion of Pasai, mention that it was done by a ruler from the Eastern coast of South India. A similar story is said to be reported in Tamil history.[213] In addition, many words for Islamic terminology such as '*lebai'*, which indicates a religious official, show borrowings from South India.[214] Not only terminology, but the whole *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* is believed to be strongly colored by south Indian traditions such as Tamil merchants, jugglers, wrestlers, … etc.[215]

Scholars' abundance in support of the India theory has prompted Majul to point out the hazards for which he wrote: "For an overall picture of India's influence on Malaysian Islam, it might become necessary to consider inclusively the important roles played by both Gujarat and southern India. However, one must note some danger in overemphasizing the role played by Indian Moslems in conversions, for this will negate the possible role played by the Arab sharifs, sayyids, and adventurers from Arabia as well as that played by the Malaysian converts themselves".[216]

1-5-4-2: Arabia

Arabia as the origin of Southeast Asia's Islam has been suggested as early as 1861. Niemann and de Hollander, also on basis of the Shafi'i doctrine that is followed in

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[208] For a list of these scholars see Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.102.
[209] See Moquette, J. P. "De Grafsteenen te Pase en Grissee vergleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindostan". *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* LIV, 1912, pp.536-548.
[210] It seems that they were a commodity of there time, which was in high demand.
[211] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," pp.102-3. and Hooker, "Introduction," pp.4-5.
[212] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.363-4.
[213] Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* pp.156-7.
[214] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.102 and Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* p.1.
[215] Hall, H. "The Coming of Islam," pp. 216-17.
[216] Majul, "Theories," p.347.

Yemen, proposed that it was the Arabs of Hadramout[217] that actually carried their faith to Southeast Asia. However, Pijnappel in 1872, agreed with the Arabian origin, but suggested on basis of the use of Persian terminology that it was the Arabs through Persia and India that Islam reached the region.[218] On the other hand, Hill is of the opinion that it was the Shafi'i Arabs of South Arabia, who had trade settlements in Southern India and Gujarat, were responsible for the Islam of Southeast Asia.[219] In light of the previous suggestions several comments are a necessity: First if the Shafi'i *madhhab* is regarded as a criterion according to which the source of Islam is determined, then Hill is partially right in suggesting Southern Arabia from where it must have traveled to India. But the question remains from where did Southern Arabia get the teachings of Imam al-Shafi'i? Shafi'i is known to have been active in Egypt where not only he taught, but was also buried. Is it a coincidence that the Ayyubids in Egypt had very much revered this Imam to the extent that their sultans are buried next to him and the fact that the titles of the early sultans of the Samudra-Pasai kingdom in Sumatra followed those of the Ayyubids? Moreover, Tome Pires' account on the Muslim merchants who were frequent in Southeast Asia was used as evidence to point to Gujarat as the source for the region's Islam simply because the Guajarati merchants were on Pires' list. As a matter of fact, so were the merchants of Cairo. Pires' account specifically mentions that the Arabs from Cairo, Mecca, and Aden were using Gujarat as a transit point. This, perhaps, explains the link between the conversion of Gujarat and the spread of the Muslim faith in Southeast Asia. It might not be wrong after all to assume Gujarat as the source for Islam, but it most probably is a mistake to over-estimate the role played by the Guajarati merchants. In this regard, it could explain why the Southeast Asians adopted the Shafi'i madhhab and not the Hanbali or Shi'i ones; simply because it was the Arabs who were traveling via Gujarat some time before and after its conversion who actually did the work. Not only were the Arabs wealthier, but no doubt more knowledgeable. One last comment regarding the Guajarati tombstones, prior to the coming of Islam to its territories, is that India had now burial practices of its own. The idea of venerating the dead and erecting tombs and putting up gravestones no doubt came with the Muslim conquest. Thus, if Guajarati tombstones were frequent in Southeast Asia, this must be due to an external element because it was not part of the Indian religious culture. This element was the coming of Islam to Gujarat vis-à-vis the arrival of the Arab merchants.

To conclude, Di Meglio wrote: "What part did the Arabs play in converting the islands of the Indian Archipelago to Islam? It is known that it was above all the Indians (Gujarati and Bengali[220]) who spread the new religious belief throughout the archipelago, but the Arabs also without doubt had their share in this process of Islamization. Furthermore, it may well have been their earlier contacts in past centuries with the populations of Southeast Asia which, even if they were superficial, paved the way for the work of proselytism carried out later by the Indians. In any case, there were certainly

[217] According to al-Atas, "Hadramout," p.29. Their role started in the 15th century onwards. Huzayyin, *Arabia and the Far East* pp.275-6 attributes their activities to the "commercial enterprises" of the early Mings in China. However, many scholars believe that their role in Southeast Asia started later probably some time before the arrival of the Dutch. See Serjent, "The Hadrami Network," p.149.

[218] Hooker, "Introduction," pp.4-5.

[219] Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.102.

[220] Bengal was suggested by S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* see Coatalen, "The Coming of Islam," p.103.

some Arabs working with these Indians. The Arabs had long since established colonies in various coastal areas of India which, in due course, became centers of diffusion of the new religion, while a mixed population of Islamic persuasion grew up in the various ports as the result of intermarriage with local women. These Arab-Indian colonies, however, were not populated only by half-castes: a continuous influx of traders from Arab countries brought a steady stream of new blood and strength. From these centers the traders traveled to Indonesia where, together with the Indians, they exercised the double role of traders and preachers, even if in a minor capacity".[221]

1-5-4-3: China

The third probable location for the coming of Islam to the region is suggested to be China. Fatimi proposes that Islam came to the Archipelago not from the west as the majority of scholars believe, but rather from the east; China via Champa. He suggests it was the settlement of the shi'i Muslims, and those fleeing China due to political unrests, that Islam gained foot in the region. He forwards the Kufic gravestones with Arabic inscriptions, found in Champa, as evidence of his theory.[222] Furthermore, it has been mentioned that the founder of the Islamic sultanate of Demak was a Sino-Javanese. Moreover, support for the Chinese-role theory could also be concluded from the accounts of Ma Huan that have been mentioned, in which the Chinese were a prominent race that inhabited the coasts of Java. Yet one fact that argues against the Chinese having a real influential role, at least in religious matters is that they followed the Hanafi madhhab. Di Meglio argues that although the Chinese did found these coastal settlements and held most leading positions, it was not long before they were absorbed by the Muslims from the West; absorbed in terms of numbers or assimilation.[223]

For a better evaluation for the Chinese role which was mainly in Java, we need to examine the role of the Javanese missionaries or the so called *wali sanga* (lit. nine saints) to which the spread of Islam in Java is attributed.

1-6: The Establishment of Islam in Java: the Wali Sanga

Starting from the 15th century, Java received Islam by nine[224] very active men. These men are referred to by the Arabic "*walii*" which designates a saint; no doubt this indicates a holy consideration for these men. Their names are usually those of the places where they lived respectively, or are buried. The local title "*Sunan*" or the Arabic "*mawlana*" precedes their names which further indicate respect and reverence.[225] Like the history of Java, the history of the *wali sanga* is fragmentary. The local histories contain many stories and miracles related to the *wali sanga*, yet these accounts are usually over toned with legends and myths[226] and therefore require careful reading for actual historical facts.

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[221] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," pp.116-7.
[222] Johns, "Modes of Islamization," p.64.
[223] Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," pp.118-9.
[224] According to Drewes, "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism," pp.297-8 There number is sometimes 8. However, the number 9 in the Indian tradition refers to nine guardian deities, which represent the 8 cardinal directions and the center.
[225] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," pp.378.
[226] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* p. 67.

In some cases, the exact identity of these men is historically difficult to determine.[227] It is claimed that these saints are one way or the other connected to Arabia;[228] many specify Hadramout in particular.[229]

1-6-1: Malik Ibrahim

The first of the *wali sanga* is Malik Ibrahim locally known as Shaikh Maghrabi. It is not known exactly when he arrived in Java, but probably some time at the end of the 14th century. Malik Ibrahim died in 1419 A. D., and was buried in Gresik. His grave has the famous Guajarati tombstone **[Figure 3.42]**, which was used as evidence for the source of Islam in the region. The stone is inscribed with an Arabic inscription that, unfortunately, does not give much information regarding Malik's genealogy. Following Moquette's reading of the inscription, many scholars believe that he originally came from Iran, Kashan in particular. It is reported that his origins can be traced to Zain al-'Abdin who was a great grandson of the Prophet.[230]Another unsubstantial assumption was made by Kern in suggesting that he was a businessman.[231]

1-6-2: Sunan Ampel

The second of the nine *walis* is called *Sunan* Ampel, known in his earlier years by Raden Rahmat. He also happens to be the eldest of all the *wali sanga* as regarded in the local Javanese history books of the 17th and 18th centuries.[232] He also happens to be the father of two of the nine saints: *Sunan* Bonang and *Sunan* Drajat. The biography of *Sunan* Ampel is one of the best recorded in Javanese accounts and includes mention of several of the other *Sunans* and how they relate. According to the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, "The King of Majapahit had married a daughter of the prince of Champa ... She being jealous of a favorite concubine of the King, he sent this concubine away to his son Arya Damar, governor of Palembang in Sumatra, where she gave birth to a son, Raden Patah, who was brought up as one of the governor's own children. This child (as we shall see) was destined in after years to work a terrible vengeance for the cruel treatment of his mother. Another daughter of the prince of Champa had married an Arab[233] who had come to Champa to preach the faith of Islam. From the union was born Raden Rahmat [*Sunan* Ampel], who was carefully brought up by his father in the Muhammadan religion … When he reached the age of twenty, his parents sent him with letters and presents to his uncle, the King of Majapahit. On his way, he stayed for two months at Palembang, as the guest of Arya Damar, whom he almost persuaded to become a Muslim only he dared not openly profess Islam for fear of the people who were strongly attached to their ancient superstitions. Continuing his journey Raden Rahmat came to Gresik, where an Arab missionary, Shaykh Mawlana Jumada a1-Kubra, hailed him as the promised Apostle of Islam to East Java, and foretold that the fall of paganism was at hand, and that his labours

[227] Drewes, "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism," p.297.
[228] Hurgronje quoted in Majul, "Theories," p.364.
[229] Mutalib, "Islamic Malay Polity," p.13 and Al-Atas, "Hadhramaut," p.33.
[230] Raffles, *The History of Java* vol. II, p.113. and Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.378.
[231] See Baloch, *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* for the arguments concerned.
[232] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* p.175.
[233] According to Berg, "The Islamization of Java," p.117 his name was Makhdum Brahim Asmara Locally known as Shaykh maulana Ibraihm Asmorokondi most probably al-Samarkandi a *nisba* to Samarkand in Central Asia.

would be crowned by the conversion of many to the faith. At Majapahit he was very kindly received by the King and the princess of Champa. Although the King was unwilling himself to become a convert to Islam, yet he conceived such an attachment and respect for Raden Rahmat, that he made him governor over 3000 families at Ampel, on the east coast, a little south of Gresik, allowed him the free exercise of his religion and gave him permission to make converts. Here after some time he gained over most of those placed under him, to Islam. ... Two sons of *Sunan* Ampel[234] established themselves at different parts of the north-east coast and made themselves famous by their religious zeal and the conversion of many of the inhabitants of those parts. Sunan Ampel also sent a missionary, by name *Shaykh* Khalifah Husayn,[235] across to the neighbouring island of Madura, where he built a mosque and won over many to the faith".[236] According to the annals of Semarang, *Sunan* Ampel was considered the leader of the Chinese Hanafi Muslim community. However, later on he changed to the Shafi'i madhhab and concentrated his efforts on the non-Chinese Muslims of East Java.[237]

1-6-3: Sunan Giri

The mention of *Sunan* Giri starts by an account of a Mawlana Ishaq also known as Maulana abu al-Islam,[238] who on hearing of *Sunan* Ampel's efforts in spreading the faith, "came to Ampel to assist him in the work of conversion, and was assigned the task of spreading the faith in the kingdom of Balambangan, in the extreme eastern extremity of the island. Here he cured the daughter of the King, who was grievously sick, and the grateful father gave her to him in marriage. She ardently embraced the faith of Islam and her father allowed himself to receive instruction in the same, but when the *Mawlana* urged him to openly profess it, as he had promised to do, if his daughter were cured, he drove him from his kingdom, and gave orders that the child that was soon to be born of his daughter, should be killed. But the mother secretly sent the infant away to Gresik to a rich Muhammadan widow who brought him up with all a mother's care and educated him until he was twelve years old,[239] when she entrusted him to *Sunan* Ampel. He, after learning the history of the child, gave him the name of Raden Paku [later known as *Sunan* Giri], and in course of time gave him also his daughter in marriage. Raden Paku afterwards built a mosque at Giri, to the south-west of Gresik, where he converted thousands to the faith; his influence became so great, that after the death of *Sunan* Ampel the King of Majapahit made him governor of Ampel and Gresik. Meanwhile several missions were instituted from Gresik".[240]

1-6-4: Sunan Drajat and Sunan Bonang

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[234] Sunan Bonang and Sunan Darajat.
[235] The name certainly suggests an Arab.
[236] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* p.380-1.
[237] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* p.175.
[238] Raffles, *The History of Java* vol. II, p.118.
[239] According to Seong, "Chinese Element," pp.404-5, this lady is identified as Njai Gede Pinatih who was a wife of a Majapahit regent (or may be some kind of religious teacher). However, after the death of her husband, she moved to Gresik where she was appointed Shabandar of the port by the Majapahit. She died in 1464.
[240] Arnold, T. *The Preaching of Islam* pp.380-2

Not much is known about *Sunan* Ampel's two sons: *Sunan* Drajat and *Sunan* Bonang. The former was active in the northern coast of eastern Java where he was buried in Paciran. The latter was a friend of *Sunan* Giri where they both as young men traveled together to Malacca with the intention of carrying on to Mecca for the pilgrimage. However, they were met in Malacca by *Maulana* Ishak, Giri's father, who asked them to return to Java where they should preach Islam.[241]

1-6-5: Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus

Sunan Kalijaga and *Sunan* Kudus both served at the Islamic sultanate of Demak as Qadi's; the former replaced the latter in the post. However, after the fall of Demak in 1546, Kalijaga became the main advisor to the princes of the rising Mataram dynasty in the interior of Java.[242] Kalijaga is described as a "sever lover of peace" which made him no threat to the monarchs.[243] In line with his personality, it is reported that he invented new unconventional methods to propagate Islam. According to Djajadiningrat, "Tradition speaks of … *Sunan* Kalijaga, as a saint who concealed his devoutness by making it appear as if he were not leading a pious life. In order to spread Islam he made use of the *wayang*, the shadow play performed with leather puppets representing figures from the Hindu epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. Performances were accompanied by the gamelan, an orchestra of copper and wooden percussion instruments, drums, a flute, and a two-stringed instrument. *Sunan* Kalijaga was an excellent performer of these plays based on the Hindu epics, and as a reward for a performance he did not ask for anything but that the audience should repeat after him the Islamic creed. Thus he easily led many along the road to Islam".[244]

Sunan Kudus was the youngest of the *wali* group and was also a rich merchant. After the death of Sultan Trenggana (r. 1521-46) of Demak, he witnessed the rivalry for the throne that ensued. *Sunan* Kudus was known as the intelligent *wali* and for his ability to speak and preach well. He also was known for his tolerance; one example told is that he would let the cows munch the trees planted in the mosque freely because cows were still considered sacred by the new converts.[245] Contrary to this picture, the *Semarang annals* reports that *Sunan* Kudus was known for his strict orthodoxy! [246]

1-6-6: Sunan Gunung Jati

The last of the *wali sanga* is *Sunan* Gunung Jati, so named after the locality where he is buried in near Ceribon. Gunung Jati was a native of Pasai. When the city fell to the Portuguese in 1521, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, but upon his return the Portuguese had impeded all efforts to teach Islam. Gunung Jati decided to move to Demak where he was welcomed by the third sultan of the Islamic kingdom of Demak.[247] Djajadiningrat further explains that "He was well received, not only as a scholar who had studied in Mecca but also because he was, according to tradition, a *Sharif*—a descendant of the

[241] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* pp.160-1.
[242] Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," pp.146-7.
[243] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* pp.163-4.
[244] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.378.
[245] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa* pp.22-3.
[246] Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* p.112. Unfortunately not very much is known of this sunan.
[247] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.377.

Prophet, [and that] he was even given a sister of the sultan in marriage".[248] On basis of his great esteem, Gunung Jati was assigned by the King of Demak the hard task of converting the western parts of Java, a task that brought him in direct confrontation with the Portuguese. In west Java, he succeeded very rapidly, and by 1526 had founded the principality of Banten which recognized the sovereignty of Demak.[249] However, in 1546 the sultanate of Demak disintegrated and many principalities gained autonomy; amongst which was Banten. Gunung Jati succeeded in subduing Cirebon[250] to which he moved in 1550. Gunung Jati ruled from Cirebon till 1570 and his successors till 1680 when the royal house was branched into three main groups.[251]

1-7: The End of the Arab and Muslim Monopoly: The Arrival of the Portuguese

It is no coincidence that in the year 1500, nine years before the Portuguese naval campaign to the Indian Ocean was dispatched, a Portuguese named Duarte Barbosa was living in India till 1516. His task in India requires no comments. However, what concerns us here is his report on the conditions prevailing in the Indian ports. He wrote: "the Moors of this Kingdom (Cambay) are foreigners from many lands, 'scilicet' Turks, Mamluks, Arabs, Persians, Coraçanos and Targimoes; and these gather together many ships of these folk, for that the land is rich and well furnished, and they receive good wages from the king. ... In the kingdom of Malabar there are many other foreign Moors as well in the town of Calicut, who are called Pardesis, Arabs, Persians, Gujeratis. ... As the trade of this country is very large, they gathered here in great numbers. They sail everywhere with goods of many kinds. ... In the days of their prosperity in trade and navigation they built in the city keeled ships of a thousand and a thousand. ... In the Kingdom of Bengala dwell as well strangers from many lands, such as Arabs, Persians, Abexis. ... All of these are great merchants and they possess great ships after the fashion of Mecca; other there are from China which they call 'juncos', which are of great size and carry great cargoes. With these they sail to Coromandel, Malacca, Camatra, Pegu, Cambaya and Ceylan and deal in goods of many sorts with this country and many others."[252] Reading this report together with earlier quoted accounts by Tome Pires about the situation in the Malayan ports, we can build a good picture of the extent to which the Arab and Muslim merchants dominated the Indian Ocean trade.

Despite the fact that the spice route was frequented by ships of four different sea powers (Egyptian, Indian, Malay, and Chinese) before the arrival of the Portuguese, the Indian Ocean maritime route, as described by Abu-Lughod, was peaceful and tolerant. She explains that "just as trade caravans were granted a mutually beneficial immunity from plunder on land, so apparently, sea traders from a variety of provenances respected the ships of others and, indeed, often carried the goods and passengers of each other. … Merchants did not usually depend, as did the Italians, on state-armed convoys to guard their passage. Ships tended to travel together, but mostly for mutual assistance and

[248] Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," p.377.
[249] Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," p.133.
[250] This locality was inhabited mainly by the Chinese. Graaf, H. J. de. and Pigeaud, T. G. eds. and trs. *Chinese Muslims in Java* p.130.
[251] Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," p.143.
[252] Quotation from Di Meglio, R. "Arab Trade with Indonesia," pp.120-1.

because propitious sailing times were so strictly limited by the monsoon winds on which all, regardless of ethnicity, depended". [253] The arrival of the Portuguese as a new force in the area marked the beginning of new trading rules. Abu-Lughod demonstrates that "On land, they forced a series of treaties that essentially gave them [the Portuguese] the right to buy products at below market prices and at sea they instituted a violently enforced pass system that required Asian vessels to purchase a Portuguese 'permit'".[254] Albuquerque was the mastermind behind the Portuguese interest in the Indian Ocean. His plan was simply to capture the key ports of the spice route and thus disrupting the Muslim network. In his years of service (1509-1515), Albuquerque captured Goa in 1510 where the Muslim fleet was defeated at the island of Diu. In 1511 Malacca was in his hands, and by 1515 he had dominated the Persian Gulf by occupying Hormuz which controlled its entrance.[255]

The consequence of the arrival of the Portuguese, however, was not the total disruption of the Muslim network as hoped by Albuquerque but as phrased by Abu-Lughod, the Portuguese instigated "a radical restructuring" of the commercial ports across the Indian Ocean.[256] The impact was heavily felt in Southern India; "Once the Portuguese channelled most of the trade to the ports of Cochin and Goa over which they [the Portuguese] exercised exclusive control, the remaining ports of India were reduced to secondary stature contingent on Portuguese sufferance. By the eighteenth century, an English visitor described Calicut as a modest fishing village of low leaf-thatched huts, although it was still the primary metropolis of Malabar in which remnants of the Indianized Muslim merchant community continued to exploit a dying trade, albeit under the heels of European hegemony".[257] Speaking of Cairo, Abu-Lughod summarizes the consequences as follows: ""Egypt's strategic position between the middle (Mediterranean) and green (South China) seas, coupled with her ability to defend that link from European ambitions, assured her continued importance even after her productive economy fell victim to depopulation, an oppressively extractive feudal system dominated by an alien militaristic elite [the Mamluks], and ultimately the loss of her Levantine empire occasioned by Tamerlane's incursions. Thus, in the long run, the undermining of her indigenous economy proved less important than her incapacity to control this key route of international trade. Although she and her primary trading partner, Venice, managed to hold their joint monopoly throughout the fifteenth century, neither survived the decline in that route. The circumnavigation of Africa by Vasco da Gama proved to be the undoing of both. In July 1497 da Gama set sail from Portugal, eventually rounding the Cape and attacking Arab settlements at Malindi, Kilwa, Zanzibar, and Mombasa on the east African coast. He then struck out across the open seas to Calicut. "Following upon da Gama's second expedition of 1502, the Portuguese made the important policy decision that they would block the Red Sea to Muslim shipping". … Soon afterward, the Portuguese attacked the seaports on the Persian Gulf. The Muslim sultan of Gujarat, the ruler of Yemen, and the Hindu head of Calicut all appealed to the Mamluks to defend them against the Portuguese, but the Egyptian fleet

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[253] Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* p.275.
[254] Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* p.276.
[255] Andaya, B. W. and Andaya, L. Y. *A History of Malaysia* p.56.
[256] Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* p.276.
[257] Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* p.276.

was soundly defeated in the Arabian sea. Egypt's economy received a serious blow when, with this act, the India trade upon which she had become singularly dependent was thus cut off. Her conquest by the Ottoman Turks in 1516 sealed her defeat".[258] Abu-Lughod's statement should not lead to the idea that Egypt as a geographic location was defeated; it was the "oppressively extractive feudal system" and the "alien militaristic elite" who were actually removed from the scene. After the Ottoman conquest, Egypt's location remained an important gateway for the lucrative Southeast Asian markets. Despite the fact that Cairo no longer was a capital of a once illustrated dynasty, it was a very important city on the route to the capital of the rising Ottoman Caliphate; this meant that merchants and goods on their way to Istanbul or the Mediterranean traveled via Cairo. In spite of the fact that the surplus of such trade once pouring into the treasuries of the Mamluk sultans was then diverted to Turkey; still Cairo could carve out a share from the profits, if not directly by taxing the goods, then, at least, indirectly by the activities involved and services that were offered by Cairene middlemen to the ongoing business. The Red Sea, in fact, proved to be the sole reliable route to Southeast Asia for the Muslims till the 17th century for two reasons; first, The Portuguese were already dominating the Persian Gulf, at the beginning of the 16th century and therefore the overland route from Basra to the Mediterranean was of no use. Second, growing hostility between the Ottomans and the Safavids in Iran, which reached its culmination during the reign of Shah 'Abbas (r.1588-1629), barred the Ottomans from using the overland Silk route that went from Tabriz to Erzurum.[259]

After 1516, The Ottomans replaced the Mamluks in Egypt and therefore inherited the responsibility of defending the vital maritime route that passed through, what was considered, Muslim waters; this meant confrontation with the Portuguese. For the Portuguese however, Mamluks or Ottomans ruling in Egypt did not mean any considerable change; the Southeast Asian trade was still partially in Muslim Hands.[260] According to Reid, "The first Turkish fleet was sent into the Indian Ocean to combat the Portuguese in 1538, and contacts were made with Aceh's crusading Sultan 'Al' ad-din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahar (1537-71). In 1566, probably not for the first time, al-Kahar sent an embassy to Istanbul to plead for military help, complaining that the Portuguese had sunk pilgrim ships taking Muslims to Mecca. Some Turkish ships, cannon, gunsmiths and soldiers were certainly sent to Aceh in 1568, and played a role in Acehnese attacks on Portuguese Malacca in 1568 and 1570".[261]

In Southeast Asia, after the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1519, the Malay kingdoms demonstrated greater flexibility and mobility in adapting to the new rules that were enforced by the Portuguese, thus the fall of one location meant the appearance of another elsewhere: Aceh instead of Malacca for example. The Portuguese trading

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[258] Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* p.243.
[259] Rogers, M. "Chinese-Iranian Relations: In the Safavid Period," p.436.
[260] According to Reid, A. "Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict," p.42. "Portugal and Spain forged their national identities by crusading against the 'Moros' (Moroccan Muslims) who had built an Islamic civilization in Andalusia, in Spain. Their discovery of sea routes to Southeast Asia was a continuation of that long crusade. By taking the spice trade to Europe, and out of the hands of the Muslims, they hoped to go on serving God (as they saw it) and themselves at the same time. They would also strike a blow in the vulnerable rear of Ottoman Turkey, which had emerged as the great Muslim threat to Catholic Europe".
[261] Reid, A. "Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict," p.42.

behaviors were harsh, unfair, and violent.[262] Therefore, the Malacca strait, which was under Portuguese naval control, was avoided and instead, ships were sailing through the Sunda strait and along the southern coast of Sumatra. This gave strategic importance to the western tip of Java where the sultanate of Banten was established and flourished, and to the western most point of Sumatra where Aceh was located. By the 1530s Large Arab, Guajarati, and Acehnese ships were disembarking Aceh and were sailing directly across the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea,[263] thus avoiding calling at Indian ports that were under strict Portuguese control. The Portuguese policy of levying taxes on ships did not work efficiently; more pepper was being shipped through the Red Sea to Europe than the quantity that was going all the way around Africa to Portugal.[264] As Lapian summarizes, “Portuguese Malacca, to a certain extent, had a flourishing market, but it never could control the Archipelago's trade and shipping. Aceh and Johor in particular became serious competitors, and further south the sultanate of Banten was growing in importance”.[265]

The impact of the Portuguese hegemony was not confined to the commercial and political levels, but their impact was also decisive on the level of religion. The Portuguese policies polarized the Archipelago into two conflicting poles: Muslims and Christians. As Reid explains, “Portuguese attacks on Muslim shipping and ports in the Malacca Straits and surrounding waters led to a coalition among the different sultanates in the region who united to repel the Christian threat. The establishment of the aggressively anti-Portuguese sultanates of Aceh (North Sumatra) and Banten (West Java) in the 1520s was a direct response to Portuguese attempts to dominate the weaker small ports in these regions. In Maluku, where the Portuguese pioneers of 1512 were warmly welcomed as allies in the frequent, petty wars of the region, the conflicts between rival federations of villages gradually assumed the character of religious wars between supporters of the Portuguese, who often became Catholic, and supporters of the Malay and Javanese traders, who just as frequently became Muslim. … This crusading mentality on both sides transformed Southeast Asian kings who happened to be Muslims into sultans for whom Islam was the principal test of loyalty. Internally too they sought to ensure Islamic observance, since non-Muslims were perceived as potential allies of the Portuguese enemy. All over the Archipelago sharper lines began to be drawn between Islam and its enemies.”[266]

Towards the End of the 16th century, Portuguese force was declining; they lost control over the spice Archipelago of Maluku in 1575 to a local Sultan, and by the middle of the 17th century, precisely in 1641, they had lost their base in Malacca to the Dutch.[267]

To conclude for this section I will quote Albuquerque’s own words to his soldiers on the eve of his second and successful battle with the Malacca sultanate. His speech

[262] Abu-Lughod *Before European Hegemony* p.276. She Quotes Das Gupta , A. *Malabar in Asian Trade: 1740-1800* (Cambridge, 1967), in saying that the Arab merchants of Calicut considered the Portuguese as pirates and not merchants.
[263] Reid, A. “Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict,” p.42.
[264] Risso, *Merchants* pp.94-5 The Dutch and the British were able to control the spice trade by founding great companies like the Dutch VOC and the British East India Company that monopolized the products at their sources of production and not by taxing the passing ships as did the Portuguese.
[265] Lapian, A. “Portuguese and Spanish Influence,” p.40.
[266] Reid, A. “Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict,” pp.42-3.
[267] Lapian, A. “Portuguese and Spanish Influence,” p.40.

summarizes the Portuguese intentions for their campaign and tells us how prominent Cairo was at the time and how trade was a decisive factor in policy making. He spoke:

> "Sirs, you will have no difficulty in remembering that when we decided upon attacking this city, it was with the determination of building a fortress within it, for so it appeared to all to be necessary, and after having captured it I was unwilling to let slip the possession of it, yet, because ye all advised me to do so, I left it, and withdrew; but being ready, as you see, to put my hands upon it again once more, I learned that you had already changed your opinion: now this cannot be because the Moors have destroyed the best part of us, but on account of my sins, which merit the failure of accomplishing this undertaking in the way that I had desired. And, inasmuch as my will and determination is, as long as I am Governor of India, neither to fight nor to hazard men on land, except in those parts wherein I must build a fortress to maintain them, as I have already told you before this, I desire you earnestly, of your goodness, although you all have already agreed upon what is to be done, to freely give me again your opinions in writing as to what I ought to do; for inasmuch as I have to give an account of these matters and a Justification of my proceedings to the King D. Manuel, our Lord, I am unwilling to be left alone to bear the blame of them; and although there be many reasons which I could allege in favor of our taking this city and building a fortress therein to maintain possession of it, two only will I mention to you, on this occasion, as tending to point out wherefore you ought not to turn back from what you have agreed upon. The first is the great service which we shall perform to Our Lord in casting the Moors out of this country, and quenching the fire of this sect of Mafamede so that it may never burst out again hereafter; and I am so sanguine as to hope for this from our undertaking, that if we can only achieve the task before us, it will result in the Moors resigning India altogether to our rule, for the greater part of them—or perhaps all of them—live upon the trade of this country and are become great and rich, and lords of extensive treasures. It is, too, well worthy of belief that as the King of Malacca, who has already once been discomfited and had proof of our strength, with no hope of obtaining any succor from any other quarter—sixteen days having already elapsed since this took place—makes no endeavor to negotiate with us for the security of his estate, Our Lord is blinding his judgment and hardening his heart, and desires the completion of this affair Malacca: for when we were committing ourselves to the business of cruising in the Straits (of the Red Sea) where the King of Portugal had often ordered me to go (for it was there that Highness considered we could cut down the commerce which the Moors of Cairo, of Mecca, and of Jeddah, carry on with these par Our Lord for his service thought right to lead us hither, for when Malacca is taken the places on the Straits must be shut up, a they will never more be able to introduce their spiceries into those places.

And the other reason is the additional service which we shall render to the King D. Manuel in taking this city, because it is the headquarters of all the spiceries and drugs which the Moors carry every year hence to the Straits without our being able to prevent them from so doing; but if we deprive them of this their ancient market there, there does not remain for them a single port, nor a single situation, so commodious in the whole of these parts, where they can carry on their trade in these things. For after we were in possession of the pepper of Malabar, never more did any reach Cairo, except that which the Moors carried thither from these parts, and forty or fifty ships, which sail hence every year laden with all sorts of spiceries bound to Mecca, cannot be stopped without great expense and large fleets, which must necessarily cruise about continually in the offing of Cape Comorim; and the pepper of Malabar, of which they may hope to get some portion because they have the King of Calicut on their side, is in our hands, under the eyes of the Governor of India, from whom the Moors cannot carry off so much with impunity as they hope to do; and I hold it as very certain that if we take this trade of Malacca away out of their hands, Cairo and Mecca are entirely ruined, and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal.

But if you are of opinion that, because Malacca is a large city and very populous, it will give us much trouble to maintain possession of it, no such doubts as these ought to arise, for when once the city is gained, all the rest of the Kingdom is of so little account that the King has not a single place left where he can rally his forces; and if you dread lest by taking the city we be involved in great expenses, and on account of the season of the year there be no place where our men and our fleet can be recruited, I trust in God's mercy that when Malacca is held in subjection to our dominion by a strong fortress, provided that the Kings of Portugal appoint thereto those who are well experienced as Governors and Managers of the Revenues, the taxes of the land will pay all the expenses which may arise in the administration of the city; and if the merchants who are wont to resort thither—accustomed as they are to live under the tyrannical yoke of the Malays—experience a taste of our just dealing, truthfulness, frankness, and mildness, and come to know of the instructions of the King D. Manuel, our Lord wherein he commands that all his subjects in these parts be very well treated, I venture to affirm that they will all return and take up their abode in the city again, yea, and build the walls of their houses with gold; and all these matters which here I lay before you may be secured to us by this half-turn of the key, which is that we build a fortress in this city of Malacca and sustain it, and that this land be brought under the dominion of the Portuguese, and the King D. Manuel be styled true king thereof, and therefore I desire you of your kindness to consider

seriously the enterprise that ye have in hand, and not to leave it to fall to the ground".[268]

[268] Quotation from Birch, W. de G. ed. and tr. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque* pp.116-9.

Chapter 2:

The Selected Monuments: A Descriptive Catalogue

2-1: Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to convey to the reader the essence of the Javanese mosques concerned by this study in a descriptive method, it will therefore not address the hypothesis of the dissertation; analysis and comparison are postponed to chapter three. Nevertheless, commentary will be provided for clarification where needed. Factual information is the main emphasis here; however legends and common believes will also be reported wherever related.

2-1-1: The Selected Monuments of this Study

The mosques and shrines of this study are selected because they represent the earliest surviving examples. The monument as a whole is not necessarily authentic; when original parts are found, the monument still qualifies. It is physically impossible for wooden structures to survive intact for a period of 400 years taking into consideration the characteristics of wood as the building material and the humid weather of Southeast Asia which utterly speeds the process of decay. The monuments underwent several recorded and unrecorded restorations and renovations. The total renewal of a building or of some of its components such as wood carvings or decorations would discard the part from this study. However, restorations or renovations that have respected the original designs or replaced members are accepted. Careful examination of several old photos and restoration reports is decisive in accepting or rejecting the renovated parts. In many cases, eye examination of the building would discriminate original parts from later additions. In other incidents archeological reports proved valuable, especially for parts of the building that are hidden such as the foundations or are already relatively old to be simply judged by sight.

2-1-2: Description Method

For each monument the following order of writing will be observed: First the location of the site will be clearly determined. Second the overall site order will be briefed. Then a more detailed description of the site elements such as gates, courtyards, and auxiliary buildings as one proceeds from the main entrance towards the prime attraction of the site it being the prayer hall or the mausoleum of the saint. Subsequently the main building will be described in terms of its ground plan, facades, structure system, and interior. After that, decoration elements and inscriptions will be described and read. Lastly the date and patron of the monument will be discussed in light of the preceding inscriptions if present, or in local recorded histories, or in terms of associated legends when no other proof exists.

2-2: The Monuments

2-2-1: The Great Mosque of Demak

2-2-1-1: Location and Brief History

Demak is a small town located approximately 25 Km to the Northeast of Semarang on the northern coast of Central Java. In the 15th century, the town was much closer to the coast and functioned as a sea port [1] **[Figure 2.1].**

[1] O'Neill, "Southeast Asia," p.234.

The town's history is intertwined with that of the *wali sanga*, the spread of Islam in Java, and the fall of the Majapahit kingdom as narrated in chapter one. In spite of the city's small size, it is of great importance to the Indonesian Muslims who compare its significance to Karbala for the Shi'ite or Mecca for the Sunnis.[2]

The name Demak is of obscure origin, however three possibilities have been suggested: first form the Arabic "dhi ma'" (ذي ماء) which means a place with abundant water. Second from the Jawi word "Damak", which means a reward; this is possibly due to the fact that this land was given to Raden Patah by King Prabu Brawijaya V (r.1468 - 1478) as a fief.[3] And the third possibility is that it might have originated from Sanskrit "Delamak", which means a forest. This last interpretation seems to agree with the local name "Gelagah" [4] meaning a wood or small forest; the mosque is believed to have started as an Islamic school, in an area that was called Gelagah Wangi, from which people like Sunan Ampeldente of Surabaya graduated.[5]

The large square *alun-alun* is the center of the town. The usual mosque-palace- market place balance was preserved. The Mosque occupies the customary western edge, the palace is on the southern side, and the market place is to the north **[Figure 2.2].**

2-2-1-2: The Overall Plan

The premises of this complex is roughly a square with the eastern side slightly longer than the western edge which makes it more to a trapezoid than an actual square. The main authentic features are the mosque and the cemetery. The mosque in terms of its size and use is, no doubt, a congregational one. It is however, incorrectly oriented East-west, it should be seven degrees north of the west to truly face the *qibla*. This mistake can be due to either a miscalculation of the direction of Mecca, or the mosque was deliberately aligned with the Alun-alun it overlooks. Worth mentioning is that the ideal Majapahit planning would had been North-South or mountain-sea aligned.[6]

The mosque is placed at the center of the site preceded by a rectangular *serambi* on its eastern side. The areas to the west and northwest are used as a necropolis. Some auxiliary buildings have been added to the site in the course of time, but were not actually part of the original architectural program **[Figure 2.3]**.

The site currently lacks the monumental Hindu-Javanese entrances; a modest central entrance is now in use, however an early photograph of the mosque shows a two pillar gate topped by a triangular lintel next to a big building entrance that recalls the Indian *darwazah* gateways[7] **[Figure 2.4]**. A second gate for the cemetery is not verified, however, Ismudiyanto and Atmadi suggest that there was another less important entrance for the cemetery.[8] Drawings by the Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage show that other gates on the northern and southern sides of the complex were in use by the inhabitants of the adjacent residential quarters **[Figure 2.5]**.

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[2] Prijohoetomo, "De Betekenis van Demak voor den Islam," p.263.
[3] Andy Baharuddin M. "Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah," p.64.
[4] Prijohoetomo, "De Betekenis van Demak voor den Islam," p.262.
[5] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* p.14-15. Ismadiyanto and Atmadi agree that Demak started from a small forest or wood, however they do not quote the name gelagah wangi. See Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p15.
[6] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid* p.507.
[7] The photo is dated 1845. See Anonymous, *Masdjid dan makam doenia Islam* (Weltevreden, Balai Poestaka, 1927). P.14.
[8] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.33.

Worth noting is that the minaret currently placed next to the central entrance is a modern structure that was added in 1924 [9] **[Figure 2.6].**

From the main entrance to the *serambi* is a relatively short distance. To the right of this pathway is a water basin, which is believed to belong to the mosque's early elements [10] **[Figure 2.3].**

2-2-1-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-1-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi
Plan: [Figure 2.8]
The *serambi* preceding the prayer hall is an open-air covered rectangle that measures approximately 28.90 x 12.29 meters.[11] To its west is the prayer hall with a square plan measuring 24.82 x 24.75 m.[12] This area is covered by a three tier pyramidal roof. In addition, a portico goes around the prayer hall on the northern, western, and southern sides. The eastern side was also treated similarly; however, this portico was later extended to form the current *serambi.*[13]

The mosque originally had three doors on its eastern side, one on the northern, and another on the southern. The northern and southern doors are placed close to the eastern side of the building. Two of the original doors are on display at the mosque's museum[14] **[Figures 2.22 and 2.23].** Although the mosque has several windows today, the paintings of the Jakarta Archeology bureau referred to in footnote 13 of this section, show that the mosque did not have any fenestration in the walls[15] **[Figure 2.9].**

Elevations:
The current elevations do not reflect those of the early phases. However, in all cases the façades were always determined by the dominant three tier roof, the single bay portico that encicles the building on the outside, the lack of windows, and the protruding *mihrab* on the western side **[Figures 2.10]**.

Structure System:

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[9] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.62. The author also mentions that the mosque had an original wooden minaret that was replaced by the current steel and aluminum one in 1924.
[10] Andy Baharuddin M. "Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah," p.68-70 He mentions that it was used to test the braveness of military candidates. Nasir shows it on his plan of the mosque [Figure 2.3] but the Drawing by the Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage does not [figure 2.5].
[11] Measurements according to drawings by Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage.
[12] Measurements according to drawings by Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage.
[13] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.284. Two old paintings, which depict the mosque's eastern and northern facades in the early 19th century show the mosque to have a one bay portico all around. Reproductions of these two paintings are on display at the mosque's museum. The originals are in the collections of the Jakarta Archaeology Bureau (Dines Purbakla). One of the paintings was published by Graaf in his article "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.V.
[14] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.283.
[15] According to a model representing the mosque in the mid 19th century which is kept in the mosque's museum, two windows existed between the three doors of the eastern façade, and two others; one in the middle of the southern façade and the other in the middle of the northern side were inserted.

The roof of the *serambi* is supported by means of eight internal columns and 28 others distributed on the periphery. The former are called the Majapahit columns and display Majapahit artistic motifs and appearance, while the latter are a modern replacement of some earlier originals. It is claimed that the so called Majapahit columns were *spolia* from the waning Majapahit kingdom[16] or by other accounts a present from Raja Prabu Brawijaya V (r. 1468 - 1478) [17] **[Figure 2.11]**.

The Prayer Hall roof is supported by means of four central columns that support the upper most tier. The lower two roofs are supported by means of 12 columns that are arranged around the central four. An external portico, on the western, northern, and southern sides, is created by extending the lowest roof tier beyond the side walls and supporting it on a row of columns placed at the edges.

The central columns are called the *soko guru* and are widely believed to be erected by the *wali sanga*.[18] The current columns are not authentic; however the original wooden ones are still treasured in the mosque and are on display at the museum[19] which is located inside the site to the north of the prayer hall **[Figure 2.12]**. The *soko guru*, as labeled by the museum, are 16.30 meters tall, which is also confirmed by the reconstruction drawings of the Indonesian Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage.[20] A false ceiling that was added in 1848, unfortunately, does not allow full view to the end of the roof from the inside[21] **[Figure 2.13]**.

The four columns of the northern and southern rows are connected by means of walls which are pierced by three arches. The arches display a ship keel profile that is corbelled at the spring level **[Figure 2.13]**.

The Interior:

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[16] Raffles, *The History of Java* vol.2 p.245; Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* p.33 and Ali, *Islamic Art* pp.290-2.

[17] Andy Baharuddin M. “Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah,” p.68-70.

[18] Legend has it that the *sunan*s contributed in the building of the mosque. Three columns were secured however a fourth failed. According to the local traditions, it was Sunan Kalijaga who came up with the miraculous fourth column which he assembled from small pieces of wood. This column was called the *soko tatal*. See Ali, *Islamic Art* p.287 and Djajadiingrat, “Islam in Indonesia,” p.378, O’Niell, “Southeast Asia,” p.234. In *the Chinese Annals of Semarang* as examined in Graaf and Pigeaud’s *Chinese Muslims* pp.28-9, in 1481, “at the request of the workers of the shipyard, Gan Si Gang respectfully asked Kin San's permission for the non-Muslim Chinese community of Semarang to achieve merit by cooperating in the completion of the building of the Great Mosque in Demak. Jin Bun gave his consent.” According to the side comments that were assigned to the original Chinese manuscript, “The wooden constructions of the Great Mosque of Demak were the work of Chinese carpenters who had an inherited knowledge of shipbuilding techniques for ten centuries. It is a fact that the great pillar, called *saka tatal*, is made according to the method of construction of a ship’s mast applied in China during the Ming Dynasty, that is to say, it was made from pieces of wood which were put together with the utmost precision. It was very flexible and strong enough to withstand typhoons on the high seas.” Graaf and Pigeaud consider this as a high possibility. Graff and Pigeaud, *Chinese Muslims* pp.98-9.

[19] This is a very interesting small museum which treasures many authentic items for example, according to Andy Baharuddin M. “Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah,” p.68-70 The drum is original so are the water jars that were a present from the mother of Raden Patah.

[20] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.283. Others report that height to be 22 meters. See O’Neill, “Southeast Asia,” p. 234 and Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.508. The mosque *mustaka* certainly reaches that height, but not the *soko guru*.

[21] O’Neill, “Southeast Asia,” p.233.

Apart from The four *soko guru*, which are the main element that dominate the interior, three other features are of interest in spite of the recent renovation of the space: the *mihrab*, the *minbar*, and the *maqsura*.

The *mihrab* is a rectangular recess in the western wall about one and a half meters wide and two meters high. The niche protrudes externally from the mosque and can be seen from the outside. The niche is large enough to accommodate the *Imam* while leading the congregation behind him during prayers **[Figure 2.15]**.

The *maqsura* **[Figure 2.16]**, on the right hand side of the *mihrab*, is a small closed wooden pavilion reserved for the Sultan or may be his *Adiapati*. The wooden sides are all carved and a frieze of cartouches, filled by Quranic verses, encircles it just below the roof. The *maqsura*, according to its inscription, was executed in the second half of the 19th century during the reign of sultan Tumenggung Pubaningrat [22] (r.1864-81).

The *minbar* **[Figures 2.17a-c],** which is placed inside a wood and glass encasement, is located, following the usual custom, to the right of the *mihrab*. The current *minbar* seems to be a later replacement of an earlier original. However, interestingly, the *minbar* is executed of carved wood in a local Javanese fashion. Three steps lead to a seat where the *imam* can sit during prayer-recess intervals. The front side is determined by two posts connected from above by an Indian *Makara* lintel, which forms an archway whose keystone position is occupied by a Surya Majapahit (Majapahit sun motif). Two lions are placed at the bases of the posts with their backs against the *minbar*, and the faces towards the prayer hall. Two similar posts on the back side form a similar composition, however; they are shorter in height and thus accentuate the prominence of the front archway. Two undulating carved wooden armrests connect the front and rear archways. The lower most step encircles the entire *minbar* and forms a protruding base above which rest two rectangular panels topped by a single one that forms the side of the *minbar*-seat. The rectangular panels in turn, are filled by decorated hexagons.

2-2-1-3-2: The Necropolis

The cemetery is located to the west and northwest of the prayer hall. The oldest cenotaphs are to be found in the northwestern part where the founders of Demak are buried. Their cenotaphs are seen in open air and do not lie under any special building. The current *cungkup* that dominates the western part of the necropolis is of a later date and houses the tombs of following sultans. The roof of which, although, is of the *tajug* type, was executed only two tiers in height in order not to compete with that of the mosque **[Figure 2.18].**

2-2-1-4: Decoration and Inscriptions

Decoration seems not to have been of prime concern; it was applied seldom and when used, seems to have been simple and intended for conveying a message. Decoration is confined to: the *mihrab*, the insertion of tiles into the walls, and the use of carved wooden doors for the prayer hall.

The *Mihrab*:

[22] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak*, p.51 the museum caption says in 1866, 1287 Hijra, but if we are to accept the Gregorian date as correct, then the Hijri date is 5 years too late.

Although the current, all tiled, *mihrab* does not merit any comment **[Figure 2.15]**, however, four decorative features are attributed to the early stages of this mosque; the Majapahit sun motif, circular interlaced medallions, flower like roundels that surmount the *mihrab* niche **[Figure 2.19]**, and the turtle silhouette carved in the back wall of the *mihrab* recess **[Figure 2.20]**. The Majapahit sun motif is a genuine feature.[23] It is commonly believed that it was placed there either to get support from Majapahit, or to please the new converts who still held admiration for the falling dynasty [24] **[Figure 2.19a].**

The turtle silhouette **[Figure 2.20]**, according to Haryadi, is a play of words: the turtle in Java can be called either "*bulus*", "*penyu*" or "*kura-kura*". The word *bulus* when divided into two syllables: bu - lus would mean "to enter gently," implying either the gentle conversion from one's religion to Islam, or to gentle enter into the mosque and change in one's attitude. *Penyu* can also mean "to ask" the silhouette of the turtle can be seen as a proselytizing person who is asking Allah for his needs. *Kura-kura*, in addition of being a local name for the turtle, rings like the Arabic *quria' al Quran*, which means "reading of the Quran"; this could simply be an invitation for worshippers to do so.[25] Furthermore, the turtle as a living creature has many characteristics: it is intelligent, lives long, amphibian (lives under all conditions), and moves close to the ground which makes it humble. This may be a way of invoking all these good values upon the worshippers at the mosque.[26]

<u>Tiles</u>

Vietnamese tiles from the 15th century [27] are used in the mosque, not only to decorate the *qibla* wall **[Figures 2.19 and 2.20],** but also the prayer hall's external walls. The tiles are in a variety of forms; circular, elongated, cross-like, and in a four petal shape, however they are all of the blue and white type. The decorative themes depicted by these tiles are confined to flowers in foliage and occasionally birds are seen in some **[Figures 2.21a-c]**.

<u>Prayer hall, Doors' Wooden Leaves</u>

These leaves are restored and currently on display at the mosque's museum. It is strongly believed that the door known as Pintu Bledeg, which is in two-leaves, was created by Ki Ageng Selo on orders from Raden Patah and is dated 1460 A.D. The door is deciphered as to represent two cultures: the top part depicts "makara-like beasts,"[28] which is derived from the Majapahit sphere, and the lower part shows a ceramic vase that originates from Champa [29] **[Figure 2.22]**. The other door is also two leaves and displays golden lotus flowers surrounded by spiraling stems and leaves on a red background [30] **[Figure 2.23].**

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[23] Andy Baharuddin M. "Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah," p.68-70.
[24] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* p.41.
[25] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak*, p.47-9.
[26] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* p.47-9.
[27] Guy, John "Ceramics: Local Innovation and External Trade," p.22. He also forwards beliefs that these tiles were taken from Majapahit sites. Also Richards, D. and Bennett, J. "Islamic Ceramics of Southeast Asia," p.238 and fig. no.157 p.240.
[28] O'Neil, "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," p.94. The museum captions date them six years later.
[29] Andy Baharuddin M. "Masjid Kuno Demak Jawa Tengah," p.68-70; also Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* p.36 but he mentions sultan Trenggana as the patron.
[30] The composition and the color scheme are no doubt Chinese. Similar decorations are found in Chinese mosques such as the Beijing Nue Jie and the Xian great mosque's *mihrab*.

2-2-1-5: Dating and Patron

The mosque is conceived as the oldest in Southeast Asia and is dated by a chronogram 1401 Saka which is the equivalent of 1479 A.D.[31] This means that the mosque was actually founded before the establishment of the Islamic principality of Demak. Nonetheless, the mosque started as a small prayer hall to which a *serambi* was later added and also a three tier pyramidal roof.[32]

However, not everybody seems to agree; an interesting idea is forwarded that the date of construction which is found in the mosque's doors, the 1401 Saka date, is the year when the mosque fell into ruins.[33] This leads to the possibility that it was re-built in 1504 by Arya Sumang who was a grandson of Raden Patah.[34] This argument is further strengthened by an account by Tome Pires that Raden Patah attended the inauguration of a new mosque in 1506.[35] Moreover, in spite of lacking a firm date for the action, enlargement of the mosque is attributed to sultan Trenggana of Demak (r.1521-46)**,**[36] which is the most likely phase in which the mosque acquired its current form.

Despite the disagreement on dating the mosque, what concerns us here most is that in spite of several restorations in the 19th and 20th centuries the mosque, more or less, still retains its original 16th century appearance.[37] The square plan was enlarged but the mosque always had a three tier roof.[38] And most important is that the prayer hall necropolis relationship remained unchanged. However, the mosque is said to have gained its *serambi* in 1845.[39]

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[31] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.280 and Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.2; Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* quotes the same Saka date but he equates it to the year 1466.
[32] Sumalyo, Arsitektur Mesjid p.507.
[33] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak*, pp.19-21.
[34] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid* p.507.
[35] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak*, p.12. For the dating of the mosque see Graaf and Pigeaud *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java* p.33.
[36] Ali, p.281 and Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.3
[37] O'Neill, "Southeast Asia," p.233. also Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.30.
[38] O'Neill, "Southeast Asia," p.228.
[39] Graaf, "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.2.

2-2-2: The Great Mosque of Cirebon

2-2-2-1: Location and Brief History

Cirebon is a located on the northern coast of Java roughly mid way between Jakarta and Semarang **[Figure 2.1]**. Cirebon gives a good picture of the 16th century Islamic city in Java; four palaces, a pleasure garden, a *masjid agung*, and a burial complex.[40] The city is the abode of the Sultan of Cirebon and is the final resting place of the Sultan's great grandfather Sunan Gunung Jati. The Masjid Agung, literally the great mosque, and the sultan's palace occupy the usual location around the city's large *alun-alun*; the mosque on the western side, and the palace on the southern **[Figure 2.24].** The mausoleum of the revered *Sunan* is placed on top of hill Sembang, which is five kilometers to the North of the city on the highway linking Cirebon with Jakarta. The area is also the burial place and cemetery of the sultan's predecessors and royal elite.

2-2-2-2: The Overall Plan

The site consists only of a mosque; a prayer hall and a *serambi*. The city's *alun-alun* is not oriented South-North, rather it is deviated approximately 25 degrees west of North. Therefore, in turn, the mosque could not be aligned with the square it overlooks, and was placed at an angle of 30 degrees relative to the *alun-alun*. The orientation was believed to be due to the *Sunan's* vision. However, the inclination angle, when measured lately with modern devices, was found to be relatively accurate.[41] The original mosque was a simple rectangle;[42] the three *serambis* and the high brick wall are later additions that were added to the mosque in the course of time from the 16th century.[43] The current fence parallel to the *alun-alun,* which is on the eastern side of the mosque, is pierced with three entrances: a central main entrance flanked by two narrower ones **[Figure 2.25b].**

2-2-2-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-2-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi

Plan [Figure 2.26]:

The drawings of the Indonesian "Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage" in 1988 display that the mosque originally had a rectangular fence that was parallel to the walls of the prayer hall and thus formed a rectangular courtyard **[Figure 2.26]**. This courtyard had two entrances; one narrow gate pierced its southeastern side, and a wider entrance, which was not formed by a door, but rather by stopping the wall at a distance before it reaches the northwestern corner. The ablutions pool is placed where the wall should have continued and actually acts as the door **[Figure 2.27 a and b]**. In other words, the ablutions pool works as a check point to ask if the person entering the mosque has performed his ritual washing or not. The presence of the pool, the size of this entrance, and its location on the side where the mosque neighbors the city houses, suggests that this was the common people's way into the premises. Furthermore, this entrance is perpendicular to the prayer hall and

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[40] Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.119.

[41] Dumarcay, J. and Smithies, M. *Cultural sites of Malaysia Singapore, and Indonesia* pp.49-50.

[42] Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.82.

[43] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.234 and Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.82 this should not be mistaken for the current wall which is even a later replacement. The older wall can be seen in a circa late 19th century photo published in *Masdjid dan Makam Doenia Islam* p.18 see [Fig. 2.25a]

thus allows the worshippers to enter through the narrow side entrances. In contrast, the smaller entrance, which is in the southeastern side, is aligned with the *qibla* axis, and invites people to enter from the *alun-alun* right into the prayer hall from its main entrance that faces the *mihrab*. This way into the mosque seems to have been preserved for royalty.[44]

Unlike the plans of classical Javanese mosque prayer halls, which are square in shape, the Cirebon mosque is rectangular; the longer side being that of the *qibla.*

The northwestern wall (the *qibla* wall) displays a protruding rectangle on the outer side. The inner part is a deep semi circular niche (1 meter wide and 2 meters deep) that forms the *qibla* proper.

Elevations:

The Mosque is sealed off from the surrounding streets by a high fence that does not reveal the mosque buildings or internal façades. The only elements visible from the outside are the roofs; that of the prayer hall being the highest. The hipped roof features a ridge rather than the usual Javanese pyramidal shape. O'Neil suggests this was intended so that the roof of the Masjid Agung does not compete with that of the *Langgar Alit* found in the Kasephuan palace.[45] The mosque roof also lacks the *memolo* or *mustaka* finial [46] **[Figure 2.28].**

From inside the enclosing walls, the *serambi* with all its columns, actually hides the prayer hall façades and make them less obvious. However, the northeastern wall has four openings centered between the structural columns: two doors at the far ends of the wall and two windows, which could also be used as doors, in the middle. The doors have flat lintels while the windows have stepped or sail-over arches on the outside and have flat lintels when seen from the interior **[Figure 2.29]**. Both the windows and the doors have wooden shutters. It is worth noting that cross-like openings are formed in the walls between the main openings to allow for more light and air into the internal space. The southwestern wall has a similar configuration however, it has only one door rather than two; the one that would have corresponded to the one next to the *qibla* wall in the opposite wall is missing. [47]

The northwestern façade is that of the *qibla* wall, which is unfortunately inaccessible. However, it could be gathered from the plan that the main feature for this façade is the protruding *mihrab* block.

The southeastern façade **[Figures 2.30-1]** is pierced with a two leaf door that is aligned with the *qibla* axis; this is the main entrance to the prayer hall. The door jambs are extended outwards to form a massive pillar. Stone, rather than masonry, is used for the pillars which further accentuates its importance. In addition, geometric and floral panels are used for decorating the capitals, shafts, and bases of the created pillars. Furthermore, the walls to the right and left of this doorway are also adorned with similar carved panels that further heighten the significance of this façade. In spite of the fact that the two elaborately carved wooden leafs of the doorway are a modern

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[44] Siddique, S. *Relics of the Past* p.100.

[45] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.234. I find this a far possibility because the Langgar Alit is a very small one pillar masjid that is more to an oratory rather than a mosque. Furthermore, the two roofs are not visually connected.

[46] Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.84 gives the account of it being broken and that sunan Kalijaga asked that it remain so otherwise bad luck will prevail!

[47] According to Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.82 the total is nine gates (one is currently missing) which represents the nine *walis*. Also Siddique, S. *Relics of the Past* p.100.

replacement, there is little doubt that the originals were also carved, which is a factor that indicates the significance of this entrance **[Figure 2.39].**

Structure System:

The construction system is, as usual, of wood. However, a 60 cm. thick brick and stone[48] wall that has no structural role, circumferences the outer columns and thus create the prayer hall proper. The column distribution system also influences the interior; a configuration in which five aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall and 3 bays parallel to it is used. The central bay is wider than the one before and that after. The impression in the interior is that the four central columns were planned structurally in order to achieve a central column-free space. It is also worth noting that the four central columns are bigger in diameter than all the others **[Figure 2.26]**.

The Interior:

The *mihrab* is the most remarkable feature of this mosque. It displays an arched niche guarded by two cylindrical engaged columns which in turn are flanked by two outer flat rectangular engaged ones **[Figure 2.32a-c]**. The niche recess is two meters deep and thus allows for the Imam to stand comfortably inside it. A three dimensional carved lotus hangs down from the ceiling of the niche and, according to the local traditions, is said to be made by *Sunan* Kalijaga [49] **[Figure 2.33].**

It is also worth mentioning that the prayer hall has a *minbar*. Although this is not he original *minbar* of the mosque, the style still deserves a comment. The theme follows that of Demak with the three steps leading to the Imam's seat. Four posts; two on the front and two on the back are also present and have *makara*-type arches at the top which forms an arched entrance. Following the usual practice, the wooden surfaces are carved in relief in many floral and foliage scenes [50] **[Figure 2.34a-c].**

2-2-2-4: Decoration

The *Mihrab*: [Figure 2.32a-c]

The composition of the *mihrab* is symmetrical; the right hand side is a mirror image of the left. The capital of the inner column is a closed lotus carved in the three dimensions. The middle section of the column shaft is decorated by a band carved in relief. The pattern consists of an upper line of arches and a lower line of inverted arches. The upper line is shifted half a pitch so that the beginning of one arch on the upper line would touch with the end point of an inverted arch on the lower line. The over all effect is a continuous wave motif **[Figure 2.32c]**. The column stands on a flat circular basis that did not receive any decoration.

The outer pilaster is carved in a flat manner. The section is rectangular rather than semi-circular. Here too, the capital is a closed lotus carved in relief but not three dimensional; so that it would match the pilaster it crowns **[Figure 2.32d]**. The lotus capital rests on a rectangular panel, the four sides of which are not straight lines. The intended design is no longer clear, however, flower petals can be seen carved on the edges as if they are coming from behind the panel; half the flower is seen leaning on the visible side while the remaining half hidden behind. The panel in turn rests on another rectangular panel which has an inverted arch on its lower edge. This panel is decorated in its upper half by what seems to be a lotus flower which is carved in

[48] Stone is only confined to the jambs of the main entrance and the *mihrab*; the rest is all built of bricks.
[49] Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.83.
[50] The importance of this *minb*ar, in spite of it being a replica, is the idea that many *minbars* show a similar configuration. See later in this Chapter the *minbar* of Sendang Duwur.

shallow relief. The bottom part however, seems to be the leaves and foliage of the upper lotus **[Figure 2.32d]**.

The inner and outer columns are connected by a frieze at the level of the lotus capital of the inner column and the first rectangular panel of the outer pillaster. Here too, the main theme is a multi petal lotus flower shallow relief in foliage.

The middle section of the pilaster shaft is also decorated by the same band, present in the inner columns. The band is placed at exactly the same height as that of the inner column. Although interrupted in reality, visually the band gives the illusion to be one strip that continues behind the segregating space **[Figure 2.32d]**.

The space between the inner column and the outer pilaster, at almost mid height, is decorated by a carved stone medalion. The panel depicts a group of geometric interlaced lines. However, it starts with straight lines and sharp angles at the center and the lines soften and become cursive as they move towards the outer edges **[Figure 2.32d]**. The panel definitely shows similarities with interlacing geometrical designs found in other places of the Islamic world where straight lines and sharp angles are usually the norm; here we have a combination of both; sharp edges that ultimately turn into soft curves.

The four columns bear an arched cornice that springs from the two inner columns and flattens where it reaches the two outer pilasters.[51] The top side of the cornice is decorated with a continuous band of what seems to be foliage **[Figure 2.32]**. The key stone position is adorned with a Surya sun motif topped by the meeting of the two foliage bands where they crate a triangle that accentuates the sun motif just below **[Figure 2.32a]**. The cornice forms volutes where it reaches the engaged columns' capitals. To the left and the right on the outer sides of the volutes, blank areas are created that look like blank Cartouches; one would only expect to find them filled with an inscription which they are not.

The Prayer Hall's Southeastern Façade: [Figure 2.30]

This elevation is the only decorated side of the prayer hall's four façades. The centrally placed entrance is also the one that has received all decorative efforts. The façade is symmetrical both vertically and horizontally. **[Figure 2.35]**

The door jambs display the use of rectangular panels placed at the capital and pedestal locations of the engaged pilaster composition of the jamb. Both panels have a central four-petal frame that is filled with a floral pattern **[Figure 2.36a]**. The central motif is a lotus that stems out of the lowest most petal of the frame. The three other frame petals are filled with three lotuses that stem from the central one and are contained by the thick lines of the frame. The four corner triangles that are formed by placing the four-petal frame inside a rectangular border are also filled with four lotus flowers that stem from the corners and seem to grow towards the central frame. If the central bouquet theme seems realistic with all the flowers oriented in an upward direction, the corners definitely appear decorative with the flowers defying the laws of nature. It is worth noting that the panels placed at the pedestals, although show a similar composition, are not well carved as those at the capitals **[Figure 2.36b]**.

The central shaft of the jamb is decorated by means of three square panels placed on the elevation and its two sides **[Figure 2.37a-b]**. The panel is a beautifully carved eight point straight-line interlaced geometrical figure that forms an outer smoothly curved four-petal frame.[52] The center is occupied by a small four petal

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[51] This composition is a stylized Kala-makara (see glossary) that will be explained in details in chapter three.

[52] This motif is known as the Chinese endless knot motif.

flower which is enclosed by a square, on the outer side of which a bigger flower is composed. A third flower, I believe, is intended by filling the spaces between the inner straight lines and the outer curved boundary with foliage.

Worth noting is that a variation of this theme is used for decorating the wall between the door leaves and the stone jambs. At the same height level of the previously discussed square panels, and because of space limitation, a compressed rectangular one is used. However, the idea of a central straight-line geometric motif that changes into an outer cursive border is still maintained. **[Figure 2.37a]**

On the walls flanking the central entrance portal, at the same height level of the previously mentioned square panels, decorative carvings are placed at certain intervals. Two themes can be seen: the first is the same used on the doorway jambs, and the second is the central four-petal border with the lotus flower bouquet seen in the rectangular panels of the capitals and pedestals. **[Figure 2.38a-c]**

Worth noting is that a frieze consisting of a horizontally bisected *Surya* Majapahit sun motif placed under an arch decorates the transitional area between the doorway jamb shafts and the capitals and the pedestals. Furthermore, this frieze extends outwards and runs across the flanking walls. **[Figure 2.37a]**

2-2-2-5: Dating and Patron

The mosque is locally known by the name Sang Cipta Rasa or Masjid Agung Pakungwati.[53]. A chronogram suggests that the mosque was built in 1500 A.D.[54] It is believed that three *walis* contributed to the construction of the mosque; Gunung Jati, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Kalijaga.[55] According to Ali, Sunan Drajat and Sunan Kudus also contributed to this project, as well as 200 workers from Demak headed by the Majapahit architect Raden Sepat.[56]

[53] Ambary, “Historical Monuments,” p.83 Pakungwati is the name of the earliest *kraton* said to be built by Sunan Gunung Jati in Cirebon. Some remains of this palace still exist behind the current Kasephuan karaton.

[54] O’Niel, “Southeast Asia,” p.234 and Ambary, “Historical Monuments,” p.83. However Ali, *Islamic Art* p.253, mentions the year 1480 as the founding year of the mosque.

[55] O’Niel, “Southeast Asia,” p.234

[56] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.252-3.

2-2-3: Masjid Panjunan, Cirebon.

2-2-3-1: Location

This *masjid* is a small neighborhood mosque located in what is locally known as the Arab quarter of Cirebon.[57] This is an old part of the town between jalan Bahagia and jalan Karanggetas **[Figure 2.40].** It is also believed that the area is locally called Panjunan after a so-called prince, who is credited for building a small mosque there.[58]

2-2-3-2: The Overall Plan

In its earliest recorded form, as drawn by Brakel and Massarik, this mosque consisted of a prayer hall, a *serambi*, and two side rooms placed one after the other along the *serambi* and prayer hall's southern sides. A drum was placed to the left of the premises' entrance **[Figure 2.41]**. However, the mosque currently hosts modern ablution facilities on its northern side and a minaret at the location where the drum once stood [59] **[Figure 2.42].** The two side rooms, as designated by Brakel and Massarik, were used as women prayer areas.[60] North of these two rooms is a space which is used as a burial chamber. One cenotaph can be seen from the eastern end of the space. The state of neglect in which this area is left, hints to the unimportance of the person/people buried there **[Figure 2.43]**.

2-2-3-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-3-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi

A brick wall circumferences the mosque premises with one opening on the eastern side.[61] A winged *candi bentar* gate is assigned to this opening. Although the gateway looks crude today, careful examination of the worn brick courses reveal that the wings were actually molded and earlier on must have looked more realistic **[Figure 2.44]**.

Plan: [Figure 2.45]

The *serambi* was added in 1940[62] during a major renovation phase that the mosque underwent.[63] In its earliest recorded form **[Figure 2.41],** it was almost square shaped and divided by two rows of four columns each into three aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall and five bays parallel to it. The two most inner columns are round like the prayer hall ones, while the rest are square in section. The round ones rest on cylindrical pedestals that Brakel and Massarik believe to represent a lotus.[64]

The *serambi* is closed by brick walls on three sides, approximately 2.5 meters high; [65] only the eastern side is left open. The western wall has a gateway that leads into the prayer hall. This entrance was originally of the Javanese paduraksa style,

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[57] Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.122.
[58] Abdurachman, Paramita R. "Interesting Places to Visit," p.174.
[59] The two authors actually mention the presence of ablution facilities that they did not include in their sketch of the mosque plan. However they refer to Oudheidkundig Veslag 1940, photos 46-8 which show the *wudu'* building.
[60] Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.124.
[61] A secondary entrance, which is walled up today, once existed in the southern wall near the southeastern intersection. This entrance is very short in terms of height and would not allow average men to pass underneath.
[62] This is not the current serambi.
[63] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.279.
[64] Brakel, and Massarik, "A note on the Panjunan Mosque," pp.124-6.
[65] Brakel, and Massarik, "A note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.122.

however two plastered pilasters and a winged arch was added to it at a later stage. The arch is in the Hindu-Javanese fashion; kala-makara arch flanked by *garuda* wings.[66]

The Prayer hall in its earliest recorded configuration was simply a square measuring approximately 9 x 9 m.[67]

Elevations:
The two tier roof is the most dominant feature. The façade's are simply plain except for a string of cross-like shaped fenestration; on two levels in the case of the *qibla* façade **[Figures 2.46-7].** The eastern elevation is the open air *serambi* and thus does not constitute a proper architectural façade. The *serambi* walls will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Structure System:
The structural system consists of five bays and an equal number of aisles due to the use of four rows of supports of four columns each. The 12 columns have a double octagon capital that Ali believes to be unique to this mosque [68] **[Figure 2.52].** The structural system supports a two tier pyramidal roof topped by a *mustaka* as seen from the outside **[Figures 2.46].**

The Interior:
The *qibla* wall is pierced with cross shaped openings that resemble those in the northern wall, however in the case of the *qibla* wall the openings are doubled by creating two series on two different levels. **[Figure 2.49]**

The *mihrab* is a vaulted recess that protrudes out of the *qibla* wall and is clearly seen on the outside. In the interior, the *mihrab* is formed by two plastered pilasters which support an arched mould. The *mihrab* is not overwhelmingly decorated, rather it displays very modest attempts; a floral motif is placed at the keystone location, a floral rhomboid panel inside the *qibla* niche, and two similar ones in the shafts of the two stucco pilasters. **[Figure 2.49]**

2-2-3-4: Decoration
<u>External Fence</u> **[Figures 2.50-1]**
The western fence wall was the only side that received great attention in terms of decoration. The brick courses were laid in a fashion to achieve a major structural rhythm indicated by the pillars that are placed at intervals and the coping that links them vertically, and the walls in-between. The pillars are obvious due to their masses. Furthermore, a brick *candi laras* is placed on top of each pillar, which further accentuates the verticality and the massiveness of these elements. The walls are divided into two horizontal tiers. The upper tier is recessed and is further divided vertically by smaller engaged pilasters. The spaces in-between are filled with brick panels that are in turn adorned with geometrical and floral motifs. Of special interest is the geometrical endless knot motif which is also found decorating the entrance of the Masjid Agung Cirebon **[Figure 2.37b]**. It is also worth noting that this wall was not only decorated on the outside, but on the inner-side as well **[Figure 2.51]**.

<u>*Serambi's* Western Wall</u>

[66] Brakel, and Massarik, "A note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.124.
[67] Brakel, and Massarik, "A note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.122.
[68] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.258-9.

The *serambi's* western wall was the one that received most attention in terms of decoration. Similar to the brick scheme used in the outer fence, a similar approach was used for this wall too, however in a finer and less bulky fashion.[69] Furthermore, Dutch and Chinese Chinaware[70] were inserted into the brick panels to create a more colorful and vivid appearance **[Figures 2.53a-c]**. The southern wall, too, was favored with some decorative touches none of which unfortunately exists today. In addition, the entire northern side, including the part inside the prayer hall was pierced by a string of cross-shaped openings that not only allow air and light inside the mosque, but are decorative in nature as well.

2-2-3-5: Dating and Patron

According to Brakel, and Massarik, on ornamental basis, it was declared younger than Sendang Duwur and therefore a 16th century was suggested. But the whole structure is not uniform; two building stages can be identified: the first was in the 16th century and encompassed the prayer hall the side room next to it and perhaps the drum. The second phase was in the late 17th early 18th centuries and it witnessed the addition of the *serambi* and the room adjacent to it and also the external walls, and the wall between the prayer hall and the *serambi.*[71]

The hypothesis as suggested by Brakel, and Massarik is that a grandson of Sunan Gunung Jati by the name of Pangeran Panjunan[72] started a rebellion and decided to found his own mosque. The argument is that local traditions are silent on the mosque, because this masjid was considered a break away from main stream support of the Agung mosque of Cirebon, but mentions the founder because of his royal descent. He was born around 1525 and therefore fits well with the 16th century foundation date for the mosque, and lastly, the Kratons of Cirebon eventually did acknowledge the Panjunan mosque and took care of it in 1678, because the founder, after all, was a descendent of the revered Sunan Gunung Jati.[73] On the Other hand, Zakariyya Ali does not give much weight to this story and believes that the mosque was a temporary structure while the Masjid Agung was being built.[74]

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[69] This wall does not date to the original building phase of the mosque; rather it was a later creation. The original wall, as recorded by Brakel and Massarik stood closer to the East, meaning that the *serambi* is now larger than its original plan and the prayer hall has become one bay smaller.

[70] According to Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.124, some of the china plates in the walls date back to the 17th century.

[71] Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.130.

[72] According to Siddique, S. *Relics of the Past* p.102, he was a pot seller who's original name was Abdul Rahman and originated from Baghdad.

[73] Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," pp.133-4.

[74] Ali, *Islamic Art* pp.262-70.

2-2-4: The Shrine of Sunan Drajat

2-2-4-1: Location

The mausoleum of this famous *sunan* is found in a village that also bears his name some 88 km. to the west from Surabaya near the town of Paciran, which is situated on the northern coastal road that links the east of Java with the central part of the island **[Figure 2.1]**. Drajat is a small village; its only attraction being the shrine. It lacks the huge *alun-alun* usually found in bigger Javanese cities. The village is a main pilgrimage spot where thousands of Indonesians head in order to pay their respect to the buried *wali*.

2-2-4-2: The Overall Plan

The shrine consists of a succession of six courtyards oriented in a slightly eastward tilted South-North direction. The layout design is simple and transparent; the mausoleum, although located in the last courtyard, still could be seen from the entrance and from the outside. High veiling walls are not used as space definers, rather see-through wooden fences and elevated ground levels. The shrine is part of a larger cemetery site with graves to its East and West **[Figure 2.54].** Currently, several other buildings have been added at the eastern side of the shrine to provide pilgrims with needed services. Also a new mosque has been built in place of the older original structure that must have decayed over the years. Of interest is the presence of a museum that displays old items and wooden members that have survived from the original buildings.

2-2-4-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-4-3-1: Main Entrance and First Courtyard

The main entrance is a modern structure. It is a hipped roof wooden canopy supported by two posts that act as the door jambs as well. Although efforts have been invested in decorating the structural members, they do not resemble the old Javanese traditions and the simplicity of their execution is obvious **[Figure 2.55]**. One panel, however, deserves some comment. Above the door lintel and directly resting on it is a wooden panel that is carved with a Javanese scene **[Figure 2.55a]**. The panel shows a Javanese wooden structure with a double tier roof in a lavish garden. The structure is carried by five columns. Five is an unusual number for columns because it does not create a central bay rather two equal sides with two bays each. However, it is worth pointing out that the row of columns directly in front of the *Sunan's* mausoleum has a five column configuration.

The first courtyard has nothing of interest and simply leads to the second courtyard which one enters through a gate similar to that of the first courtyard.

2-2-4-3-2: The Second and Third Courtyards

This is a rectangular space accommodating many graves. A *pendopo* is placed on the central pass but not central in the space rather pushed to the North. The *pendopo* is also a replica of an original that must have once stood there. The current *pendopo* is of the *joglo* type, but with brick columns rather than wooden ones. **[Figure 2.56]**

The third courtyard is marked by a raise of ground level rather than actual walls or a gate. A flight of four steps marks the change. This space is merely occupied by graves **[Figure 2.57]**.

2-2-4-3-3: The Fourth Courtyard

This courtyard is the first actual evidence of the importance of the building seen in its background. A flight of eight stairs in the Hindu-Javanese fashion juts out of the retaining wall that supports the change of level. However, because the third courtyard is narrow, the horizontal distance does not allow a monumental stair case to be used. The architect resorts to a solution by recessing part of the retaining wall in order to give space for the protruding stairs. The result of which is an “n shaped” plinth.

The walls of the plinth (retaining walls) are built of bricks. The walls display the brick layers’ skills in achieving a decorated wall with panels and moldings all coming out of the bricks they were using. Instead of a monotonous wall, the current design is very pleasing, especially when shadows are cast during strong sun shine periods.

A *pendopo* or, what is termed by the Indonesians an audience hall, is placed to the right of the stair case on the upper level. This hall is a wooden pavilion covered by a one tier wooden roof. The canopy is supported by six wooden columns that also carry a suspended wooden floor. The columns and beams are carved with Hindu-Javanese motifs **[Figures 2.58a and b].**

2-2-4-3-4: The Fifth and Sixth levels:

The fifth level is a rectangular space which is indicated by a change in ground level and also by two built stone markers that flank the stairs **[Figure 2.59]**. Nothing important denotes this space. However, it prepares for the next level which is the most important. Worth noting though, is the use of natural lava formed rocks to fill in the walls that support the coming level **[Figure 2.60]**. Six steps guarded by two Hindu-Javanese wing-shaped parapets lead to the sixth level which houses the saint’s mausoleum. All shoes must be taken off at this point **[Figure 2.61]**.

The mausoleum is square in shape and is covered by a two tier pyramidal roof topped by a *mustaka* or *memolo.* A square one tier roof, almost the size of that of the mausoleum, precedes it and protects the pilgrims from the strong Java sun or from the pouring rain falls. The height of the preceding roof is very low and thus achieves to objectives: first, it does not rival that of the mausoleum, and second, it makes the pilgrims bend to enter which is considered a gesture of respect to the buried *Sunan* **[Figures 2.62-3].**

2-2-4-3-5: The Mausoleum(Cungkup)

Plan:

The mausoleum consists of two concentric square levels; an inner square pedestal that is raised on an outer platform. The external platform is four steps higher than the ground level on which it stands. **[Figures 2.64 and 2.70]**

The external square is screened from the outside by brick walls on the eastern, western, and northern sides;[75] the southern plane received a highly decorated wooden screen with a door placed in the middle **[Figure 2.65].** The door is reached by a short flight of four steps which are guarded by the usual Hindu-Javanese wing like parapet. The door has two leaves which are relatively short in height; one must bend upon

[75] Doors are currently opened in the Southern and Northern walls, near the junction were they meet the Eastern screen.

passing through. Worth noting is that the door leaves and jambs are highly decorated **[Figures 2.66a-d]**.

The space between the external southern screen and the inner pedestal is occupied by six cenotaphs **[Figures 2.64 and 2.67a-b]**. The rest of the space around the saint's tomb is left clear.[76]

The inner pedestal, which is of a brick base, is four steps higher than the preceding level. The base, in turn, carries a wooden screen that conceals not only the saint's cenotaph but also the four main wooden columns that carry the upper part of the roof. Here too, the south façade is highly decorated, while the other three remain plain **[Figure 2.68].**

The *Sunan's* cenotaph is placed on the inner pedestal, not exactly in the center of the space, but slightly shifted to the West. However, a second cenotaph is also present and is placed between the two columns, to the west of that of the *Sunan* **[Figure 2.64].**

Elevations:

The mausoleum's elevations are influenced by the massive two tier pyramidal roof. The surrounding walls on the eastern, western, and northern sides are short and modern **[Figure 2.62]**. The footings of the walls are decorated with brick patterns that form a stepped rhombus like motif in the center and stepped triangles on the upper and lower sides. The pattern is only interrupted by the pilasters at structural intervals **[Figure 2.69]**.

Structure System:

The two tier pyramidal roof is supported by four central *soko guru* that are founded on the inner pedestal. Twelve secondary columns are placed on the periphery of the outer platform; four on each side. Worth noting is the use of five auxiliary posts placed around the inner pedestal; one at each corner plus a fifth to the west of the door [77] **[Figure 2.70].**

2-2-4-3-6: Modern Mosque and Museum

A mosque contemporary to the Mausoleum did once exist on the northern side of the shrine at the level of the last courtyard. Unfortunately the original structure is lost and is now replaced by a new wooden *masjid* [**Figure 2.54].**

It is worth noting that attached to the shrine today is a small museum that houses several wooden pieces, not from the Drajat complex, but actually from the now replaced Sendang Duwur mosque **[Figure 2.71]**.

2-2-4-4: Decoration

The Outer Screen of the *Cungkup* **[Figure 2.72a and b]**

The eastern wall is divided by a centrally located door into two equal sections. Each section is divided in turn by a wooden post into two equal sub-sections. Each sub section is divided by wooden posts and lintels into six rectangular panels; three upper, almost square, panels and three lower rectangular ones. Although the date of this screen is uncertain, the level and intricacy of carvings definitely merits a comment.

[76] Currently the movement around the cenotaph is blocked and nobody is allowed behind it or at the sides.

[77] I believe this post has no actual structural necessity! Most likely it was placed to echo the post north of the door and thus accentuate the tomb's entrance.

We can distinguish between two themes: the upper panels are either wooden balustrades or a checked board to which a rhomboidal panel is fixed. The background is perforated and thus allows light and air into the other side; it also allows a glimpse of the interior. In contrast, the affixed panel is massive and is treated with flora in relief. The carvings depict flowers and foliage. The lower panels are also intricately carved with flowers and stems and foliage and wings that seem to be coming out of stems as if they were flowers. However, the background is removed, and thus the theme itself stands free and, when seen from the outside, it is an array of flowers on a black background. Seen from the inside, it's a silhouette on a bright background.

The door leaf displays a hexagonal panel flanked by four triangular ones at the corners to achieve an over all rectangular shape. The door jambs, too, show the use of a similar configuration, however, in the case of the latter, two rectangular units were used instead of one as with the door leaf. The panels are filled with beautiful carvings of vegetation, wings, or maybe wing-like flowers, and foliage **[Figures 2.66a-d]**.

The most interesting feature concerning the door is the presence of two lions at its guard. The right hand lion is still intact **[Figure 2.73a and b],** while the other side's figurine seems to have been lost and is replaced by a very crude abstract **[Figure 2.66d]**.

The Inner Screen of the *Cungkup* **[Figure 2.68]**

The eastern façade is highly decorated while the other three remain plain. The door to the cenotaph is located in the eastern screen and is shifted to the right. The façade is divided into five vertical sections; one to the right of the door, and four to the left. The vertical sections are divided by two horizontal beams into three panels; one rectangular panel surmounted by two square ones. There is no doubt that the decorative theme used here is that of the outer screen. The door also received great care. However, here too, the most interesting feature is the presence of two carved stone lions in guard of the door where naturally a wing-shaped parapet would be used **[Figure 2.67a].**

2-2-4-5: Dating and Patron

No firm date is attributed to this shrine; two pictorial chronograms on the tomb and the tomb's door have been interpreted to give the dates 1622 and 1609, respectively.[78] However, it should be noted that the *Sunan* was born in 1470; yet his date of death was unrecorded and remains unknown. On stylistic bases, the form of the mausoleum adheres to the principles followed by other contemporary shrines such as those of Sendang Duwur (1585), *Sunan* Bonang (after 1525), and *Sunan* Kudus (1550). Furthermore, the carvings at this mausoleum show mutual borrowings with the previously mentioned shrines. It is therefore likely that the suggested dates are acceptable.

[78] Ambary, "Epigraphical Data," 34.

2-2-5: The Mosque and Shrine of Sunan Kudus

2-2-5-1: Location and Brief History

"Kudus is located in central Java 24 kilometers northeast of Demak **[Figure 2.1]** and adjacent to the slopes of Mount Muria. It is surrounded by prosperous agricultural land. The population of Kudus is about 70,000. Through Demak, Kudus is connected with Semarang, the capital town of the region and main center of activity in north central Java. Kudus is bisected by the Gelis River which flows from south to north. The west part of the town is still traditional, while the east … is more modern. West Kudus remains inhabited primarily by indigenous people."[79] The town is associated with *Sunan* Kudus, one of the nine revered saints of Java. In The year 1550 A.D. events led *Sunan* Kudus to leave Demak and head for the current site of Kudus were he established himself.[80] It is believed that the town was so named after the holy city of Jerusalem which is called al-Quds in Arabic.[81] The events are documented in an Arabic language inscription that was carved in a stone panel and placed above the *mihrab* of the *Masjid* Kudus. **[Figures 2.74a and b]**

Unlike Demak, Banten, and other Javanese mosques the Masjid Kudus does not overlook the town's *alun-alun*, rather it is located on the narrow jalan Menara, which is obviously named after the mosque's infamous feature **[Figures 2.75 and 2.76]**. However, according to Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, there are indications that the area to the East of the mosque, in former days, might have been the town square of Kudus; The entry to the mosque faces east, similar to the mosque in Demak, and a Banyan tree is also located to the Southeast of the mosque entry area; this type of tree was usually planted in Javanese city squares. Furthermore, in the area surrounding the mosque, many buildings still preserve the traditional historical character of the town.[82]

2-2-5-2: The Overall Plan

The complex can be divided into three major features: the mosque, the Minaret, and the shrine [**Figure 2.77].** Both the mosque and the minaret can be seen from the main street [**Figure 2.76],** while the shrine is placed on the western side of the site and is hidden by the mosque. The street wall has six entrances only two of which are original; the other four were later additions. The first original one is of the *candi bentar* type entrance and is aliened with the *qibla* axis **[Figure 2.78]**. The second is of the *paduraksa* type and is placed on the southern side of the façade and is the first in a series that ultimately give access to the mausoleum of the *Sunan* **[Figure 2.79]**. The walls connecting the two entrances are not on the same line; that of the mosque protrudes towards the street and that of the mausoleum recedes towards the inner side and is stopped by the presence of the minaret. The distance resulting between the two fences is closed by another wall that runs in an east-west direction. This wall has a secondary entrance of the *candi bentar* type. Worth noting is that this wall and that of the mosque are of a low height that allow passers bye to see through, while that of the mausoleum entrance, is a high fence that inhibits what comes behind it. Three smaller *paduraksa* type gates pierce this wall: two flank the minaret's base **[Figure 2.80a and b]**, and the third is at the very far southern end of the wall and forms a secondary entrance to the mausoleum **[Figure 2.79]**.

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[79] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.17.
[80] Ali, *Islamic Art* pp.293-300. See Chapter 1 for the historical details.
[81] Holt, *The Cambridge History* p.145 and Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.511.
[82] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, Demak*, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.28.

2-2-5-3: Complex Elements:
In spite of its modern appearance, the complex still retains some of its original features: *candi bentar* gates, the *mihrab* exterior, the Arabic foundation inscription, all of which were incorporated in the current mosque. Also a gate to the tomb of the *sunan* and his tomb, the minaret,[83] and the ablution area south of the prayer hall are all authentic features **[Figure 2.81]** that have survived total renovation.[84]

2-2-5-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi
The original now gone mosque is replaced by a modern structure, yet in the mosque's *serambi* stands a huge Hindu-Javanese brick *paduraksa* **[Figure 2.82]**. This gateway has no specific function, but acts as a screen that blocks the possibility of moving axial with the *mihrab*. This gateway was left without decoration apart from four carved stone panels with floral motifs that were inserted on the side facing East. The second gateway is also of the *paduraksa* type and is now standing inside the prayer hall **[Figure 2.83]**. This gateway is decorated on its eastern side by two square panels in the walls flanking the doors. The panels contain lobed ends rectangular panels that are carved with floral motifs. The distance between the inner panel and the outer one was carved out to give a sense of depth to the inner panel by creating a dark frame around it. Furthermore, the inserted panels are of a white color, while that of the gate's body is yellowish red; the result is a more outstanding decorative theme **[Figure 2.84]**. Furthermore, the wooden doors are also flanked by white washed pilasters that also contrast with the rest of the gateway. Smaller panels are also inserted, as the local custom, in the roof and the body of the gateway and are also white washed for accentuating their appearance.

Of interest are the two side entrances to the mosque's *serambi* area: the first is on the northern side and links the mosque with the residential area to the North. Worth noting is the use of a true arch in the *paduraksa* style gateway assigned to this entrance **[Figure 2.85 a and b]**. The second is a similar gateway on the opposite side of the *serambi.*

The last authentic part of the mosque is the outer wall of the *mihrab* protrusion. Some of the original brick courses can still be seen. An attempt of decoration is also apparent **[Figure 2.86]**.

Worth mentioning is that part of the old remaining sections of this mosque is an ablutions' tank, which is placed to the South of the prayer hall close to the wall separating the mosque from the mausoleum **[Figure 2.81]**. The tank is a rectangular brick structure with water taps spouting out at intervals, allowing the washers to stand comfortably and perform their ablutions **[Figure 2.87]**. The taps are eight in number and thus, are believed to represent the eight Buddhist principles.[85] The lower part of the brick tank is decorated with rectangular panels containing endless knots. The water taps sprout out of an arched panel that is decorated with a floral motif **[Figure 2.87]**. One other curious feature is that one can not reach or leave the ablutions area without stepping into a shallow water pond **[Figure 2.89]**.

2-2-5-3-2: The Minaret

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[83] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.300 and Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.40.
[84] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.512.
[85] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, p.21

The minaret is the most outstanding feature of the complex. It serves as a landmark which signifies the presence of the mosque [86] **[Figure 2.90]**.

The structure is entirely built of bricks, yet three parts can be visually distinguished: the base, the body, and the roof.

The base is almost square in shape and measures 10.47 meters on the north and south sides and 10.60 meters on the other two sides.[87] The modern tiling of the ground around the minaret makes it shorter than it really is. The base displays regular brick courses placed on top of each other, however, at two different height levels the courses project outwards forming a cornice like effect. Below the first cornice, projecting rectangular brick panels are created but are left bereft of any decorations. The area between the lower and the upper cornice are treated similarly **[Figure 2.91]**.

The minaret's body is also square in plan, but smaller in size. However, several levels can be visually identified. The first is similar to that of the base yet here, the central panel is not rectangle rather cross-shaped and has a blue and white china plate inserted in the middle **[Figure 2.92]**. This configuration is applied to all four sides except for the western surface, where the staircase leading to the minaret's door takes over most of the side's area.

The second level is marked by two cornices that hold in between a series of square shaped voids. The voids have circular or cross-shaped protrusions into which china plates are placed **[Figure 2.93]**. These are mostly from the Dutch period except for one 15th century Vietnamese that probably represents the authentic decoration.[88] This type of decoration is used all around the four sides of the minaret and is only interrupted on the western side by the minaret's door opening.

The following level is smaller in size. The brick courses retreat inwards as they go higher above the second cornice level. At this point, the body maintains a constant width until it reaches the height of the lintels and then projects outwards once again until it reaches the minaret's floor level. A projecting frieze divides the surface of this area into two horizontal parts. The main decorative feature of this area is a window-like blind niche that occupies the center of the surface **[Figure 2.93]**; one on each side except for the western side where a *paduraksa* with a true door is placed **[Figure 2.94]**. The *paduraksa* has the usual roof treatment. The cornice above the lintel level of the blind windows and the door is interrupted by a peculiar convex protrusion on all four sides **[Figure 2.92]**.

The top level of the minaret acts as the floor where the drum was placed and beaten for the call to prayers. It is covered by a two tier pyramidal roof, which is a modern addition.[89]

2-2-5-3-3: Shrine Entrance and Successive Courtyards

To enter the mausoleum one has to pass through several non-axial courtyards **[Figure 2.95]**. According to Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, "the sequence of activities required to reach the grave of *Sunan* Kudus symbolizes the phases of Prophet Mohammed's holy trip through seven layers of the sky in this universe to receive a vision from God."[90] However, the first step is a very long corridor-like courtyard that has three openings: the main gateway that links the courtyard with the main street, a secondary entrance in the northern wall of the courtyard which makes it easier to reach ablutions facilities

[86] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.228.
[87] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, p.40.
[88] Miksic, "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.87.
[89] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.228.
[90] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.48.

and the prayer hall, and the last is a narrow alley that links the courtyard with the southern residential area.

The following courtyard is actually a continuation of the first, but is marked by a *candi bentar* and a low brick fence **[Figure 2.96]**. This area is covered to provide shelter from rain and heat and could be considered the actual beginning of the mausoleum's entrance. The following gateway is of the *paduraksa* type **[Figure 2.97]**.

The third courtyard is mainly occupied by a large square *pendopo* at its center **[Figures 2.98].** Furthermore, ablution facilities are found at its north-western corner. Unlike the sophisticated concept seen at the mosque's washing area, here the facility is nothing more than a water basin **[Figure 2.99]**.

A *paduraksa* style gateway placed in the northern wall invites pilgrims to the following courtyard **[Figure 2.100]**. Again here, a true type arch is used to support the roof of this gateway and not the usual flat lintel **[Figure 2.101]**.

A wall[91] obstructs the pilgrims entering through the gateway to this courtyard and thus diverts the flow of people to the right and left **[Figure 2.102]**. The wall is of brick flanked by two pillars. The top edge of the wall undulates in the area between the two side pillars and forms a low arch, which visually connects the two pillars. Some attempt of decoration can be seen in the use of the inverted leaves motif used across the wall and around the upper parts of the pillars. However, the most important feature is the presence of a stone panel embedded in the middle of the brick courses just below the string of leaves, which carries an Arabic inscription [92] **[Figure 2.103]**.

The fourth courtyard is rectangular in shape and is occupied by many grave stones and cenotaphs. However the main feature is a pavilion like structure which also shelters cenotaphs. The pavilion is walled on three sides and is only open from its southern edge **[Figure 2.104]**.

The fifth courtyard is marked by a *candi bentar* that is not the original one. Here too, like the previous courtyard, cenotaphs and grave stones compete to occupy the available space **[Figure 2.105]**. The oldest feature here is a short wall **[Figure 2.106]** that visually divides the courtyard into two almost equal parts. Three cenotaphs have been placed in front of this wall and a modern pavilion has been erected to cover all three.

Worth mentioning is that the original part of the *mihrab* exterior **[Figure 2.86]** can be seen in this courtyard on the eastern side and that a large portion of the original walls can be seen on the northwestern side **[Figure 2.107]**.

The sixth courtyard is marked by a *paduraksa* placed almost halfway in the western wall **[Figure 2.108]**. This courtyard is very small and has no special feature. A gateway in the western wall leads to yet another courtyard that is from the cenotaphs that it has can be safely described as a modern burial area. However, a modest *candi bentar* gate to the north indicates the arrival to the last courtyard. The northern fence is a low height brick barrier that allows sight of the mausoleum in the next courtyard; had it not been so, the presence of the two gateways would have been a source of confusion for the visiting pilgrims **[Figure 2.109]**.

2-2-5-3-4: The Mausoleum

Plan [Figure 2.110]:

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[91] This wall is known locally as aling-aling.

[92] The panel is a 19th century insertion; the inscription is dated 1228 H.

The last courtyard features the tomb of *Sunan* Kudus, which dates from the mid 16th century,[93] as well as a wall to its west, in front of which a cenotaph is placed. The whole courtyard is full of other cenotaphs and grave stones of the followers of the revered *Sunan* **[Figure 2.111a and b]**.

The concept of the mausoleum is a square plan that is covered around its four sides by means of a carved stone screen which rests on a stone base. A door is inserted in the middle of the southern side **[Figure 2.112]**. The lone cenotaph of *Sunan* Kudus which is oriented North-South is placed not in the center of the space, but rather shifted to the West; a configuration that would allow people to enter inside the mausoleum through the centrally located door. Seven cenotaphs are immediately located in front of the mausoleums door; four to the right and three to the left

Elevations [Figure 2.113]:
The mausoleum is surrounded by *pendopos* on all four sides, which actually hide the stone screens of the inner most sacred part. Furthermore, many other *pendopos* placed in the preceding courtyards also play a negative role **[Figure 2.109]**. Although the roof of the *cungkup* is higher than all surroundings it is still hardly spotted. The facades of the stone screens are discussed in the decoration section.

Structure System:
The mausoleum is covered by a two tier wooden pyramidal roof, which is supported by four central *soko guru* columns. Sixteen secondary posts placed on the periphery help support the massive roof. However, eight posts are placed on the southern side while the remaining three sides get four each.

2-2-5-4: Decoration
The mausoleum carved stone screen rests on a stone base. **[Figure 2.114]**. The screen is constructed by vertical and horizontal narrow stone slabs that form a grid with equal square voids at equal intervals **[Figure 2.112]**. The grid creates a three row design. The middle row voids are filled by a flower like carved stone which alternates with a Javanese cross like motif. The upper and lower voids are filled with slim stone balustrades **[Figure 2.115]**. The intersections of the stone ribs that form the grid are also decorated by means of a carved flower at the center of the intersection and four petals filled with floral patterns that radiate out of the central flower to the four adjoining ribs.

The door has received special attention by projecting out the jambs to create a sense of depth and the visual illusion of engaged columns **[Figure 2.116]**. Although the wooden door shutters are a much later renovation, it is worth pointing out, however, that they are carved with an Arabic naskhi Quranic inscription **[Figure 2.117]**!

2-2-5-5: Inscriptions
On the inner side of the *mihrab* a stone inscription panel is inserted above the niche **[Figure 2.74]**. The inscription which has five lines of Arabic reads:

1- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بنا (كذا) المسجد الأقصى و بلد القدس خليفة هذ(ا) الدهر حين مكمل
2- يستجزى غدا فى جنة الخلد نزلا و قربا من الرحمن باله منزل (أو قبول؟) أنشأ هذا المسجد المبارك المسمى بالأقصى خليفة الله

[93] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.235.

3- في الأرض الحاضر فى اجلها و العرش شيخ الأسلام و المسلمين زين (؟) العلما و المجتهدين العالم العامل الكامل الفاضل
4- المخصوص بعناية ربان الخالق القاضى جعفر الصادق ابتغاء لوجه الله و عواد بره من يد الله و اتباعا لسنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم
5- و كان التأريخ ثمانية و عشرين من شهر رجب فى سنة ست و خمسين و تسع مائة من الهجرة النبوية و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و اله و أصحابه أجمعين[94]

1- In the name of Allah most compassionate most merciful. The al-Aqsa mosque and the town of al-Quds were built by the Caliph of this life until completed.
2- [He] will be remunerated tomorrow in "the Garden of Immortality" in category and by the proximity to the most Compassionate. [?] … Has founded this blessed mosque called al-Aqsa the caliph of Allah
3- on Earth to this confined land and on the Throne, Shaykh of Islam and the Muslims, Ornament [?] of the knowledgeable and those devoted to the study of the divine law, the knowledgeable, the active, the perfect, the virtuous,
4- the favoured with care by the divine Creator, judge Dja'far al-Sadiq, for the sake of God and for desiring the reward from God and in obedience of the *sunna* of the Envoy of God - may God bless and greet him.
5- The date was the 28th of the month of Rajab of the year 956 of the Hijra of the Prophet - may God bless our master Muhammad and His family and all his companions.[95]

2-2-5-6: Dating and Patron

The Mosque

The inscription mentions a Ja'far Sadiq as the founder and is dated 956 H. (1550 A.D.) Ja'far Sadiq was a scholar who died in Medina he is considered the sixth Shi'i Imam and was never in Southeast Asia.[96] The founder is Sunan Kudus who was for unspecified reasons nick-named Ja'far Sadiq.

Remains from this era include the Mausoleum, the *paduraksas* in the current mosque, and the ablutions tank **[Figure 2.81]**.

The Minaret

In spite of the minaret's authenticity, it has caused a lot of dispute. Pijper refuses to consider the structure a minaret.[97] Kempers describes it as an unfinished Hindu-Javanese temple with no top.[98] According to Ali, many seem to believe that it was

[94] Text from Kalus, and Guillot, "La Jerusalem Javanaise et Sa Mosquee al-Aqsa," p.32.
[95] Ali, *Islamic Art* pp.302-3. quotes Solichin, *Kudus Purbakala dalam Perjoangan Islam* (Kudus, 1977) and translates the inscription as follows: "In the name of God most Compassionate most merciful. This Aqsa mosque is erected in the country of al-Quds of the caliphate in the period of the ulama from the descendents of the prophet Muhammad for the purpose of obtaining the pleasure of Allah in the country of al-Quds, the al-Menara mosque has been built and renamed al-Aqsa, the vice regent of God on earth … the doctor of law (al-mujtahid), the master (al-sayyid), the knowledgable (al-'arif) the perfect (al-kamil), the graceful (al-fadlun), the collector (al-maksus) in the guardianship of al-qadi Ja'far Sadiq … this mosque on 956 Hijra of the era of Rasul Allah."
[96] Graaf, and Pigeaud, *Chinese Muslims* p.162-3. The story raises similarities with the account of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas visiting China and being buried there in what is known till today as the Waqqas mausoleum in Guangzhou (Canton) in China.
[97] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.280.
[98] Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* pp.104-5. He also compares it to the Balinese Kul-kul tower in which he suggests that both structures derive from a common origin.

already there when *Sunan* Kudus arrived, and he exploited it for his own cause.[99] The minaret was not built for the mosque; rather it was used for the call to prayers "Azan". This complies with the fact that other Javanese mosques did not have minarets.[100] Miksic partially agrees; he believes that it is not known whether it was built by Hindus or early Muslims but it certainly shows "Indic elements".[101] O'Neil believes that it dates from the early 16th century; the body is Majapahit style but the overall shape recalls the Kul-kul towers of Balinese villages.[102] This idea is further strengthened by the fact that the drum is placed in the minaret and not as usual in the *serambi*.[103] This is a Balinese tradition not only for the *kul-kul* to be placed in a tower, but other musical instruments can also be present in such towers.[104]

On the opposition, some believe that the minaret was built exclusively for the mosque in spite of it showing Indian elements; the use of bricks, ornaments and the building shape that all point to Majapahit as an origin for the structure. However, the simple decoration indicates that the building was intended for the Islamic period. This shows the importance of this building as a transition from the Hindu Javanese to the Islamic.[105] Furthermore, the minaret was built in a Hindu style to show the tolerance of the new faith.[106]

In light of the above, no firm date can be attributed to the minaret. Nonetheless, it being a late Majapahit *candi,* an early Islamic minaret, or a transitional Hindu tower adapted to a minaret seems to strongly suggest an early-mid 16th century date, which is actually close to the 1550 date of the mosque.

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[99] Ali, *Islamic Art* p.303.
[100] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, p.27
[101] Miksic, "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.86. But there are no other examples of such towers used as minarets! According to Holt, *The Cambridge History* p.145 this mosque differs with all other Indonesian mosques in having a minaret.
[102] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.235 and Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.512.
[103] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.235.
[104] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.512.
[105] Sukada, "Early Muslim Places of Worship," p.88. and Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, p.30.
[106] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, p.31.A legend which is reported in this reference, on page 31 which is associated with the minaret, mentions that at its location were two water springs; he who drinks from them will enjoy eternity. Knowing that, *sunan* Kudus decided to block them by constructing the minaret, he explained that eternity is bad if misused. In the context, the two springs represent Hinduism and Buddhism. The intended meaning is that Islam is the religion that would comfort and secure its adherents and not by drinking from the springs.

2-2-6: The Shrine of Sunan Bonang

2-2-6-1: Location

The shrine is founded in the city of Tuban. The city is located on the northern coast of Java approximately 100 km. to the West of Surabaya **[Figure 2.1]**.
The Masjid Agung Tuban, which is a new exotic structure, occupies the western side of the city's large *alun-alun*. The shrine is a little further to the West **[Figure 2.133]**. The street bordering the southern side of the *alun-alun* is stretched in a western direction, but becomes narrower in section and leads to the shrine's southern and main entrance. The street is lined on both sides with shops **[Figure 2.134]** offering various merchandise which is, one way or the other, related to the cult of saint visiting or *ziyarah*.

2-2-6-2: The Overall Plan

The shrine is planned in a south-north direction which is slightly tilted East. A succession of three courtyards lead eventually to the mausoleum **[Figure 2.135]**. It is important to point out that the current situation does not reflect the original configuration; several other buildings have been added such as those for administration, ablutions, bathrooms, and a new small mosque. However, the gates, graves, and overall layout draw a close picture of the original design.

2-2-6-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-6-3-1: Main Entrance and First Courtyard

The complex can be accessed by two entrances: the first, the main one, is on the southern side which overlooks the street **[Figure 2.136]** and the second is in the eastern wall of the last courtyard and connects the shrine to the Agung mosque **[Figure 2.137]**. The main entrance is an arched opening that displays the use of a true arch **[Figure 2.138]**. Passing under this gate, one enters into the first courtyard, which is currently occupied by vendors. Two wooden pavilions (*pendopos*) are erected closer to the western side of the courtyard and flank the central passage way to the second court. The structure is supported by brick columns rather than the usual wooden ones **[Figure 2.139]**. However, the most imposing feature in this area is the gateway leading to the next space.

2-2-6-3-2: The Second Courtyard

To signal the entrance of the second courtyard, a Javanese *paduraksa* doorway is employed which gives an impression of monumentality and grandeur **[Figures 2.140 and 2.141]**. However, the central gateway is flanked by two smaller entrances **[Figure 2.142]** in a fashion peculiar to Hindu-Javanese *paduraksas* where only a central entrance is the norm. The *paduraksa* is not highly ornamented, but brick formations in the three dimensions strongly accentuate the entrance by giving it depth and by casting strong shadows. The bricks jut out of the wall on both sides of the opening in a stepped manner, thus significantly increasing the width of the gate **[Figure 2.143]**. The roof is also formed in a similar way, but due to the material characteristics of bricks which do not withstand any tensile forces, wooden beams are used for carrying the brick courses that follow on top. A three tier mould crowns the gateway which gives the illusion of a multi tier roof. Furthermore, the gateway is flanked by two brick formations that occupy the location normally occupied by the Garuda wings. In this case, the wings are not pronounced, rather a very low key

representation **[Figure 2.141]**. The two subsidiary entrances to the right and left of the main gateway are two straight forward trabeate openings that do not merit any further comment.

The second courtyard houses a small mosque (*langgar*) **[Figure 2.144]**, ablutions facilities, visitors' lounge, and administration offices. However, these buildings in their current locations do not reflect the original plan. A better picture can be deduced from on an earlier sketch, which was drawn by the Dutch **[Figure 2.145]**. This sketch shows that the mosque or *langgar* was placed to the west of the courtyard, and that the ablutions area, within its own fence, was on the opposite side. Both the mosque and the ablutions' area walls formed a kind of divider for this courtyard that created two spaces: one to the South and the other to the North. The southern part was occupied by a main square *pendopo* placed directly in front of the entrance *paduraksa*, and a subsidiary rectangular one to its right. Two smaller ones were erected to the north of the main *pendopo* as well. Three entrances connected the southern part of the second courtyard with the adjacent villages: one on the western side and two in the eastern wall. It is worth noting that one entrance on each side survived the alterations while the third was blocked.

The space created to the North of the *langgar* was, more or less, untouched; the main feature here is two small pavilions that flank the path leading to the gateway of the third courtyard **[Figure 2.146]**. These two pavilions have highly decorated wooden structural elements; the beams and columns are carved with a combined geometric and floral pattern **[Figure 2.146a and b]**. Under the roofs of these pavilions are treasured stones and a one piece carved stone bath tub claimed to have belonged to *Sunan* Bonang personally **[Figure 2.147]**.

The Dutch plan reveals that a wall once existed to the east which linked the ablutions' wall with that of the third courtyard, thus creating a private burial area to the east. This area however, no longer enjoys the privacy it once had and is now part of the whole space which is totally occupied by graves.

2-2-6-3-3: The Third Courtyard

The third courtyard is marked by a second *paduraksa* **[Figure 2.148]**. Following the Hindu-Javanese tradition, this *paduraksa* has no side entrances like the first one. It is also finer in details in terms of its three dimensional brick formations.

Going through the second *paduraksa*, one is obstructed by a wall (*aling-aling*), which diverts the movement to the right or left. In this case, the floor pavement and the existence of graves on the left hand side only allow passage to the right. This brick wall is plastered and white washed **[Figure 2.149]**. Passing by the wall, one notes a small pavilion close to the southern wall of the third courtyard. This pavilion is similar to the two pavilions in the first courtyard in terms that it, too, is supported by brick columns rather than the usual wooden ones.

Turning around the wall, one will notice immediately that the third courtyard is the final space that houses the *Sunan's* mausoleum and that it is also mainly occupied by the graves of his followers and the believers **[Figure 2.150]**. The entrance in the eastern wall links this courtyard with the adjacent mosque. This entrance although a *paduraksa*, is less pronounced and obviously serves as an entrance of secondary importance **[Figure 2.137]**.

Although the mausoleum and the main *paduraksa* of the third courtyard are both aligned to one axis, the *aling-aling* wall makes the approach to the mausoleum non-axial and shifted to the East.

2-2-6-3-4: The Mausoleum (Cungkup)

Plan:
In plan, the mausoleum is roughly two concentric squares **[Figure 2.151]**. The inner one is a raised plinth with a side length that measures approximately 5.43 meters and a height of 0.95 meters. The outer square is a wall that runs on the eastern, northern and western sides of the mausoleum with a side measuring approximately 10.08 meters. Only the southern side is left open and allows visitors to step in and move around the central plinth on which three cenotaphs, including that of *Sunan* Bonnag, are placed in a North-South orientation **[Figure 2.161]**.

Elevations:
It is necessary to mention that, apart from the plinth and two parts of the original walls that could be seen on the southern side of the mausoleum to the extreme right and left **[Figures 2.152 - 2.154]**; the whole structure is a replacement of an older original. Therefore, the eastern, western, and northern sides that are all walled up do not merit any further comment **[Figure 2.155]**. However, as common with all Javanese structures, the dominant two tier roof and the low height of the facades accentuates the imposing character of the roof.

Structure System [Figures 2.157 and 2.158]:
The mausoleum is covered by a two tier pyramidal roof, the eves of which extend out to cover the circulation area on all four sides of the plinth. Apart from the traditional Javanese four major wooden columns that normally support the roof, four other wooden columns placed at the corners of the plinth in addition to the walls running on the eastern, northern and western sides of the mausoleum, as well as six free standing square columns on the southern side help support the weight of the massive eves.

The Interior:
The plinth has plain wooden planks all around its four sides, which conceals the cenotaphs and the structural elements inside. However, the burial chamber is accessible from the southern side of the plinth; a narrow flight of four steps, only 34 centimeters in breadth connects the entrance of the burial chamber with the outside **[Figure 2.159]**. The door and the wooden screen walls are all new replacements therefore they merit no further comment.

2-2-6-4: Decoration
The External Gateway
The side facing the outside is white-washed. The cornice which follows the arch-line is painted grey. A chain of *waru* leaves[107] is placed under the bottom line of this cornice **[Figure 2.162]**. The arch spandrels are filled with foliage and what seems to be budding lotuses. Two pillars which determine the gate opening and actually support the arch are extended above the arch's tympanum at a level where they meet with a simple horizontal cornice that creates the capitals of the two pillars. The cornice bears a Javanese inscription. Above this cornice, an undulating parapet was built. Here too, the undulation profile is determined by a simple molding, the bottom line of which is decorated with a band of s-shaped incisions. A flower is placed at the

[107] This motif seems to be inspired by the carvings on the sides of the mausoleum plinth that will be discussed later on in this section.

tympanum of the undulation under which an Arabic inscription is inscribed **[Figure 2.162]**. Decorating the inner side of the gate, what seems to be a chain of *waru* leaves is used below the upper most moldings of the parapet. Below that, a triangular motif (mountain?) is placed, from which what seems to be a flower or a Surya motif surmounts the summit. The latter motif is flanked by flying flowers and leaves on three levels.[108] The cornice which connects the two gate pillars has an incised Arabic inscription **[Figure 2.163]**.

Paduraksa Gateway to the Second Courtyard

Efforts to decorate the gateway can be seen in deep square and rectangular incisions in the brick body of the structure. Chinaware plates are placed in the center of these shapes. Another attempt is evident in the stepped brick parts where traces of carvings can be noticed[109] **[Figure 2.141 and 2.143]**. However, the most of the ornamentation in terms of floral and geometric carvings are found on the wooden jambs and lintel of the doors. The jambs are arranged so that they appear to be two engaged columns with an eight star capital each. The jambs and the lower most lintel received floral carvings, while higher beams show geometric ornaments not as incisions, but rather as three dimensional formations.

Paduraksa Gateway to the Third Courtyard

This gateway has received more elaborate chinaware cemented in its body. The placement of such plates was done in a symmetrical pattern in terms of location on the wall and plate design **[Figure 2.148]**. Worth noting is that the blue and white chinaware could be categorized in two main types: the mainly decorative type which is evident from the shape of the plates themselves such as the cross shaped (zigzag) plates **[Figure 2.164]** and also the ones with the Arabic inscriptions baring the names of Allah and Mohammad or Quranic citations **[Figure 2.167]**. These plates could not have been produced for normal daily life use; rather they must have been intended for hanging on the wall. The second type is the ordinary plates carrying floral and/or animal motifs. These no doubt were albeit their function as ordinary household utensils, were used in this case as decorative elements.[110] It is worth observing that the side of the *paduraksa* facing south was the only side to receive such embellishment. In other words only the side facing those entering to the shrine was decorated. Another decorative feature also on the southern side of this gateway is a small stone medalion inserted above the door. The panel depicts a four petal flower. Directly underneath this medalion is another rectangular one which is inscribed in Arabic letters **Figures 2.148 and 2.171]**.

Similar to the first *paduraksa*, here too, the wooden jambs and lintels of the two-leaf door has received some elaboration, however the restoration work applied to this door was not as good as the first one; The floral motifs no longer can be seen, but the geometric formations in the lintels are still obvious **[Figure 2.165a and b]**.

[108] The triangle might represent the mountain with the sun at the summit. The flying flowers are done in a way that recalls the location of Chinese clouds. This composition was very popular in Java and could be seen in the Mantingan panels **[Figure 2.199d]** or on tombstones **[Figure 2.266].**

[109] Unfortunately they are worn and very difficult to trace in order to figure out what they originally looked like.

[110] The plates are similar in design, which means that they were mass produced and not collectors' items.

The *aling-aling* wall also has a symmetrical decorative scheme by using inserted chinaware **[Figure 2.166]**. Furthermore, here too, only the southern surface received such treatment.

The Mausoleum's Plinth

The plinth's eastern, southern and western sides[111] are decorated with a carved stone *waru* leaf motif which is filled with carved floral designs **[Figures 2.168 and 2.169]**. The space between every two consecutive leaves is filled with a triangular shape filled with foliage. I believe that a crude imitation of this motif was intended for the external gateway but was executed in moulds, and therefore lacks all the fine details that could be achieved by carving. The triangular motif might be what was interpreted earlier as a representation of a mountain. In addition, what seems to be a lotus flower is present at its summit.

2-2-6-5: Inscriptions

The Arabic inscription on the external side of the external gateway **[Figure 2.162]** reads: "الشيخ الوحدة التوحيد". *al-shaykh al-wahda al-tawhid.* Below this inscription is a Javanese translation that reads: *Rasa tunggal pandita wahdat*. The words form a chronogram which represents the year 1789.[112]

The second Arabic inscription is on the inner side of the external gateway **[Figure 2.170]** it reads: "هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم 1283 سنة الال (كذا) محرم 1799". *Hijrat al-Nabi salla allah 'alayih wa sallam 1283 sanat al-al* [113][sic] *Muharram 1799.* There must be a mistake here because the two dates do not coincide and furthermore they disagree with the Javanese chronogram.

An Arabic panel on the northern side of the second *paduraksa* is a group of disconnected Arabic letters placed on four lines **[Figure 2.171]**. The right hand side of the panel is unfortunately no longer legible. Whether the letters combine to form an inscription or not is a matter of uncertainty.[114]

2-2-6-6: Dating and Patron

The external entrance and its flanking walls were added to the shrine either in 1866 or in 1799 A.D. This depends on whether the Hijri date or the Gregorian one was correctly inscribed. 1799 would be equivalent to 1213 Hijri. On the other hand 1283 is equivalent to 1866 Gregorian. For the first case, we must assume that the inscriber made one mistake and mistook 1 for 8, however, in the second case, we should believe that he made three mistakes! Furthermore, in the 18th century while Holland was the main administrative authority of the time, I am inclined to believe that the Christian calendar was more in use and therefore, it is difficult to make three mistakes in that regard.

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[111] Why does it stop short of the northern side is an unclear matter! However, it does indicate that it was planned that this side would not be visible and thus this leaves out the possibility of any kind of ambulation or *tawaf* around the tomb.

[112] Ambary, Epigraphical Data, 34.

[113] I believe *al-awal* Muharram (the first of Muharram) was intended but the "waw" was forgotten.

[114] Although this is an unfounded hypothesis, I would like to suggest that the tablet could merely be an educational tool for teaching Arabic. Arabic being the language of the Quran, and the tablet being of old age, it was treasured as a blessing and inserted where it is seen today.

The *cungkup* no doubt existed earlier, but no firm date is available. The Sunan died in 1525 which is the *terminus post quem* for the erection of the mausoleum. On stylistic bases, as with the case of the shrine of *sunan* Drajat, the mausoleum agrees in form with the common configuration that was locally in use in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, we are unfortunate, in this case, that the *cungkup* no longer has its original wooden screen; which prevents us from comparing the decorations with the other contemporary shrines. Nonetheless, the mausoleum's plinth shows similarities with that of *Sunan* Giri (1506) **[Figure 3.41b]**.

2-2-7: The Mosque and Mausoleum of Ratu Kali Nyamat.

2-2-7-1: Location and Brief History

This mosque and its associated mausoleum are located in the village of Mantingan near Jepara in central Java **[Figure 2.1]**. The city is 35 kilometers to the northwest of Demak. Jepara is Java's most famous town for wood industry; many furniture and timber product shops are found all around. However the area has a deep rooted history that goes back to the Hindu period.[115] In the 7th century, during the zenith of the Majapahit dynasty, Jepara functioned as "the gate" that connected Javanese commerce with India and China. Furthermore, with the advent of Islam, seven centuries later, Jepara still was a great harbor and the biggest mercantile city on the north coast of Central Java."[116]

2-2-7-2: The Overall Plan

The shrine was founded on an elevated hill enclosed by a brick wall; to the East are the houses of the village, to the West is a school, to the North a garden, and to the South the main village road [117] **[Figure 2.177].**

The mosque and mausoleum are two separate buildings designed within separate courtyards, each with its own entrance. However, the mausoleum is placed after a succession of three courtyards, whereas the mosque is situated in one. A gate way connects the mausoleum's second courtyard with that of the mosque. The mausoleum's courtyards are not only marked by walls, but also by a change in ground level, thus achieving a hierarchy of spaces of which the third is the highest and most important. The intention of this monument was not a *masjid agung*, rather a *maqam* and pilgrimage site.[118] Therefore, the main axis is gate-*maqam* which certainly strengthens the importance of the latter and not the mosque.[119]

Another component of this complex is the water well, which is located not inside the complex proper, but rather outside on the southern road near the main entrance.

2-2-7-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-7-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi

Access to the mosque is only achieved through its courtyard. A flight of steps links the street to the south with the courtyard, which is on a much higher level **[Figure 2.178]**. A gateway marks the entrance. Three obscure breaks in the northern wall of the courtyard link the mosque with the village houses to the North. The courtyard is a rectangle which is oriented North-South. A rectangular pavilion once stood on the eastern side while the mosque occupies the western edge.

Plan:

The current mosque is a new structure[120] **[Figure 2.179]**, but seems not to have changed much from its original plan and size, if we are to disregard a sketch, thought

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[115] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.103.
[116] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.14.
[117] Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah Dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah p.1.
[118] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.66.
[119] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* pp.54 and 37.
[120] According to Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* p.106, the current mosque and mausoleum were built in 1927.

to be of the mosque by Wouter Schouten in the *Oost Indische Voyagies,* 1660, which shows a tower like structure with five superimposed square roofs[121] **[Figure 2.180].** According to a reconstruction drawing by the Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage **[Figure 2.181]**, most modifications were applied to the eastern façade, the roof, and the ablutions area attached to the mosque at its northeast corner. The latest renovation was in 1976-7, which included a change of roof, expansion of the *serambi,,* and the reconstruction of the enclosing fence.[122]

The mosque consists of a square prayer hall flanked by two rectangular rooms to the North and South. A third rectangular space, the verandah, occupies the eastern side **[Figure 2.182]**. Three trabeate doors on each side of the prayer hall, except for the *qibla* side, connect it with the three surrounding spaces. Two arched openings link the northern and southern rooms with the verandah.

A flight of steps connects the lower courtyard level with that of the higher verandah plane. An older plan of the mosque reveals that the flight of stairs was placed as to be partially inside the verandah and partially sticking out of the building **[Figure 2.181]**. Later it was totally pulled out of the verandah, a situation that remains today; however, the stairs' breadth has been doubled.

The ablutions original configuration was a simple rectangular pool of water around which worshippers can perform their washing; water was provided from a close by well. A second smaller pool was also placed to the West with walls segregating the two pools. A flight of steps links the first pool with the mosque's verandah, while another connects the second pool with the northern space that flanks the prayer hall **[Figure 2.181]**. It seems that it was so designed to allow women to use the mosque as well. An intermediary stage was more sophisticated with attached latrines, but however, reflects the same segregation policy. Furthermore, an external entrance was added to the women's area, which meant that women could walk in from the street, perform their ablutions, and go straight to their designated area next to the prayer hall without passing through the courtyard. A common factor in both stages was that the ablutions area shared the northern wall with the mosque, and the location of the water well remained constant for both stages. However, the current re-design of this area has pushed the ablutions facilities to the North away from the mosque's wall, and, in spite of the introduction of water pipes and modern designed washing conveniences, the water well is still kept and a pool is present **[Figure 2.182]**.

Elevations [Figures 2.183 and 2.184]:

Although the current verandah, like most Javanese mosques, is open on three sides, the reconstruction by the Directorate for the Preservation and Protection of the National Heritage suggests otherwise. According to their drawings, the verandah was walled up and the central entrance was an arched opening that covered the width of the staircase leading into the mosque. This central arch was flanked by arched windows: three to the left, and two to the right. A parapet concealed the gable type

[121] Ali *Islamic Art* p.278. Others believe that Schouten's sketch depicted a now gone mosque. See Graaf, "De Moskee van Japara," p.162; Behrend, T. E. "Kraton, Taman, Masjid: A Brief Survey," *Indonesia Circle* 35, 1984, pp.45-46; and Abdullah, T. "The Spread of Islam and Islamic Kingship," p.36. Lombard and Salmon, "Islam and Chineseness," p.122 show a watercolour sketch of Jepara in the 18th century with a similar tower **[Figure 2.176]**. The sketch is currently in the Paris National Library.
[122] Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah Dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah p.2.

roof [123] of the verandah from the outside and two turrets were placed at the corners[124] **[Figure 2.181]**.

Structure System:
If the plan of the mosque, apart from the modifications mentioned above, could be considered authentic, the superstructure as whole, unfortunately, is not. However
The roof of the prayer hall, as most Javanese mosques, is supported by means of the four central columns, *soko guru*, which support the three tier roof.

The Interior:
The *qibla* wall displays a deep recessed square *mihrab* that juts out of the wall **[Figure 2.185]**. The current design of which is two flat plaster pilasters on each side and a circular molded plaster arch joining the inner two only[125] **[Figure 2.186]**.

2-2-7-3-2: The Mausoleum
To reach the mausoleum one must pass through three courtyards from the street or two if visiting from the mosque **[Figure 2.187]**.

The first courtyard is defined by two intersecting walls at a roughly right angle forming the northern and western edges. The southern fence is an arc that connects the southwestern corner with the mosque that occupies the northeastern angle. A flight of steps leads from the street level to a *candi bentar* that marks the courtyards' entrance. The courtyard is entirely occupied by gravestones, indicating that it was used as a cemetery. A non-axial, or bending path, leads to the second courtyard.

The second courtyard is roughly a rectangle which had two entrances: one on its southern side, and the other near its north-eastern corner. The former is marked by a short *candi bentar* doorway **[Figure 2.188]**, whereas the latter is currently walled up. The northern wall is higher than the three other sides and is pierced with a *paduraksa* type doorway. This courtyard is also occupied by graves to the right and left of a central paved pathway that leads to the *paduraksa* of the third courtyard **[Figure 2.189]**. The gateway is not exactly in the middle of the wall, but is shifted to the right.

The third courtyard is the last of the series and houses the *cungkup* or mausoleum of the revered queen. This courtyard is smaller in breadth compared to the preceding one, and was aligned with its western wall; the result of which is a non-axial entrance shifted to the East.

Plan [Figure 2.187]:
The current mausoleum is a modern square building which measures 8.15 x 8.15 m.[126] with a shallow verandah. It is roofed by a one tier pyramidal roof. The southern wall has two doors. The queen's cenotaph is not the only one housed in the building, rather she lays amongst ten others **[Figure 2.205]**. Six more are buried in the

[123] The accompanying plan has lines indicating a gabled roof for the verandah. However, with the absence of supporting columns drawn, I am inclined to believe that actually this area was left unroofed. If this are was actually roofed, then the prayer hall would have been very dark.
[124] The sketch of the mosque by the Dutch artist Wouter Schouten in the *Oost Indische Voyagies,* 1660, shows a building with arched windows similar to this reconstruction, if we only consider the first level of the building in the sketch and disregard the higher superimposing levels.
[125] This in a way reflects the façade of the verandah as seen in the reconstructed façade drawing.
[126] Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah *Dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah* p.6.

verandah **[Figure 2.190]**, and three on the eastern and two on the western sides could also be seen **[Figure 2.191]**.

Elevations:
This contemporary building does not merit any comment, however, like the mosque, here too the southern façade is adorned with several stone medalions. Some are also scattered on the side walls **[Figure 2.190]**.

2-2-7-4: Decoration
Several carved stone medallions and panels inserted in some of the mosque's and mausoleum's walls are original and deserve extreme attention. Original in terms that they were carved for a certain Islamic building and that in their current form did not adorn any Hindu temple or shrine. Some examples on display at the Semarang museum show that the reverse sides of the panels have Hindu carvings depicting episodes of Hindu lore. This means that the stones were plundered from Hindu temples,[127] but the carvings are exclusively of the Islamic era **[Figures 2.192a and b]**. Yet we must consider today that the panels are not in their original locations.[128]

Starting from the inside out, the *qibla* wall is adorned with two rectangular panels that flank the two outer pilasters at the dado's level. Another circular panel with four corner triangles that form an overall square shape are placed in the recess of the *mihrab*. The latter is surmounted by another circular panel, which in turn is surmounted by a lobed triangular one **[Figures 2.193 – 2.195]**.

Two square panels are to be found in the two rooms that flank the prayer hall. The panels are placed on a level above the doors on the wall connecting with the prayer hall **[Figures 2.196a and b]**.

The prayer hall wall overlooking the verandah has received the utmost care in the number and quality of panels inserted there **[Figures 2.197 - 2.199a-c]**. Similar panels also adorn the walls of the mausoleum **[Figure 2.200a-c]**. The panels are carved in relief and could be divided into two main groups. The first depicts natural scenes such as a gardens and mountainous landscapes with lots of different trees, shrubs, and flowers. The scene might include architectural elements as well such as fences and pavilions **[Figure 2.199a]**, or in one case a disguised monkey **[Figure 3.39]**. The second group is mainly carved with geometric patterns that interlace with floral motifs mainly lotuses.

The *qibla* wall exterior also has a number of interesting panels; especially the one with the name Mohammad and its intertwined reflection **[Figure 2.201 – 2.203]**. The Queen's cenotaph is also decorated with mainly vegetal motifs **[Figure 2.206]**.

2-2-7-5: Dating and Patron
The complex was built by Queen Ratu Kalinyamat in 1559.[129] The date of construction is recorded in Javanese letters and is placed on the wall above the *mihrab*[130] **[Figure 2.204]**. It is said that Ratu Kalinyamat copied the Majapahit style as seen in Balinese temples.[131] In light of the absence of the original superstructures of the mosque and the mausoleum it is difficult to verify such an assumption.

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[127] Bennett, J. "Crescent Moon: Afterward," p.250.
[128] Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah *Dan Purbakala Jawa Tengah* p.10.
[129] Ali *Islamic Art* p.307. Legend connects this mosque to the one in Sendang Duwur.
[130] Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* p.106; Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.56; and Ismudiyanto and Atmadi *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.82.
[131] Ali *Islamic Art* p.278.

However, the plan of the mosque with the two flanking rooms does not seem to follow the normal local layouts as seen in the other examples of Java.

2-2-8: The Great Mosque of Banten

2-2-8-1: Location

Banten is a small town on the northern coast of western Java, about 100 km. West of Jakarta **[Figure 2.1]**. The old town called Banten Lama, where the mosque is located, used to be a large archaeological site. Unlike Cirebon and Demak, Banten did not continue to exist and was abandoned by its inhabitants in the early 19th century.

The city plan followed that of Javanese cities; a north-south axis, a central *alun-alun*, a palace to the South, and a mosque on the western side **[Figures 2.211 and 2.212]**. Foreigners, mainly merchants, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, were not allowed to reside in the city proper except for the *Shahbandar* who lived in a house that was located on the eastern side of the *alun-alun*.[132]

2-2-8-2: The Overall Plan

The compound clearly consists of a prayer hall with a front verandah or *serambi* which is the central feature around which all the other elements were planned; a meeting hall or school named locally Tiyamah on the southern side, a necropolis with a mausoleum to the North, and a land mark minaret placed to the East **[Figure 2.216].**

2-2-8-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-8-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi

Plan [Figure 2.213]:

The *serambi* is a rectangular platform five steps higher than the garden level. However, before ascending the steps, the worshippers must step into a pool of water first; a way of cleaning the feet before actually stepping into the mosque proper. A similar process is also used for the steps on the northern side of the prayer hall. The *serambi* is covered by a two tier hipped roof **[Figure 2.214]**, which is supported by means of two rows of six columns. The structure is all new and, artistically speaking, deserves no further comment **[Figure 2.215]**. The wall connecting the *serambi* with the prayer hall is pierced with six doors, only four of which lead into the prayers room. The northern-most doorway leads into a side portico on the northern edge of the mosque. The southern-most entrance leads into the side room, which, although is part of the prayer hall proper, it is isolated from the worship area. This room, in turn, leads to a big rectangular hall on the southern side that used to be an open air courtyard.[133] Another entrance from inside the prayer hall gives access to a room, which is part of the prayer hall area, but also isolated form it. Here too, this room also gives access to the rectangular hall on the southern side **[Figure 2.213]**.

Elevations:

Like most Indonesian mosques, the façades are not really intended or pre-designed. The most influential feature is the covering which, in the case of Banten, is an exaggerated five tier roof **[Figures 2.214 and 2.217]**.

Structure System:

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[132] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.102-3. also Ambary, "The Establishment of the Islamic," p.84. This is important because it shows the great respect for the foreign *shahbandar* and how much influence he must have exerted.

[133] A roof was later added to this courtyard. Compare **[Figures 2.216 and 2.223]**.

The prayer hall is square from the outside and is covered by a five tier pyramidal roof. Inside, the southern space is isolated by means of a massive wall that runs from West to East. The remainder of the space is rectangular and is divided by a 4 x 6 column configuration into five aisles and seven bays **[Figures 2.213 and 2.219- 2.220]**. The central four columns or *soko guru*, which are central to the whole building, are bigger in diameter than the others. However, the columns' width seems to diminish in diameter as they get further from the center. The building was totally renovated and lacks any authentic details **[Figure 2.221]**.

The Interior:
The only feature of the interior worth mention is the *mihrab* which is an arched niche that protrudes from the western wall. Four engaged molded pilasters (two on each side of the *mihrab*) flank the opening which is wide and long enough to accommodate the *Imam* during prayers **[Figure 2.222]**.

2-2-8-3-2: The Tiyamah
A rectangular building known locally as Tiyamah was attached to the hall on the southern side of the mosque to function as a multi-purpose hall **[Figures 2.216 and 2.218]**. This building is not only accessed from the northern hall it neighbors, but also has a door on its southern side that gives direct access to it from the outside. The floor area is divided into three rooms with a similar layout on the second floor. The building has a hipped roof which is higher than that of the *serambi.*

The building has seven windows on the long side and two on both short sides. The façade overlooking the mosque is bereft of fenestration except for one door in the center of the building. Fenestration is on two levels which actually reflects the two storey configuration of the building. The upper level openings are much taller than those corresponding on the lower level.

2-2-8-3-3: The Minaret
The minaret is a cardinally oriented massive octagonal tower **[Figures 2.216 and 2.223]**. The shaft tapers inwards slightly till a level where it is decorated by a massive cornice that creates an upper balcony with rails **[Figure 2.224]**. A conical shaft starts after this level where again another mould creates a cornice at a certain level which creates another balcony. The conical surface seems as if penetrating the second level and continues above the balcony until it is topped with a dome-shape structure that carries a *mustaka* finial. Internally, the minaret has a very narrow staircase that leads all the way up to the second balcony. Small cross shaped openings in the shaft dot the staircase path on the exterior of the minaret and allow light and air into the interior.

The minaret's facet facing North has the entrance door **[Figure 2.225]**. The door was assigned a stylized *makara* motif like that seen earlier in the Panjunan mihrab for example.

2-2-8-3-4: The Necropolis
The area to the North of the mosque is a necropolis where sultan Hassanudin and his grandson *maulana* Muhammad are buried [134]**[Figure 2.226]**. The burial grounds are connected to the mosque by means of a white washed arched gateway.

[134] Acccording to Guillot, "Banten in 1678," p.98, Hasanuddin and his grandson are the only two royalty of Banten that are buried here.

The cenotaphs are in a bad condition compared to other Javanese necropolises. The only one well looked after is that of Sultan Hassanudin, which is kept under a two tier roofed modern building **[Figure 2.227]**.

2-2-8-4: Inscriptions

The only inscription found in the mosque is in Arabic. It is inscribed on the archway leading into the necropolis **[Figure 2.228]**. It belongs to the first half of the twentieth century. The inscription is on two lines preceded by a big Latin 1947 date. On the first line the title line reads:

"مسرة المزار" *massarat al-mazar*

then on the second line:

"سيدنا و مولانا حسن الدين السلطان المعظم فى سن؟" *sayidna wa mawlana Hasan al-Din al-sultan al- mo'azzam fi san?*

The inscription ends with a large 1336 date in Hindi (Arabic) numerals, which is the Hijri equivalent of the Gregorian 1947.

2-2-8-5: Dating and Patron

The Mosque

The first visit by the Dutch to the port of Banten was in 1595-7. It was recorded by Willem Lodewijcksz in 1598. In this account, the city is described as large and having many merchants and a *shahbandar*. It also gave an account of the Dutch officials' dining in the courtyard of the latter's house.[135] According to Holt, the Dutch also reported finding a strong Muslim state and seeing a large mosque.[136]

It seems widely accepted that the first Sultan of Banten, Hasanuddin (r. 1552-70), founded the Surasowan palace and two mosques: one in a village named Pacinan[137] **[Figure 2.229 – 2.231]**, and the royal mosque on the western side of the *alun-alun*.[138] On the other hand, *Maulana* Yusuf, (r.1570-80) who succeeded Hassanudin, is known in the local traditions to have enlarged the great mosque and to have added a *serambi* to it.[139] The Masjid Agung was restored several times, but retained its original form.[140]

The best description of mosque, at the end of the 17th century, is by Bogaert in *Historische Reizen door d'oostersche Deelen van Asia* in which he stated:

"The temple is almost square and built with large beams that are found in abundance on Java. Its roof is in the shape of a tower... It has five roofs, one on top of another; the first and largest one covering the body of the temple; the next ones are

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[135] Benda and Larkin, *The World* pp.80-4.

[136] Holt, *The Cambridge History* p.144.

[137] What remains of this mosque today are the brick *mihrab* niche and brick parts of a square minaret.

[138] Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.2 also Ambary, "the Establishment of the Islamic," p.84 and O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.235 However, only Sumalyo forwards the suggestion that the mosque was built during the reign of Maulana Yusuf and took 10 years to build (1570-80).see Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid* p.498.

[139] Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.2. Pijper "The Minaret in Java," p.280 quotes Schouten in reporting seeing the minaret in Banten when he visited. Valentijn, on the other hand, who visited the city after Schouten, does not mention it nor does it appear in the sketch of the city accompanying his texts!

[140] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.498. According to Guillot, "Banten in 1678," p.97, the mosque collapsed in 1615. He quotes an account by an Englishman, Th. Elkington, in which is mentioned that the mosque had collapsed during the night of August 13 to 14, of that year due to lightning. Guillot, therefore implies that the current mosque could not have been earlier than this date.

smaller and smaller so that the last one almost comes to a point. In its center, is raised a high [construction] which forms a real peak".[141]

Another similar description is to be found in Stavorinus' *Voyage par le Cap* around the middle of the 18th:

"This building, shaped almost in a square, is flanked on two sides by a high wall: The covering rises up like a tower, with five roofs one on top of the other of which the second is smaller than the first, the third smaller than the second, etc. and whose fifth one ends up in a point while the lowest one extends quite a bit beyond the walls of the temple".[142]

Tiyamah

The Tiyamah building is a 17th century Dutch style building that was built by the Dutch architect J. L. Cardeel. This addition to the mosque was ordered by Sultan Abul Nasr 'Abdul Qahar (r.1672-87), traditionally known as Sultan Haji of Banten,[143] who, according to Adnan, had traveled to Turkey and Mecca where he had seen schools and minarets attached to mosques.[144] Based on the records of Valentijn,[145] not only the Tiyamah building, but also the Surasowan palace walls and the mosque's minaret were built by the same architect.[146]

The Minaret

The construction date of the minaret is not yet certain nor is it agreed upon that it was the Dutch Architect Cardeel who built it, or that it was actually a minaret. Some believe it resembles a European light house and therefore worked as a "beacon and look out tower for the busy port".[147] An old map in *De eerste Schipvaart der nederlanders naar Oost Indie onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-7* does not show the presence of a minaret[148] **[Figure 2.232]**. In the Sejara Banten it is stated that by the time Hasanudin had a brother for his elder son Yusuf, it was time for the building of a minaret. According to K. C. Crucq, if we are to credit this account, then the minaret was already standing before the reign of Maulana Yusuf, the son of Hasanudin. He also, on stylistic bases, concludes that it was built between 1569 and 1570.[149] Although Sumalyo agrees with the other scholars concerning the time period and a certain role by the Dutch architect Cardeel, he is of he opinion that only the idea came from the Dutch architect, but the minaret was built c.1620 by a Chinese named Cek Ban Cut.[150] He supports his point of view by suggesting that the proportions are very much like those of Chinese pagodas.[151] More interesting, Miksic describes it as of "Moghul Indian Pattern".[152] According to Gulliot, "This minaret did not appear on

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[141] Quotation after Guillot, "Banten in 1678," p.97.
[142] Quotation after Guillot, "Banten in 1678," p.97
[143] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.103 and Adnan, R. *Kajian Terhadap Keberadaan*, p.72.
[144] Adnan, R. *Kajian Terhadap Keberadaan*, p.73.
[145] Valentijn, Francois *Oude en nieuw Oost-Indien* 5 vols. (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724-6).
[146] Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.4.
[147] O'Niel, "Southeast Asia," p.235 also Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.591.
[148] This is contrary to what is stated by Tjandrasasmita, et al. *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical* p.13.
[149] Crucq, "Aanteekeningen over de manara te Banten," p.199.
[150] Guillot, C. et al *The Sultanate of Banten* p.62 reports this as a common belief, yet earlier in his French version of the "Banten in 1678," published in *Archipel* 37 (1989): 119-51, He describes traditions as not always being right. See pp.97-8 of his English version.
[151] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.501.
[152] Miksic, "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.86.

older maps of Banten. However, in the legend of a map from 1659,[153] one can read: ‘their Misquijt [masjid] or church near which is located a white and straight tower which rises higher than the trees’. [Furthermore] on the view of Banten in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris[154] which dates probably from the beginning of the 1670s, one can clearly see a minaret near the mosque. In 1694, while passing through Banten, Valentijn[155] mentioned a "stone tower seen from far and wide”.[156] In all cases, what concerns us here is that the current minaret was not part of the very first mosque building phase, but rather an afterthought. However, the minaret’s stylistic features do resemble those of a European lighthouse. Furthermore, such a feature had it existed earlier it would have not missed the observation of the travelers who passed by. I therefore, credit the mid 17th century accounts.

[153] He Quotes J. W. Ijzerman, ed., *Cornells Buijsero te Bantam, 1616-1618* (The Hague, 1923), XXIII.
[154] (Cartes et plans, SH 193/4/1)
[155] Valentijn, Francois *Oude en nieuw Oost-Indien* 5 vols. (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724-6).
[156] Guillot, “Banten in 1678,” pp.97-8.

2-2-9: The Mausoleum of Sunan Gunung Jati

2-2-9-1: Location

The shrine is found in the village of Astana which is approximately five kilometers to the North of Cirebon **[Figure 2.1]**. The mausoleum is located on a hill called Mount Sembung, which lies on the left hand side of the main highway that links Cirebon with Jakarta **[Figure 2.242]**.

2-2-9-2: The Overall Plan

The mausoleum is planned in a north-south orientation; a series of nine courtyards eventually leads to the mausoleum that occupies the summit of the site's hill **[Figure 2.243]**. The preceding courtyards are the burial grounds of the descendants of the *Sunan* and ruling lineage of the sultanate of Cirebon, which are still in use today. The whole complex is considered sacred and only the Sultan and his immediate family members are allowed to enter beyond the third courtyard.

The complex is approached from the South, where a large rectangular *pendopo*, placed in the *alun-alun*, receives the visitors; most probably to protect the pilgrims from the rain or the heat of the sun while waiting to be allowed for *ziyarah*. Next to it is a cased *pendopo* that originates from the Majapahit era. This *pendopo* is regarded as a victory trophy[157] **[Figure 2.244]**.

2-2-9-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-9-3-1: The First Courtyard

Two entrances allow access to the first courtyard: a central gateway **[Figure 2.245]** and another one shifted to the East. The former is the first in a series of nine gateways **[Figure 2.256]** that give access to the mausoleum and the latter is a public entrance that ultimately leads to the living quarters of the site care takers or Karamat members as called by the locals. Both gateways are of the *candi bentar* type. However, they lack any intricate details and thus do not merit any further comment.

The first courtyard is mainly a cemetery with cenotaphs competing to occupy every possible available space. This courtyard offers washing facilities on its eastern side. Two wooden kiosks are placed to the west of both the central and eastern passageways **[Figure 2.246]**, and a rectangular building located between both passages is used as a ceramics storage place **[Figure 2.247]**.

2-2-9-3-2: The Second Courtyard

The beginning of the second courtyard is signaled by a four steps change in ground elevation in addition to a waist high parapet that protects against the ground level change **[Figure 2.248]**. Like the first courtyard, here too, the space is furnished with cenotaphs. However two large *pendopos* are the main features of this area. The first is called Mande Jajar and was a present from the Hindu King Prabu Silawangi (r.1482-1521 A.D.) of Pajajaran to Sunan Gunung Jati in 1401 Saka, which is equivalent to

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[157] I was told by a local guide who happens to be a member of the Kasephuan *kraton* this *pendopo* was constructed in the Majapahit era and is called Mandi Majapahit. However, Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.88 mentions that it is called Bale Mangu Demak and that it was a present from queen Nywa of Demak in honor of her deceased husband, a son of *Sunan* Gunung Jati, who died in a ship wreck during a journey from Demak to Cirebon. The *pendopo* is dated 1400 Saka equivilant to 1480 A.D, which still makes it a Majapahit era structure.

1497 A.D.[158] **[Figure 2.249]**. It is placed central to the courtyard on the central pathway. Like the Majapahit trophy in the *alun-alun*, here too, the *pendopo* is cased and not for actual use. The second, which is placed to the west of the eastern passageway, is open and placed as on the passage most frequented by visitors **[Figure 2.250]**. This suggests a function of a resting place or a rain/sun parasol. A smaller *pendopo* is placed at the eastern end of the courtyard.

2-2-9-3-3: The Third Courtyard

Two gateways mark the entrances of the third courtyard, which is five steps higher. The first, the central one, is a white washed plastered gate that merits no further attention **[Figure 2.251]**. However, the second, which is on the secondary passageway to the East, has two stylized wings that are decorated and painted in a vivid Javanese style which lays a lot of importance on this entrance rather than the central one **[Figures 2.252a and b]**.

The wall connecting both gates is shoulder high and is decorated by inserting Dutch tiles and other Chinaware. Vases are also used to accentuate the entrances **[Figures 2.253a-c]**.

Unlike the first two preceding courtyards and the ones to follow, the third courtyard is covered. This is due to the prohibition of visitors to go beyond this part. In other words, this is the gathering point for all visitors of the complex, thus protection from weather conditions is a must in order to provide a comfortable *ziyarah* environment for the pilgrims **[Figure 2.254]**.

The main feature in this courtyard is the mausoleum of Sultan Raja Sulayman (r.1845-80) **[Figure 2.255]** that juts out of the courtyard's northern wall creating two distinguishable areas: the western area, which flanks the central pathway of the shrine, and the eastern area, which borders the secondary passageway. It is worth mentioning that the western area is the actual gathering point of pilgrims for performing prayers **[Figure 2.254]** and the eastern part is the living quarters of the shrine care takers or the Karamat members **[Figure 2.257]**. The secondary passageway penetrates their quarters and reaches all the way up to the *Sunan's* mausoleum. It is claimed that the current care takers of the site are the descendants of sailors that accompanied Adipati Keling, whose ship wrecked near Cirebon. Since then, the Adipati and his sailors decided to stay in the service of *Sunan* Gunung Jati. Keling was an assistant of Fatahillah Jati's army commander during the expeditions against the Hindus and Portuguese in the Sunda area in West Java.[159]

2-2-9-3-4: The Fourth-Ninth Courtyards

These courtyards are all marked by gateways on the central path and an increase in ground elevation as one climbs towards the *Sunan's* mausoleum **[Figures 2.243 and 2.256]**. The central path is walled up, thus creating a narrow corridor with the mausoleum at its focal point. The path is flanked by cenotaphs on both the eastern and western sides that belong to different members of the Cirebon sultanate linage **[Figures 2.258 - 2.260]**.

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[158] Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.88 Ali mentions that "the teak building that housed the shrine has a square plan. Named as Mande Jajar, presented to the saint by the Hindu King of Pajajaran, the building is dated 1401 Saka or 1497 A.D." Ali, *Islamic Art* p.255 He gives no further explanation on how that can be since the building concerned is an open *pendopo* and is currently located in the second courtyard of the complex.

[159] Ambary, "Historical Monuments," p.88-9 and Ali, *Islamic Art* p.255 Adipati Keling is buried in the 8th courtyard. See **[Figure 2.256].**

Worth noting is the shrine's mosque location on the eastern side, where the *qibla* protrusion can be seen at the seventh courtyard **[Figure 2.261]**.

The ninth courtyard, unlike the preceding ones, which are rectangular in shape, is irregular. However, the *Sunan's* mausoleum is encased by four high walls that form a true square. The walls are painted pink, which contrasts with the lavish greenery of the surrounding cascading landscape **[Figure 2.262]**.

2-2-9-3-2: The Sunan's Mausoleum [Figures 2.267-70]

In light of the inaccessibility of this mausoleum to the public, this section could not be completed. However based on the few, extremely rare, pictures that were taken by Profesor Ambary of the last courtyard and the *sunan's* tomb, it could be gathered that the mausoleum has a square raised plinth. The doors are highly carved with themes not far from those seen at Mantingan. The cenotaphs shown in the picture[160] too, show resemblance to that of Ratu Kalinyamat. One last observation is that the *sunan's* cenotaph is not alone on the plinth; rather it is accompanied by 17 others.

2-2-9-4: Decoration and Inscriptions

The shrine currently lacks any inscriptions. However, an early Dutch photo shows a doorway with an inscription in the lintel above the door[161] **[Figure 2.263].**

Decoration is mainly confined to inserted polychrome chinaware and Chinese and Dutch tiles **[Figures 2.253a-b]**. The placement of the tiles and chinaware in the walls is carefully done in a way to achieve an overall balanced geometrical design. In other cases, the colorful dishes are inserted in white moulds to accentuate floral motifs **[Figures 2.264-5]**. Only once was a pair of vividly colored wings used to decorate and emphasize the entrance of the Karamat member's quarters. The wings are filled with colored undulating lines and repetitive leaf like curls **[Figure 2.252b].**

2-2-9-5: Dating and Patron

There is no firm date for the mausoleum, yet it could be assumed that the whole complex started after the *Sunan's* death in 1570. In light of the few pictures that were published by Professor Ambary, the resemblance these pictures show to other Javanese monuments of the same period, credits the late 16th century date assumption.

[160] According to Ali, *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia* p.256, these two cenotaphs, based on "unconfirmed reports" resemble that of *sunan* Gunung Jati.

[161] Since no visitors are currently allowed beyond the third courtyard, it is impossible to verify whether the inscription still exists or what it says.

2-2-10: The Shrine of Sendang Duwur

2-2-10-1: Location

The shrine is located on a high irregular rock hill in the village of Sendang Duwur, This is three kilometers South of the town of Paciran, on the northern coast of Java, 30 kilometers to the West of Tuban and 72 kilometers to the East of Surabayya[162] **[Figure 2.1]**.

The monument is named after the village it is found in. *Sendang* in Javanese means small pond, and *duwur* means high. The name is Hindu-Javanese, and thus suggests that it was given to the village at an earlier time.[163]

Because this example is the one that shows the most Hindu-Javanese influences,[164] it is believed that the site was occupied by an earlier Hindu temple.[165] In any case, the importance of this monument is due to the fact that it represents a transitional phase from Hindu-Javanese to Islamic-Javanese architecture. Hindu architectural elements were reused to construct a new type of building. Instead of the usual Hindu temple, a mosque-mausoleum composition was introduced. In other monuments, assimilation of earlier Hindu elements are identifiable, but here, genuine Hindu parts are being used. Indian parts can be seen in: gates, Garuda wings and other animal and floral motifs.[166]

2-2-10-2: The Overall Plan

Three identifiable parts can be clearly read from the plan: the mosque with its square layout, the Hindu entrance moat and gates to the North, and the mausoleum and accompanying graves to the West **[Figure 2.289]**.

2-2-10-3: Complex Elements:

2-2-10-3-1: The Mosque and Serambi

According to Tjandrasasmita, "In 1919, Dr. F.D.K. Bosch as the Head of the Archaeological Service, made a survey of the monument. It was reported in the "Reports of the Archaeological Service" of the same year. .... Two years later, namely in 1921, Dr. F.D.K. Bosch made a second visit to the place, but he was very disappointed to find the mosque completely changed into a new one by the local people. … The alteration by the locals was carried out in 1920. This can be known from the date in Latin, Arabic and new Javanese characters, written above the doors of the present mosque."[167] Yet still, some parts of the new mosque used old materials, especially the foundations, which are authentic. Although the mosque was totally re-built, comparisons with older pictures show similarities with the original structure; especially the three tier roof.[168]

Plan:

In our efforts to recall the shape and looks of the older mosque, we are fortunate in possessing the works of the Indonesian archeologist Tjandrasasmita who had devoted

[162] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* pp.1 and 2.
[163] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.1.
[164] Michell, G, "The Far East," p.280 and Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.523.
[165] Michell, G, "The Far East," p.280 and Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.523.
[166] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.523.
[167] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* pp.3-4.
[168] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.7.

a serious monograph for this matter. According to his results, "The plan of the ancient mosque is square and measures 15 X 15 m. … the front part of the original plan had been extended during the rebuilding as much as 3.60 m. On the original plan are an inner hall and a veranda. The entrance to this veranda was formerly in front and exactly in the center, while another entrance is on the southern side. The staircase which was the original entrance to the veranda was decorated by stair wings, which has a profile like the stair wings of a split gate. … The wall of the ancient mosque has no windows as there are now. It was the same case with the wall of the inner hall, which might have been in the dark. The sunrays could only enter this inner hall through the small entrance doors and holes in the upper part of the southern wall. This is also possibly deliberately done to give it a special quality or a sacred atmosphere like in the temples of the Hindu-Indonesia period. The old water tank[169] had a roof; …. People could enter the old mosque from that water tank without passing through the front door. … The inner hall of the ancient mosque was divided in two parts, namely 1/3 for the women's part and 2/3 for the men's part. The part for the women is on the left side (south) while the part for the men is on the right side (north). The division between these two parts is made of matted bamboo and it has only the height of a man. … The roof of the ancient mosque had … three stories and was made of big wooden tiles. The old roof is therefore not different in set up from the new one"[170] **[Figure 2.281]**.

Structure System:
The older mosque must have had the usual four *soko guru* columns that are always used to support the pyramidal type roof. The current columns belong to the modern renovation phase. Currently the structure system comprises of 16 columns distributed in a 4 x 4 configuration; the central four being of bigger diameter. Some parts of the old columns, such as the capitals and column bases, are currently on display at the Drajat Museum **[Figure 2.282]**.

The Interior:
Mihrab
Not much is known about the original *mihrab*, but from the foundations, it could be gathered that the niche was not so deep and protruded only half a meter out from the line of the foundations, and was only 1.1 meters wide.[171]

Minbar
The current *minbar* is a later commission **[Figure 2.283]**. However, the original one, which is currently in a decayed condition, is said to be safely kept in the mosque's attic.[172] We are fortunate in possessing an old photograph of the *minbar* while still intact **[Figure 2.284]**. From the picture, it is possible to see that three steps lead the way up to the *imam's* seat. Two posts on the front side are connected from above by what is known as a *makara* arch, and form the entrance of the *minbar*. Two similar posts, shorter in height, are also present on the back side and form the back rest. The front and back posts are connected latterly by means of undulating arms. Furthermore, the *imam's* seat has two rectangular sides, which end in a curling motif. The whole

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[169] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.523. He mentions a well at the beginning being used for ablutions.
[170] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.37-40.
[171] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.8.
[172] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.37 and 41.

surface, except for some areas on the front posts, is decorated by relief carvings; mostly foliage.

2-2-10-3-2: Hindu Entrance and Successive Courtyards

This entrance group is mainly for reaching the burial area on the western side of the site where the *Sunan's* mausoleum is founded. A narrow bridge crosses the moat dug in front of the entrance and leads to the first gateway of the entrance group, which is of the *candi-bentar* type **[Figures 2.285 and 2.286]**. A flight of nine steps penetrates the gateway and gives access to the first courtyard. This courtyard is divided into three sections: the northern part is separated by means of a high brick wall with a *paduraksa* type gateway at its center. **[Figure 2.286]**.

The second part is to the South and is marked by a short, two course stone fence. This space, like the northern one, is occupied by stone cenotaphs, thus indicating its use as a burial ground. The area in between the northern and southern parts of the courtyard represents the central pathway to the site, which on its western side, the second gateway is found. This gateway is of the *paduraksa* type and due to its size and decorations, dominates the whole space **[Figure 2.287]**. Of particular interest are the winged Garudas that are carved on the jambs of the gateway and seem to guard the entrance, as do the more pronounced ones seen on the walls to the right and left of the *paduraksa*. The western side of the *paduraksa* has received similar carved Garudas, but not the walls **[Figures 2.288 and 2.278]**.

The second gateway leads to another, less pronounced, *candi bentar* that is shifted to the left from the axis of the *paduraksa*. This shift forces the people entering to turn left, a move which will make the other pronounced *candi bentar,* which lends the mosque a visible feature. Those entering the *Sunan's* mausoleum will pass through the smaller *candi bentar* where they will reach a third courtyard. According to Tjandrasasmita's reconstruction, two *pendopos* were present in this courtyard[173] **[Figure 2.289]**. From the far western end of this courtyard, a narrow path bends in a southern direction which forms an arc. A group of steps descends downwards due to the inclining nature of the hill at this point **[Figure 2.292]**. To the West are two burial areas: one is a square open air platform that is circled by a low parapet. The second is a rectangular roofed area which is seven steps higher than the passage level **[Figure 2.293]**. It, too, is protected by a low parapet. These two distinguished areas and the spaces adjacent to them are occupied by stone cenotaphs, which are particularly interesting since some of them are inscribed in Arabic **[Figure 2.294]**.

The path further leads to a *paduraksa* that is eminently decorated with Hindu-Javanese motifs including a pair of very pronounced wings. This entrance is the best decorated of all the gateways **[Figures 2.295a-f - 2.297a-c]**, and therefore signals the coming of a very revered feature. It is also elongated to form a tunnel like effect **[Figure 2.297]** which eventually opens to the last courtyard. From here, a flight of 22 steps finally gives access to the *Sunan's* mausoleum level.

2-2-10-3-3: Sunan's Mausoleum

The mausoleum is preceded by a pavilion with a hipped roof, under which the pilgrims are protected from the sun and the rain **[Figure 2.281]**.

The mausoleum has a square stone base surmounted by a wooden screen that reaches to the roof and veils the cenotaph of the *Sunan* **[Figure 2.298]**. A wooden

[173] Currently there are two pendopos, but not at the same location. The first is to the right and is used as a storage area for old wooden members of the mosque. The second is placed as a shelter for the onward entrance leading to the mausoleum **[Figures 2.290 and 2.291].**

pyramidal roof covers all this. The eastern side of the base touches the western (*qibla*) wall of the mosque and thus prevents any form of *tawaf* or ambulation. Entrance to the cenotaph is possible through a door in the wooden screen. The door is not centrally placed, rather shifted to the right hand side end of the screen **[Figure 2.299]**. Four narrow stone steps flanked by two carved Hindu parapets lead to the mausoleum's two leaf door **[Figure 2.300]**.

2-2-10-4: Decoration

Stone Base of the Mausoleum

It is obvious that the carved panels of the base were salvaged from another place and re-assembled here to form a decorative façade for the *Sunan's* tomb. The main theme is a series of four hexagonal panels placed so that three are to the left of the tomb stairs and one on its right hand side. A group of triangular wedges fills the spaces in between to form an overall rectangular panel. The panels have floral compositions.[174] A floral frieze spans the entire façade just above the previously mentioned hexagonal panels **[Figure 2.301a and b]**.

The left hand side corner of the stone base is treated differently; the designs show a vertical direction rather than the horizontal pattern seen in the panels to the right **[Figure 2.301a]**. Also the frieze that runs across the façade is also used in a vertical orientation and is placed between the horizontal panels and the corner vertical part. Here it is obvious that the frieze is misplaced and the base was assembled rather than carved in situ.

The most prominent feature is the Hindu parapet that is assigned to the tomb's door-stairs **[Figure 2.302]**. The carvings are intricate. The parapet is surmounted by two wings, one on each side, on which two lions once sat. One is now in the possession of the Jakarta Museum **[Figure 2.303]** and the other is broken and reportedly kept in the mosque's attic.[175]

Wooden Screen of the Mausoleum

The screen to the left of the doorway is a rectangular frame divided by four vertical posts into five vertical rectangular spaces **[Figure 2.304]**. Two horizontal beams, one close to the bottom side of the screen and the other one closer to the upper end, further divides each rectangular panel into three surfaces; a central vertical rectangular panel based on and surmounted by, two smaller horizontal rectangular ones. Furthermore, every rectangular surface received a hexagonal panel, thus creating a hexagon surrounded by four triangular surfaces at the corners. Each hexagon is carved in relief depicting floral and plant scenes. The corner triangles are also filled with foliage. Of special interest is the central vertical hexagon, which has a clear crescent carved within the floral theme. The horizontal panel that surmounts it also received a similar crescent in which the Saka date 1507 (1585 A.D.) is inscribed **[Figure 2.305]**.

The doors display the same concept of hexagonal panels inserted in rectangular frames, however, for the sake of distinguishing the doors from the rest of the screen, the door jambs are protruding. The panels on the doors were placed to form two vertical panels separated by a smaller horizontal one in the middle. Nonetheless, here too, the panels are filled with floral decorations and foliage **[Figure 2.306a-c]**.

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[174] The first panel from the left and the third show what seems to be wings in a floral composition.
[175] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.15.

2-2-10-5: Inscriptions

The mosque possesses an Arabic inscription that has been translated by Dr. G. F. Pijper as follows:

It may be known that this mosque has been built twice, the first time in 1483 (Javanese calendar) which is the same as 971 Hijrah, [1563 A.D.] and the second time in 1851 (Javanese calendar) which is 1339 Hijrah [1920 AD].[176]

A similar inscription attached to the current *minbar* **[Figure 2.307]** reads:

بني هذا المنبر مرتين الأولى سنة 971 هجرية الموافق سنة
1552 المسيحية و الثانية يوم الأثنين 12 ربيع الأول سنة
1398 هجرية الموافق 20 فيبروارى سنة 1978 مسيحية

This minbar *was built twice; the first in 971 H. which is the equivalent to year 1552 A. D.*[177] *The second time was on Monday 12th Rabi' al-Awwal in the year 1398 H. which matches the 20th of February 1978 A. D.*

2-2-10-6: Dating and Patron

It is believed that the Mosque was built by Raden Nur Rakhmad, whom was given the title of *Sunan* and nick-named Sendag Duwur by Sunan Drajat[178] in 1561. This date is found in a chronogram in a manuscript that relates to the history of the mosque's building.[179] Legend has it that the mosque was lifted from Mantingan, Jepara, to its current location.[180] However, the previously mentioned Arabic inscription gives a date which is almost two years later, which might be the difference between the founding of the mosque and the actual inauguration date.

As for the date of the mausoleum, the 1585 A.D. inscribed on the wooden screen, according to Tjandrasasmita, "could be the date of the foundation of the tomb or also the year of death of Sunan Sendang." He further believes that time difference of 24 years between the construction of the mosque and that of the tomb is fairly acceptable.[181]

[176] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.59.
[177] Actually 971 H. is equivalent to 1563-4.
[178] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.522. According to the local traditions, Raden Rakhmad was a young scholar who resided in the village. He was also a son of Abdul Qahar who also was a scholar and the grandson of a certain Shaykh abu Yazid al-Bughdadi from Egypt. See Wiryoprawiro, Ir *Perkembangan Arsitektur*, p.211.
[179] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities* p.57.
[180] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.522. Legend has it that Sunan Sendang Duwur went to Manitigan, having the intention of buying a mosque from an old widow. The lady refuses on terms that mosques are not for sale. Sunan Sendang Duwur almost losses hope until he receives Sunan Kalijaga in a dream the latter asks him to try again. On repeating the attempt, the widow agrees at last, but under the condition that the mosque be moved to another location; a term that Sunan Sendang Duwur miraculously achieves by lifting the mosque to its current location in the village of Sendang Duwur. See Wiryoprawiro, Ir *Perkembangan Arsitektur*, p.21. More likely that this mosque was modelled after the one in Mantingan, or the wooden structural elements were pre-fabricated there and then transferred to Sendang Duwur were they were assembled.
[181] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.59.

Chapter 3:

Architecture and Decoration Analysis

3-1: The Aim of This Chapter

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the mosques and shrines both in terms of planning concepts, architectural elements and details, and decorative schemes unfamiliar to the local Javanese eye, on the one hand, and alien to the architectural practices in the Islamic world on the other. New features will be traced, and the blending of local and imported traditions will be commented on. Unlike chapter two, where each mosque or shrine was studied and described as a separate entity, in this chapter a comparative method will be used.

3-2: Planning Concepts and Typology

The ten case-studies of this dissertation can be categorized according to different aspects like the function of the complex, the planning concepts **[Figure 3.1]**, or the ground plan and the structure system of the main and auxiliary buildings, especially roof types.

3-2-1: Typology According to Site and Building Functions

In terms of function, three main uses can be clearly distinguished: congregational mosques, neighborhood *masjids*, and shrines.[1] The great mosques of Demak, Banten, and Cirebon belong to the first category, the *masjid* Panjunan relates to the second, and the shrines in Drajat, Kudus, Sendang Duwur, Tuban, Mantingan, and Cirebon are examples of the third use.

3-2-2: Typology According to Site Planning

In terms of planning concepts, three main elements are always present and correlate: The mosque, the mausoleum, and the cemetery. The weight of each element is magnified or understated according to the intended use of the site; it being the prayer hall when it comes to a congregational mosque, and naturally the mausoleum when a shrine is in consideration. Nevertheless, two planning concepts are unmistakably visible: a succession of clearly marked spaces, in many cases, as walled courtyards that ultimately lead to the mausoleum. This concept is adopted by the mausoleums of Sunan Kudus, Bonang, Drajat, Gunung Jati, and Sendang Duwur. A simpler planning scheme is used for the mosques in which they are normally located in the center of the site where they could be best noticed, not only from inside the site, but from the surrounding streets as well.

3-2-2-1: The Concept of the Centralized Plan

As mentioned above, this scheme is used for the planning of congregational mosques. The three main elements; prayer hall, cemetery, and mausoleum are usually present. The prayer hall occupies the central spot and the cemetery is assigned to the area North of it. The founder's mausoleum is usually set up in the cemetery. However, it is worth noting that the mausoleum is an afterthought and does not belong to the original planning phase of the complex. The congregational mosque of Demak, as described in chapter two, shows the presence of the cemetery to the North of the prayer hall. Raden Fatah, the founder of the sultanate of Demak, is buried in this area. The spot is

[1] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Architectural Syncretism* p.24 adds a fourth category which he terms "community mosques. According to his definition, "a community mosque is used for daily religious activities by a community. It is located at the center of a community or town." He gives the Sunan Kudus mosque as an example of this type.

obscurely marked by a cenotaph that is flanked by several others of his family members and successors. No mausoleum was built to cover the cenotaph or to visually mark his status as founder of the state.

The congregational mosque of Banten shows a similar configuration. However, in Banten's case, the burial spot of sultan Hassanudin is honored by the erection of a *cungkup* which, as discussed in chapter two, was a later addition.

The case in Cirebon, where no mausoleum is found, is simpler. The Cirebon saint, Sunan Gunang Jati is buried elsewhere and only a small burial area is found to the South of the mosque.[2]

The "centralized plan" concept, as noticed in all the case examples, dictated that the mosques be located on the western edge of the large *alun -alun* or central square of the towns they served. This location proves to be ideal and therefore, absolutely intended; with the *qibla* facing West[3] the mosque entrances are placed on the eastern side and therefore, directly link the mosque to the *alun-alun*.

The planning of the Panjunan mosque which is a representative of neighborhood *masjids* does not follow the above mentioned scheme strictly, rather a simple and straight forward plan. The prayer hall occupies the center of the plot and the entrances are located on the eastern side. Although the space west of the prayer hall is vacant, the area to the south of the mosque was favored for a burial spot.[4]

3-2-2-2: The Concept of Successive Spaces

This concept is only used for the planning of mausoleums. The main theme is the creation of a string of spaces that ultimately lead to the saint's tomb. Two concepts are used: either the axial scheme, in which all the spaces are placed according to one central axis that leads from the entrance to the tomb, or the non-axial system, in which the courtyards follow a non-linear path. The mausoleums of Drajat, Bonang, Gunang Jati, and Ratu Kalinyamat are examples of the former, while the shrines of Sendang Duwur and Kudus represent the latter.

The non-axial concept will not disclose the saint's tomb or the ultimate goal until the very last space is approached, whereas the axial concept might or might not reveal the sacred spot from the very beginning, depending on whether the site is even or hilly. Flat locations usually inhibit the saint's tomb from the entrance, such as the case of the mausoleum of *Sunan* Bonang, whereas elevated mausoleums are visible, not necessarily starting from the entrance gateways, but usually from surrounding areas such as the cases of the shrines of Gunang Jati, Drajat, and Ratu Kalinyamat.

Both concepts retain the principle of providing the Saint's tomb with reverence and holiness; however, by concealing the tomb from the outside, mysticism is also added.

Walls are the usual space definers for both the axial planning concept and the non-linear approach. However, at hilly sites artificial platforms are created and their borders clearly mark the limits of each space. In all cases, open *candi bentar* or lockable *paduraksa* gateways are used for marking the entrances of each space and

[2] This limited necropolis seems to crouch to the west of the site with sporadic cenotaphs marking the burial spots of the deceased.

[3] The true qibla in Java is not west rather it should be slightly deviated to the north. Ambary attributes the wrongly west orientation as a "misunderstanding". Ambary, H. *Some Aspects* p.7.

[4] It seems that the planners in Cirebon preferred the southern side of the mosque premises for the location of the necropolis whereas, Demak and Banten opted for the northern edge

for doting the designated pathway to the saint's tomb. Furthermore, all the shrines show that cenotaphs and tomb stones compete to fill the spaces that precede the sacred tombs.

A major planning obligation, which can be noticed for all the shrines of this study, is that the complex must include a mosque; either this mosque is the *masjid* Agung of the town, like the case in Tuban, or a smaller neighborhood mosque, like in the cases of Ratu Kalinyamat, Gunang Jati, and Sendang Duwur, or even a more simpler *masjid* built exclusively for the shrine, like in the case of the shrine of Drajat. Not only is the presence of the mosque important, but equally essential is that the tomb of the saint be located to the west of the mosque's *qibla* wall; a condition that is implemented in all the examples under examination

3-2-3: Typology According to Ground Plan, Structure System, and Roof Type

The ground plan is strongly influenced by the function of the building. Two ground plans can be clearly recognized: the first, which is used for mosques, is a square with a protruding niche in the western wall. Four main columns (*soko guru*) usually encicled by 12 subsidiary ones, is the common structure layout used for this type of plan. The columns, especially the four central ones, are left free standing in the interior of the space. A *serambi* or a shaded portico precedes the prayer hall's eastern side. The plans of the Demak, Banten, and Panjunan mosques follow this configuration, while that of the Cirebon mosque is slightly elongated in a North-South direction, thus deviating from the strictly square plan. Furthermore, the plan of the mosque in Mantingan has two antechambers that flank the prayer hall; a feature not seen in any other Javanese mosque. To my knowledge, this feature appears in two other mosques that happen to be on the Indian Ocean maritime high traffic route: the first is the mosque of Fakhr ad-Din in Mogadishu, Somalia, built in A. D. 1296, and the other example is the mosque of Songjiang (small city on the eastern coast of China between Shanghai and Hangzhou), which was built in the middle of the 14th century **[Figures 4.39 - 40]**.[5]

The ground plan configuration used for the mausoleums consists of two concentric squares. The inner square surface is usually defined by an elevated ground and an encircling stone or wooden screen. Four main columns are positioned on the elevated inner square, like in the case of *Sunan* Bonang, or in the outer space near the corners of the inner pedestal, like the example of Kudus. Subsidiary supports are placed on the perimeter of the outer square to form an outer shell for the mausoleum and simultaneously help carry the weight of the sloping roof eaves. Unlike in mosque plans, here the central columns are not massive in diameter and thus, are not considered a main feature and, in many cases, are concealed behind the stone or wooden screens.

The mausoleums are also preceded by a *serambi* on the southern sides

The mosques and mausoleums of this study, with the exception of the grand mosque of Cirebon, all have a multi-tier pyramidal (tajug) roofs. In the case of Cirebon, and due to the rectangular plan, the roof has a ridge at the top and thus, does not form a true geometrical pyramid. The roofs vary in the number of levels; from one tier, used mainly for small mausoleums, like that of Sendang Duwur, or two tiers,

[5] For more details see entries on "East Africa" and "China" in *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*. Ed. M. Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan (London and New York, 1994)

like the ones used for the mausoleums of Kudus, Drajat, Bonang, and the Panjunan mosque, three tiers, as used in the mosques of Demak, Cirebon, and the current mosque at Mantingan. Five tiers is the maximum number of roof levels used so far and can be seen at the mosque of Banten.

3-2-4: Characteristics of the Javanese Mosque and Shrine

In spite of the above typological categories, the buildings share a number of common features that give the Javanese mosque a special character. The same could be said regarding the shrines. The main characteristics have been sketched by two Dutch scholars: Pijper[6] and De Graaf.[7] The former, followed by other Indonesian scholars,[8] describes the main features of the Javanese mosque as being: first, having a square ground-plan, second, being built directly on the ground using "an elevated massive fundament" and not raised on poles as did other Javanese domestic buildings, third, having a pyramidal roof of two to five tiers, fourth, the *qibla* wall is extending to the outside to form the mihrab,[9] fifth, having an open veranda (or *serambi* as called locally) on the entrance side and sometimes on the southern and northern ones as well, and lastly, the mosque being isolated from the surrounding buildings by a fence that has one[10] entrance with a gate of the *candi bentar* type or in other cases the *paduraksa* style.[11]

De Graaf argues that the *serambi,* which has a separate roof from that of the prayer hall, was a later addition and did not belong to the original phase of the mosque design. He also adds that the pyramidal roofs were crowned by an ornamental top, that the mosques originally had no minarets, and that sometimes the mosques were "standing in water".[12] In regards to this last point, Sadali is more conservative and suggests "a ditch or pond [is] located near the entrance or on one or both sides of the mosque".[13] Other scholars add inclusion of a cemetery as another important feature of the Javanese mosque configuration.[14] The previously mentioned features all describe the external appearances of the buildings; however one other feature is characteristic of the interiors: mainly the use of four massive columns (*soko guru*) to support the upper most part of the roof.[15]

One last aspect concerns women prayer areas, termed in Java *pawestren*, which are in many cases included within the main prayer hall and under the same roof. According to Tjandrasasmita, the left side would be reserved for the women and the right hand section for the men.[16]

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[6] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.275

[7] Graaf, "The origin of the Javanese Mosque,"

[8] Tjandrasasmita, U. *The Arrival and Expansion of Islam* p.52

[9] The mihrab extension appears externally as a protruding mass which is characteristic of Spanish and North African mosques.

[10] In 1977 Pijper published another article concerning Javanese mosques there he mentions "one or more entrances". See Pijper, "De moskeeën van Java," p.14.

[11] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.276

[12] Graaf, "The origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.3

[13] Sadali, A. "In Search of an Islam Initiated Architectural Identity," p.89.

[14] Sukada, B. "Early Muslim Places of Worship," p.89; Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.190; and sketch by Elba, M. Y. *Masjid Tradisional di Jawa* p.21.

[15] Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.190; Ambary, H. "Early Mosques and Tombs," p.127; and Petersen, A. "Java," p.133.

[16] Tjandrasasmita, "The Arrival and Expansion of Islam," p.53 In the case of Banten a wall separates the two sections, however in smaller mosques, like that of Sendang Duwur, a drapery would be enough. The mosque of Mantingan has two side areas under the same roof, while in the Panjunan

Worth noting is that the above discussed characteristics were all compiled and visually summarized in a sketch by Elba[17] **[Fig. 3.2]**.

Similarly, the shrines share a group of common aspects such as the square plan, the raised pedestal encircled by a stone or wooden screen, the one or two tier pyramidal roof, the orientation north, the mausoleum being placed at the end of a series of courtyards, many people being buried in these preceding courtyards, and finally the mausoleum always being placed to the west of a mosque.

3-3: Javanese Mosque Forerunners: The Local Architecture?

The political and historical events of the 9th-16th centuries in Java have been already discussed in chapter one. However, it is appropriate here to briefly recall the events in order to explain and define the forthcoming frequently used term: "Hindu-Buddhist architecture" as used for the period of our study which stretches from the 13th-16th centuries.

It is already known that "the ancient Hindu and Buddhist kings of central Java ruled from the 8th to the 10th centuries AD under two dynasties: the Sanjaya and Sailendra. The Sanjayas were Sivaistic Hindus, while the Sailendras were Buddhists of the Mahayana or Vajrayana schools. Both dynasties demonstrated a capacity for religious conceptualisation as well as for organising their society to create a large number of temples displaying a complex symbolism. Other lesser kingdoms existed simultaneously in central Java, which may not have been related to either dynasty".[18] Around the middle of the 9th century, events took a course towards unification; according to Miksic, "the last inscription of the Sailendra rulers in central Java dates from 824 AD. Thereafter the Sailendra and Sanjaya families seem to have merged through marriage. In 842 AD Java's supreme ruler, entitled Rakai Pikatan (r. 838 - 856 A.D.), was a Hindu married to a Buddhist queen. During his reign Hindu and Buddhist temples received royal sponsorship. The principal achievement of this era was the construction of the Hindu temple complex of Lara Jonggrang at Prambanan, consecrated in 856 A.D.".[19] Sedyawati describes the 9th century for Indonesia's cultural history as "the time when the fruits of acculturation with Hindu-Buddhist traditions from India reached maturity. Hindu-Buddhist concepts and technical expertise were localised and re-interpreted, becoming distinctly Indonesian. Material examples from India were never taken at face value and the same applies to religious and social concepts. They were not simply copied, but were adapted to the needs of the Indonesians themselves. … In the late 9th century, although Hinduism and Buddhism coexisted with no obvious sign of hostility, the two religions had separate belief systems and rituals".[20] Miksic adds that "The newly unified ruling elite of Java exemplified the practice of religious tolerance. The rulers sponsored the construction of both Hindu and Buddhist sanctuaries. The complex of Plaosan with its elaborate *mandala* design was erected at the same time as the Hindu temples at Prambanan, which was also laid out according to *mandala* principles. After these no more temples

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mosque a separate hall attached to the left hand side of the main prayer room is designated for the women.

[17] Elba, M. Y. *Masjid Tradisional di Jawa* p.21.

[18] Sedyawati, E. "Adoption of Buddhism and Hinduism," p.56.

[19] Miksic, J. "Early Classic History," pp.62-3.

[20] Sedyawati, E. "The Javanisation of Hindu and Buddhist Art," p.86.

on such a huge scale were built in Indonesia. … Although there are no indications in the written sources of any decline, there seems to be a lack of new temple construction after the late 9th century. Then all traces of the central Javanese civilisation come to an abrupt end. Aside from one or two possible exceptions, no stone temples were built in Java for three centuries. The end of the 9th century is therefore an important watershed in the history of Java".[21] This period of building activity was termed the "The Early Classical Period" or the "Central Java Period"[22]

Eastern Java during the tenth to the fifteenth centuries A.D. witnessed the rise of several monarchies until the fourteenth century, when the kingdom of Majapahit was able to unify not only Java, but, according to Prijotomo, subjugated many of the islands that constitute the 20th century Republic of Indonesia.[23] The main Majapahit masonry temples were built at Panataran, which was probably the official sanctuary.[24] The temple is dated around 1369 based on an inscribed edifice with an equivalent date dedicated to Ganesha the elephant-headed god. [25]

According to Fontein and Soekmono, "there is unmistakable evidence of a renewed momentum in temple construction during the period from the mid-13th century to the end of the 15th. This period is usually called the "East Javanese Period" because building activity was chiefly concentrated in East Java; no new temples were constructed in the central part of the island before the 15th century. However, construction was not limited to East Java, and some important monuments in central and northern Sumatra and in Bali also date from this period, which is therefore more appropriately called the Late Classical Period".[26] Most important for this period is that the temples were no longer dedicated to Hinduism or Buddhism rather "the two religions coalesced in what was called the Siva-Buddha school of thought".[27]

It was the edifices and temples of this period that were available to the architects of Java when the newly founded Islamic states took root on the island. Therefore, the term Hindu-Buddhist subsequently used in the coming sections will refer to the "Late-Classical" or what is known as the "East Javanese Period" unless otherwise indicated.

3-3-1: Javanese Temples: Prototype for Mosques?

A brief look at Javanese temples of the Hindu-Buddhist period is enough to show that these buildings did not offer Javanese mosque designers any help in terms of architectural inspiration, compare **[Figure 2.7 and Figures 3.4 and 3.15]** for example. Unlike the Quwwat al-Islam mosque in Delhi that was built mainly of *spolia* salvaged from Hindu temples **[Figure 3.3 and 4.43a]**, the only parallel that can be seen in Java, however, is the mausoleum of Sendang Duwur which does show some borrowings, not in the mosque or shrine architecture per se, but in the architectural elements, such as gateways, and the decorations seen in the carvings and motifs on the gates and walls **[Figure 2.295]**. Nevertheless, based on the features attributed to the Javanese mosques, which are mentioned earlier in this chapter, many scholars seem to adopt a theory that suggests local influences and inspiration for the Islamic

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[21] Miskic, J. "Life in Early Classic Indonesia," p.85.
[22] Fontein, J and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.758. Also Kieven, L. "The Architecture and art of Ancient east Java," p.29.
[23] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.2.
[24] Kinny, A. et al *Worshipping Siva and Buddha* p.181.
[25] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.69.
[26] Fontein, J and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.758.
[27] Sedyawti, E. "The Javanisation of Hindu and Buddhist Art," p.86.

architecture of Java. One of the earliest was the Dutch scholar Professor G. F. Pijper who in 1947 deduced:

> "From these distinct characteristics it may be concluded that the Javanese mosque is not a foreign structure brought to this country by Islam missionaries from abroad, but an ancient native one adapted to the requirements of the Moslem worship".[28]

He further explained that "the square ground-plan is well known from the many structures of Hindu-Javanese art, [such as the] candi, still to be found in Java. Furthermore, if one may distinguish in the candi three divisions, namely the base, the temple as such, and the roofing, it will not be difficult to see in the raised massive fundament of any mosque the survival of the base of the candi … The roof of the mosque, consisting of several stories and ending in a point which is crowned by a peculiar adornment, clearly indicates that it originated in the pre-Islamic period. This shape of roof is found on many structures that have no connection with Islam: we need but refer to the *meru* in Bali, a square tower narrowing upward, having from five up to ten and more stories in the roof. … It is possible that such high towers formerly were also to be found in Java, but if they were constructed from the same transitory material as are those in Bali, they obviously must have disappeared. Perhaps the stacked roof on some mosques in Java is a survival of the *meru,* in which case we may think primarily of the old mosque at Banten, which dates from the time of the Sultans of Bantam (Banten), and in its present shape probably dates from the 16th century; the roof of this mosque consists of five stories, the three topmost being equally small".[29]

However, Pijper was not the first to suggest a local origin; he was preceded by a Dutch archaeologist, namely Stutterheim, who in 1935, brought to attention the similarities between the Javanese mosque and a local community building that was used for cockfights.[30] Many scholars followed in their footsteps and approved of the idea of a local origin for the Javanese mosque. In 1959, Kempers noted that "in the domain of architecture the signal tower changing into a Muslim *bedug-tower,* later used as a minaret, did not cause any difficulty worth mentioning provided the *kala-heads* etc., were left out. Neither did the meeting-hall [*pendopo*?] being transformed into a mosque of the typical Indonesian type".[31]

According to Budi, in 1962-3 the Indonesian archaeologist Wirjosuparto, suggested the Javanese *pendopo* as the likely source of inspiration for the mosques. He based his hypothesis on the observation that if we enclose the square plan of the *pendopo* by walls on all four sides, add a mihrab to the western wall, and orient the whole structure towards the *qibla*, the result would be a building similar to the local mosques. Furthermore, he suggested that the idea of a multi-tiered covering was borrowed from the *joglo* roof [32] of the Javanese house. [33]

In 1975 Tjandrasasmita, pointed out that multi-tiered roofs were well known in Java as they clearly appear in the carved panels of *Candis* Surawana, Jawi. Jago,

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[28] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.275.
[29] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," pp.275-6.
[30] Stutterheim, W. F. *De Islam en zijn komst in den archipel* p.137.
[31] Kempers, A. J. B. *Ancient Indonesian Art* p.15.
[32] This a special type of roof used in houses. However, mosques display a similar, but not identical, form called Tajug. See the forthcoming section on construction and roof types.
[33] Budi, B. S. "A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque; Part 1: A Review of Theories on the Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.192 the original article is Wirjosuparto, S. Sedjarah "Bangunan Mesdjid di Indonesia," *Almanak Muhammadiyah*, 1962/1963.

Panataran and Kedaton.[34] In 1978, Christie observed that some features of the Javanese mosques can be "easily explained in Hindu-Buddhist than in 1slamic terms".[35] More interesting, in 1984, Prijotomo did not explain the "local origin theory" in terms of the mosque features as has been mainly the case earlier, but by displaying the dual cultural atmosphere in which these mosques were initiated. He wrote: "Even though polytheism, deification of princes, and the caste system of the Hindu-Javanese religion were rejected by Islamic teachings, those elements were not only tolerated but incorporated in the rituals and practice of the Javanese Muslims. In this syncretic world, the ban on the making of images of human beings or animals was not strictly observed; local traditions were taken over without difficulty; and the Muslims even used the existing forms of buildings, apart from a few changes necessitated by the new ritual … This evidence shows that the coming of Islamic culture did not loosen the strong bond of the Javanese culture with the past. It is, therefore, fair to say that art and architecture in this period of transition and thereafter showed no great differences from that of the preceding style, the Hindu-Javanese style. Mosques were built with Hindu-Javanese form".[36]

The *joglo* roof type of the Javanese house has already been suggested as a source of inspiration for the mosque's roof, however Ismudiyanto and Atmadi further imply that the four supporting columns or (*soko guru*) were also borrowed from the Javanese vernacular tradition.[37] The idea of the house as a source of inspiration is further advocated in 1990 by Saliya and his co-authors. They believe that "the spatial arrangements of a mosque and a *serambi* can be related to a typical ideal Javanese house, which consists of an initial house, *omah,* and an open-roofed hall, *pendopo. Omah* was a sacred domain, for it contained the abode of the rice goddess Sri, called *senthong tengah,* which was located at the back of the house's centre. This sacred spot could be seen by the public only during certain events such as a wedding ceremony. … *Pendopo,* on the other hand, is used for public activities such as ritual performances and social gatherings. It is open to the public most of the times. Religious feasts often take place in this area. It is interesting to compare the spatial quality of the mosque proper to that of an *omah,* as both are governed by darkness, opaqueness, and mystery. On the other hand, the spatial quality of the serambi and the pendopo are dominated by brightness, openness, and transparency. Thus, mosque and house share similar concepts in spatial arrangements and visual expressions, which suggests that a similar image framework was employed in the Javanese building code".[38]

Still in line with the "local origin theory" but with some deviation, in 1996 Jessup described the Javanese mosques as "heterodox", originating from the square *pendopo*, that according to her "pre-dates Indian influences," which could be seen on the carved panels of the 9th century Borobudur.[39]

In the years that followed, many scholars, Indonesian and foreign, adhered loyally to the "local origin theory" and to the idea of the Balinese *meru* roof.[40]

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[34] Tjandrasasmita, U. "The Arrival And Expansion," p.52 and Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.40.
[35] Christie, A. "The Early Islamic City in Java," p.72.
[36] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp.23-4.
[37] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.91.
[38] Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.193.
[39] Jessup, H. "II Architecture; 2. Islamic," p.768.
[40] See Ali, K. M. "Architecture: Unity of the Sacred and Profane," p.256; Sukada, B. "Early Muslim Places of Worship," p.89; O'Neil, H. "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," pp.94-5; Ambary, H. "Early

However, I will finish this section by quoting Budi, who is the latest to comment on this matter. In 2004, he evaluated the theories of Pijper, Stutterheim, Wirjosuparto, and De Graaf and reached the conclusion that "reliefs show that some public buildings in Java … already existed for a long time. Ancient Java [had] the tradition of buildings for people-gatherings. Probably, the latest development of this community building can be seen today [in] the *pendopo* in Java and the *wantilan* in Bali. Java also has a tradition of tiered-roof buildings. We can [see] this on several Javanese temple reliefs, such as [those] on Candi Jago from the Singosari period and Candi Sukuh from the Majapahit period. … Hence, the reliable theories are [those of] Piiper, Stutterheim, and Wirjosuparto, … even though each theory needs further study. [However], the most reliable is Stutterheim's theory, which states that the origin of the Javanese mosque should be derived from the local community building, without mentioning a specific building. To make a definite theory of the origin of the Javanese mosque still needs further careful study. Not only does it need historical or archaeological evidence, but an architectural point of view as well".[41]

In light of the above it seems demanding that a closer critical look should be taken at the local Hindu-Buddhist architecture, which is claimed to be the forerunner of the Javanese mosque. This section will not only examine the external features of the buildings in question, but also will look beyond that into the embedded philosophies in order to inspect whether the mosque plan, orientation, and construction, or any of its given cosmic associations relied on contemporary or older local beliefs. Not only the mosques are concerned here, but the shrines also will be examined; a task apparently lighter in this case, given the fact that the Hindu-Buddhist culture would normally cremate the dead.

3-3-1-1: Concept and Ideology.

Before analysing the plans and superstructures of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist temples, a brief summary of the underlying ideas and beliefs is imperative. Let us begin by addressing the issue of the "Supreme Being" for whom the Javanese built temples and made offerings. According to Hindu-Buddhist convictions, "The monarchs were believed to be manifestations of particular deities, earthly representatives of the deities, who ruled over the people to protect the cosmic order on behalf of the deity. In death, the monarchs had become reunited with their divine patrons and were immortalised as statues depicting the deity".[42] However, earlier ideas also had their influence; "under this belief, it should be right to say that the deceased king did not lose his status as a god; in addition, a deceased king was also regarded as an ancestor.... the deification of king and prince among the Javanese was no more than a form of ancestor cult: The ancestor was considered as providing the essence of princely power; the mausoleum in which the ancestor was buried became a place of radiating power. This sepulchral monument then became the outward symbol of the relationships deemed to exist between the living and the dead".[43] What is

Mosques and Tombs," pp.126-7; Ambary, "The Establishment of the Islamic City of Banten," p.83; Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," pp.63-4.

[41] Budi, B. S. "A Study on the History and Development of the Javanese Mosque; Part 1: A Review of Theories on the Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.194.

[42] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58. It is worth mentioning that this was a major departure from earlier Central Javanese practices where the temples housed only the statues of the deity. See Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.46.

[43] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.45.

described here as a "sepulchral monument" is widely known in Java as the *candi* **[Figure 3.4]**. The name is believed to have originated from the word *candikagrha* which represents the abode of Candika, one of the names of Durga the Goddess of Death, and companion of Siva;[44] a name seemingly appropriate for the use of such buildings. However, the previous explanation renders the *candi* as a mausoleum rather than a temple. According to Soekmono, the *candi* was "built as shrines to glorify deceased rulers. … When enthroned in the inner space of the candi, the statue [of the glorified Monarach] becomes an object of worship. One primary function of the candi was to protect this statue from the elements and from the view of commoners. The essence of the deity was not believed to reside in the statue at all times. The deity had to be invited, through invocations, to descend and temporarily occupy the image. On such occasions the statue could be viewed by worshippers, but only the priests were actually allowed in the shrine room".[45] Important in this regard is Dumarçay's remark that the *candi's* architecture appears to have been intended for supporting these rituals.[46]

It is worth noting that currently all structures of the pre-Islamic period in Indonesia such as gates, or even ritual bathing places are called *candi*,[47] but we can only reaffirm that the *candi's* main expression is the "sacred temple";[48] "the object of worship in the *candi* was the statue of a deity; such images depicted deceased kings and queens, who were believed to have become one with the gods on death and who at the same time represented the ancestors who had crossed over into the nether world. The *candi* was therefore a sanctuary of the gods, where ceremonies were performed at which the gods were thought to be present, and a place of worship, where homage was paid to them at the same time as to deified royalty and to the ancestral spirits".[49]

It has been mentioned above that the deities did not reside in their statue at all times; so it is therefore logical to ask about their abode when not in their *candis*? According to Dumarçay, "Indian mythology identifies this dwelling place of the gods as a natural cave on Mount Meru, the mystical mountain situated at the centre of the Hindu universe, or else as a flying palace in orbit about this mountain".[50] Therefore, "sources suggest that mountains were regarded as the places where spirits of ancestors could be contacted, their protection invoked, their potential wrath appeased with offerings, and their life-sustaining powers tapped. Indonesian inscriptions often refer to temples as mountains".[51] Kempers adds that "there are various connections between the old Javanese monuments and the cosmic mountain or, generally speaking, the cosmos. Although they are rarely mentioned in texts or inscriptions they appear to be obvious and plausible. Immediate connections between the monuments and the mountains, though not especially cosmic mountains, are to be found in the terraced sanctuaries on the Penanggungan, Mount Lawu[52] and elsewhere and in the

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[44] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58 and Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* p.21
[45] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58.
[46] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68.
[47] Fontein, J. and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.758 and Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58.
[48] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58 also Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.34.
[49] Fontein, J. and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.758
[50] Dumarçay, J. "Perspective Effects in Javanese Temple Architecture," p.58 and Soekmono, R."Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58
[51] Miksic, J. "The Abode of the Gods: Architecture and Cosmology," p.52.
[52] See also Miksic, J. "Mountain Sites of Lawu and Penanggungan," p.117.

temple complexes which are obviously related with mountains. The mountains in these cases are the seat of gods and ancestors, a world full of mysteries, the source of the fertilizing waters and the border between the human world and that of the dead".[53] In this regard, the *candi* is considered and perceived as a representative of this cosmic mountain.[54] The *candi's* architecture also corresponds to this metaphor; "the three levels of the *candi* represent the *trilaka.* These consist of the three superimposed worlds believed to make up the universe. The base of the *candi* represents the world of mortals, and is called Bhurloka. One level up, the body of the *candi* represents the Bhuvarloka or world of the purified. It is here that the devotee can communicate with a deity and in turn, the deity receives homage. At the highest level, the roof of the *candi* represents the world of the gods, or Svarloka" [55] **[Figure 3.5].** However, the *candies* did not continue to be built on terraces or mountain sites; rather they were brought down near the cities and the villages. In explaining the intentions behind such an act, Miksic suggests two reasons: the desire to make religious sites more accessible to the general population, and the ruling elite's recognition that association with divine power could significantly enhance their own temporal authority.[56]

3-3-1-2: Orientation, Site Planning, and the Architecture.

3-3-1-2-1: Orientation

Orientation of structures, not only in Java but also elsewhere, was and still is a demanding prerequisite of the planning of any architectural undertaking. According to Akkach, "the alignment of buildings with the cardinal points is, as many studies have shown, a well-established ancient practice. In the Hindu tradition, for instance, there are building manuals that prescribe the rituals of laying out buildings in accordance with cosmic geometry. Traversing the parameter of the celestial space, the sun determines the four extremities of spatial extension: east, west, north, and south, and the four nodes of the temporal cycle; the four seasons and the four temporal measures: year, month, week, and day. These spatial and temporal determinations are "married in the motions of the solar orb". Marking the centre and the cross of directions through architecture is shown to have been understood as tracing the order of celestial geometry. By way of correspondence with the solar cycles, the plan of a building becomes, so to speak, an architectural crystallization of temporal cycles, a cosmic graph, a projection of the celestial geometry, a geometrization of time, and a coagulation of time in spatial form".[57] For the Javanese, the sun and its daily east-west movement, was the essential tool enlisted in determining the four cardinal directions; a pole was erected at the center of the site where a building was to be built. An east-west line would be determined based on the shadows of the pole created by sunrise and sunset. A line drawn at a 90 degree angle would thus create the north-south alignment. The square borders of the proposed temple would be then drawn on the ground marked by nine stones or relics replaced at the four cardinal points, the four corners, and the center [58] and thus creating a geometric diagram, or *mandala*.[59]

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[53] Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* p.21.
[54] Fontein, J. and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.758.
[55] Soekmono, R."Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58.
[56] Miksic, J."The Abode of the Gods: Architecture and Cosmology," p.52.
[57] Akkach, S. *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-Modern Islam* pp. 171-2.
[58] Dumarcay, J. "Indonesian Methods of Building with Stone," p.56.
[59] Dumarcay, J. "Early Buddhist Temples of Java," pp.68-9.

3-3-1-2-2: Site Planning

Earlier it was demonstrated that the *candi* was the most sacred element of the Javanese temple complex where religious rituals orchestrated by the priests took place. According to Miksic, "the central requirement for Indonesian and Indian designers of temples was to furnish a space closed off from the outer world, in which the priests could present offerings, offer prayers, and communicate with the gods when they descended to earth and took up residence in their icons, undisturbed by profane influences. The temples were not intended as spaces to accommodate large groups of worshippers".[60] However, it was for this large group of commoners that the architects had to seek a solution; mainly encompassing the edifices by walls and thus creating courtyards. If the earlier temples of central Java display "a very skilfully composed framework in which each component has its definite place in concord with the 1aws of symmetry and geometry; in the same manner as in Indian temples and architects' manuals",[61] the East Javanese examples show strong asymmetrical layout configurations[62] **[Figure 3.7].** Kempers explains that "there is a seemingly haphazard arrangement of different1y shaped buildings and terraces scattered over a succession of courtyards without any distinct centre or system. Nevertheless there is method in this apparent disorder. The method is however very different indeed. There was no need to house an elaborate system of gods in an equally systematic arrangement of buildings as if it were a drawn … magic diagram. The order introduced is connected rather with the different functions of the buildings in the ceremonies carried out within the enclosures".[63] However, older temples of Central Java laid all emphasize on the center of the site which was considered the most sacred spot were the prime edifice was to be erected. On the other hand, later examples that were built in East Java, considered the furthermost point of the complex to be the most sacred. What Prijotomo terms as "centripetal progression and linear progression" respectively.[64] The furthest point of the temple, as Kempers explains, is usually the point "nearest to the mountain. In both cases the god is supposed to descend from heaven (or the mountain, respectively) into his temporary abode, the temple. Whereas the Central Javanese complexes give the impression of being self-centred and complete in themselves as replicas of the cosmos (the cosmic mountain), the East Javanese sanctuaries hold in their organisation a reference to the mountains outside. They are not complete without these mountains in the background.[65] It is therefore not uncommon to find that many East Java temples are oriented towards the mountains.

Let us briefly examine the lay out of the Majapahit Panataran complex **[Figure 3.7]**. The first observation as bluntly put forward by Dumarçay is that "the ground plan of the [this] complex seemingly lacks an overall pattern. The principal activity here seems to have been the periodic construction of new structures within the same complex, suggesting that the site may have had a special status".[66] However, "the temple complex … consists of three courtyards that lie one behind the other, extending from west-northwest to east-southeast. Panataran may be the prototype for Bali's temple compounds, where the holiest structures are placed in the rear courtyard, nearest the mountain. A visitor to Candi Panataran would have entered

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[60] Miksic, J. "Sources of Early Indonesian Stone Architecture," p.54.
[61] Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* pp.19-20.
[62] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68
[63] Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* pp.19-20.
[64] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp.46-7.
[65] Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* pp.19-20.
[66] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.69.

each of these courtyards through a gate flanked by a pair of club-wielding guardian figures. With the exception of the Main Temple, which lies in the centre of the furthest courtyard, the buildings and religious structures seem to be scattered at random throughout the complex. The first and most extensive of the courtyards contains two large rectangular platforms originally protected from the elements by roofs of wood or thatch supported on wooden columns. These covered platforms functioned much as the *bale agung* of Balinese temples, providing a suitable space for religious rituals and ceremonies. The smaller and more central platform is richly decorated with reliefs and *nagas.* The Dated Temple, a graceful vertical tower similar to Candi Kidal, stands near the entrance to the second courtyard, whose main feature is the unusual Naga Temple with its Hindu-Javanese caryatids holding corpulent *nagas* aloft. The terraced base of the main sanctuary is in the third courtyard nearest Mount Kelud"[67] **[Figures 3.8 and 3.9]**.

3-3-1-2-3: Architecture of the Candi

It has already been demonstrated that the *candi* was considered a replica of Mount Meru and a representative of the cosmos and that, the structure of the *candi* reflects levels of the universe by consisting of a base, a body, and a roof. "These three parts have been interpreted as symbolically representing respectively the *bhurloka,* Sphere of the Mortals, the *bhuwarloka,* Sphere of the Purified, and the swarloka, Sphere of the Gods"[68] **[Figure 3.5]**. Still respecting this concept, "the late classical period in East Java … produced new styles of temple [*candi*] architecture. This can be classified into two types, the first of which is the single temple building represented by Candi Jawi and Candi Kidal. This consists of the three parts in a vertical order: base, body, and roof. **[Figures 3.10 and 3.11]**. … The second East Javanese type of candi is a terraced structure, such as Candi Jago or the main Temple at Candi Panataran. These *candis* consist of several receding terraces with the upper most terrace containing a *cella*" [69] **[Figure 3.6 and 3.12]**. The bases in the case of the latter formed exaggerated terraces which were linked vertically by staircases; for example, three of different heights in the case of *Candi* Jago **[Figure 3.12]**. The main body of the *candi* was then pushed backwards; still allowing for space on the rear side for worshipers to ambulate the edifice. The plan therefore, achieved only one symmetrical axis and broke away with earlier traditions of double symmetry.[70] Furthermore, it is worth noting that in some cases the courtyard, in which the *candi* stood, had a lower floor elevation and its surface was treated to become impermeable. The courtyard was then infrequently filled was water and thus created a shallow pond[71] in which the base seemed to float.

The shaft of the *candi* is usually a square stone block[72] divided horizontally by mouldings and heavily decorated. Inside the *candi*, one God stands solely [73] on a high pedestal centred under the roof **[Figure 3.13]**. Other statues and images are housed in niches created in the walls.

Another indispensable element of the *candi* was the sacred *cella*. This small inaccessible space, for the public, is usually the central void of the *candi* which

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[67] Kinny, A. et al. *Worshiping Siva and Buddha* p.179.
[68] Kieven, L "The Architecture and Art of Ancient East Java," p.30.
[69] Kieven, L "The Architecture and Art of Ancient East Java," pp.30-1.
[70] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.46.
[71] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68. He gives the 1260 Candi Kidal as an example.
[72] Fontein, J and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.764.
[73] Kempers, A. *Ancient Indonesian Art* pp.18-9.

houses the statue of the deity.[74] Furthermore, "beneath the centre of the *cella* is a pit for the *peripih* **[Figure 3.14]**. Formerly it was widely thought that the *peripih* were containers to inter the ashes of the deceased monarch. The *peripih* is, in fact, a container in which are placed elements symbolising the material world: gold, silver, bronze, semi-precious stones and seeds. The *peripih* was usually a stone box divided into sections arranged in a *mandala* like pattern, sometimes with nine, sometimes 25 chambers. The number nine is significant because it corresponds to the four cardinal directions, four mid points, and the zenith. Certain Tantric texts popular in ancient Java contain instructions for ceremonies used in creating a sacred space which require ritual objects to be buried. This may be the origin of the practice of creating these *peripih*. The statue of the deity is enthroned in the inner chamber above the *peripih*. A small hole is pierced in the ceiling of the chamber, above which is another small space - the temporary abode of the deity. During the *pranapratistha* ceremonies, which were held to animate the statues, the deity was invoked and was believed by its devotees to descend from heaven to occupy its residence in the roof of the *candi*. The deity then travels further down into the chamber beneath to imbue the statue with its spirit. At the same time, the earthly elements of the temple which had been deposited in the pit were activated upon contact with holy water from the ablution of the statue. This water flowed through the spout in the pedestal of the statue, and thence through the cracks of the floor stones down into the temple pit, where it finally came into contact with the *peripih*. The statue was now deemed to be alive and able to receive homage as well as to communicate with devotees".[75]

The roof was created by horizontal mouldings which retreated as it went higher.[76] In the early classical *candis*, roofs were designed in such a way that each tier had sufficient free space all around. However, in the candies of East Java the move from one plane to the other is concealed by rows of "*stupas* or bell-shaped ornaments".[77]

The roof was a very important element in terms of visual effects. The architects wanted to maximise the appearance of the temple to the beholder. If we are to remember that the *candi* represented the cosmic mountain, "no human construction could ever equal or even approach the vastness of Mount Meru itself, but the architectural version had to appear majestic enough to be a persuasive representation of its legendary counterpart. To achieve this effect, all possible means, including the purely visual, were employed to make these man-made edifices seem larger than they actually were. The manipulation of perspective was developed with this end in mind[78] **[Figure 3.15]**.

Let us conclude for this section by quoting Dumarçay: "The shrine was built to be admired. The believer crossing the threshold should be able to say that the architecture was worthy of the god it housed".[79]

3-3-1-3: Building Material: Wood vs. Stone and Brick.

The idea of the cosmic mountain has also had its say on the choice of stone as the building medium; as mountains are made of stone or rock, it is therefore, appropriate to consider the tradition of building stone *candis* "as a practical compromise between

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[74] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp.53-4.
[75] Soekmono, R ."Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.59.
[76] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.52.
[77] Fontein, J and Soekmono, R. "II Architecture; 1. Hindu Buddhist," p.764.
[78] Dumarcay, J. "Perspective Effects in Javanese Temple Architecture," p.58.
[79] Dumarcay, J. *The Temples of Jawa* p.92.

the desire to reconstruct this legendary mountain and the physical limitations of working in stone".[80] During the East Java period brick was also introduced as a building material.[81] Nevertheless, it is appropriate here to mention that wooden temples were not totally unknown.[82] Many stone bases can be found in Java with no superstructure and no evidence of scattered stone pieces that might have belonged to the body or the roof. This strongly suggests a wooden, now-vanished top. It is assumed that the absent superstructure consisted of a multi-tier thatch roof locally known as the *meru* type. This roof form is believed to be similar to the one seen today in Balinese temples[83] **[Figure 3.16]**. In Javanese architecture, "the *meru*-roof type with its multi-layered roof parts was the first distinctive element of any sacred building in Java. Characterized by its verticality, this element of form dominated its environment in terms of its typical form and its height".[84] Nevertheless, the timber temples did not survive and wood was substituted by a more defiant material; mainly stone, a building material which was reserved for religious structures.[85] According to Dumarçay, "This transition, [from wood to stone], brought more changes to the original model, due to the different techniques that were required for stone, which permitted architects to realise more vertical designs."[86] Stone's ability to carry tremendous weights within the wall bearing system of construction, allowed the architects to build higher. Yet not without limitations; the walls became thicker and the enclosed spaces smaller. It seems that after 500 years of utilising stone as a building material, the architects were still "thinking wood"[87] in other words; wooden prototypes were executed in stone. The Javanese did not know the true arch and vault rather the horizontal corbelling system that did not permit the roofing of large spans.[88] According to Atmadi, "the limitation of the structure system does not affect its function as a residence for the gods, on the contrary, only the layered stone structure system has the durability and the character of timelessness that are appropriate to a house for the gods".[89]

3-3-1-4: Architectural Elements.

Four architectural elements were prominent during the East Java period and later showed impact on subsequent Islamic buildings namely: the gateways,[90] the entrance doors, the stair parapets, and the *mustoko* or *memolo* roof finial.

Two types of gateways were introduced and widely used in East Java that is the *candi bentar,* or the split gateway, and the *paduraksa,* which is sometimes called *kori agung*.[91] According to Miksic, the oldest existing models are to be found within the premises of the ruined Majapahit capital.[92] Archaeological examinations have shown that the *paduraksa* type gateway had circular pits near the door jambs, which

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[80] Dumarcay, J. "Indonesian Methods of Building with Stone," p.56.
[81] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.51.
[82] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68.
[83] Kieven, L "The Architecture and Art of Ancient East Java," pp.30-1.
[84] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.52.
[85] Loofs-Wissowa, "The True and the Corbel Arch," p.241.
[86] Dumarcay, J. "The Oldest Buildings in Indonesia," pp.64-5.
[87] Loofs-Wissowa, "The True and the Corbel Arch," p.241.
[88] Vogel, J. "The Relation Between the Art of India and Java," p.84.
[89] Atmadi, *Some Architectural Design Principles* p.232.
[90] Miksic, J. "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.86. He also adds the roofs and the mustaka finial.
[91] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p. 50; Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68 and Tjandrasasmita, U. "The Arrival And Expansion," p.53.
[92] Miksic, J. "Brick Architecture of Majapahit," p.71.

indicate that door leaves were used for this type of entrance.[93] Furthermore, these gates are ornately decorated with floral and animal carvings.[94] However, it is not well known where was which type of gateway employed, yet a clue might be gathered from Balinese temples where the *candi bentar* was used for the first or external gate and the *paduraksa* type for the second or inner entrance.[95] A similar arrangement is seen in later Islamic complexes as well; "Whenever the mosque complex consists of several inner courts, as in the Kudus mosque, the *candi bentar* provides the access towards the complex while *kori agung* [*Paduraksa*] connects one court to another.[96] To demonstrate how highly the Javanese esteemed the gateways, I would quote the Negarakertagama [97] in which the author states:

> "To be described are the arrangements of that eminent religious domain there, its ornaments unparalleled. A doorway utterly splendid with a girdle in the forecourt, the height thereof unmeasured. In the inside its yard is terraced, orderly placed are the houses beautiful, at its sides. Crowded are all kinds of flower-trees for offerings.... A temple tower has its place in the centre, showing something to be wondered at: the imposing appearance thereof, holy, high, of the aspect of the mountain Meru. A Shiva-abode, in Shiva's likeness, has its place in the interior".[98]

It is clear that the poet considers the gateway as an integral part of the temple and describes it with great enthusiasm.

The door in a *candi* which leads to the sanctified *cella* is another architectural feature that was highly regarded by Javanese architects. The *candi's* body rarely had windows, and thus the door became the only means of contact between the scared interior and the profane exterior. Therefore what is known as a *kala-makara* [99] embraced the door as part of the special measures applied to guard the entrance **[Figure 3.17]**.

Another element which also appears in many Islamic buildings is the stair parapet. It has already been demonstrated that the bases of many *candis* consisted of more than one level for which stairs were needed as connecters. In some cases, special care was devoted to the parapet, which was executed in a round curved fashion termed by Tjandrasasmita as "stair-wings".[100] These can be seen in *Candi* Panataran and *Candi* Jago **[Figure 3.18a and b]**.

The last element discussed in this section is the *mustoko* or *memolo* roof finial. These decorative clay elements that crown the peak of the pyramidal roofs, as seen in Balinese temples today, are viewed as a continuation of a long Hindu tradition. They are associated with the "*Brahmamula* containers of the essence of divine unity in

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[93] Miksic, J. "Brick Architecture of Majapahit," p.71.
[94] Tjandrasasmita, U. "The Arrival and Expansion," p.53.
[95] See sketch of the Pura Uluwatu shrine (c. 14th century) in Ardika, I. "Bali in the Late Classical Period," p.123. The use of an open portal as the complex gateway is very inviting and suggests the designers intention to attract many worshippers.
[96] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp.49-50.
[97] A book of Majapahit court which was written in poetry.
[98] Qutation from: Dumarcay, J. *The Temples of Jawa* p.74.
[99] This is explained in detail in the Ornaments section.
[100] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.8.

Hindu cosmogony".[101] However, they make their appearance on most Javanese mosques **[Figure 3.19]**.

3-3-2: Javanese Houses and Mosques: Similarities and Differences.

This section is concerned with the vernacular architecture of Java since it has been considered by scholars as a source of inspiration for the mosques. As was the case with the religious architecture discussed in the previous section, here too, the Javanese house will be examined and analyzed.

3-3-2-1: Orientation and Ground Plans.

3-3-2-1-1: Orientation

According to Waterson, building a house included a group of procedures which are related to "Hindu cosmological ideas" including favorable times to embark on the project. These regulations are documented by the religious clerics, but nevertheless they are well memorized and practiced by those in the building profession.[102] The "*petungan*" as locally known in Java, "is a book covering numerology, fortune telling, sickness healing, and the processes of design and building. … it is comparable with Chinese geomancy, and covers issues about site selection, layout, dimensions of the building and of construction members, the proper time to take action, and rituals preceding any action in building. A Javanese person may consult an expert or directly use the *petungan* in deciding actions on moving, building, or upgrading his or her house, and may also consult an expert for reassurance that his or her practices are in line with the *petungan.* To build, therefore, concerns personal intent, and socio cultural and ecological matters, because the *petungan* calls for consideration of all these areas".[103]

According to Hindu cosmological ideas, "the space that the house delimits is the first step towards an ordering of the universe … so that the house would be will placed in space, an attempt was made to orient it according to the cardinal points.[104] Orientation is a serious matter in Java; the houses are aligned in a north-south axis but designed to face south.[105] When driving along Java's northern coast one will notice that the houses tend to avoid the sea; quite a strange phenomenon, because in modern planning, the sea provides an attractive feature that every window strives to get a glimpse of. Yet in Java they seem to have their own compelling reasons. One incentive would be to honor Nyai Roro Kidul (Queen of the South Seas) according to the old Hindu traditions.[106] A more Islamized motive would be to avoid looking North, which is the direction the *kraton* faces, because it is considered inappropriate to compete with the abode of the sultan.[107] Furthermore, according to the Javanese, "cardinal directions are assigned certain meanings which prescribe correct behaviour. The Javanese world-view emphasizes that a person behave according to his relative position within the surrounding environment. A person should understand his position

[101] O'Niel, "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," p.95 and see Ambary, "Early Mosques and Tombs," p.127. For further readings see Bosch, F. D. *The Golden Germ: an Introduction to Indian Symbolism* ('S-Gravenhage, 1960).

[102] Waterson, R. *The living House* pp.97-8.

[103] Prijotomo, J. "Indonesia West; Javanese (Java)," p.1115.

[104] Dumarçay, J. *The House in Southeast Asia* p.1 and pp.14-5.

[105] Schoppert, P et al. *Java Style* p.37.

[106] A Moersid, et al "Changes in the Islamic Religion," p.70 and Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.194

[107] A Moersid, et al "Changes in the Islamic Religion," p.70.

whenever he goes to a strange place. In so doing he needs to acquire a profound knowledge of directions. This knowledge seems to be a natural outcome of an instructive environment in which everybody knows that south is the direction he faces right at the moment he leaves the house".[108] It is worth adding that the north-south axis forms a symmetry line on the two sides of which the house spaces are distributed.[109]

3-3-2-1-2: Ground plan

The custom in Java is that "a Javanese family usually lives in one single building or a group of buildings within a site. They do not live as an extended family in a big house".[110] Unlike on other islands of the Indonesian archipelago where communal living is the norm, "traditional Javanese houses … are usually built in a walled compound. The wealthier make their walls of masonry, other walls are of split bamboo or timber. Living walls of interlinked trees or vines are [also] common in rural areas".[111] The Javanese house consists of three main buildings that are visually distinguishable by their three separate roofs: the *pendopo*, the *peringgitan*, and the *dalem* or *omah*[112] **[Figure 3.20]**. Many add the *sentong* [113] as the fourth main section of the house, yet this space is situated within the *dalem* and does not posses a separate roof.

According to Tjahjono, the first section or the *pendopo "*is a pavilion which is situated in the front part of the compound. This constitutes the public domain of the household - a place for social gatherings and ritual performances. [The second section], the peringgitan … links the pendopo to the omah. It is the place where shadow puppet plays (wayang) are performed during ritual and festive occasions. The [third section or the] basic house unit is … the omah. The plan is rectangular with a raised floor, the area under the roof being divided by wall panels into an inner and outer domain. The latter consists of an external verandah (emperan) which is used for public activities. It is also provided with a raised bamboo platform which is used for reclining or sleeping during the day. A wide door in the front wall connects this verandah with the inner domain (dalem)".[114]

Ismudiyanto further explains that the *dalem* is the only part of the house that is totally concealed by walls due to the fact that it is the intimate residing area of the inhabitants of the house. In a classical Javanese house example, the *dalem* would consist of no less than three important spaces; a central room known as the *krobongan boma* or *sentong tengah,* flanked by two others known *as sentongs* or the family bedrooms. This central room is considered "the most sacred area of the whole house, for it is intended for the reception of the Goddess Sri, a symbol of fertility and the divine representative as well as the ancestor of Javanese people. It is also at this place where any meditation and ritual acts are oriented".[115]

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[108] Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.194.
[109] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.41.
[110] Prijotomo, J. "Indonesia West; Javanese (Java)," p.1116.
[111] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[112] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp. 40-1 and Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.35.
[113] Dumarçay, J. *The House in Southeast Asia* p.44 and Dawson, B. and Gillow, J. *The Traditional Architecture of Indonesia* p.84.
[114] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.35.
[115] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* pp. 40-1.

It is important to mention here that houses of larger or richer families possessed two basic units set back to back with thick bamboo or brick walls.[116] In addition, other inferior buildings are to be found within the compound walls such as the kitchen or additional bedrooms.[117]

On the whole, if plans of the Javanese houses, more or less, reflect the above discussed configuration, yet the roof forms used for covering the spaces varied according to the wealth and rank of the house's possessor. [118] The different roof types employed will be discussed in the next section.

3-3-2-2: Construction System and Roof Types.

The majority of Southeast Asian houses are built on piles which raise them off the ground. However, Java does not follow this custom and the houses are mainly founded on an elevated stone plinth which is laid directly on the ground.[119] This type of base is mainly used for wall bearing structures. However, such a foundation is misleading in our case, because Javanese houses are all timber structures constructed by a number of articulated posts and beams that eventually support the roof. It is therefore appropriate to observe that the walls, not only in Javanese houses, but in many conventional Indonesian types of structures, are trivial when compared to the roof.[120] The walls therefore are only curtains with no structural significance. "The roof is constructed of rafters sitting on beams, and is supported by four main columns surrounded by additional columns … These four main columns are important elements in Javanese architecture as is shown by the special attention they are given like being sited within the central part of the building, the presence of layered beams that connect each column, the dimension of the columns and their ornamentation".[121] These four columns known locally as the *soko guru* are to be found in the *dalem* section of the house. The *krobongan* wall is also present in this area which indicates its sacredness. Moreover, it is indeed known that this area was "reserved as a place for worship in any ritual held in this house by the family".[122]

According to Schoppert and Damais, "The Javanese look at houses and see roofs".[123] The wealth and status of the house owner is immediately apparent by the type of his/her roof. For this insignia, the Javanese employ mainly three forms of roofs: the *kampung*, the *limasan*, and the *joglo* types[124] **[Figure 3.21]**. According to Tjahjono, "the *kampung* roof is the simplest, structurally, and is identified with the domicile of the common man. It consists of a pitched roof [that slopes in two directions] erected over [the infamous] four central columns, braced by two layers of tie beams. The roof ridge is supported by king posts and is typically aligned on a north-south axis. The structure can be enlarged simply by extending the roof, at a lesser inclination, from the eaves of the existing roof".[125]

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[116] Dawson, B. and Gillow, J. *The Traditional Architecture of Indonesia* pp.82-3.
[117] Prijotomo, J. "Indonesia West; Javanese (Java)," p.1116.
[118] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p. 34.
[119] Waterson, R. *The Living House* p.1 and Dumarçay, J. *The House in Southeast Asia* p.43. Waterson mentions that reliefs on temples show that Java at an earlier time did also build on piles. However, it seems that the practice was later disregarded. She attributes the current founding forms in Java to Indian ideas.
[120] Dawson, B. and Gillow, J. *The Traditional Architecture of Indonesia* p.11.
[121] Prijotomo, J. "Indonesia West; Javanese (Java)," p.1116.
[122] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.53.
[123] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[124] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.34 and Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[125] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.34.

The second form, or the *limasan*, is the most widespread roof type in Javanese dwellings.[126] This roof form is finer than the *kampung* type and is used for the abodes of higher rank Javanese families.[127] Structurally, the *limasan* roof is formed by "extending the *kampung* model to a rectangular plan, with additional pairs of columns at either end. The basic shape is created by the fact that the roof beam does not run the full length of the rectangular building, rather it extends over the innermost set of columns. This means the *limasan* roof has four slopes, two along the longer and two along the shorter axes. The typical *limasan* has four slopes and five ridges, and it begins to give an emphasis to the central area between the innermost four columns".[128]

The third roof from or the *joglo* type is usually reserved for the houses of the Javanese aristocracy.[129] According to Schoppert and Damais, this roof type is the most "characteristic" and "complex"; they explain that "the portion of the roof that sits over the inner most four columns is much steeper, almost a pyramid, except that it comes to two points rather than a single one [thus creating a short horizontal ridge]. The *joglo* does not use king posts as does the *limasan* or *kampung* roofs. Rather, the master pillars are sometimes taller than the outer ones. … Resting on top of the central four pillars are layers of wooden blocks, which step back into the centre, and out to the sides. The outermost blocks support the roof that rises steeply above, the inner layers to form a stepped pyramidal ceiling. The timbers of the inner layers are often heavily worked, carved and gilded. This ceiling of stepped timbers, the *tumpang sari,* is usually the most intensely decorated area of the traditional Javanese house".[130]

It is worth noting that a fourth roof form known as the *tajug* type is also used in Java, however, this type is reserved exclusively for buildings that support religious and spiritual activities.[131] This roof is a true pyramid with four equal triangular inclined surfaces that meet at a point rather than a ridge.

3-3-3: The Javanese Mosque: A Product of the Local Architecture?

It is appropriate, if not necessary, to pause here and reflect on the previous sections and to compare the Javanese mosque with the so claimed local prototypes. We shall begin by briefly evaluating the embedded meanings and functions of the local prototypes and those of the mosque.

3-3-3-1: Ideology and Rituals Compared.

I would rather begin by demonstrating not the differences, but the very striking similarity that encompasses both the *candi* and the mosque; namely that is both structures are considered the houses of the Supreme Being or God. It is by now known that the *candi* was considered the abode of the deity it was built for. Similarly, the Muslims too, believe that the mosques are the houses of Allah on Earth.[132] The Quran describes the Ka'aba in Mecca as the first house for the people. The Arabic word "*bayt*" is used as a synonym for the holy mosque in Mecca.

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[126] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[127] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.34.
[128] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[129] Tjahjono, G. "The Javanese House," p.34.
[130] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.37.
[131] See Prijotomo, J. "Indonesia West; Javanese (Java)," p.1116.
[132] This becomes a widespread notion from the early Mamluk period c. mid 13th century. See J. Pedersen "Masdjid; C: The Mosque as the Center for Divine Worship; Sanctity of the Mosque," in Encyclopedia of Islam C. E. Bosworth, et al. eds. CD-Rom version. Brill, (2003). This term is also used by Malay authors; see Rasdi, M. T. *The Mosque as a Community Development Center* pp.19 and 80.

> **(96)** The first House (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka: Full of blessing and of guidance for all kinds of beings: **(97)** In it are Signs Manifest; (for example), the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; Pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah,- those who can afford the journey; but if any deny faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures. (Quran 3:96-7)[133]

However, the differences in ideology and rituals are much greater. The first and most apparent difference is the Supreme Being himself. In spite of the fact that this theme requires a separate dissertation, and that to many scholars in the field of Islamic art and architecture most Islamic beliefs and ideas are to an extent well known, yet still, I will only briefly comment here. Allah as he has identified himself in the Quran is described as "the Light of the heavens and the Earth".[134] No Muslim is allowed to go beyond this description and is certainly forbidden from creating any iconic representation. Furthermore, Allah is eternal, unlike any being, and most importantly, he is the one and only god. This contrasts greatly with the idea of a deceased king or queen turning into a deity that joins a broader group that rules the universe. In my opinion, a Muslim would never consider the idea of borrowing the house of a king-made-god to re-adapt and use as a mosque. In fact, the Quran actually hints to this conception:

> **(18)** "And the places of worship are for Allah (alone): So invoke not any one along with Allah; **(19)** "Yet when the Devotee of Allah stands forth to invoke Him, they just make round him a dense crowd." **(20)** Say: "I do no more than invoke my Lord, and I join not with Him any (false god)." (Quran 72:18-20).[135]

So the scene of a crowd around an erect statue of a deceased human-king would definitely deter the Muslims from even thinking of such a structure for their mosques; for it might remind the newly converted of their old religion and may perhaps cause nostalgic thinking.

Another major contrast between the ideology of the *candi* and that of the mosque is the conception of the former as being a representation of the sacred Mount Meru. To the Muslims, neither this mountain, nor any other peak embodies any significant meaning. Therefore, it seems extremely unlikely that mosque roofs imitated those of the Balinese *meru*, knowing then what they symbolised.

Another contrasting feature is the functionality of the buildings, or in other words, the way in which the rituals are performed in each edifice. According to Dumarçay, "Temples, whether built for Hindu or Buddhist rites, corresponded to an architectural scheme which had to reconcile three requirements: firstly religious ceremonial demands had to be fulfilled; secondly religious statuary had to be protected and lastly, a particular symbolism had to be demonstrated. The rites were of two kinds: the form of respect which had to be shown to the principal statue, and the requirement to move around the temple in the traditional manner".[136] In this regard, the *candi* is the focal building in the courtyard around which the worshipers gather to

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[133] Translation from Yusuf-Ali, The Meaning of the Holy Quran, p.152. Further more, The Quran describes other mosques as houses in which Allah's name is exalted: "in houses, which Allah hath permitted to be raised to honour; for the celebration, in them, of His name: In them is He glorified in the mornings and in the evenings, (again and again)." Quran 24: 36.

[134] Quran 24: 35

[135] Translation from Yusuf-Ali, The Meaning of the Holy Quran, pp.1547-8.

[136] Dumarcay, J. *The Temples of Jawa* p.1.

perform their prayers. The rituals are carried out on the statue in the cella in the interior of the *candi* by the priests and are not witnessed by the commoners outside. Therefore, the *candi* with all the concealed activities and rituals occurring inside becomes an important icon for the ordinary on-looking worshipers on its periphery whom can only see its external sides. In contrast, The mosque simply acts as an outer shell that protects the congregation worshipping inside; that is to say the building itself has no visual or iconic value nor does it play any role in the prayers taking part inside it; all emphasize, in this case, is on the faithful attending prayers and not the building.

3-3-3-2: Orientation and Planning Compared.

A clear point of departure between the mosques of Java and the local buildings is orientation. Differing from the temples that were either planned according to the four cardinal directions or mountain-sea alignment, and the houses that show a north-south orientation, the mosques are oriented towards the *qibla* which deviates the buildings seven degrees north of West.

The site planning also differs totally. The temple complex, as explained earlier, would consist of several buildings in several courtyards devoted to different deities placed in a pattern that would reflect the order in which the rituals are carried out. In contrast, the Javanese mosque layout, as already demonstrated in the typology section at the beginning of this chapter, displays a strong accentuation of the prayer hall which is normally the sole building centrally located within the enclosed area of the mosque's site. Furthermore, a cemetery is always part of the layout plan.

3-3-3-3: The Architecture Compared.

3-3-3-3-1: The Candi

The remark by Pijper, mentioned earlier, that both the mosques and *candis* have square plans, hints to the possibility that the former was influenced by the latter. Furthermore to strengthen his observations, he compared the multi-tier roof of the mosque to that of the Balinese *meru* and the raising of the mosque floor to the terraces or the base of the *candi*.

The square plan for both structures is no evidence that one has influenced the other. It should be noted that *candis* also had rectangular or cruciform plans **[Figure 3.22a and b]**. Furthermore, the square is a very common geometrical shape used in many buildings not only in Java, but around the world. The differences between the square plan of the *candi* and that of the mosque are greater than the mere coincidence in shape that they both display. The differences in the way both buildings function is enough proof that one does not derive from the other.

As for the multi tier roof, it has been already shown that ideologically the two roof systems do not coincide. From an architectural point of view; in terms of proportion and shape, comparison between **[Figures 2.7 and 2.10]** as an example**,** and **[Figure 3.16]** shows that the *meru* roof is slim and tall while the tajug roof is pyramidal.[137] In addition, the former usually consists of more than five, normally seven tiers, while those of mosques rarely exceeded three.[138] I would hypothetically argue here that if Javanese mosques used a seven tier roof like those of the *meru,* this

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[137] The 'now gone' mosque of Jepara actually shows what mosques would have looked like if they had adopted the meru roof; compare **[Figures 2.180 and 3.16]**.

[138] Only the Masjid Agung Banten has five tiers, yet it must be observed that the uppermost two tiers are merely decorative additions. See section drawing in **[Figure 2.218]**.

could be interpreted as the seven heavens according to the Islamic religion. Only then one might think that the *meru* roof was reinterpreted to represent the seven heavens above which the throne of Allah exists, likewise the *candi* roof represents the mountain above which all the gods reside. Yet it is obvious that this was not the case and therefore, neither ideologically nor architecturally does the tiered roof of the Javanese mosque derive from that of the Balinese *meru*.

It has been displayed earlier that that the roofs of the *meru* and the mosque were crowned by a clay finial known locally as the *memolo* or *mustoko* (sometimes spelled *mustaka*). An element believed to have derived from Hindu symbolism. However, the term *mustaka* attributed to this element, according to Haryadi, derives from the Arabic language.[139] He suggests two possibilities for the origin of the word; either from *istaqa,* which he reads as *ishtaka,* which literally means to complain, or from *ittaqa*, which means to humbly follow Allahs obligations. From a linguistic point of view, the letter "mim" in this case indicates the place where an action occurs. Therefore, the two possible meanings would respectively be: the place where one can complain and bring to attention all his personal problems or arguments with others, or the place where one can perform his religious duties. The two symbolic meanings seem very well fitting with a mosque or to an extent a mausoleum where one would seek the believed powers of the buried *wali* or shows modesty and respect (*taqwa*) at the final resting place not only of the *wali* but for all man kind.[140]

The third and last point is the very fact that the mosque floor is raised above the ground level, not on poles, but by means of a massive plinth in a way similar to that of *candi* base construction. This feature is actually very commonplace for most Javanese buildings. It has already been demonstrated how the Javanese house was not erected on poles rather on brick or stone raised foundations. In other words this was the standard for all buildings rather than an influence of a specific structure. Furthermore, the *candi* base or terrace was water tight and usually flooded; a feature not seen in any of the mosques of this study. However, the mosques do show the use of water as ablutions facilities; most interesting is the use of step-in shallow ponds placed before the flight of steps leading to the prayer hall, as seen at Kudus **[Figure 2.89]** and Banten. This feature, in my opinion, is a novelty not seen in any other mosque elsewhere in the Islamic world that might have been influenced by such practise at *candis*.

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[139] Haryadi, Sugeng *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak* pp.78-9..

[140] However, *mustaqa* in Arabic has a more direct meaning; the word indicates a place where one is offered water. This last suggestion is likely the closest to the local name in terms of its phonetics. That is to say *mustaqa* like *mustoko* uses the sound of the Arabic letter "sin" whereas *ishtaka* uses a "shin" and *ittaqa* omits this letter altogether. It might seem unlikely that the *memolo* or *mustoko* was added to signal that the mosque or the mausoleum is a place where water is offered. However, if we were to consider the mosque or the mausoleum as the place where one can quench the thirst of religious knowledge, maybe then the symbol would be more acceptable. Furthermore, knowing of Java's rainy weather, one can think of the *memolo* not as a Hindu "brahmamula or container of the essence of divine unity", but as a simple water collector for the birds. This would be an act of piety appropriate for a *wali* or a pious figure. I would rather bring to attention here similarities with the mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i in Cairo, where a boat-like finial surmounts the dome in which cereals are suggested to have been offered to the birds **[Figure 3.23]**. We need not be reminded here that Javanese Muslims are mostly followers of the Shafi'i *madhhab*. However, attention must be brought here to Van Reeth's article "La barque de l'Imam as-Safi'i," in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet, eds, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, II, pp. 249-64, in which the author argues the unlikeliness that the finial was used for feeding birds.

3-3-3-3-2: Building Material

A major clue to whether the Javanese Muslims looked upon Hindu temples for inspiration for their mosques is the fact that the temples are built of stone and bricks while the mosques were constructed out of wood. Several facts, in my opinion, contributed to the Javanese' decision to opt for timber rather than stone or bricks:
The first is ideological, that is to say, the mosque does not represent a mountain and therefore needs not to be built of stone. This, however, should not imply that the use of stones and bricks in building Hindu-Buddhist temples promptly influenced the Javanese to use wood for their mosques; this simply means that the architect was free to utilize both materials with no urge for one in particular. The second fact is the natural characteristics of wood as a building material. Namely two aspects here were decisive: the lightness of wooden construction members compared to the relative heaviness of stones, and the ability of wood to bear tensile forces as opposed to stones and bricks which rather withstand compressive weight. These two qualities of wood meant that timber beams can cover larger spans and thus the ability to create buildings with greater inner spaces.[141] Yet, wood had some disadvantages that had to be considered: mainly wooden structures would never go higher than stone ones, nor would they last longer. So the architect was confronted with two options or schemes: either to have a tall building with limited internal space, or opt for a shorter one with greater roofed area. There is no doubt the latter fulfilled Islamic congregational-prayer needs and therefore, with no hesitation architects adopted this scheme.

Another interesting possible reason for building wooden mosques was the non-constant nature of the Malay polities; in many cases monarchies were defeated and the court fled to another spot where a new kingdom was to be established. In such political atmosphere it seems more feasible to build with readily available, light-weight, easy to assemble and disassemble material that needs minimum workmanship than using long-lasting stone.[142]

One last element that was most probably well calculated before deciding on which building material to use for the mosques is no doubt earthquakes; Java happens to be in an area of active earth-crust movement that causes many destructive quakes every now and then. This means that even if the Javanese master-builder was able to construct a stone dome or vault, the chances of it surviving a strong earthquake were minimal. Therefore wood; once again, owing to its ability to survive tensile forces and the way by which wooden structure members are joined together, seems to be a logical choice for over coming the destructive effects of seismic waves.

It could be safely concluded that the stone *candis* did not offer any help in the design of the Javanese mosque so the indigenous vernacular wooden structures should now be evaluated.

3-3-3-3-3: The Javanese House

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[141] Large spaces can be covered adequately with stone domes or vaults yet as demonstrated earlier; Southeast Asia did not have the technical know-how for constructing a true arch or dome. The corbelled arch that they employed has very limited span covering.

[142] Waterson, R. *The Living House* p.27. However, she mentions that the Malay rulers later on in the 17th century built their own abodes out of stone and prevented others from doing so because, by the arrival of the European, many traders built stone forts for themselves and their businesses and it was impossible for the ruler to dislodge them when political necessity demanded. However, the only recorded case in which a timber mosque was dismanteled and re-erected at a new location because the area was flooded is that of the Malasian 17th century Kampung Laut mosque. Nonetheless, this was done in the 70s of the preceding century.

The Javanese house was suggested as the origin of the mosque based on several common features: the square plan, the presence of the four *soko guru* columns, the use of the tiered roof form, and the house-*pendopo* relationship which resembles that of the mosque-*pendopo*. The square plan has already been dealt with and deserves no further comment. However, the three remaining similarities require our attention.

Let us begin by not assessing the previous suggestions but by examining some indigenous thoughts and beliefs that link the house to the temple or place of worship. The beginning is in the concept of ancestor worship that was practised for centuries by the local native population. According to their rituals, the heirlooms left by the dead ancestors are objects of great value and veneration. In most cases, the inheritors of these relics keep them safe in the house where their owners once lived. The presence of such sacred relics renders the house sacred and thus becomes unsuitable for normal living. The residents therefore seek a new house and the old one becomes more like a temple that is visited on certain days of the year to celebrate specific fests. According to Waterson, the previous example, which is the case for Sumba, is found all over Indonesia.[143] She further maintains that "On the whole, … it is true to say that use of specialized structures for regular worship is associated, throughout the region, with the world religions-Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity—which have taken root here over the centuries".[144] With this in mind, let us now proceed to evaluate the common factors between the Javanese mosque and house.

The first and common element is the use of four central columns or *soko guru*. However, it must be mentioned here that "the idea of having four principal posts is a common feature which occurs throughout most parts of the Indonesian Archipelago, in Java, Sumatra, and Sumba to name a few. In Sumba, the right front house post is the most sacred just as the soko guru tatal of the Javanese mosques is supposed to be imbued with special symbolic meaning".[145] This certainly does not advocate that the Javanese mosque followed Sumbanese architectural norms; rather it explains how certain local ideas can be later on imposed onto newly introduced buildings and thus makes them more local. In other words, the Javanese mosque as a new structure happened to be designed with four major columns, thus coinciding with a local construction practise. Add to this that the Arabic synonym for mosque is "bayt Allah" (house of Allah) and that the first mosque in Medina was connected to the house of the Prophet of Islam,[146] one can then see the parallels.

One major difference between the house and the mosque is that the latter is much larger than the former **[Figure 3.24]**. It has already been explained that the enlargement of a house for the rich or bigger families was done by duplicating the main unit. This meant that the house would then have more than one set of *soko guru*;

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[143] Waterson, R. *The Living House* p.43.

[144] Waterson, R. *The Living House* p.50.

[145] Davison, J. "The House as a Ritually Ordered Space," p.19.

[146] In spite of the fact that Jeremy Johns in his long article "The House of the Prophet and the Concept of the Mosque," published in 1999 has attested the early ideas of Creswell, Caetani, Hillenbrand and others that the early mosques of islam derived from the house of the Prophet, it still remains widely accepted and wide-spread. Furthermore, what concerns us here is not the idea of the mosque originating from the Prophet's house, rather the established notion that both the house and the mosque were inter-related. The majority of Muslims across the world would not know what the Prophet's house or mosque looked like or how were they built, but the idea that both edifices were connected is simply well known. In South East Asia I will quote Prof. Rasdi's *The Mosque as a Community Devlopment Center* p.8 where he states that "The mosque of the Prophet at Madina had served many different functions. It was where he built his residence which comprised of several rooms aligned in a single row for his wives". This no doubt reflects the, by now, established ideas of Creswell and his supporters.

to the extent that the number of columns became a sign of prestige for the owner; palaces were occasionally described in literature as having a thousand pillars.[147] In contrast, in building the mosques, the architect did not resort to the method of duplication, rather he enlarged the central unit to the limits possible allowed by the wooden construction members. Hypothetically speaking, the duplication of the four column unit would have produced a hypostyle hall with a large covered space, which would have perfectly served as a mosque. However, this was not the case.

This been said, one can only argue that the mosques did not borrow the four column unit from the house architecture, rather they were a constructional necessity demanded by the architectural plan and form of the building. That is to say, four was the minimum number of columns required to support the type of roof that was employed for covering the inner space.

Mentioning the roof, the mosque differs with the Javanese house in that the former is covered by a *tajug* type of roof while the latter makes use of the *joglo* sort. The *tajug* roof is pyramidal in form and unlike the *joglo* that has a horizontal ridge, the former ends with a peak normally crowned by a *mustaka* or *memolo* finial.

The word *tajug* literally means crown,[148] which derives from the Arabic '*taj*'. So if the word chosen to describe the architecture of a specific roof is foreign should this not indicate a certain change and some kind of forigen influence?

It has already been demonstrated that the *pendopo* was an afterthought, or a later add-on, which means that it was not an original part of the mosque design. Because of this building's lightness and the capability of it being assembled and dissembled, in many cases, *pendopos* were presents from kings or *spolia f*rom defeated enemies that were re-erected in front of shrines and mosques as trophies of victory or symbols of homage, like in the case of the *pendopo* in the mausoleum of Gunung Jati **[Figures 2.244 and 2.249]**. Therefore, attributing the origins of the mosque to the Javanese house based on the *pendopo* being present and exploited in the same manner in both cases is invalid. Yet still, we need to address Crawfurd's report in 1820, in which he described the use of *pendopos* as mosques.[149] This could be simply explained in terms of different types of mosques; the *pendopo* was used as a neighbourhood *musalla*. This should not imply that the great mosques or the *masjid* agung was based on such flimsy structures. The *pendopo* is a temporary communal structure, which can accommodate a very limited congregation; may be enough for everyday prayers, but definitely not enough for the Friday sermon gathering.

3-3-3-3-4: Communal Buildings

In mentioning the *pendopo* as a communal building, many scholars have forwarded the idea that Java had many other structures for public gatherings, which were frequently depicted on temple walls **[Figure 3.25]**. Stutterheim, as mentioned earlier, suggested the cock-fight arena as one example that inspired Javanese mosques. However, the identification of the "cockfight-court" as the "specific building" that mosques drew upon was reason for argument against his theory by other scholars. On basis that the cockfight-court is: "profane, almost a heathen building," which a true Muslim would never use for a prayer hall, it does not have a multi-storied roof, and that it is only found in Bali and maybe in very limited areas of Java, De Graaf refuted the cockfight-court assumption and suggested an external origin for the mosque.[150]

[147] O'Niel, "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," p.94.
[148] Sigar, E. and Burnett, J. *Raja Kamus* p.914.
[149] Crawfurd, J. *History of the Indian Archipelago* p.162.
[150] Graaf, H. J. de "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque," p.3 Graaf's theory is discussed in Chapter 4.

Apart from this arena, huge public gatherings or congregations, if we were to believe Waterson once again, were unprecedented in Java before the conversion of the port states into Islam.[151] One can only seek evidence from the story of the building of the Demak mosque where Chinese ship-builders[152] were engaged for the task of erecting the huge columns. If Java had a tradition of building large communal structures, they would not have sought the experience to erect the *Masjid* Agung from the Chinese.

3-3-3-3-5: Architectural Elements

Like the architecture of the congregational mosques, that, as argued previously, did not follow local prototypes, the architectural elements also display rare borrowings. The split gateway or the *candi bentar* does not appear in any of the grand mosques of this study (Demak, Banten, and Cirebon), nor does the second gateway type the *paduraksa*. The Javanese stair-wings are also not used, nor can we find elaborate doors guarded by the Javanese *kala-makara*. Only the central door of the Cirebon Masjid Agung displays strong similarities with the door to the cella of *Candi* Jago; compare **[Figures 2.35 and 3.26]**. However, the decorative schemes in both cases are different.

3-4: Cremation of the Dead and the Javanese Mausoleum

In this section we turn our attention to the second building type of this dissertation, namely the mausoleum or shrine complex. Nonetheless, as tackled in the preceding section for the mosques, here too, the main issue addressed is whether the meaning, function, and form derive from local Javanese ideas. Many would consider this an easier quest since as the title of this part might imply that if the Javanese followed Hindu cremation rites and the Muslims introduced burying, then it must have been due to the latter that the mausoleum was established in Java. The previous statement is true, yet the only problem associated with it is that it is too superficial a judgment. From the previous sections it is already known that the Javanese *candi* was more of a mausoleum than a temple. Furthermore, the cult of the dead as seen in glorifying a departed king or queen or in simply venerating the deceased ancestors is strongly embedded in Javanese beliefs in spite of the way they disposed of the corpse. In other words, the Islamic and Hindu-Buddhist religious prayers and rituals are totally contrasting in terms of concepts and physical practices, but when it comes to veneration of the dead and enlisting the powers of the departed they, in many areas, coincide.

3-4-1: Local Burial Rites

When the Muslim Chinese Ma Huan visited Java in the early 15th century, he observed that:

> "When a father or a mother are about to die, their sons and daughters ask them first whether after their death they prefer to be eaten by dogs, to be burnt, or to be thrown into the water. The parents give their orders according to their wishes and after their death their directions are carried out. If it is their wish to be eaten by dogs, the body is carried to the seashore or into the wilderness, where a number of dogs soon arrive- if the flesh of the corpse is eaten

[151] Waterson, R. *The Living House* p.50.

[152] Chinese carpenters were able to assemble huge composite columns for the mosque the way they did the masts of their huge junks.

> completely, it is considered propitious, but if not, the sons and daughters lament and weep and throw the remains into the water.
> When rich people, chiefs, or men of rank die, their favorite concubines swear before their master's death, that in case he dies they will go with him. On the day the corpse is taken out. of the house, a high wooden scaffolding is erected, at the foot of which wood is piled up in a large heap, and when the tin- burns fiercely, two or three of his concubines, who-have sworn before, their heads covered with flowers and their body decked with pieces of cloth of various colours, mount on the scaffolding and weeping dance a long time, after which they jump down into tin- fire and are burnt together with the corpse of their lord".[153]

Ma Huan's account demonstrates the variety of rites practiced by the Javanese for the disposition of the dead; the former was the practices of the "animist societies",[154] and the latter, no doubt, is the Hindu cremation ritual; a rite which is still practiced today in Bali. According to the Hindu-Javanese belief, cremation is a way of reincarnation, a way of helping the soul to ascend to heaven.[155] This belief views "life and death as two facets of a single never-ending cycle. The Hindu universe was a closed circuit: nothing new could be produced except by destroying or transforming something else. To attain more life, the life of a victim must be extinguished.... In cremation rites an individual actually sacrificed himself on his funeral pyre in order that he might be reborn. Death regenerated life".[156] In fact, cremation is deeply linked to the core of the Indian worship system; it has already been demonstrated that the Javanese worshiped their deceased kings and queens as incarnations of deities that descended from their heavenly abodes and resided in the statues erected in their *candis*.[157]

The Hindu "never-ending cycle" contrasts with what Bougas describes as the Muslims' "linear approach to life and death"; [158] for Muslims, in Southeast Asia, but also in compliance with other mainstream Muslim afterlife concepts, "an individual is born, lives the fixed term of his life (*ajal*) alloted by Allah, and dies. He then is thought to exist in the grave or elsewhere awaiting resurrection. This period between death and resurrection is known as *barzakh.* At the end of the world he will be resurrected with all mankind, judged, and rewarded with Heaven or sentenced to Hell for eternity".[159]

3-4-2: Introduction of the Islamic Burial Rites into Java

It is by now known that in the early 15th century, the northern coast of Java was the destination and the abode of many Muslim merchants and converts whom no doubt practised Islamic burial rituals. The corpse was washed, draped in a shroud (*kafan*), and buried facing Mecca.[160] Although the Marking of the grave is not an orthodox practise, it was still followed. The earliest large scale Islamic cemetery is in the village of Tralaya in the vicinity of the Majapahit capital Trowulan and probably part

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[153] Java in the Ying-yai Sheng lan of 1416 by Ma Huan. Quotation from Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago* p.52, also see Mills, *Ma Huan* pp.95-6.
[154] Bennett, J. "Islamic Art and Civilization in SE Asia," p.68.
[155] Pitana, I.Gede "Hinduism in Bali: Practice and Belief," p.45.
[156] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.4.
[157] See section 3-3-1-1.
[158] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.5.
[159] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.5.
[160] Chamber-loir, H. "Forms of Early Islamic Belief and Practice," p.132.

of it.[161] The graves mark "the approach of an important religious practice" [162] in the heart of the Majapahit Hindu kingdom, and "represent an important spiritual shift in the Javanese culture".[163] However, graves in cemeteries remained the rule for Islamic burial practices until the 16th century, when tombs and pilgrimage complexes, in spite of strong orthodox objections,[164] were introduced and built.[165]

3-4-3: Javanese Terraced Sites

The shrines and their accompanying graves of Sunan Drajat, Ratu Kalinyamat, Sunan Sendang Duwur and, Gununag Jati are all erected on hills. After comparing the plan of the shrine of Sunan Gunang Jati with that of a typical Balinese terraced temple **[Figure 3.27]**, Bougas reached the conclusion that the Javanese Islamic "pattern of grave arrangement — parallel rows with the furthest and or highest occupying the position of most respect — is definitely pre-Islamic and is based on the layout of Hindu temples in East Java and Bali where the innermost compound is considered the holiest".[166] Tjandrasasmita adds that stepped hill-tops were also the preferred burial spots for the monarchs, their families, and the elite.[167] However, the link between the Islamic hill shrines and the Javanese terraced mountain temples needs to be established; apart from similarities in site selection and the succession of courtyards observed in both cases, the two models do not have more in common. If the former was a cemetery and a pilgrimage site, the latter were indeed not intended as burial sites and contained no saint or graves, rather three ambiguous "altar-like constructions".[168] According to Miksic, "during Majapahit's florescence the terraced temple became an extremely important form of religious monument. … The mountain sites appear to have looked back to a prehistoric model.[169] Where the Javanese of the 13th century obtained their inspiration for renewing this form we do not know. Probably some of the Singasari and Majapahit monuments made use of much older sites, but no excavations have been conducted which might confirm this".[170]

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[161] O'Neil, H. "Muslim Tombs and Cemeteries," p.101.
[162] Chamber-loir, H. "Forms of Early Islamic Belief and Practice," p.132.
[163] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.2
[164] The general conception gathered from the early *hadith* is that Islam is against the building of tombs or glorification of graves. See Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.49 and O'Neil, H. "Muslim Tombs and Cemeteries," p.100. However, According to Thomas Leisten, "the *hadith* were held in greater esteem by the Muslims of the first generations after Muhammad's death than by the later *fiqh* generations. Perhaps the need to reconcile religious requirements with the reality of funeral customs led to the decision by Sunni and Shi'ite theologians and jurists not to stigmatize funerary architecture out of hand as *haram*. Instead structures over tombs were classified as makruh (objectionable, disapproved of), a much weaker expression. That this term did not convey a strict prohibition is clear from its definition: "*Makruh* is what the *shari'a* requires be avoided, but it is an admonition without coercion. A person who does it" … will not be condemned for it, but he will be praised if he avoids doing it". Al-Shafi'i, Malik b. Anas, Ahmad b. Hanbal, and Abu Dawud (the transmitter) are reported to have agreed that building over tombs should be categorized only as *makruh*, not as *haram*." See Leisten, T. "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari'a Toward Funerary Architecture," in *Muqarnas VII: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*. Oleg Grabar (ed.). (Leiden, 1990), pp.12-22.
[165] O'Neil, H. "Muslim Tombs and Cemeteries," p.101.
[166] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.26. This point of view is also supported by O'Neil, H. "Muslim Tombs and Cemeteries," p.101 also Tjandrasasmita, U. "The Arrival And Expansion," p.54.
[167] Tjandrasasmita, U. "The Arrival And Expansion," p.54.
[168] Miskic, J. "Mountain Sites of Lawu and Penanggungan," p.117.
[169] This origin has been questioned see Miksic, J. "Terraced Temple Sites," p.75
[170] Miskic, J. "Mountain Sites of Lawu and Penanggungan," pp.116-7.

3-4-4: Islamic Burial Rites and Earlier Local Practices

Some Islamic rituals concerned with the dead in Java have parallels or similarities with earlier Hindu-Buddhist practises. The aim here is not only to highlight the similarities but also to show contrasts and discrepancies.

3-4-4-1: Meditation at Graves and the Cult of the Saint (*Wali*)

Many seem to have linked mediation at Muslim saints' graves **[Figure 3.28]** with the earlier Hindu-Javanese worship rituals at *candis* were the soul of the deceased monarch resided.[171] However, one major difference distinguishes both practices; the Hindu Javanese worshipped the Supreme Being, represented by the statue, as a reincarnation of the Hindu deity from which they enlisted help. To the contrary, although not totally Islamic, the Muslims viewed their saints not as gods or representations of deities, but as mediators between themselves and the Supreme God in Heaven. "Some people in Southeast Asia believed that an extremely pious individual could become a saint or *wali.* This individual was thought to be blessed by God with special privileges and powers. His closeness to god enabled him, for example, to perform miracles *(kramat).* Saints could transport themselves across distances, prophesize the future, bring victory in battle, and even raise the dead. While living, a saint's active help might be requested and given for various purposes, in as much as nothing was too difficult for his miraculous powers; the removal of some blight or plague from the fields or flocks, the healing of human ailments were all within his province. A saint could continue to perform miracles even after his death, since he was nearer to God and was more fully charged with supernatural influence than he was during his lifetime. ... The local centre of a saint's influence after his death was his tomb. … Petitioners normally visited a saint's grave to seek his favour and blessing or to request his intercession on their behalf".[172]

3-4-4-2: Circumambulation (*Tawaf*)[173]

The design of the Islamic *cungkup* allows the visitors to ambulate around the centrally located cenotaph. Whether this was actually practised is not clear, currently the pilgrims sit around the cenotaph and mediate. Yet in most *cungkups*, performing a full circle around the cenotaph is obstructed by different means, which indicates an intentional suppression of such an act. Circumambulation is not unknown in Buddhist rituals. In many temples, narrative reliefs adorn the walls however these carved panels serve more than a merely decorative purpose; the progression of these panels "leads the worshipper around the shrine in a clockwise direction so that the monument is always on the right. This circumambulation called *pradakshina* in itself constituted an act of worship. Later, in east Java, many narrative reliefs required the worshipper to walk counter clockwise in a manner termed *prasawya*.[174]

3-4-4-3: The Cungkup and the Cella

[171] Ambary, H. "Early Mosques and Tombs," p.127.
[172] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.7.
[173] Tawaf is from the Arabic root taf which is the act of going around something. In this regard a ritual of going around something sacred or revered. Muslims go around the Ka'ba seven full circles as part of the Hajj (the Muslim annual pilgrimage) and 'Umrah (the lesser pilgrimage that could be performed any time of the year) compulsory rituals. It is also possible that such a religious ritual, in spite of violation to orthodox Islam, would be performed around a wali's (saint) tomb.
[174] Sedyawati, E ."Adoption of Buddhism and Hinduism," pp.56-7 and Atmadi, *Some Architectural Principles* p.19.

It has already been noted earlier that a major characteristic of the shrine complex is to have a mosque. The tomb of the saint is always placed on the axis of the mosque with the *qibla* pointing to the *cungkup*. Thus the worshipers would not only face the *qibla* when praying in the mosque, but the departed saint's tomb as well. According to Saliya, this would be an indirect veneration of a respected ancestor whose site has become a center for pilgrimage.[175] A very interesting description is that "the saint's burial chamber is positioned as if at the head of a congregation that consists of both the dead in the cemetery, all of whom are buried facing Mecca to the northwest, and the living which make up the daily prayer congregation assembled at the back of the mosque itself".[176] This configuration emphasizes the *cungkup* which is accentuated as the major or most sacred feature of the complex. The importance attributed to the *cungkup* has led to comparisons with the sacred *cella*, which has similar importance in the Hindu-Javanese *candi* and the focus of prayers in Hindu-Buddhist congregations.[177]

3-4-5: Are Javanese Mausoleums a Local Product?

In light of the above, it being in line with orthodox Islam or not, the *ziyarah* tradition or the pilgrimage to *wali* sites is rooted in the Javanese mind. The idea of invoking the help of the dead is a common factor in both religions; in Javanese popular Islam and in older Hindu-Buddhism alike. It is realised however, that this cult of saints is not a unique Javanese local phenomenon, but it is encountered elsewhere in the Islamic world. According to Ambary, many scholars are of the opinion that "pilgrimages to tombs did not derive from an older system of belief, but instead marked a new practice which had only indirect links to previous customs. Sufi and Shi'ite groups in other countries, including India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, and even Saudi Arabia, conduct similar pilgrimages. In pre-Islamic Indonesia there were no graves for descendants to venerate. Burial was not commonly practised, and the dead were mainly disposed of by cremation, and their ashes thrown into the sea or into the river. Furthermore, the idea that individual personalities persist after death certainly does not seem to have been common in pre-Islamic Indonesian thought; instead the doctrine of the soul's reunion with a greater consciousness after death seems to have been the standard form of belief". [178] To what extent was this trend a product of earlier local beliefs, or how far did it depend on external influences is not important. What concerns us here is that, within the context of both religions acknowledging such a phenomenon, how was it reflected in the architecture? In other words, we have a case of two similar beliefs originating from two different dogmas in two diverse geographical locations; which type of architecture was used to represent this phenomenon is the decisive question.

3-4-5-1: The Site Planning

A look at the planning of the shrines will reveal that the idea of a mausoleum placed on a hill top preceded by several courtyards, like the cases of Drajat, Ratu Kalinyamat, and Gunung Jati, is a genuine local practise. However, a closer look at shrine complexes such as Kudus where strong Hindu influences are claimed, the careful study of the complex layout reveals that the architect does not follow the Hindu hierarchal approach of spaces, rather he plans it differently but with some

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[175] Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions of Islam in Buildings," p.190.
[176] Denny, F. M. "Religion, Iconography and Subject-Matter: Islamic," p.757.
[177] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.85.
[178] Ambary, H. "Early Mosques and Tombs," p.127.

Hindu ideas in his mind; you can reach any point from many directions which is not the normal Hindu concept.[179] The same holds true for the planning of the shrines of Sendang Duwur and Sunan Bonang.

Another major planning difference is that the preceding courtyards, in the case of a *candi,* would be occupied by temples, dedicated to lesser gods, and by auxiliary buildings deemed necessary for the completion of the Hindu/Buddhist rituals. In contrast, in an Islamic shrine, the corresponding spaces would be reserved for the burial of deceased Muslims. Furthermore, either a mosque is planned to be built on the eastern side of the complex, or the *cungkup* would be placed to the West of the mosque in case one already existed at the site.

3-4-5-2: The Architecture of the Shrines

The plan of the mausoleum or *cungkup* displays some similarities with that of the *candi*. The square plan, either on a single base or raised on several terraces with ample space around the building, the central space, with its raised pedestal, and the sealing off of this central area with a wooden or stone screen, definitely recalls the architectural principles of the *candi.* However, here too, not without innovations; unlike the statue of the deity that solely stood on the pedestal inside the *cella*, the *wali* is usually not buried alone inside his mausoleum. The central raised plinth normally accommodates several cenotaphs; naturally that of the saint and some of his close companions or in some cases rulers.[180]

Unlike the exaggerated roofs of the *candies*, the covering of the *cungkup* displays the use of a one-two tier *tajug* roof. Bougas, rightly, believes that “the custom of erecting pavilions over royal graves and the graves of important religious figures … derives directly from the Middle Eastern practice of constructing domed structures over the graves of kings and saints. … Initially Indonesians and Malays did not adopt the dome to adorn their mosques or tombs; instead they employed their own indigenous equivalent of the Middle Eastern dome: the pagoda-roof, decreasing in size from the bottom to the top. This form normally found on temples, palaces, and over gates, like the dome it substituted for, was a symbol of honour and veneration”.[181]

Unlike the mosques, the mausoleums display the borrowing of many Hindu-Buddhist architectural elements. The *candi bentar* and the *paduraksa* gateways are frequently found in all mausoleums. However, in some cases, not without innovation; in Kudus, for example, the use of arches under *paduraksas* instead of the flat stepped lintel is a deviation from the Hindu-Javanese model **[Figures 2.85 and 2.101]**. The same configuration is seen at the doorway to the mausoleum of sultan Hassanudin in Banten. However, in this case the doorway is not a true free standing *paduraksa*,

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[179] Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan *Keaneka Ragaman Bentuk Masjid di Jawa*, pp.36-7, according to the authors, “This makes the new religion more appealing for new converts because it does not totally dismiss their old beliefs”.

[180] This, for example, recalls the burial of the mother and the uncle of the Ayyubid Sultan al-Kamil next to Imam al Shafi’i in Cairo. In spite of the fact that many would follow Creswell’s *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* and Hillenbrand’s *Islamic Architecture: Form Function and Meaning* in believing that it was Sultan al-Kamil himself who was burrried next to Imam al-Shafi’i. However, L. Korn has proved that al-Kamil was buried in his *turba* adjacent to the Great Mosque of Damascus. It is however, al-Kamil’s uncle, al-Aziz ‘Uthman, who is actually buried next to Imam al-Shafi’I in Cairo. See Korn, L. *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: Bautätigkeit im Kontext von Politik und Gesellschaft; 564 - 658, 1169 – 1260* (Heidelberg, 2004). Cat nos. Kai/81 and Dam/190.

[181] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.55.

rather an engaged silhouette of it **[Figure 2.233]**. Stair-wings are another Hindu-Buddhist architectural element also frequently used; those at the mausoleums of Sunan Drajat, Sendang Duwur, Kudus, and Bonang are all valid examples.

Similar to the *candi* where the external walls of the body that encompass the sacred *cella* are heavily decorated, here too, the mausoleum's screen which encircles the cenotaph of the buried *wali* and his companion has received all decorative efforts.

The similarity with the *candi* can also be observed in the use, in some cases, of small lion figurines to guard the mausoleum doors as seen at the doors of Sunan Drajat and Sendang Duwur.

So far we have assessed the architecture, yet it is now demanding that we evaluate the role played by the decorations of the mosques and shrines in determining the extent to which these structures could be viewed as local or foreign.

3-5: The Decorative Repertoire of East Java

The planning and architecture of the mosques and shrines, so far have been studied against a background of local ideologies and buildings. It is however, the intention of this section to concentrate on the decorative arts in a similar approach. That is to say against the rich background of local Javanese ingenuity. Yet it must be said that to compile a list of all motifs of the Javanese decorative repertoire is a huge undertaking that is beyond the scope of this section and dissertation, nor is it intended here to give a detailed account of all iconographic associations. However, it is inevitable to draw a broad picture of the Hindu-Javanese artistic medium in order to be able to understand some of the decorative features seen in Javanese Islamic buildings. To be "generally" able to discern what is Hindu, what is Hindu-inspired, and what is non-Hindu all together. Furthermore, whereas terms such as *mihrab* or *qibla* are familiar to the reader in the field of Islamic art and architecture, expressions like *kala-makara* or "urn of plenty" definitely need an explanation.

3-5-1: Temple Decoration Schemes and Motifs

It has already been mentioned earlier that for the Javanese the abode of a god should be appropriate for its mission, therefore decorating a *candi* was not a simple task.

"The Javanese artists had a wide range of ornamental designs at their disposal to adorn their temples. These motifs were selected from a vocabulary of patterns in South Asia, and further elaborated in their Javanese environment. They were also combined to form compositions; certain motifs were regularly found in particular locations and groupings on temples. The motifs expressed complex messages about the divine nature of the structures; they were not randomly organised decorations. They were subtly different from the message which they expressed in India".[182]

In the 13th century, shortly before the rise of the Majapahit kingdom, and in accord with the Hindu- Buddhist symbiosis, the temples showed repeated use of carvings that demonstrate Javanese Buddhist and Hindu accounts.[183] It is therefore important to state here that "the sculptors who carved these wonderful panels were not free in the choice of their subjects. It has been recognised that they closely followed certain sacred texts";[184] like the Ramayana, for example, in the case of the Majapahit

[182] Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60.
[183] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68.
[184] Vogel, J. "The Relation between the Art of India and Java," pp.74-5.

Panataran temple.[185] Nevertheless, According to Scheurleer, the carved panels of the Panataran temple reveal that "Many original Javanese cultural traits alien to the imported Hinduism or Buddhism came to the surface in the Majapahit period and were shown in the arts. One fundamental idea is that the world is full of visible and invisible creatures: some of them vicious, others auspicious, some supernatural, others human with supernatural powers. … Every natural and supernatural creature is made visible in Majapahit art. One gets the best view of them in narrative reliefs on temple walls. In the panels in which the episodes of mythical stories unfold the atmosphere is animated by them. They surround the noble and demon protagonists while accomplishing their heroic deeds. Depending on the place, situation, and even on the available space of the relief panel, they manifest themselves. Their manifestations are slight variations of the natural surroundings of rocks, plants, and clouds. Often it is hard to tell the difference".[186] To come to the point, Boisselier affirms that "on Indonesian buildings architectural decoration often assumes such importance and is so loaded with meaning that it is practically impossible to consider the decorative detail separately from the buildings themselves. Embellishment for its own sake is never found in art of Indian inspiration; on Java, however, the symbolism of decorative features is richer than anywhere else.[187]

In terms of the decoration style, unlike the natural-looking deeply carved reliefs of the Early Classical era, East Javanese carvings were flatter and slightly abstracted, looking more like leather shadow play (*wayang*) figures.[188] The carvings were executed as framed panels which made them appear as if they were "pictures hanging on the wall".[189] Round medallions are also common in the temples of the Singasiri and Majapahit periods. These medallions are carved with animals, which out of their bodies sprouts flowers and arabesques. In the Panataran Temple, these medallions alternate with rectangular panels that depict Ramayana episodes.[190]

It is already known that the *candi* is divided into base, body, and roof. However, it is worth noting that each section received its own decorative scheme: "The base of the candi is dominated by a series of horizontal mouldings. Carvings here are largely confined to geometric patterns and floral designs. In complete contrast, the walls of the temple body are richly decorated with all manner of ornamental designs",[191] and the roofs were given triangular stones, called antefixes, to accentuate the height of the building.[192]

Special attention was provided to certain architectural elements like the doors and niches that were always bordered by a *kala-makara*.[193] Stair-wings, too, were typically decorated with a triangular *tumpal* motif reminiscent of designs seen on batik clothes.[194]

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[185] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.
[186] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.85 the author quotes Stutterheim's study of the Ramayana reliefs on the main temple of Candi Panataran: Stutterheim, W. F. *Rama-Legenden und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1925).
[187] Boisselier, J. "South-east Asia," p.268.
[188] Dumarcay, J. "Stone Architecture of East Java," p.68.
[189] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.47.
[190] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.
[191] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58.
[192] Kieven, L "The Architecture and Art of Ancient East Java," p.33 and Dumarçay, J. "Perspective Effects in Javanese Temple Architecture," p.58.
[193] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," p.58.
[194] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.

3-5-2: The Javanese Hindu-Buddhist Artistic Repertoire

3-5-2-1: Animals

The temples of the Majapahit period made use of many animal and bird figurines. The sculptures represented real-life animals and birds such as geese, peacocks, elephants, and horses[195] **[Figure 3.29a and b]**. In other occurrences, mythical and unrealistic monsters and a fusion of creatures like the *kala-makara* **[Figure 3.30]**, Garuda **[Figure 3.31a and b]**, and Kinnara **[Figure 3.32]**, were used. However, it was not uncommon to see a mixture of both real and imaginary animals in the temple. In many cases, these creatures represented certain well known Hindu deities, such as the elephant-headed Ganesa, the god of wisdom and eradicator of barriers,[196] or the horse, which, according to Indian myth, was the chariot puller of Surya the sun god.[197] Other animals, such as lions **[Figure 3.33]** may have simply been "symbolic of the wild jungles on the slopes of Mount Meru".[198] Of all the creatures mentioned above, to an extent, some are clear in their representations, while others, specially the mythical ones, nevertheless warrant some further explanation.

3-5-2-1-1: The Kala-Makara

The *kala* is the main Hindu motif from the Early Classical period that made strong appearances on the *candis* of East Java.[199] This feature, according to Vogel, is "regarded as an effigy of the terrible god Kala,[200] although, if traced back, to its Indian prototypes, it is found to be primarily a lion's head, … now, this so called Kala head, on which the Javanese artists have allowed their fantasy full play, is usually combined with another decorative element, likewise of Indian origin —namely, a pair of *makara* heads which are placed at the foot of both door jambs. The *Kala-makara* motif, as the combined ornament is called by Dutch archaeologists, stands foremost among the decorative devices of Indo-Javanese art. It is well known that the *makara* is a very favourite theme in the art of India, too, but different opinions have been expressed as to its original significance. Its curled-up proboscis [trunk] suggests connection with the elephant, but in Indian literature the *makara* is invariably represented as an aquatic animal".[201] In fact, this aquatic animal is a "hybrid" [202] fabled creature, which, according to Soekmono, has an "elephant's trunk, a lion's mane, a parrot's beak, and a fish's tail".[203]

During the East Java period, the *kala* motif becomes fiercer with two out-pouring eyes, horn-like extensions over the brows, sharp teeth as well as front ones. Hands sometimes were carved forming a fist, whereby two fingers are threateningly up-stretched, between which small snakes can move.[204]

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[195] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.
[196] Kinney, et al. Worshipping Siva and Buddha p.288.
[197] Coomaraswamy, A. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p.67-8 and Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.90.
[198] Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60.
[199] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.
[200] According to one story, "Kala was a legendary being created by Siva to kill a titan. In another version Kala is a representation of a demon called Rahu, who stole the elixir of immortality, He was beheaded by a god, but because he had already swallowed some of the elixir, he could not be killed." See Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," pp.58-9.
[201] Vogel, J. "The Relation between the Art of India and Java," pp.70-3.
[202] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.343.
[203] Soekmono, R. "Candi: Symbol of the Universe," pp.58-9.
[204] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.352.

The *kala* motif is usually associated with two *makaras*; one on each side. The *kala* head would occupy the middle section of the entrance door or niche's lintel, while the two *makaras* would normally slide down the sides.[205] Furthermore, according to Scheurleer, this motif is also "found in narrative reliefs on temple walls like a canopy hovering above heroes. The motif signifies that a supernatural heroic deed has been performed".[206]

3-5-2-1-2: Garuda

This famous sky creature was originally an eagle and the carrier of the prominent god Vishnu, who is the world maintainer and member of the Hindu god trinity with Siva and Brahma.[207] However, Garuda was later "conceived as a human being with a bird's head and wings. He has turned his head with the huge, strong beak to the left and so" shows us his shark of hair, typically for powerful creatures. His wings are neatly spread out and radiate from his sides. Not only his unfolded wings, but also the position of his legs, and his knees pulled up, tell us that Garuda is airborne. Like so many supernatural creatures, mythical heroes and deities, Garuda's appearance in the Majapahit period is frightening and he is represented as the main figure. Apparently, he has risen higher in the ranks of the ancient Javanese pantheon and has become a venerable deity in his own right, rather than as the mount of the god Vishnu".[208]

Worth mentioning is that the Javanese recognise yet another half human, half bird divinity, who also resides in the sky, known as *kinnara*. This deity is normally a female divine musician.[209]

3-5-2-2: Nature

The episodes of the Hindu scriptures are abundant with nature and natural phenomena such as mountains, clouds and flora that are reflected in the Javanese carved reliefs. One theme that seems to combine all these elements together is that of the hermit. The importance of the mountain in Hindu-Javanese dogma is by now well explained. Furthermore, it has been already mentioned that the Hindu world was full of supernatural powers; for the Javanese the way "to acquire supernatural powers, much propagated in the Majapahit period, is by becoming an ascetic. By retiring from society and leading a life of mediation on, doing penance, abstaining from sensual pleasures, one may become even more powerful than the gods and their adversaries, the demons themselves. The best environment for an ascetic is a cave or another shelter in the woods on a mountain. Mountains being the birthplace of wells, overgrown with trees and other vegetation, elevated high in the sky and reaching heaven, have always been held sacred".[210] The previous atmosphere summarizes most of the natural elements normally depicted in Javanese reliefs. However, to

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[205] Klokke, M. "Die Kunst Indonesiens," p.343.
[206] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.86.
[207] Kinney, et al. *Worshipping Siva and Buddha* p.288 and 290.
[208] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.95. According to the author, on p.86, in the Majapahit era, Garuda was much praised for "stealing the bottle with the elixir of immortality from the gods. After having it used to redeem his mother from slavery, he returns it to the gods and becomes Wishnu's mount.
[209] Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60 and Sedyawati, "Hindu Buddhist Influences in Indonesian Art," p.12
[210] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.85 and Miksic, J. "The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic," pp.123-4

complete the picture, it is worth mentioning that such scenery was accompanied by "heavenly nymphs," whose main task was to seduce the hermit.[211]

Another natural phenomenon used was the sun (*surya*), which became the insignia of Majapahit and was displayed on the kingdom's buildings. The image usually bore a carving of the god in the middle.[212] Furthermore, the sun motif "functions as a time denoting tool (*candra sangkala mukti*) which was used to note the date of the sunrise when the building was first constructed".[213]

3-5-2-3: Flora

Foliage was extensively used and, in many cases, so stylized that it tended to turn into curls. Plants (trees and flowers) available in Java are abundant and therefore, offered artisans great inspiration. The varieties produced, however, are too great to be identified; many seem to be highly abstracted. The main flower used by the decorators was no doubt the lotus. Considered by the Buddhists as a representation of the Buddha himself, the seat of the highest divinity, and the birth of the universe,[214] the flower was executed in a naturalistic form with stems and leaves[215] **[Figure 3.34]** and also in abstract style; like an eight petal flower seen in plan.[216] It is observed that Majapahit artists usually depicted the lotuses stemming out of flower pots, known as "urns or pots of plenty" (*purnaghata*),[217] placed on the ground. In earlier depictions the flowers grew out of bulbs [218] **[Figure 3.35]**.

Another important Javanese floral feature is the "wishing tree," known in Sanskrit as *kalpataru*.[219] For the Javanese, the tree symbolized a heavenly motif [220] **[Figure 3.36]**.

3-5-3: Decorations of Islamic Buildings

Unlike working in Hindu-Buddhist temples, where the artists were confined to the narratives of the sacred texts, when they worked in mosques or shrines they enjoyed more freedom in choosing their decorative panels. It could be fairly stated that the decorations of Islamic buildings did not follow a specific program. The best example would be the mausoleum of Sendang Duwur, where, despite heavy borrowings of Hindu-Buddhist motifs, no episodes of the Hindu lore are present, nor did any panel attempt to narrate a story from the Quran. Instead isolated, reused decorative elements and motifs are used.

the mosques and the Javanese Muslim shrines, followed two different approaches to which parts of the buildings should be decorated. The mosque decorators confined all embellishments to three parts only; the *qibla* wall and mihrab, the wooden *minbar*, and the external side of the eastern wall, which is the wall connecting the prayer hall to the *serambi*. On the other hand, shrine decorators limited

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[211] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," p.92.
[212] Kieven, L "The Architecture and Art of Ancient East Java," p.34.
[213] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.69.
[214] Sedyawati, "Hindu Buddhist Influences in Indonesian Art," p.12.
[215] Vogel, J. "The Relation between the Art of India and Java," pp.107.
[216] Scheurleer, P. "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," pp.88-9. According to the author, this is an implementation of the Javanese concept of the eight compass directions and the center.
[217] Boisselier, J. "South-east Asia," p.268 and Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60.
[218] Vogel, J. "The Relation between the Art of India and Java," pp.107.
[219] Boisselier, J. "South-east Asia," p.268; Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60; and Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur*, p.47.
[220] Miksic, J. "Ornamentation of Classic Javanese Stonework," p.60.

there efforts mainly to the *cungkup* of the buried *wali.*[221] However, it should be noted that some attempts of ornamentation can also be seen in the gateways and walls of the preceding courtyards of the shrine.

In light of the above, a third point remains to be addressed, which is; if the mosque and shrine decorators were free to choose the themes and motifs of their décor designs, which motifs did they elect? Furthermore, were the elected motifs used as they were, or did the artist use his creativity and alter the old mould to give it a new form or meaning? In other words, the coming section will address three main questions. Which local motifs carried on to be used with no alteration, which motifs were introduced, but based on older local ones, and lastly, which decorative motifs and techniques are totally foreign?

3-5-3-1: Borrowed Hindu-Buddhist Motifs

This section intends to demonstrate the Hindu-Buddhist motifs that were borrowed from the local repertoire with minor or no changes; it focuses on the main motifs, and ignores the traditional and ubiquitous use of curls and foliage, as wells as the background and space-filling elements.

3-5-3-1-1: The Lotus Flower

This is the main flower borrowed for the decoration panels seen in Sendang Duwur, Drajat, Masjid Agung Cirebon and Kudus. A budding lotus can also be seen hanging from the ceiling of the mihrab of the Masjid Agung Cirebon. The three dimensional carvings and the placement of the flowers at different heights against long stems in the background can be seen in Hindu-Buddhist arts of the time **[Figure 3.34]**.

3-5-3-1-2: The Wishing Tree

As depiction of vegetation is not considered a violation of Islamic orthodox principles, one expects to find such motifs widely used, which is surprisingly not the case. The tree is depicted, without any accompanying figures, several times only on the gates of Sendang Duwur **[Figure 2.295c]**. According to Tjandrasasmita, this tree, which makes many appearances on many Hindu-Buddhist temples of East Java, can be connected, in an Islamic context, to the eternal tree or “Shajarat al-Khuld”.[222]

3-5-3-1-3: The Urn of Plenty

This motif is used to decorate the lower parts of the doors to the Demak prayer hall that are kept in the mosque’s museum **[Figure 2.22]**.

3-5-3-1-4: The Kala and Makara Motifs

The *makara* motif can be seen on the doors of the Demak mosque mentioned above. According to Nurdin and Ahmed, “the panel doors are carved with a *naga* like figure (Hindu mythical serpent) swallowing flames. These doors were made by the wali sanga to commemorate Ki Ageng Sela, forefather of the Islamic Mataram dynasty. The story is about the magical power *(kasekten)* which is believed to have been possessed by Ki Ageng Sela who can defeat and catch a thunderbolt (the symbol of the autochthonous fire worship of the pre-Islamic people in Java). Hence we can trace

[221] According to Prof. Ambary, “The tomb complexes are often noted for their elaborately carved decorations of stone or wood; the wood carvings in particular are of great interest, since they may represent the oldest preserved examples of this art form in Indonesia. No detailed study of them has yet been compiled”.Ambary, H. “Early Mosques and Tombs,” p.127.

[222] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.47.

a symbolic message through this image in *the pintu bledeg* … about the Islamic triumph over the fire-worshippers. The reminiscence of fire worship can still be traced through the old tradition of mountain cults. The people gave sacral names to their sacred volcano: Merapi (deriving its name from *Meru* (pyramidal *roof)-api* (fire), meaning the place of keeping fire)".[223]

Another *makara* is seen on the winged gateway of Sendang Duwur **[Figure 2.295]**. In this case, the *makara* heads are not the normal mythical hybrid creatures, rather simple deer heads [224] **[Figures 2.295a and c]**, which, according to Fontein, and Soekmono, are similar to heads depicted at *Candi* Sukuh. A *kala* head is also present on this gateway, which makes the typical Hindu-Buddhist *kala-makara* motif complete in this case.

3-5-3-1-5: The Lion

Free standing lion statues guard the entrances of the mausoleums of Sunan Drajat and Sendang Duwur **[Figures 2.73 and 2.303]**. These figurines represent a very bold defiance to Islamic orthodox practice. Earlier examples are to be found in the 13th century *Candi* Kidal in East Java **[Figure 3.33]**. The exact meaning of these figurines is yet to be established. Bennett suggests that they might have been "intended as a symbol of protective power".[225] However, a Cirebonese zoomorphic banner, currently preserved in the Jakarta Textiles Museum **[Figure 3.37],** depicts a calligraphic quadruped formed of the *Basmalah*. The animal is also accompanied by a double blade sword.[226] "This calligraphic quadruped is usually referred to in Java as *macan Ali* (the lion of Ali), a reference to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, who was known as *asad Allah* (the lion of God)".[227] A different interpretation is that the lion, which was already established in Indonesian life, was "reinterpreted as a result of the influence of Islamic doctrine. The *sinva putih* (white lion) motif, which was said to symbolise purity, was derived from the white tiger, the symbol of the West Javanese and non-Islamic kingdom of Pajajaran that was conquered by the second sultan of Bantam in the late sixteenth century. Under Islamic influence, the tiger became a lion and is also known as the *singa Parsi* (lion of Persia)".[228]

3-5-3-1-6: The Peacock

This very hard to figure-out motif is seen on the first *paduraksa* gate in the mausoleum of Sendang Duwur **[Figure 2.287]**. According to Tjandrasasmita, a similar bird can be seen on a *candi* pillar of Mount Penanggungan.[229]

3-5-3-1-7: Gates, Pavilion, and Structures

The depiction of architecture as part of the natural scene is another Hindu-Buddhist practise that was borrowed in decorating Islamic buildings; examples can be seen in the Mantingan panels and in carvings on the winged gateway of Sendang Duwur **[Figure 2.297]**.

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[223] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.72.
[224] Fontein, J. and Soekmono, R. "Hindu-Buddhist Sculpture in Java; II Other Traditions," p.783.
[225] Bennett, J. "Crescent Moon," p.280.
[226] Maxwell, R. "Tradition and Innovation," p.214.
[227] Gallop, A. "Islamic Manuscript Art of Southeast Asia," p.170. Also Maxwell, R. "Tradition and Innovation," p.213. He points out, that the lion depicted is in the style from Central Asia and Turkey.
[228] Mittersak-Schmoller, R. and Leigh-Theisen, H. "Patterns of Life: A Gateway to Understanding Indonesian Textiles," p.53.
[229] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.47.

3-5-3-2: Inspiration and Innovation

The previous section demonstrated the local motifs that were adopted in the decorative schemes of Javanese Islamic buildings. However, this section, intends to display motifs that were adapted to suit the new Islamic themes. According to one scholar, "Documentary evidence concerning the historical impact of Islam on Indonesian designs has proved notoriously hard to locate and consequently discussion have been somewhat inconclusive".[230] This statement is true based on two reasons. First, it is rational to say that the general Islamic attitude towards the arts is the discouragement of the depiction of human beings or animals.[231] Therefore, one would expect that the main impact was the total absence of such figural motifs from the Javanese Islamic repertoire, which is obviously not the case. Nurdin, and Ahmed, explain that "During the Islamic expansionist period in Java, court art demonstrated the adoption of … pre-Islamic forms, sometimes after a process of further and extreme stylization as can be seen in the art of *wayang* puppet making and other decorative motifs applied in *kratons* and mosques".[232] Therefore, the coming of Islam did not totally eradicate figural representations, rather it pressed towards abstraction.

The second impact of Islam on the artistic repertoire of Java would logically be the intensification, rather than the introduction, of the use of floral and geometric patterns, which "found a healthy germinating ground in Java".[233] This is because the Javanese art repertoire already had its own numerous entries founded on the richness of the island's flora. Yet according to Uda and Al-Ahmadi, "from the innumerable images of natural life, a new tradition and new designs evolved incorporating flowers and birds, fruits and foliage. The flora became the central object from which transcended images into endless forms and patterns".[234] Nurdin and Ahmed explain that, "this elaborate art of pattern is a manifestation of the basic Islamic creed of the indivisibility of God, and in Java it easily blended with existing indigenous patterns and created Islamic Javanese motifs which often appear in *batik, wayang or the shadow play,* and other court ornamental motifs".[235]

3-5-3-2-1: The Wing Motif

This motif can be seen used in the split gateway of the Panjunan mosque **[Figure 2.44a]**, the prime gateway of Sendang Duwur **[Figure 2.295]**, and the entrance to the Karamat section of the shrine of Gunung Jati **[Figures 2.252 a and b]**. This is a classical example that combines an early Hindu-Buddhist motif, abstraction, and the adding of new iconography. To some, the "upsweeping curves of wings" represent those of Garuda.[236] Yet the body is not present and thus, appears to be represented in an abstract form. However, another mythical animal is known by the Muslims to have

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[230] Hitchcock, "Islamic Influences on Indonesian Design," p.52.

[231] There is no Quranic verse that actually bans such imagery; however, the discouragement of figural representations was introduced by theological works of the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods. See J. M. Landau "Taswir: in Painting and other Representational Arts," in Encyclopedia of Islam C. E. Bosworth, et al. eds. CD-Rom version. Brill, (2003)

[232] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.62, also Hitchcock, "Islamic Influences on Indonesian Design," p.52.

[233] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.62.

[234] Uda and Al-Ahmadi, "Malay Arts and Crafts," p.292.

[235] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.62.

[236] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.68 and Miksic, J. "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.86.

also had wings; that is the Buraq or the winged horse on which the Prophet ascended to heaven.[237] Furthermore, if we recall the legend associated with the building of the Sendang Duwur mosque, in which it was claimed that the structure was lifted from Mantingan, were it was originally constructed, to its current place, there is no doubt that strong wings would be indispensable help! In all cases, Tjandrasasmita believes that the winged gates are "a new development in ancient Indonesian architecture"[238] that appears in an Islamic context.

It is also worth mentioning that the mosque at the shrine of Ratu Kalinyamat displays the use of very highly stylized birds, which spread out their wings. The birds are created by curls that do not specifically show any details, however the silhouette created strongly resembles that of an airborne creature **[Figure 2.198].**

3-5-3-2-2: The Sun Motif

Surya, the sun motif, is used in the Islamic architecture of Java; not only on buildings but mainly on tombstone headers. However, the motif is highly abstracted and, in many cases, resembles an eight-point star. Furthermore, all figural representations usually associated with this motif, as in earlier Hindu buildings, are evaded. The motif can, for example, be seen in the *masjids Agung* Demak and Cirebon and on the tombstone header of Queen Ratu Kalinyamat **[Figures 2.19a, 2.32a, and 2.205b]**.

3-5-3-2-3: Stylized Kala-Makara

The popularity of this motif seems to have been so tempting that it was not ignored. However, unlike the case of Sendang Duwur, where we find a true *kala-makara* motif, later examples respected Islamic doctrines and were all highly stylized to such an extent that would render them unrecognisable. The first architecture example can be seen in the inner mihrab of the Panjunan mosque in Cirebon **[Figure 2.49]**. However, the other examples are all seen in the *minbars* of the mosques. The undulating arches placed at the front and back sides of the *minbar* represent a very highly stylized *kala-makara* motif. According to Tjandrasasmita, the top of the old

[237] Maxwell, R. "Tradition and Innovation," p.213, Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," p.68. and Leigh, B. "Design Motifs in Aceh: Indian and Islamic Motifs," p.9. The Buraq is a supernatural animal that was connected to the Prophet's miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (the isra`), then to Heaven (the mi'raj), and back to Mecca in the time span of only one night. The whole story is narrated in a very concise manner in the Quran in the opening verse of *surah* 17 which is known as *surah* of the isra` (the night journey). According to the early accounts, the Buraq is described as a horse of a size between a mule and a donkey. The Buraq was able to travel very fast and was only responsible for the Mecca-Jerusalem journey segment. The Prophet's ascension to Heaven was done by means of a ladder. However later accounts described the Buraq as having wings which meant its ability to fly; not just from Mecca to Jerusalem, but up into Heaven as well. For an English version of the story see Guillaume, A. *The Life of Muhammad: a Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* (London, 1955). According to Paret, there is reference to a *hadith* of Ibn 'Abbas that was passed on by Tha'labi in the early decades of the 11th century A. D., as the earliest suggestion that the Buraq had "a cheek like that of a man". Balkhi, writing in the beginning of the 12th century describes the winged quadruped in the gateway of Xerxes, "whose face resembles a human face", at the ruins of Persepolis as a Buraq. However, in the visual arts, Paret further explains that "The decisive stimuli arose out of those forms of representation which—from the figures guarding the gates of Assyrian palaces onwards—remained alive in the shape of centaurs, griffins or sphinxes and have again and again reappeared as artistic forms. The winged creatures, which in the course of time became petrified into a formal element no longer understood, obtained at last a new meaning in connection with the legend of the mi'raj of the Prophet. In illustrations to Persian poetry, and especially to the works of Nizami, al-Buraq with his rider and Gabriel as guide came to be a much cherished subject. See Paret, R. "Al-Burak," in Encyclopedia of Islam C. E. Bosworth, et al. eds. CD-Rom version. Brill, (2003).

[238] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* pp.59-60.

Sendang Duwur *minbar* "legs or pillars are connected with an arch which ends on both sides in a curl which looks like a makara. The center of these arches has a circle with rays, while inside an eye, nose and mouth are carved. This reminds us of the kala head combined with a halo as we know from certain statues or reliefs from East Javanese art of the Hindu-Indonesian period".[239] It is worth noting that the minbar of Sendang Duwur shares most of its design principles with many others, such as those of *Masjids* Agung Cirebon and Demak. **[Figures 2.284, 2.34 and 2.34a].**

3-5-3-2-4: Mantingan Panels

The importance of the carved stone panels hanging on the walls of the mosque and shrine of Ratu Kalinyamat in Mantingan stems from the fact that we are fairly certain that they were commissioned for an Islamic building.[240] According to one scholar, these panels "proclaim the birth of an Islamic decorative art specifically Javanese, the development of which was halted by the economic situation caused by the Dutch colonisation of the island".[241] They are discussed under this section because, in spite of showing "Islamic sensibility and abstraction," they still show links to earlier Hindu themes, such as the ascetic's pavilion in the garden,[242] and to the Hindu stone carving traditions. However, it must be explained that what makes the panel of the ascetic's pavilion, particularly Islamic is the total absence of any figures, such as the hermit himself or any of the nymphs, who, according to Hindu lore, tried to seduce him; compare **[Figures 2.199a and 3.38]**. Furthermore, viewing it from an Islamic perspective, the scene can simply represent the Garden of Eden or Heaven. Other panels depict natural scenes with mountains in the background and all types of foliage in the front, while others simply represent a floral or geometric composition.

However, it must be mentioned here that one panel seems to be problematic since it represents a monkey surrounded by foliage **[Figure 3.39 and 3.39a]**. The animal's body is camouflaged by filling it with leaves, yet it still can be clearly seen that a monkey is present. Why a monkey in particular is depicted and why this is the only figural panel in this group are questions that still need to be answered.

3-5-3-3: New Motifs and Decoration Techniques

The following section would demonstrate new motifs introduced by Javanese Islamic buildings that were not previously used or known to Javanese temple decorators.

3-5-3-3-1: The Knot Motif

This geometric pattern is used in the mosques of Demak, Cirebon (*Masjid Agung*), and Mantingan. This design was termed by Tjandrasasmita "the woven bamboo"[243] motif. However, it is currently widely known by its Chinese synonym the "Endless Knot"[244] **[Figure 3.40a and b].** This motif is not unique to China, but is rather

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[239] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.41.
[240] These stone panels were salvaged from Hindu-Buddhist temples; the reverse sides are carved with Hindu scenes. See [Figs. 2.192a-b]. Ali suggests that they were the work of a Hindu craftsman that was hired by a Muslim prince. See Ali, Z. *Islamic art in Southeast Asia* p.312.
[241] Chamber-Loir, H. "Forms of Early Islamic Belief and Practice," p.132.
[242] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.41.
[243] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* pp.44-5. He is also quoted by Prof. Ambary in "Some Aspects," p.15.
[244] See Beurdeley, M. "China," in Auboyer, J. et al *Oriental Art: a Handbook of Styles and Forms* (London, 1979).

familiar in other parts of the Muslim world.[245] In Java, however, according two Tjandrasasmita, this motif was not "derived from Hindu-lndonesian decorative art;" he traces its presence to "tombstones· of the old Islamic kingdom of Samudra-Pasei in Northern Sumatra".[246] Therefore, it is believed that this design was imported.

The endless knot motif is described as "syncretic",[247] which implies the fusion of two or more originally different inflectional forms; one with straight lines and sharp angles, the other with soft rounded curves. Furthermore, it is believed to hold miraculous abilities.[248]

3-5-3-3-2: The Waru Leaf Motif

In spite of the richness of the Hindu-Buddhist artistic repertoire with floral and foliage elements, a new leaf pattern was introduced; this is the heart-shaped *waru* leaf **[Figure 3.41a and b]**. According to Marwoto- Johan, "this leaf motif is a specific characteristic of Islamic decorative ornament in the Malay archipelago, as the waru design is not found in the arts of the pre-Islamic period".[249] He shares opinions with Tjandrasasmita, who earlier wrote: "The form of rows of leaf decoration … in the form of a heart gives the impression that this decorative motif was only known after there was no more Hindu- Indonesian art, since as far as we know this decorative motif was not found on Candis of Central and Eastern Java. On the other hand we find this motif on certain tombstones and tombs in northern Sumatera …. In Java it is on the tomb of the Queen of Kalinyamat in Mantingan where we find heart shaped floral and leaf decoration"[250] **[Figure 2.206].** I would also add that examples can be seen in the base of the mausoleum of Sunan Bonang, in the lintel of the winged gate of Sendang Duwur, and Kudus; **[Figures 2.169, 2.295f, and 2.112]** respectively.

3-5-3-3-3: Inserted Tiles and China Plates

Insertion of blue and white Vietnamese, Chinese, and later Dutch tiles, plates and bowls in the walls was ubiquitous in Javanese mosques and shrines. No other decorative practice was more popular. There is no agreement, however, on where this decorative technique originated from. According to Ambray, "The use of decorative tiles on the exterior of both Indonesian mosques and tomb complexes may have been borrowed from a similar practice used for Islamic structures in the Near East, and in South and Central Asia. However, there is also some evidence that the use of such tiles was already known in pre- Islamic Indonesia. .... Archaeologists have discovered fragments of similar tiles at the site of Majapahit's capital at Trowulan. It is not known whether they were used to decorate sacred or secular structures there, but it is possible that they adorned the dwellings of nobles in a manner similar to the use of Dutch tiles in later Indonesian palaces.[251] Porcelain plates have also been used to decorate the walls of some Balinese shrines".[252] Furthermore, Brakel and Masarik

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[245] Miksic, J. "The Art of Cirebon and the Image," p.130. intertwined geometric designs can be seen in a variety of contexts; in achitecture for example in the decorated domes of the mamluks. In another context, in the marble window grilles of the great mosque of Damascus. See Eva Baer, *Islamic Ornament* (Edinburgh, 1998).
[246] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* pp.44-5. He is also quoted by Prof. Ambary in "Some Aspects," p.15.
[247] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.34.
[248] Yudoseputro, W. "Islamic Influences in Indonesian Art," p.16.
[249] Marwoto- Johan, I. "Ritual Heirlooms," p.150. This leaf actually resembles a palmette.
[250] Tjandrasasmita, *Islamic Antiquities in Sendang Duwur* p.43-4.
[251] See Guy, J. "The Vietnamese Wall Tiles of Majapahit," p.40.
[252] Ambary, H. "Early Mosques and Tombs," p.126.

quote Tjandrasasmita as saying that china plates inserted in walls is a Balinese feature,[253] whereas Schoppert and Damais think this is an imitation of Persian mosques;[254] and Ismudiyanto and Atmadi attribute it to China.[255] I would argue against Bali and Trowulan as the source for this introduced technique. First, one can hardly think of Bali influencing Java; Bali was a lesser kingdom compared to Java. We need only recall here how the Majapahit *Candi* Panataran is considered the prototype that Balinese temples copied.[256] Furthermore, when the Majapahit fell to the Muslims, all the Javanese royalty and their entourage fled to Bali where they carried their court etiquettes and, no doubt, their arts too. Second, Trowulan, the Majapahit capital, was situated in the interior of the island and not on the coast. Since these tiles were imported, the presence of the same type of tiles concurrently in the capital and in the coastal cities would only suggest that they moved from the coastal port to the capital in the interior and not the other way around. One can argue that with the tiles travelled the idea of using them to decorate interior spaces. It remains highly likely that this technique is a foreign inspiration. Yudoseputro explains that, in spite of the fact that the tiles and plates used were Chinese, Vietnamese, and Thai, the intention was to "emulate" similar practise in the Middle East.[257] An opinion that contrasts with the fact that this decoration scheme was not wide-spread in the Muslim World;[258] examples can be seen in the mosques of Oman and East Africa. According to Costa, archaeological evidence display that this scheme was used as early as 1505 in Oman,[259] and in East Africa, it is found in the towns of Ungwana, Gedi, Mafui, Mbweni, and Kilwa.[260] The Mihrab of the Friday mosque of Gedi,[261] which dates from the second half of the 15th century, for example, is described by Petersen, as being decorated by eleven blue and white porcelain bowls; five in the spandrels above the mihrab niche, two in the pilasters flanking the mihrab, and six in the niche itself.[262]

3-5-3-4: Inscriptions

Compared to other parts of the Islamic world, Javanese monumental inscriptions on buildings are nonexistent; inscriptions do not appear as bands on buildings, but rather as foundation slabs, like the case of Kudus, or on tomb stones and art objects **[Figure 3.42]**. This may be because the tombstones were imported ready-made. Furthermore, Southeast Asia on the whole did not have a sense for written history; very few inscriptions from the pre-Islamic era exist today; a practice that seems to have carried on in the Islamic period.

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[253] Brakel and Masarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque," p.124.
[254] Schoppert, P. et al. *Java Style* p.41.
[255] Ismudiyanto and Atmadi, *Demak, Kudus, Jepara: A Study of Arch. Syncretism* p.79.
[256] Kinny, A. et al. *Worshiping Siva and Buddha* p.179.
[257] Yudoseputro, W. "Islamic Influence in Indonesian Art," p.17.
[258] Unless Yudoseputro intended Turkey and Persia by the Middle East, where the use of tiles, and not this type of inset scheme, was evolving into an indispensable decoration medium.
[259] Costa, P. *Historic Mosques and Shrines of Oman* p.223.
[260] Costa, P. *Historic Mosques and Shrines of Oman* p.223.
[261] According to Petersen, "Gedi," p.96, Gedi was a Muslim Settlement situated 6 kilometers inland from the Kenyan coast near the city of Malindi. Gedi was established in the 13th century and was abandoned in the 16th. The archaeological remains found at the city all date from the 15th century. For more readings I would bring to attention Kirkman, J. *The Arab City of Gedi: Excavations at the Great Mosque, Architecture and Finds* (Oxford, 1954).
[262] Petersen, "Gedi," p.97.

Chapter 4:

The Origins of the Javanese Mosque and Mausoleum

4-1: Introduction

Architecture is an expressive art that combines ideas and form to produce a building which, ideally, should serve the function for which it was created. The idea is the core or base on which the building is designed, whereas the form represents the external expression. Prijotomo illustrates this system by a circle with what he calls the "realm of ideas" placed at its centre, and the "realm of form" occupying its circumference.[1] According to another Indonesian scholar, Wiranto attributes the "spatial idea" of the northern coast mosques of Java to a dialogue between religion, culture, natural environment, and traditional values and heritage, whereas the "spatial model and form" are structured by theological, technological, architectural and sociological factors.[2] It is therefore, important here to re-state that in the preceding chapter it has been analytically and logically demonstrated that Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic beliefs and rituals (building functions) are not the same, and therefore, the local Hindu-Buddhist ideas could not have contributed to the base or core (realm of ideas) on which the Javanese mosque was founded

When we examine the "spatial model and form", unlike Hindu-Buddhist manuals that dictated the building size and appearance of the temple, the Quran imposes no special directions for the architectural form of the mosque.[3] Therefore, according to O'Neil, "The Indonesian architects were free to interpret these basic requirements in accord with their own pre-existing ideas. They had no exact indigenous parallels on which to draw. [As discussed in the previous chapter], communal prayer in pre-Islamic Indonesia, if it existed, would have been conducted in open courtyards as it still is in Bali today. However we have no firm evidence that large public prayers were conducted in ancient Indonesia. … Thus the introduction of the mosque and the idea of large communal prayer groups were new in Indonesian society".[4] In this respect, "The physical aspects of early Indonesian mosques were [therefore] determined by a combination of Islamic and indigenous ideas about the form which sacred buildings should take".[5] "Indigenous" could be understood in terms of native technology and local know-how, but "Islamic" prompts the questions from where and with whom did these ideas come?

4-2: The Origin of the Javanese Mosque

In the first chapter of this dissertation, theories regarding the arrival of the Islamic faith (not arts and architecture) and the different groups deemed responsible for its

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[1] Prijotomo, J. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* p.5.
[2] Wiranto, Ir. *Model Spasial Dan Bentuk Arsitektur Masjid* p.XII.
[3] Sadali, A. "In Search of an Islam Initiated Architectural Identity," p.87. Apart from the Prophet's hadith: "ما أمرت بتشيد المساجد" in which he informs his apostles that he was not ordered to decorate mosques, there are no guidelines to how a mosque should look like. The previous hadith is narrated only by Abu Dawuud yet it is indexed by Wensinck, A.J. et al. *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* vols. 3-4 (Leiden, 1962) p.227. The Arabic word "tashayid" used in the hadith derives from the root "shayyad" which has been interpreted as to mean decorate rather than the common nowadays meaning of "to build". See Zarkashi, Mohammad ibn. 'Abddalah, (745-94 H.) *'I'lam al-sajid bi-ahkam al-masajid* Al-Maraghi, A, W. ed. (Cairo, 1982) and Wanli, Khayer al-Din *Al-masjid fi al-islam: ahkamoh, adaboh bida'oh* (Amman, 1993).
[4] O'Neil, H. "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," p.94. What is indicated is large communal prayer gatherings inside buildings.
[5] O'Neil, H. "The Mosque as a Sacred Space," p.94.

introduction to the Malay world have been thoroughly discussed. Therefore, in this last and concluding chapter the intention is not to reiterate what has already been said, but rather to address the more specific issue of the introduction of the two Islamic building types in Java; namely the mosque and the mausoleum. The painstaking research by the Dutch Orientalists of the 18th and 19th centuries that was discussed in the introductory chapter of this work does not offer any help in answering this question. As Islamologists, the Dutch researchers were mainly occupied with examining Indonesian Islam as a religion and its social repercussions on the Indonesian society. Of main concern then was the comparison between orthodox Islam as found and practised in western Islamic lands and that of Indonesia. By and large, the outcome of their work has painted a picture of a dualistic religion in Indonesia in which the core was, to some extent, based on the old Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, which they termed "adat" literally from the Arabic "traditions," and an external Islamic garb.[6] What concerns us here is that specialized research in the field of Islamic architecture was extremely rare and thus allowed the implementation of the previous findings on the architecture as well. It has been shown in chapter three how theories tended to interpret Indonesian mausoleums within the frame of ancestor worship, or mosque roofs in terms of the Balinese *meru.* Here one can see clearly the Islamic building or the external garb that holds within the old local core. Dutch archaeologists were also active in preserving and documenting Javanese monuments, however, they were mainly concerned with Hindu-Buddhist temples. It is therefore not unlikely for them to see the Islamic buildings through Hindu-Buddhist eyes as expressed in their publications. In this regard, the widespread notion of the local origin of the Javanese Islamic buildings is not incontestable.

De Graaf was the first to challenge the dominant perception and suggested that the mosque architecture must have come with the religion itself.[7] He started by examining Gujarat, where many tombstones were exported to Java;[8] however, he was unable to confirm the connection in architecture because Gujarat mainly had stone mosques whereas Java had wooden ones **[Figure 4.20]**. He then suggested the Malabar Coast on the basis that in this region wooden *masjids* show similarities with those in Java. He further suggested Kashmir, where wooden mosques[9] are the norm, as another possible source **[Figures 4.21a-c]**. Unable to establish a convincing link, De Graaf generally suggested that the prototype of the Javanese mosque must have once existed in western India. Most important was his suggestion that the multi-tier roof was copied from Sumatra, which was a major break from the hallowed Balinese *meru* roof theory.[10]

In accordance with De Graaf's theory on a foreign origin for the mosques of Java, Slametmuljana, in 1976, proposed China as the source. He based his suggestion on an account from the *Chinese Chronicles of Semarang* in which is recorded "that in 1413, Zheng He made a stop in Semarang to repair his ships. During his stay there Zheng He,

[6] Boland, and Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia* p.20

[7] Published as: Graaf, H. J. de. "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque". *Journal of South East Asian History* 5, 1959, pp.1-5.

[8] Compare [Figures 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18].

[9] The early Kashmiri wooden mosques were burnt down several times and non of the current standing ones are earlier than the 19th century. On the other hand the Mughal stone ones do not deviate from Mughal architectural norms as seen in Delhi for instance. See Kak, Ram Chandra *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933).

[10] Graaf, H. J. de. "The Origin of the Javanese Mosque" p.2

accompanied by his interpreters, Ma Huan and Fei Hsin, frequently visited a Chinese mosque in Semarang for prayers. The Chinese- Muslim community of Semarang was said to be of the Hanafi sect. The Chinese mosque in Semarang was said to have been built in the ninth year of the reign of Emperor Yung Lo, (i.e. 1411/2 A.D.). The members of this Chinese-Muslim community must have settled down there several decades before Zheng He's visit. Apparently the mosque Zheng He visited was the oldest Chinese mosque in Java".[11] Slametmuljana further supports his theory by pointing out that "Architecturally some old mosques in Malacca are of Chinese style and their minarets are shaped after a Chinese pagoda, as proved by the mosques of Jalan Tengkera **[Figure 4.1]** and, Kampung Keling" [12] **[Figure 4.2].** Furthermore, van Berchem has suggested a connection between the large square mihrab recess seen both in Chinese and Javanese mosques.[13] One last indicator of Chinese influence could be the remains of a square minaret in what used to be the Chinese section of the city of Banten[14] **[Figure 2.231].**

The suggestion of western Indian and Chinese influences seem logical and acceptable since the Malay Archipelago is the middle point on the long route that connected both areas. In other words, the geographical location of the archipelago and the directions of trade traffic in the area allowed influences to arrive from (or travel to) both directions. The two theories deserve our attention; however Slametmuljana's hypothesis is difficult to assess since it was based on textual evidence of buildings that are no longer standing today. The Malacca examples that have been proposed as evidence, lend no help in this regard because the original great mosque of Malacca was burnt to ashes and we possess no description of what it originally looked like. The current mosques are late 18th century replacements of the older now-gone originals. However, mosques are not our only concern here and therefore, the mausoleums might offer some assistance. According to Sumalyo, the linear mausoleum complex or the axial scheme in which all the spaces are placed according to one central axis that leads from the entrance to the tomb is believed to be inspired by the Great mosque of Xian in China[15] **[Figure 4.3].** Furthermore, according to Lombard and Salmon, the ritual of tomb visiting or what they term as the 'Chinese kramat' is definitely not a Chinese practice; rituals for the ancestors were performed in the temples. Tomb visiting in China is only practiced by the Chinese Muslims as seen in the tomb of Waqqas in Guangzhou (Canton) **[Figures 4.4a-c]** and the Lingshan tombs in Quanzhou (Zaytun)[16] **[Figure 4.5].**

On the other hand, De Graaf's theory of a foreign source for the mosques of Java was a logical one, but the approach was incorrect. We must look for a parallel architectural concept, not similar building materials. Compared to Java, western India, in some parts, has a similar timber building tradition, yet the two mosque concepts are different **[Figures 4.12a and b]**, which will be shown later in this chapter. It is therefore intended in the next sections to assess whether India, China, or elsewhere provided inspiration for the creation of the Javanese mosque.

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[11] Slametmuljana, *A story of Majapahit* p.232.
[12] Slametmuljana, *A story of Majapahit* p.210.
[13] Van Berchem, M. "Les inscriptions Arabes de Ts'iuan-tcheou," p.720.
[14] See Guillot, C. et al *The Sultanate of Banten*. p.66.
[15] Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Mesjid*, p.512 However, the planners in Java seem far more relaxed in planning their courtyards which are neither strict nor grand as those of Xian.
[16] Lombard, and Salmon, "Islam and Chineseness," p.123

4-2-1: Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Javanese Mosque Design Process

Not only contemporary architectural practice, but also historically speaking, any architectural creation is not a spontaneous accomplishment; rather it is a planned process in which the architect, the civil engineer, and the project owner take part. In some cases, the architect and the civil engineer are combined in what is known as the master builder or master carpenter, yet three main needs are indispensable; architectural needs, structural requirements, and the proprietor's own wishes.

This section is an attempt to approach the architectural concept of the early Javanese mosques by hypothetically reconstructing the design process of the *masjid* Agung Demak (as an example) and the needs of the three parties involved as it occurred in the 16th century. In other words, this section will implement modern architectural thinking and design procedures on a project that took place five centuries earlier, yet within a framework determined by the historical, political, and technological circumstances of that period. The problem with De Graaf's approach (comparing building materials) is the fact that, in our case at least, the building material is not indicative of the idea or the concept of the architecture of the mosque. Take, for example, a prayer hall that is constructed from an array of stone columns and another one that is built of a multiplication of wooden ones; the first is a stone creation while the second is a timber building, yet both are hypostyle mosques. Therefore, the aim here is to disclose the architectural concept of the Javanese mosque and to compare it to other mosque concepts in the Islamic world, which is a rather logical architectural approach.

Let us begin by briefly demonstrating the state of affairs of that time. According to Geertz, "in Indonesia Islam did not construct a civilization, it appropriated one"[17] In other words, the Muslims of Indonesia were not foreign conquerors who brought in with them their own arts and crafts to the islands when they arrived; rather they were converted subjects and port agents who resided on the coasts recognising the suzerainty of the greater power founded in the interior. Mutual interests and bonds, such as marriage and trade,[18] kept the delicate relation between the coast and the interior balanced until it reached a point of critical conflict of interests. This was the opportunity seized by the port agents to declare their independence and consequently they went to war with the monarchy of the interior. In the case of Demak, the port lords did not act as conquerors because had they done so, they would have founded their capital on the ruins of Trowulan, the capital of the ousted Majapahit. They clearly did not do this; Demak was declared an Islamic kingdom and remained on the coast. By showing a contrasting picture, the situation in Java becomes clearer. According to Vogel, "In India proper triumphant Islam became destructive to numberless sanctuaries of the native religions of the country, but in its turn adorned the great cities with many priceless mausoleums and mosques. In Java the Muslims, while establishing their religion in a far less violent manner, left the shrines and the idols of the ancient creeds undisturbed, but did not initiate a great art as they had done in India".[19] In light of the above, the Muslims of Java where not outsiders who neither imposed an alien architecture of their own nor did they use the local architecture. Therefore, it is more compelling now to assume that they dealt

[17] Geertz, C. *Islam Observed* p.11.
[18] See chapter 1 for more details.
[19] Vogel, "The Relation between the Art of India and Java," pp.111-2.

with the situation as an architectural enterprise that combined the efforts of the owner, the architect and the structure engineer.

It is nevertheless appropriate now to define the three parties in terms of who they were and the roles they played in the process.

4-2-1-1: The Project Owner or the Client

In such circumstances where a new kingdom has been declared it is most likely that the new monarch would be the patron of the kingdom's great mosque. Yet, in the case of Demak, there is no official record or inscription that commemorates the occasion or the formal founder of the mosque. The only party mentioned in Javanese chronicles are the nine saints of Java. However it is sufficient to conclude from the myth, regarding the building of the mosque, that it was the *wali sanga* who appear to be the decision makers on behalf of the monarch, who was, no doubt, busy handling state affairs.

The role of the project owner is twofold: first he expresses his needs from the architectural enterprise and second he provides financial capital for the project.[20] The client's needs could be categorised as spatial, functional and expressive. "Spatial" in the case of a mosque, for example, would be how many worshippers are to be accommodated during prayers. It is then the role of the architect to calculate how many square meters are required for the given number of attendants. "Functional" designates what functions are to take part within the building or project. The mosque, for example, in addition to prayer performance, would require ablutions and, maybe, burial activities. It is within the responsibility of the architect to produce a building or group of buildings that would fulfil all required functions in the sequence and manner dictated by the client or religious directives. "Expressive needs" designates how the owner would like the project to express his own personality or a certain ideology. One recalls here Sultan Hasan's demand that his mosque in Cairo be higher than the highest building on Earth, which happened to be Iwan Kisra at his time.[21] In their book *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber list the many instances in Timurid literature where the ruler specifically asks not for beautifull buildings but rather lofty monumental ones. They refer to ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* in which "Ibn Khaldun has a good deal to say about architecture in sentences and paragraphs scattered throughout the work, but he never refers to architecture as 'beautiful', or says that beauty is an objective of building. He states that powerful dynasties erect large buildings and lofty monuments, and that the size of monuments is proportionate to the power of the dynasties".[22] They further explain that "Ibn Khaldun had several meetings with Timur at Damascus, which he recorded in some detail. However, he was not invited to visit Shahrisabz and Samarqand to see the lofty monuments of Timur; nor did the ruler likely tell him that one had been torn down during construction because it was insufficiently lofty".[23] Returning to Java, the *masjid* Agung Banten, in my opinion, represents an analogous case, in spite of the lack of any written evidence. Unlike most Javanese

[20] This section will only explain the needs while the financial part will be postponed to the section where we deal with the role played by the merchants.

[21] Maqrizi, *Khitat* p.316. Iwan Kisra is known best by its Persian name Taq-i Kisra. This huge vault, which is currently located in modern Iraq, was part of the palace of the Sassanid King Khusraw in Ctesiphon. The fame of this building derives from its grandiose of scale.

[22] Golombek, L. and Wilber, D. *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* pp.204-5.

[23] Golombek, L. and Wilber, D. *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* p.205.

mosque roofs, which are three-tiered, Banten has five. However, from the inside one can only observe three tiers like all the other mosques, this is because the two uppermost tiers are simply decorative, non-accessible, additions. Again, I would only interpret this as an attempt to have a higher building. A more recent example from Indonesia is the building of the Republic's Istiqlal (lit. independence) Mosque **[Figure 4.6]**. The following was Sukarno's speech in 1966 before the committee responsible for the mosque project:

> "What! Would we build a Friday Mosque like the masjid Demak, or masjid Banten? I'm sorry! What if I approach Masjid Banten! When it was built it was already great. But if erected today how would it rank, technical colleagues? And in the history of Islam, Masjid Banten, or Masjid Ciparai, Majalaya, or Masjid Bogor, colleagues, near the *sate* sellers? … No! It is my wish, together with the Islamic community here to erect a Friday Mosque which is larger than the Mohammad Ali Mosque [Cairo], larger than the Salim Mosque. Larger! And why? We have a great nation! My wish is to build with all the populous, one Indonesian nation which proclaims the Islamic religion. We are always amazed! If we come to Cairo brothers! If we go to Mokatam on the left there is a mosque on a hill. My God it is splendid! Why can't we build a mosque which is larger and more beautiful than that? … Let us build a Friday Mosque which does not use roof tiles, but one which is built from reinforced concrete ... which is finished with marble, and paved with marble, whose doors are from bronze. And not only must the materials be concrete, bronze and fine stones but of grand dimensions, not just a Friday Mosque which we already have for Friday prayers or special celebrations, for three or four thousand people, no. Build a Friday Mosque, let us build a Friday Mosque which is the largest in this world, the largest in the world!"[24]

We can clearly conclude from Sukarno's speech that he was not thinking local at all and that his quest was for a bigger and better mosque. It is mere historical coincidence here that has served our purpose since the Istiqlal Mosque was being built at a transitional period in which Indonesia was asserting its Islamic identity after a long period of Dutch occupation, exactly as did Demak 450 years earlier. The similarities in the historical, political, and geographical circumstances of the building of the Istiqlal and Demak mosques, in my opinion, allow us to assume that the Demak patron, to an extent, also thought the same.

4-2-1-2: The Architect

The architect, not necessarily a Javanese Muslim,[25] is mainly responsible for producing a technically executable form that fulfils all three needs of the client or project owner. In architecture, what concerns architects most is the ingenuity of their buildings. In other words, architects do not copy other standing buildings nor do they create from nothing,

[24] Quotation from O'Neil, H. "Islamic Architecture Under the New Order," pp.157-8.

[25] There is no reason to assume that the architects or master builders and the craftsmen were Muslims. On the contrary, it seems more likely that they were non-Muslim locals since that they were not involved in the trade business at ports and that most of their activities were linked one way or the other with temple building and decorating, or with the Majapahit palace in the interior.

rather they search for a source of inspiration in nature or by observing other similar edifices. However, it is important to clarify that when an architectural concept is reused the resulting building is always different. For example, both Chinese and North African minarets follow the square plan concept as opposed to circular or multi-faceted, yet each has its own discriminate character **[Figures 4.7 and 4.8]**. It was then the responsibility of the architect to select a concept that would fit the aspirations of the ruler and earn the patron's concent. For this project, however, four main concepts were in use: the multi-pillar prayer hall with an attached courtyard, which is also known as the Arab type or the hypostyle concept, the four-*iwan* mosque with a central courtyard known as the Iranian concept, the three-dome prayer hall with an attached courtyard known as the Indian concept, and the central domed space known as the Ottoman concept[26] **[Figure 4.9]**.

4-2-1-3: The Architectural Concept

In Java the only mosques available for the architects to observe were small neighbourhood *masjids*, which most likely had been constructed from indigenous obtainable materials, probably using native workers and certainly featuring vernacular construction techniques.[27] It has already been demonstrated in chapter three how *pendopos* were used as a neighbourhood *musallas* [28] **[Figure 4.10]**. Furthermore, the Javanese architects were familiar with a square-plan roofed pavilion that had one single column as seen on the reliefs of *candis.*[29] This structure is locally known as 'soko tungal' (lit. solitary column). It might have been used by hermits for mediation and by the early Muslims as *masjids*.[30] An example is to be seen in the Kraton Kasepuhan where this *masjid* is known as the *langgar* Alit (built 1529) [31] **[Figures 4.11a and b]**.

It is, therefore, no surprise that the domestic Javanese *masjid* examples offered limited help to the local architect, namely in understanding the rituals and their spatial or sequential needs.[32] The *masjids* did not solve the problem of the greater structure size demanded to accommodate a large congregation nor did they suffice to the expressive needs demanded by the owner. If we may return to Sukarno's speech, he specifically refuses local mosque examples, asking how they would rank and cynically commenting: "near the *sate* sellers?" One can imagine a similar comment if an architect was to consider the flimsy native *masjids* as an inspiration for the kingdom's great mosque.

There is little doubt now that the Javanese architect had to resort to architectural examples beyond the island. At a time when there was no photography or architectural magazines, the architects' sole source of information would have been from the Muslims whom were aware of architectural developments back in their homelands or at the capital

[26] Martin J. Frishman and Hasan-uddin Khan *The Mosque* p.12. The authors further add a fifth concept which they describe as "a walled complex within which a number of pavilions are set in enclosed landscaped spaces (as found in China)".
[27] Bruce, A. "Notes on the Early Mosques," p.73
[28] Crawfurd, J. *History of the Indian Archipelago* p.162
[29] Dumarçay, J. *The House in Southeast Asia* pp.9-10
[30] Sukada, B. "Early Muslim Places of Worship," p.89
[31] Ambary, H. *Some Aspects of Islamic Architecture* p.16
[32] Spatial needs can be explained by how much space a worshipper needs to perform *salat* and sequential is for example that ablutions should be performed before prayers.

of the Caliphate.[33] As mentioned previously, four types or large mosque concepts were already being built by the 16th century: the hypostyle, the four *iwan*, the Indian, and the one central space concepts. The following section examines the four concepts and hypothetically weighs the advantages and disadvantages as seen by the Javanese architect or the project patron at that time.

4-2-1-3-1: The Hypostyle Concept

This was the earliest concept used by the Muslims in building their mosques. Examples of this type remained in fashion for a very long time and were built all over the Islamic world from Medina westwards to Spain and North Africa and eastwards to China. The advantages of this type are many. First, it is the closest to the Prophet's masjid concept in Medina **[Figure 4.22]**. Second, it is suitable for Javanese weather; the walls have no structural importance and therefore all side walls, except for the *qibla* wall, can be removed, which helps regulate the heat and humidity normally generating by large gatherings under the mosque's roof. Third, the courtyard is considered an extra open air space that does not interrupt prayer activities since it is located behind the worshippers as they face the *qibla*. Fourth, this mosque type is the easiest in terms of construction; multiplication of the *pendopo* or *soko tunggal* units would have produced a larger hypostyle hall; as large as the client would have wanted. Fifth, it can be easily enlarged by adding on units without actually disturbing the original mosque. Sixth, as mentioned in chapter three, the number of columns in a residence was a sign of the owner's prestige; no doubt a hypostyle prayer hall would have more columns than the biggest palace, thus gods' house would be regarded in the highest esteem.

The three main disadvantages of the hypostyle concept are thus. First, the architects would be thinking of the 7th century and not the 16th. Second, the columns tend to interrupt the straight rows (saff) of worshippers and thus break the unity of the congregation. Third, the hypostyle mosque is a horizontal structure rather than vertical. This mosque type usually blends with and is rarely taller than the surrounding buildings. It is usually distinctive when seen from the air but not from the ground; thus does not fit to serve as a landmark. These three reasons, I suppose, are enough for the Demak patron to express reservations regarding this concept.

4-2-1-3-2: The Four Iwan Concept

This mosque concept is found in Iran, Egypt, and central Asia. The main advantage here is the possibility to use the *iwans* as spaces for teaching or *madrasas*. The central courtyard in this case connects the four *iwans*.

This concept seems not to be favoured by the Javanese; first, the central courtyard serves as a prayer interrupter since it does not allow the rows to connect; second, heavy downpours are very common in Java, and therefore, praying in an open courtyard is a risky matter. By and large this concept did not gain any momentum in the region which also diminishes the Iranian role in influencing the Javanese mosque.

4-2-1-3-3: The Indian Concept

[33] In the forthcoming section 4-5 it is argued that the merchants were the main group capable of mediating such information.

The only advantage of the three domed concept of the Indian mosque is that it was already known in Java. Some Javanese temples that catered for the Hindu trinity used a three-room plan **[Figure 3.22a]**.[34] Ironically, this advantage was the reason, in my opinion, for its disqualification as a potential concept for the Javanese mosque. According to the configuration of this plan, the majority of the congregation would be performing their prayers in the courtyard **[Figure 4.37],** which is not climatically suitable.[35] Moreover this model of worship would certainly link the mosque to older Hindu practices, in which all worshippers gathered in the courtyard of the temple to perform their prayers.[36]

4-2-1-3-4: Central Domed-Space

According to O'Neil, "the centralized domed space characteristic of this genre dominated the forms of the great buildings of Turkey … dating from the fourteenth century".[37] The main advantages of this concept are: first, the achievement of a great inner space with a minimum number of columns; usually between four and eight, second, its status as the most modern mosque design concept, which was produced by architects of the Dar al-Islam, third and most important, its vertical, stand alone profile which made it absolutely appropriate for serving as a land mark and quenching the aspiration for height. In addition, we may add that the Javanese were already familiar with this concept from their houses but on a much smaller scale. On the other hand, the shortcomings were also considerable. This type of mosque did not allow for enlargements when needed. Second and most critical, is the fact that this mosque type depended on domes, arches, and bearing walls to redistribute weight in order to minimize the number of central columns; techniques that were not well versed if not totally unknown by Javanese master builders. Yet the disadvantages clearly did not impede the choice of this concept for designing the Javanese mosque. In spite of the fact that the Javanese mosques lack the dome which is a main characteristic of this genre, yet the mosque's square plan with four main central columns that support the universal roof, which covers the structure as a whole, when compared to the other concepts, indicates adherence to this space concept.[38] There is no contradiction here, in analyzing the plans of the early congregational mosques of Islam, Jeremy Johns wrote: "considering these early mosques, archaeological and not, one is immediately struck by the great variety that they display in the plan and elevation of the prayer hall, in constructional techniques and materials, and in decoration. Clearly each of the mosques at –say- Kufa, Damascus, and Sana'a, was influenced by different building traditions which had their roots in the pre-conquest cultures of, respectively, Iraq, Syria, and South Arabia. At that time, it is evident that they are all variations of a single theme. The ground plans of these earliest mosques all refer to a common model, to a mental template, to a concept of the mosque which was already fixed …".[39]

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[34] This type of mosque can be seen in Gujarat in India see **[Figure 4.38]**.
[35] O'Neil, H. "Islamic Architecture Under the New Order," p.158.
[36] Only the priests were allowed in side the temple. Similarly, if the mosque space was too small; the royal will pray inside and the masses will congregate in the courtyard.
[37] O'Neil, H. "Islamic Architecture under the New Order," p.158.
[38] Martin J. Frishman and Hasan-uddin Khan list the Javanese mosque as an example of this space concept see Martin J. Frishman and Hasan-uddin Khan *The Mosque* p.12.
[39] Johns, J. "The House of the Prophet," p.64

4-3: The Origin of the Javanese Mausoleum

It has already been demonstrated in the preceding chapters that saint veneration and the practice of *ziyarah* (from the Arabic 'to visit')[40] originated from the western Islamic lands where similar traditions took place. It is appropriate here to recall Bougas' study on Southeast Asian cemeteries and burial rites, in which he concluded that: "the custom of erecting pavilions over royal graves and the graves of important religious figures … derives directly from the Middle Eastern practice of constructing domed structures over the graves of kings and saints. … Initially Indonesians and Malays did not adopt the dome to adorn their mosques or tombs; instead they employed their own indigenous equivalent of the Middle Eastern dome: the pagoda-roof, decreasing in size from the bottom to the top".[41] However, according to Hillenbrand, the Islamic mausoleum, is varied in form, yet the variety is not great due to the fact that they "tended to be limited by the traditional fidelity to the domed square plan".[42] This simply implies that this concept is wide spread and is not confined to the Middle East as suggested by Bougas. Nonetheless, the planning concept of the studied mausoleums and shrines seem to point to Egypt and Turkey as possible sources of inspiration. It has already been established in chapter three that a major characteristic of the Javanese shrine complex is to have a mosque; the tomb of the saint is always placed on the axis of the mosque with the *qibla* pointing to the *cungkup*. Thus, the worshippers would not only face the *qibla* when praying in the mosque, but the departed saint's tomb as well. This is a peculiar feature seen in Egypt in three cases: the Amir Husayn mosque (1319), the Sultan Hasan complex (1356-61), and al-Mahmudiyya mosque (1568) [43] **[Figures 4.24a-b and 4.25]**. According to Yeomans, the mausoleum of Sultan Hasan displays "One unusual planning feature [which] is the position of the mausoleum behind the *qibla iwan.* Normally mausolea were situated at the side of the prayer hall so that prayers were not directed towards the deceased, but here its scale and location behind the *qibla* wall is unprecedented in Egyptian architecture. It occupies almost as much space as the *qibla iwan,* and its setting appears to claim a special status and sanctity. As Hillenbrand has observed, it 'usurps the domed sanctuary in the classical Iranian mosque'.[44] All this might suggest a degree of presumption and ostentation on the part of Hasan, but it could be explained by Anatolian influence. Domed mausolea appear in similar locations in the Seljuk mosques of Anatolia and there are strong indications of Anatolian influence in this building. … The composition of the portal has been compared to an earlier Seljuk monument, the Gök medresa in Sivas, Anatolia (1271-2). Bearing in mind that the original design also included a pair of minarets in the Seljuk and Mongol style, there is no doubt that Anatolian, and to a lesser extent Ilkhanid influence, was at work here - like the already noted possible Anatolian influence in the location of the mausoleum behind the *qibla* wall"[45] **[Figure 4.44]**.Moreover, it seems likely that this planning configuration made

[40] Jamhari, "Ziarah Traditions," p.34.
[41] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.55
[42] Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* p.270.
[43] Behrens-Abouseif, D. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo* p.127.
[44] Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* p.196.
[45] Yeomans, The Art and Architecture pp.156-7. According to Behrens-Abouseif, D.*Islamic Architecture in Cairo* p.125, "The resemblance between the portals of Sultan Hasan's mosque and the Gok madrasa

way to Turkey as well with the advent of the Turks. Yet there, the mausoleum was detached from the *qibla* wall, and is placed alone in the cemetery or a courtyard. The Turkish plans seem closer to the practice in Java. Examples in Turkey include the Yeşil complex in Bursa (1419), Fatih (1463-70) and Süleymaniye (1550-6) complexes in Istanbul, and the Selimiye in Edirne (1567-74) **[Figures 4.33 - 4.36]**.

4-4: Connections with the Muslim West

So far it has been demonstrated that the Javanese mosque concept is closest to the centralized domed space type; thus eliminating India and China as possible sources as suggested by De Graaf and Slametmuljana. Indian examples have already been shown to represent their own genre, while the coastal mosques of Southern India and Kashmir, in spite of showing similarities with their Javanese counterparts on the outside, are mainly of the hypostyle type. The space delimited by the roof above the prayer hall, in the South Indian examples, is divided into several accessible stories and thus, the prayer hall has a low flat ceiling when compared to the unrestrained full-height of the Javanese prayer hall interior; the two space concepts do not coincide **[Figures 4.12a and b]**. The Chinese mosques in many cases follow different concepts.[46] However, the true Chinese type as seen in Beijing's Niu Jie **[Figure 4.13]** and Xian's Hua Jue lane **[Figure 4.14]** more or less represent a traditional Chinese model.[47] In light of the above, the Middle East, in spite of its geographical remoteness, seems a likely assumption for the source of the architectural space concept of the Javanese mosque. The mausoleums display a similar tendency. This said, it is compelling now to establish this assumption by providing verification. Two types of evidence will be demonstrated; historical or textual and artistic or materialistic.

4-4-1: Historical and Textual Evidence

There is no straightforward text that records that the Javanese adopted the central domed space concept for their new architectural creation: the *masjid* Agung. Therefore, it is the intention of this section to provide historical and textual facts that would prove that the Javanese were aware of events in the field of architecture as they occurred in the western Islamic lands and the center of Dar al-Islam at their time. In other words, would the level of communications that was established between Java and the center of Dar al-Islam, at that time, suffice to allow the former to realize what was going on in the fields of architecture and construction?

Evidence of communications and links between Southeast Asia and Egypt and Turkey can be seen in several historical facts and on several levels. The first is the level of the ruler; titles of kingship that were used in the region. In the 14th century the kings of the Sumatran principality were already using the titles of "al-malik" to which they added

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cannot be explained by their having the same architect, as the Gok madrasa was built much earlier. However, the Sultan Hasan portal could have been designed by a Cairo craftsman who had been in Anatolia and was impressed by the portal of the madrasa, or it could have been made by an Anatolian craftsman in Cairo who was inspired by the same building According to Maqrizi craftsmen from all over the world worked on the mosque of Sultan Hasan".

[46] The mosque in Hangzhou follows a three-dome concept, while that of Quanzhou follows hypostyle model and shows Mamluk characteristics **[Figures 4.31 and 4.32]**.

[47] Martin J. Frishman and Hasan-uddin Khan *The Mosque* p.12.

al-Salih, al-Zahir, or al-'Adil. This is a clear emulation of the titles of the Ayyubid and later the Mamluk kings who were ruling in Egypt and Syria at that time. Furthermore, when the title changed to sultan, we find that, here too, in Southeast Asia, the ruler of Aceh and that of Demak are using one and the same title. According to the *Hikayat Aceh* "the two great sultans who ruled the world by divine degree were in Ottoman Constantinople in the West, and Aceh in the East. The text proceeds to compare these monarchs with the two great kings of lore, Solomon and Alexander the Great".[48] Another interesting title that was used by sultan Hassanudin and later his son and successor sultan Yusuf is the title of "maulana", which is also an Arabic / Turkish title that designates a religious figure.[49]

Not only does the title connect the ruler with the Muslim west, in some cases, legends of marriage links traced back to the sultan of the Muslim power in the West were circulated; descent from the central Islamic land was also highly regarded. A legend concerning the marriage of a Cirebonese[50] princess to the sultan of Egypt, which took place in the first half of the 15th century, links Java directly with the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt.[51] In Aceh and other parts of Southeast Asia, The palace was called "istana" which clearly marks a Turkish origin[52] **[Figure 4.23]**. Moreover, "Aceh appears to have adopted the Middle Eastern custom of the strict cloistered confinement of the royal women in their quarters [Harem] and the common employment of palace eunuchs,"[53] in addition to the Sultan's body guards that were modelled after the Turkish Janissaries.[54]

On the cultural level, "Aceh retained a closer contact with the Muslim countries of the West, though here it was the Arabs rather than the Turks who had something to offer. [As demonstrated in chapter one], from the 1570s the chronicles are dotted with the names of eminent theologians from Egypt, the Hejaz, Yemen and Gujarat who had come to teach in Aceh. Schools flourished, and knowledge of Arabic was widespread among the upper classes. Many of Aceh's diplomatic letters in the early seventeenth century appear to have been written in Arabic, including the one sent to Queen Elizabeth".[55] Moreover, "Jawi scholars have published significant works in Arabic in Cairo and Istanbul.[56] According to Riddell, "Individual scholars from Southeast Asia who stamped their identity on the theological developments of their era … needed to uproot themselves from Southeast Asia and settle in the Middle East in order to make their mark beyond the region of their birth. Moreover, Malay scholars who have established themselves as

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[48] Bennett, J. "Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia," p.41
[49] Maulana Galaludin Rumi is one famous example. Sami, *Kâmûs-I Türkĩ* p.1432.
[50] A princess from the Sultanate of Cirebon.
[51] Suleiman, S. et al "Historical Introduction," pp.33-4.
[52] In Ottoman Turkish آسِتانه designates the center of a sultanate. Sami, *Kâmûs-I Türkĩ* p.33. In Persian and Urdu it means a shrine. Since it is used to indicate the palace of the sultan in Southeast Asia, therefore it must have derived from the former.
[53] Bennett, J. "Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia," p.41; also Reid, A. "16th Century Turkish Influence," p.410. In spite of the fact that eunuchs were to be found in Indian and Chinese palaces, the word used in Java to indicate a eunuch is "kasim" which derives from the Arabic 'khasi' خصي. The word for castration in Javanese however is 'pengeirian' and the castrate is called 'mengebiri'. Sigar, and Burnett, Raja Kamus p.117 and 54 respectively.
[54] Reid, A. "16th Century Turkish Influence," p.410.
[55] Reid, A. "16th Century Turkish Influence," p.411.
[56] Johns, A. "Islam in Southeast Asia Reflections and New Directions," p.55.

religious leaders within their own communities have often done so after spending lengthy periods studying in the Arab world".[57]

On the level of normal society, we are grateful to have an account by the Italian Ludovico De Varthema (d.1517) who had visited Malacca in 1505-6, where he observed that the inhabitants of Malacca dressed similar to the Cairenes.[58] De Varthema's statement, in spite of its shortness, can not have been an unfounded or a haphazard remark. The Italian had traveled from Europe to Mamluk Cairo in 1503 and then to Syria, which was also under Mamluk sovereignty. De Varthema stayed for a while in Damascus where he learnt Arabic, deceptively converted to Islam, and performed the Hajj to Mecca by means of joining the Syrian pilgrim Caravan.[59] Therefore, I believe this is a strong indication that Cairo was the fashion capital for the Malays.[60]

On the level of trade and business, after the fall of Malacca in 1511, strong commercial ties were established with Turkey via Egypt. "Muslim merchants shifted their trade to the stronger sultanates where they could be protected against the Portuguese. Instead of the older trading system which had carried pepper and cloves in stages from the Moluccas, through coastal Java, Malacca, and India to Arabia and Egypt, Muslim shippers by the 1530s had developed a route avoiding the Portuguese strongholds of Malacca and Cochin on the coast of India. They took spices to Banten and then along the west coast of Sumatra to Aceh. From there large Gujarati, Arab and Aceh vessels crossed the Indian Ocean directly to the Red Sea. By the 1560s Aceh pepper ships were bringing more pepper to Egypt and Arabia than the Portuguese were to Europe".[61] By 1600 other European ships were calling at the ports of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas where they reported the presence of Turks or Rumi merchants.[62]

On the diplomatic level, direct trade with Turkey via Egypt did not please the Portuguese and vice versa. The presence of the Portuguese armada in the straits of Malacca was molesting Muslim trade in the Archipelago. Therefore, the 16th century witnessed diplomatic activities that focused on enlisting the help of the Ottoman sultan in combating the Portuguese. "When a large Dutch force succeeded in conquering the royal palace of Aceh in 1874, they found there an enormous shattered cannon decorated with a Turkish star motif. Venerated as *Lada Secupak* (a measure of pepper), this cannon had for three centuries symbolised Aceh's special link with Turkey. Popular stories in Aceh associated this name with a mission sent to Turkey with three shiploads of pepper, supplies, and money for the support of the Islamic holy places. But the envoys had such difficulty reaching Istanbul and gaining access to the sultan that they had to consume or sell all this themselves, so that only a small bamboo measure of pepper remained. When this was apologetically offered to the Caliph, he graciously honoured the envoys and sent them back to Aceh, according to the stories, with the great cannon warriors and gunsmiths. Though legendary in Aceh, this mission is well documented in Turkish. Portuguese and Venetian sources, as

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[57] Riddell, P. *Islam and the Malay- Indonesian World* pp.8-9.
[58] Jones, J. W. (tr.) Badger, G. P. (ed.) *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema* p.226 Badger in editing Varthema's text, quotes Crawfurd in confirming this information.
[59] Badger, in Jones, J. W. (tr.) Badger, G. P. (ed.) *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema*
[60] Clothes on display in museums in Indonesia attest to this account. **[Figure 4.15]**. also a sketch by a Danish Surgeon who visited Baanten in the early 17th century shows the Arab attire **[Fig. 4.45].**
[61] Reid, A. "Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict," p.42.
[62] Reid, A. "Islam and the State in Southeast Asia in the 17th Century," p.68.

well as Raniri's Malay '*Bustan al-Salatin'*. After the Ottomans had conquered Egypt (1517), they became protectors of both the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and the Indian Ocean spice route. The first Turkish fleet was sent into the Indian Ocean to combat the Portuguese in 1538, and contacts were made with Aceh's crusading Sultan 'Aala` al-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahar (r. 1537-71). In 1566, probably not for the first time, al-Kahar sent an embassy to Istanbul to plead for military help, complaining that the Portuguese had sunk pilgrim ships taking Muslims to Mecca. Some Turkish ships, cannon, gunsmiths and soldiers were certainly sent to Aceh in 1568, and played a role in Acehnese attacks on Portuguese Malacca in 1568 and 1570".[63] In his meticulous study on 16th century Turkish influences in western Indonesia Reid concluded that "Portuguese material systematically presented for the first time … lends further support to an interpretation giving to Turkey a substantial role in the fortunes and alliances of the Muslim states of Southeast Asia during the sixteenth century".[64]

So far the above produced evidence seems to link Aceh in Sumatra and not Java to the Muslim West. Yet this could be easily explained by the fact that "Aceh was unique to the extent that its identity was founded on Islam and the promotion of close links with the wider Muslim world, especially the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, which was at its zenith. The geographical location of Aceh on the western tip of Sumatra, together with a later reputation for scholarly orthodoxy, would earn it the epithet 'the verandah of Mecca' (serambi Mecca)".[65] Many students studied at the hands of the 'ulama' in Aceh, after which they spread all over the Archipelago. Furthermore, all long voyages across the Indian Ocean, which were bound for the Red Sea loaded with either cargoes or pilgrims, would embark from Aceh. On the way back, Aceh would serve as the first port of call from which the cargoes and passengers were redistributed for their onward voyages. Aceh thus served as an exchange point not only for passengers and merchandise, but no doubt also for culture, religion, arts and ideas arriving from both directions: the Muslim West and the Indonesian Archipelago. "An interesting discovery from Pasai is the tombstone of Sultanah Nahrisyah (± 1427 AD) **[Figure 4.16]**, the 5th successor of Sultan Malik al-Salih. It is typologically interesting in that it might have been imported from Cambay-Gujarat in India. A similar tombstone **[Figure 4.17]** was also found at Gresik belonging to a *muballigh* (preacher) named Maulana Malik Ibrahim (± 1419 AD)".[66] These discoveries reveal that Sumatra acted as a middle point not only for merchandise (tomb stones) but also for artistic features. This said, the question that needs to be asked is whether this applies to architecture as well? Unfortunately, none of the original Sumatran timber mosques exist today, yet we are fortunate in having two engravings of timber mosques. The first was done by the British traveller Peter Mundy in 1637 and the second was done by Jacob van der Schley in the second half of the 18th century. Mundy's sketch depicts the procession of sultan Iskander Thani (r. 1636-41) to the mosque for the Eid al-Adha prayers **[Figure 4.46].** The sketch clearly shows a four-tier roof similar to those of Java. Schley's sketch depicts Aceh from the sea. The engraving shows what

[63] Reid, A. "Crescent and Cross in Global Conflict," p.42.
[64] Reid, A. "16th Century Turkish Influence," p.400. This is a detailed study with accounts from Malay, Portuguese, Turkish and Venetian sources.
[65] Bennett, J. "Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia," p.28.
[66] Ambary, "The Establishment of the Islamic City of Banten," p.81.

seems to be the dominant three tier roof of the mosque in the back ground where an auxiliary building is attached **[Figure 4.19]**. According to Bruce, "With Islamization came the masjid, the obligatory congregational or Friday mosque. Wherever Islam has made conquests it has proclaimed its primacy with a central mosque, usually adjacent to the palace or governor's residence. As the first Southeast Asian state to convert to Islam, Aceh would surely have had the region's first masjid Agung or Great Mosque. It may even have established the architectural type. … While Demak is highly unlikely to be the prototypical Archipelagan congregational mosque, it demonstrates many recurring features, not least its style of roof".[67] This statement is consistent with De Graaf's suggestion, mentioned earlier in this chapter, that the Javanese three-tier roof was borrowed from Sumatra.

4-4-2: Material and Artistic Evidence

Several material and artistic features seem to lend support to our hypothesis. First and most important is the cult of saints and tomb structures that became prolific in Southeast Asia in the 16th century. Several features introduced into Southeast Asia suggest links with the Middle East: a cenotaph composed of two tombstones (header and footer) connected horizontally,[68] the distinction between sexes in tomb stones,[69] the desire to be buried next to a saint or a holy man as reflected in the presence of many cenotaphs adjacent to that of the *wali* as seen at the tomb of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari in Istanbul [70] or Imam al-Shafi'i in Cairo[71] **[Figures 4.30]**, the covering of the cenotaph with a white or green cloth known as *Kiswa*,[72] which is normally a Turkish fabric with calligraphic designs,[73] and the use of a perforated wooden or stone screen to conceal the central cenotaphs in the mausoleum.[74]

The second set of artistic evidence that could be presented here are architectural features related to both Turkish and Javanese mosques. The first feature is the external portico that surrounds the square prayer hall **[Figures 2.9 and 4.26a-b]**. The current Javanese mosque, in many cases, no longer displays this portico because it has been replaced by the *serambi*. However, according to Pijper, "the veranda [serambi], now built in front of nearly every mosque, seems to have been a later addition to the architecture of the mosque. This is indicated by the fact that architecturally it has still a roof of its own, not forming a junction with the mosque as such; there is a wall between the veranda and the mosque, doors in the front wall giving access to the interior. Another important point is that the oldest descriptions make no mention of it, nor does it appear on the oldest pictures. It is furthermore to be noted that mosques built by Arabs or under Arab

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[67] Bruce, A. "Notes on the Early Mosques," p.75.
[68] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.28.
[69] Dickie, J. (Yaqub Zaki) "Allah and Eternity," p.46.
[70] Dickie, J. (Yaqub Zaki) "Allah and Eternity," p.46.
[71] Next to the imam are buried: al-Malik al-Kamil, his son, his mother, and al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthman (son of Salah el din al-Ayyubi) and 'Uthman's mother. See Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art* p.320.
[72] Bougas, W. *Islamic Cemeteries in Patani* p.58.
[73] Maxwell, R. "Tradition and Innovation," p.212.
[74] In other mausoleums like in India or China **[figure 4.4b and c]** the cenotaph is exposed and the pilgrims can actually touch it. This is contrary to the practise in Egypt and Turkey where the tombs of the holy are cordoned.

influence[75] are without a veranda. There is none, for example, at most of the mosques in Batavia, in which city the religious influence of the Arabs has always been considerable; also in other cities where Arabs have built mosques of their own and in their own style, no veranda is to be met with".[76]

The third feature is the Javanese prayer hall's internal space which, as mentioned earlier, unlike similar wooden prayer halls of southern India where the massive roof of the mosque is divided into accessible levels preserved for religious students or other activities related to the mosque **[Figures 4.27a-c]**, the full height of the Javanese *tajug* roof was designed to be seen and admired from the inside. In restoring the Demak mosque Haider comments that "the Dutch government at the time intervened by adding masonry walls to support the settling structure. … This was followed by the addition of a false ceiling to hide the slightly deflecting structure. The result is akin to putting a false ceiling in an Ottoman mosque to hide Sinan's dome".[77] The previous comment certainly and unintentionally conveys a feeling of similarity between the inner space concept of the Javanese and Ottoman prayer halls **[Figure 4.28]**. Is it likely that this internal similarity more or less is reflected on the outside of the building as well? In spite of the fact that the Ottoman mosque roof is constructed by a central dome supported by semi domes cascading downwards on several levels, the perspective effect deludes a pyramidal form **[Figures 4.29a-c]**. It is amazing how this description corresponds to the Javanese *tajug* roof; pyramidal, cascading downwards on three levels. Can this be interpreted as a Javanese execution of a verbal description of an Ottoman model? 16th and 17th century engravings of Istanbul and some of its mosques existed **[Figures 4.29d and 4.29e]**. Did any of these sketches reach Southeast Asia at that time? In the lack of any historical evidence, this remains an unanswered question.

The fourth feature is the use of tiles and inserted china plates and bowls for decorating the façades. In spite of the conclusion, reached in the preceding chapter, that this type of decoration was already used in other Indian Ocean localities, it still remains that the choice of tiles as decorative material for the walls coincides with a similar trend in Turkish mosques.[78] The two decoration concepts are different, but the material used is one and the same.[79]

4-5: The Role of the Merchant

In the previous section it has been argued that the concepts and ideas for the Javanese Islamic buildings were introduced from the Islamic West, mainly from Turkey and Egypt. However, the second part of the enquiry is by whom? The coming of Islam to the region

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[75] Pijper intends the mosques of the 19th and early 20th centuries.
[76] Pijper, "The Minaret in Java," p.277.
[77] Haider, G. in Saliya, Y. et al "Expressions, of Islam in Buildings: The Indonesian Experience," *Expressions of Islam in Buildings*. Robert Powell, ed. (Singapore: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture. 1990) pp.188-196. Haider's comments are on p.197.
[78] Tiles in mosques has a long history that starts from the mihrab of Qayrawan, however, the Turks copied the Iranians and decorated their early mosques with tiles such as the Yeşil Cami in Bursa. Petersen, A. "Iznik Tilework," and "Tilework" in *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* p.130 and pp.279-80 respectively.
[79] At the shrine of Sunan Gunung Jati is a building that is dedicated to the safekeeping and display of treasured Chinaware. This shows resemblance to the Çinili Kiosk (dated 1472) in the Topkapi Saray in Istanbul.

has been attributed to many groups, mainly merchants, '*ulama'*, and Sufis. The question that needs to be answered in the next section is: which of these groups were able to bring along such ideas and architectural concepts and had the ability to influence in the process of building mosques or erecting pavilions over saints and creating the shrine?

4-5-1: Kingdoms Based on Trade

It is already established that the coastal kingdoms of Southeast Asia were all based on maritime trade. This meant not only that merchants were important, but rich as well. It is therefore logical to assume that, from the three groups, only the merchants were wealthy enough to finance a project as expensive as building a great mosque. Yet one has to consider that the construction of a congregational mosque for a newly founded monarchy was not a personal project; the king was definitely involved. In other words, money alone is not enough evidence that the merchants had their say in mosque designs because the monarch had the upper hand. So the next question is: which of the three groups were closer to the king, who had converted in many cases, and influenced his decisions on how the mosque should look like?

4-5-2: The King-Merchant Relationship

Local Malay histories are full of legends that explain the arrival of Islam to the Archipelago and the founding of a polity. However, Jones has shown that there are three main common features shared by these legends, namely the King, the merchant, or Shaykh arriving from abroad by means of the third element, which is the fully laden ship.[80] In spite of the fact that these are merely legends, it still demonstrates how the relationship between the monarch, the merchant / preacher, and the wealth and prosperity symbolised by the loaded vessel was articulated in the minds of the local Malays. According to Manguin, "political power and wealth cannot be dissociated in a Malay world context. The symbolic value of the ruler's "treasure" is essential in this regard. Wealth is an attribute of the ruler, one of the requisite sources of his power (wealth, however, is not an accumulative process: it should flow towards the ruler as well as from him.) In coastal polities or harbour-cities, where trade was the foremost economic activity, and in societies, where not only luxuries but, above all, the basic daily necessities were obtained through overseas trade, it would be normal to find among the requisite attributes and duties of a good ruler an ability to convene a sufficient number of traders into his harbour. In doing so, he would reinforce his sovereignty over potentially rival neighbouring harbour-cities. Through this initiative, in proportion to the success of the trade, he would also generate income for his followers, and he would, therefore, accumulate prestige as the dispenser of material wealth".[81] The extent to which the merchant was important to the king is reflected in the location where the Shahbandar or the port master resided; namely on the on the eastern side of the *alun-alun*. This location formed a triangle with the mosque on the opposite western edge and the palace located to the south.[82] Furthermore, there is evidence[83] that brick and stone wall-bearing houses were being erected in Trowulan, the capital of Majapahit, which was a major breakaway

[80] Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths," pp.133-52.
[81] Manguin, P.-Y. "The Merchant and the King," p.47.
[82] Santoso, J. "Cities of the Pesisir," p.102.
[83] A great number of small model terracotta houses excavated in Trowulan.

with such durable material being reserved for the temples. This shift is attributed to the growth of the foreign merchant class who wanted to live in houses like those built in their homelands.[84]

Merchants were considered a high social class fitted for marriage relations with the royal class. According to Tjandrasasmita, "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 (shahbandar)*,* judges (qadi) or in 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".[85]

4-5-3: Merchants as Means of Communications and Cultural Exchange

Merchants were the means by which ideas spread and mediated. At a time when there was no television or photographs, the news arriving with ships from abroad seemed like the only way of obtaining up to date news on what was developing in the Islamic central lands or the latest in fashion trends. Furthermore, as Muslims, they must have attended congregational prayers at the many ports they frequented and in that regard must have observed the difference in architectural concepts. Their role as art couriers is better seen in traded fabrics; according to Maxwell, "the imported textiles were a rich source of inspiration for local textile makers. The origins of many of the most popular designs found today on Malay brocades and Javanese batik lie not in Southeast Asia's ancestral or Hindu-Buddhist past, but in the international arena of maritime trade".[86]

4-5-4: Merchants as Preachers

According to the Dutch Islamologist Van Leur, "Islam does not have an exclusive, magical charisma of the priest such as that of Catholic Christianity, but has remained a missionary community in the early Christian sense. Because of the expansive, missionary nature of Islam, every Moslem is after all a propagandist of the faith. That is why the trader from the Moslem world was the most common 'missionary' figure in foreign regions. That is why in this case the faith was certain to follow the routes of trade".[87] Bennett confirms the previous statement and adds: "Traders who also acted as spiritual teachers became pivotal in the spread of Islam in the archipelago. Much later, European colonial authorities would complain of the subversive religious activities of Islamic 'missionaries' infiltrating in the guise of merchants, without understanding the Qur'an's emphasis on personal witness and the absence of an ordained priesthood in this religion which grew out of an urban commercial environment".[88] In light of the previous statements we may conclude that to build a mosque no specialised theologian was needed; taking into account that Islam has no dictated rules for mosque architecture, the

[84] Schoppert, P. and Damais "Java Style," p.34.
[85] Tjandrasasmita, U. *The Arrival and Expansion* p.51.
[86] Maxwell, R. "Tradition and Innovation," p.209.
[87] Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* p.114.
[88] Bennett, J. "Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia," p.22.

merchants' judgments were more than adequate for such a project. Furthermore, the use of cenotaphs or the erection of a pavilion to mark a tomb displays tolerance towards an unorthodox act that would otherwise not have passed without objections; the very fact that such practice is ubiquitous in Southeast Asia points to the merchant group, or the Sufis, rather than the *'ulama*. We may be reminded here that the merchants were already trading in tombstones that were brought into the region from Gujarat.

4-5-5: The Arab Merchant

One last remark that needs to be stated here is that "merchants" indicate the Arab traders. In spite of the fact that many other ethnic groups were involved in the lucrative commercial business taking place in Southeast Asia, it was mainly the Arabs who were dominant. Even after the Arabs had lost their agencies on the Indian west coast after the arrival of the Portuguese, they were still able to avoid the latter and established direct links across the Indian Ocean between the Archipelago and the Red Sea. Egypt was an indispensable link between the Mediterranean (including Turkey) and Southeast Asia. Evidence that attests to the Arabs as the major trade force in the Indian Ocean can be gathered from the Portuguese Albuquerque's speech to his soldiers on the eve of his second and successful battle with the Malacca sultanate in which he stated:

> "When we were committing ourselves to the business of cruising in the Straits [of the Red Sea] where the King of Portugal had often ordered me to go (for it was there that his Highness considered we could cut down the commerce which the Moors of Cairo, of Mecca, and of Jeddah, carry on with these parts). Our Lord for his service thought right to lead us hither, for when Malacca is taken the places on the Straits must be shut up; as they will never more be able to introduce their spiceries into those places".[89]

Furthermore, the Arab merchants were active in the Indian Ocean to an extent that they had established trading patterns and many of its coastal ports were already speaking Arabic. According to Johns, "The character of this trading system at the end of the fifteenth century is graphically expressed by Hale, who remarks that once Bartolomeu Dias and his fleet had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, and made contact with Mozambique . . . they entered a highly sophisticated trading area with maps, pilots using quadrant and compass, and a busy traffic of large ships. The Indian Ocean resembled an Arabic-speaking Mediterranean, and with interpreters from the Iberian Peninsula or North Africa, Europeans could master its intricacies without too much difficulty though not, of course, without facing much danger and inevitable hardship. This concept of an Arabic speaking Mediterranean and its implications for the study of the past of the region should be taken seriously. Schrieke notes that . . . the squadron of ships from Zealand which called at Aceh on 23 August, 1601, after having visited the island of Anjouan, one of the Comoro Islands off the east coast of Africa, the previous month, had been given a letter of recommendation in Arabic to carry from the island to the Sultan of Aceh. He also adds that . . . the ruler of Aceh's letters of introduction were written in Arabic and that James Lancaster--carried on his negotiations in 1602 in the same tongue. . . . The

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[89] Quotation from Birch, W. de G. ed. and tr. *The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso d'Albuquerque* vol. 3 p.117.

same was true of Patani. It appears that even the English had managed to master the intricacies of Arabic for the purposes of trade in this Arabic-speaking Mediterranean."[90]

4-5-6: Assessment of the Sufi Role

Two types of Sufis can be identified in Indonesia; the first were the poor wandering type, which were more fitting to the Indian *faqir* stereotype, who, as earlier explained in the first chapter of the dissertation,[91] could not have financed a huge project such as a mosque or even be consulted by the monarch for such a project. Evidence of this group's existence in Indonesia is found in the *Suma Oriental* in which Tome Pires states:

> "…There are about fifty thousand of these in Java. There are three or four orders of them. Some of them do not eat rice nor drink wine; they are all virgins, they do not know women. They wear a certain head dress which is a full yard long and the end of which turns over like a crosier, and where it fits on to the head it has five white stars; and this contrivance is like the material of a black horsehair sieve. And these men are also worshipped by the Moors and they believe in them greatly; they give them alms; they rejoice when such men come to their houses. They do not eat in anyone's house, but out of doors. They go two and two by law, and in threes, and they do not go about alone. People do not touch these mitres of theirs; they say they are sacred. I have sometimes seen ten or twelve of these in Java".[92]

The second group was the institutional *tarekat* type According to Johns, "The sparseness of direct evidence makes it difficult to give a comprehensive account of the history or even of the present distribution and networking of *tarekat* in Indonesia. It is axiomatic, however, that the earliest Muslim enclaves in the various port cities and trading centres of the region reflected the tradition, spirituality and cultural mix of the Muslim communities taking part in the trading system of the Indian Ocean. Thus, with the first evidence of Islam with a political profile and the establishment of a sultanate - Samudra Pasai under Malik al-Salih (d. 1297) - it is reasonable to infer the presence of *tarekat,* although it is not possible to identify which, or to suggest a social function for, *tarekat* in either this or any other area of the region, In traditional Malay and Javanese accounts of the coming of Islam to the region, there are references to semi-legendary figures, holy men who are Sufi in type, and who thereby may have some association with *tarekat.* It is not possible until the late 16th century, however, to identify individuals who belonged to *tarekat,* and whose writings on Sufi doctrines have survived. Even so, there is little information to be gleaned of their social functions".[93] In this regard it is even more difficult to trace any architectural remains or evidence the way we have in other parts of the Indian Ocean like the Khanqah of Shah Hamadan in Kashmir[94] **[Figure**

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[90] Johns, A. "Islam in Southeast Asia Reflections and New Directions," p.38.
[91] See section 1-5-3-4
[92] Cortesão, A. ed. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires* p.177.
[93] Johns, A. H. "Tarekat," p.16.
[94] See Patrose, P. and Sampat, R. "Khanaquah of Shah Hamadan," *Mimar Architecture in Development* 16, (1985), pp.65-73.

4.21c], or the way we learn of the *zawiya* Othmaniyya in Hangzhou in China from Ibn Battuta's accounts.[95]

In order to assess the role of Sufis in the design process of the Javanese mosque, the question that needs to be asked is whether the building was modelled on Sufi philosophical ideas. According to Nurdin and Ahmed, "The prevalence of mountain cults in Java suggests that a mountain possess mystical qualities which transcend human power and understanding. Apart from associations with supernatural phenomena which powerfully colour beliefs and superstitions, mountains have become symbols of great potency and are places where people go in retreat to seek peace and seclusion. Islam teaches that Allah is the Supreme Being whose power cannot be compared with other created things. By utilizing a pyramidal form of roof, the Javanese mosque takes on the mystical connotation of a mountain and the associated connotations of tranquillity and spiritual order".[96] On the other hand, Wiranto, states that Islam embraces three elements: *Iman* (belief or dogma), *ibadat* (religious obligations or rituals), and *ihsan* (right doing or ethics). In his opinion these three elements were transformed into the three layers of the Javanese roof.[97] Alternatively, according to Uda and Al-Ahmadi "the ventilated roof structures were normally arranged in odd numbers of three or five. This arrangement was of great importance in the Malay's Islamic philosophy; it signifies the stages of man's search for God through mysticism, *tariqah, haqiqah* and *ma'arifah*".[98] This concept was overtaken by Moersid, et al. and translated into a four step transformation process that was elaborately summarized by a sketch[99] **[Figure 4.47].**

From the above, we have three different Sufi concepts; which one represents the Javanese mosque? I would argue none. It seems that all three are later interpretations of the already created building and therefore, were not part of its initial design process. In other words, these Sufi ideas were imposed on an already standing building rather than being the concept according to which the architectural form was modelled. According to Akkach, "in communal prayers individuals are required to be perfectly aligned in straight lines with shoulders rubbing so that no spaces are left between the participants. The perfect alignment is seen as a spatial expression of the equality all worshippers have to God. God asks humans to pray in order to *commune* with them as a community. As earthly creatures bound to space, humans express their equal connection to divinity spatially though their perfect alignment, which images the way in which angels stand in God's presence: "And your Lord shall come with angels, rank on rank" (89:22), "on the day when the angels and the Spirit stand arrayed" (78:38). The *imam,* however, leads the prayer from his stand-alone position. Here the spatiality of the *imam* and the aligned crowd involve a double resonance. In standing alone, lbn 'Arabi explains, the *imam* represents the totality of the worshippers, constituting a row on his own. No one else is allowed to do so. If one finds oneself alone, one is required to either squeeze in the last

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[95] Ibn Battuta, in his account of Kin-sai (Hangzhou), apart from mosques and markets that were already existent from previous times, mentioned a *zawiya* called al-'Uthmaniyya, named after its founder Ahmad b. Uthman al-Misri. The *zawiya* had beautiful architecture and its own endowed property, of which the revenues were spent for its up keeping, and the fulfillment of the needs of poor Muslims. Ibn Battuta, *Tuhfat,* p.166.

[96] Nurdin, M.A. and Ahmed, J.J. "Islamic Influences in Javanese Court Art," pp.64-5.

[97] Wiranto, Ir. *Model Spasial Dan Bentuk Arsitektur Masjid* p.XII.

[98] Uda and Al-Ahmadi, "Malay Arts and Crafts," p.286.

[99] Moersid, et al "Changes in the Islamic Religion," p.67.

row, or, if it is already well-packed, invite one from the row to make a pair. Standing alone, the *imam's* prayer projects God's "unity of totality" (*ahadiyyat al-majmu'*), whereas standing in aligned rows, the prayers of individuals project God's "totality of unity" (*majmu' al-ahadiyya*). The inversed resonance reveals an awareness of the spatiality of visualizing and projecting divinity by the *imam* and the community in the course of prayer. The spatial design of the prayer hall of the hypostyle mosque seems to reflect this reciprocal relationship. The pillared hall tends to express architecturally the congregation's "totality of unity," whereas the *imam's* position marked by the mihrab and sometimes a dome positioned directly above it, or even the central dome, tends to express the *imam's* "unity of totality".[100] The previous is a clear case of re-interpretation of the hypostyle or the early Arab style mosque through Sufi connotations. Knowing of the historical circumstances and the simplicity by which the early mosque of Medina was built, it is difficult to accept such an interpretation. Ibn 'Arabi's views come centuries later and we have no evidence that similar ideas were viewed or even considered when the early mosques were being laid out.

In light of the above, it is acceptable to argue that it was the <u>merchants</u> who did bring along the architectural concept of the mosque and claim that the Sufi role was limited to the re-interpretation of the mosques rather than influencing their designs. It is easy to explain this by pointing out that Sufi preaching methods differed immensely form those of the Orthodox preachers. Their methods tended to explain Islam in a mode closer to the minds of the simple locals. With many Sufi and Buddhist ideas overlapping, the Sufi mode went as far as interpreting the new religion through pre-existing common ideas and beliefs. They did not explain Islam as a totally foreign religion; this might have been responsible for the architecture being interpreted as a continuation of a local practise.

However, when it comes to saint cults, mausoleums, and shrines where sufism is clearly an effective factor, it is difficult to contest their role in the introduction, form selection, and erection of tomb pavilions and their associated practices.

4-6: Conclusion

The initial research conducted for writing the proposal of this dissertation led to an assumption that influences travelled across the Indian Ocean and formed what was expected to be a chain that would link the architecture of the mosques in Southeast Asia to that of their predecessors in Arabia. However, this assumption is proved not true. Some common elements can be seen in the architecture across the Indian Ocean, such as the two rooms flanking the prayer hall in the mosques of Fakhr al Din in Mogadishu, the Ratu Kalinyamat mosque in Mantingan, and the Songjiang Mosque in China **[Figures 4.39, 2.181, and 4.40]**; similarities in ablution facilities between the mosques of southern India and Cirebon, for instance **[Figures 4.41 and 2.27a]**; and the strong Hindu influences in the mihrabs of southern India and that of the Panjunan mosque in Cirebon **[Figures 4.42 and 2.49]**. On the other hand, the majority of Southeast Asian art historians adopted a theory in which the Islamic buildings of the region in question, were considered a continuation of earlier local Hindu-Buddhist structures. Which exact Hindu-Buddhist building served as an archetype is a matter of long debate. However, the

[100] Akkach, S. *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam* pp.204-5.

findings of this dissertation indicate that the Islamic buildings of Java were a local expression, not of an older Hindu-Buddhist prototype, but rather the newest mosque concept being built in the Dar al-Islam in the 16th century; namely what is known by the 'central domed space' concept. In other words, the main system of influence could have been the fashion of the time at the capital of the Muslim heartland rather than the buildings at the entrepots along the coasts of the Indian Ocean. The question that needs to be asked here is whether Java represents the premier or the sole case in the Muslim world? One would begin with Java's neighbors which, more or less, were exposed to the same socio-political conditions at that time. Malaysia and Sumatra rise as the two fitting candidates. However, unfortunately, no masjid Agung from the 15th and 16th centuries survived in both locations. The masjid Agung Malacca was burnt to ashes by the Portuguese and to our dismay; no literary description, sufficient for the reconstruction of the edifice, exists. In Sumatra nevertheless, we do possess 17th century engravings of Aceh. These sketches have been used to augment the argument forwarded by this dissertation that Java did adopt the masjid Agung concept from the Muslim West through Aceh **[Figure 4.46]**.

If we widen our circle of enquiry to a larger geographical zone, the coastal ports of China pose as acceptable candidates; in China trade and merchants were the dominant influential factor from early on. The Muslims at the ports, at times, enjoyed great autonomy,[101] but were never under direct Muslim rule. One mosque in Quanzhou (better known by its older name Zaytun) lends support to our enquiry; namely the Shengyou si mosque. Unlike the majority of the mosques found in Chinese coastal cities which abide by Chinese building codes and traditions, the Shengyou si in Quanzhou displays foreign architecture **[Figure 4.32]**. The mosque is built of stone not wood, possesses a lofty entrance portal, has rectangular fenestration that overlooks the street, the walls are inscribed with Arabic inscription bands in the interior and exterior alike, and last but not least, the mosque has its own foundation and renovation slab that not only records the founding date of the building, but also commemorates the building's renovator.[102] The Foundation inscription dates the current mosque to 1310 and informs us that the renovator was originally from al-Quds (Jerusalem). No doubt the Shengyou si follows the defining lines of Mamluk architecture. So the question is why do we have a Mamluk mosque in Quanzhou? A logical answer would be that the merchants of Quanzhou, under Yuan rule, were autonomous to the extent that they were able to build their mosque in their own chosen style; but why Mamluk? Simply because it happened to be the up-to-date style that was evolving in the capital of the Muslim heartland in the early 14th century.[103] The case of the Shengyou si mosque however, does not suggest that the fashion of the time was the only mode of artistic transfer; but also hints to the possibility of builders' traditions as well.

[101] Under the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties, but not under the Mings.

[102] For the inscription see D. Leslie, - A. Youssef, Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou. A Review of Chen Dasheng , Quanzhou Yisilan-jiao shike: Islamic Inscription in Quanzhou, T'oung pao, 74, 1988, 255-272.

[103] I believe a detailed study of Gujarat before its annexation to the Mughal Empire, as well as the early wooden mosques of Anatolia, would also pose as good candidates outside the sphere of Southeast Asia and China.

4-6-1: Are Javanese Mosques Modelled after a Middle Eastern Archetype?
What has been suggested by this dissertation by means of architectural concept analysis and analogy is that the plan and space concepts of the Javanese mosques follow those of the central Muslim West of the 15th and 16th century. The question of the Javanese wooden three-tier pyramidal roof form being an expression of the stone domes and semi domes that build up a similar, but definitely not identical, shape is a matter of speculation. No historical evidence seems to point to Middle Eastern architects being active in the region; the only account that we have regarding the construction of the Demak mosque records the assistance of Chinese master carpenters. This has been interpreted as Javanese architects being technically unable to construct the building with their own local expertise. This strongly suggests that the spatial idea was imported in spite of the fact that the Javanese were already familiar with the four-column plan. The spatial concept being imported does not necessarily render the building foreign. Building materials and architectural details usually play the decisive role; which, in this case, gives an indigenous character to the buildings. As a matter of fact, here too, Java does not represent the premier case by which such circumstances occurred; in Delhi for instance, the Quwwat al-Islam mosque was built out of Indian spoils salvaged from the plundered Hindu temples; the outcome was a Muslim hypostyle prayer hall with unmistakable Hindu appearance and details **[Figures 4.43a-b]**. Even a closer parallel where influences of trade were active rather than the forces of conquest can be seen in the evolution of the architecture of Cairo during the Mamluk period. Located as it is at the crossroads of eastern and western trade, Cairo was open to ideas arriving from both directions. Examples would include the use of tiles for the minaret of al-Nasir Mohammad at the citadel and the plan of the complex of sultan Hasan, which came from Persia, or the adoption of *muqarnas* portals and *ablaq* decoration techniques that were introduced from Syria. According to Behrens-Abouseif, "This series of foreign elements in the architecture of Cairo by no means implies that the indigenous architecture was poor or provincial in comparison; on the contrary, the adapted elements made the architecture of Cairo cosmopolitan and innovative. Faience mosaics applied in a mosque no more made it Persian than a horseshoe arch made a building Andalusian. The mosque of Sultan Hasan is Mamluk in style in spite of importation of craftsmen 'from all over the world'. Mamluk here refers not to the ethnic origins of the Mamluk rulers, but to the Cairo Mamluks, and the architectural traditions that evolved in Cairo".[104] Returning to Indonesia, acceptably as Miksic, finds it, "When Islam arrived in Indonesia, it did not cause a revolution in building styles; instead, the architecture of the transitional period (14th-16th centuries) reflected new ideas and influences from a variety of sources but retained fundamental traits from previous eras; Just as Indian ideas had been filtered through an Indonesian screen, so too with Islam and its attendant architectural forms";[105] The Paduraksa and candi Bentar gateways did not totally disappear, nor did the kala-makara which made its appearance in a more disguised and abstract manner.

It is nevertheless appropriate here to re-state and underline that the indigenous character of the Javanese mosque is not without innovation; the execution of a congregational mosque with one central space with wood rather than stone or bricks is, to

[104] Behrens-Abouseif, D. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo* p.127.
[105] Miksic, "Architecture of the Early Islamic Period," p.86.

the best of my knowledge, unprecedented in the Islamic world. The ‘step in pond,’ usually placed before the prayer hall for the mosque attendees to clean their feet before entering, is also a new feature. The *minbar*, which is an item seen in all mosques across the Islamic world, also shows originality; local abstract features combine to produce a unique pulpit that does not follow any other.

The mausoleums represent a more difficult case since the spatial-concept of these buildings clearly follows the domed square form. The difficulty here lays within the fact that this form can be found all over the Dar-al Islam. However, the planning concept of the Javanese mausoleums, where the tomb is always located in front of the *qibla* wall of a mosque, a feature which is seen in Egyptian, Turkish and Seljuk examples, seems to point to the Muslim West for its inspiration. Furthermore, the use of conical roof caps rather than domes is a variety of the theme, which was commonly applied in many Seljuk and early Ottoman tombs. This should not be viewed as a direct assimilation but as an example that encouraged use of local Javanese roofing techniques instead of the wide spread dome. The mosques and shrines of Java when seen against a Javanese background appear to be local structures that blend well with their indigenous environment. However when viewed in an Islamic context, they represent a genre of their own; a distinctive form that can be justly called the Javanese type.

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Glossary

Glossary•

Adat: Arabic in the plural form for 'traditions' or 'customs'. In an Indonesian context it indicates laws and rules that derive their authority from established traditions and customs; not necessarily Islamic traditions. Orthodox religious laws are termed 'hukom' which also derives from the Arabic 'hakam'. (Hurgronje, *The Achehnese* vol.1).

Adipati: (bupati) Regent or Government officer in charge of a regency (Sigar and Burnett).

Agung: Literally means exalted, high or noble.

Aling-aling: Literally means protective. In Chinese architecture a similar screen-wall, called a *yingbi* (Chinese: 影壁; pinyin: yǐng bì), is usuially placed inside the gate so that outsiders cannot see directly into the courtyard. It is believed that this wall creates a bent entrance to protect the house from evil spirits that normally move in straight paths. (Berliner, "Monsters and Myths," and Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens, *Living Architecture*) [Figure 2.149].

Alun-alun: A large open square situated in the center of the Javanese city. The palace, the mosque, and the market place normally over-look the square's southern, western, and northern sides, respectively.

Annals of Semarang: A Javanese history book that was published in 1964 and is believed to be written by a Chinese settler (Javano-Chinese translator) around the 18th century. The text was examined by Graaf and Pigeaud, who were able to verify the credible and non-credible accounts.

Babad Tanah Jawi: (The history of the land of Java) was written around the turn of the 17th century, consisting mainly of mystical poetry. The stories recorded are various and do not follow a chronological order in the sense history books are complied today. (Drewes, "Indonesian Mysticism and Activism").

Babad: Literally means history or chronicle.

Bale Agung: A large wooden pavilion, in Balinese temples, under which the villagers come together to discuss village matters.

Batavia: Dutch name for the initial fortress-town that was built for the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) or VOC. Batavia is now a small part of modern Jakarta located on the coast at the northwest part of the city.

Bedug: Drum used for announcing prayer times instead of the usual azan.

• All literal meanings are quoted from (Sigar and Burnett).

Brahma: The Hindu god of creation and one of the Trimurti, the others being Vishnu and Shiva.

Buraq: A mystical winged horse believed to have carried the prophet Mohammed during the journey form Mecca to Jerusalem (known as the *isra`*) and during the Prophet's ascension from the rock in Jerusalem intto Heaven (known as the *mi'raj*).

Candi bentar: A gateway in from of a split mountain. This gate type has no doors [Figure 2.285].

Candi laras: Small candi-like models placed as wall towers (Brakel, and Massarik, "A Note on the Panjunan Mosque,") [Figure 2.51a].

Candi: Also spelled chandi, is a Hindu-Buddhist temple that houses the statue of a deity [Figure 3.5].

Candra sangkala mukti: A chronogram based on lunar calculations. (After Sigar and Burnett).

Cella: The inner room of the candi [Figure 3.5].

Champa: Medieval name for southern Vietnam.

Chau Ju Kua: The superintendent of trade in Fujian during the Song dynasty. In his *Chu fan chi* (*Description of the Barbarous Peoples*), he describes medieval trade and foreign nations by asking sailors and merchants who were arriving at the port.

Cheng-Ho: See Zheng He

Chu fan chi: See Chau Ju Kua

Cungkup: Literally, dome or cover over grave. The *cungkup* is the structure (mausoleum) under which the person is buried [Figure 2.155].

Dalem: See Omah.

Durga: Hindu goddess of Death.

Emperan: See Verandah

Fahien: (Chinese: 法顯; Pinyin: Fǎxiǎn; also romanized as *Fa-Hien* or *Fa-hsien*) (ca. 337 - ca. 422) Chinese Buddhist monk who traveled to Nepal, India, and Sri Lanka to acquire and take back to China Buddhist scriptures between 399 and 412. His journey is described in his work *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. He is most know for his pilgrimage to Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha (en.wikipedia.org.).

Fei-Hsin: Pinyin Fei Xin, (Chinese: 费信) A Muslim interpreter that accompanied Zheng He in the infamous Ming voyages. In 1438, he authored a book known as *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (*The Overall Survey of the Star Raft*), pinyin: Xin Cha Shen Lan (Chinese: 星槎勝覽). In this book Fei-Hsin noted down what he encountered in foreign countries during his voyages with Zheng He (en.wikipedia.org.).

Ganesha: Elephant-headed god of wisdom and remover of obstacles. (After Kinney, et al *Worshipping Siva and Buddha*).

Garuda: Eagle and vehical of the Hindu god Vishnu. (Kinney, et al *Worshipping Siva and Buddha*) [Figure 3.31].

Hayam Wuruk: Also called (after 1350) *Rajasanagara*, (1334 -1389), The ruler of the Javanese Hindu state of Majapahit at the time of its greatest power. He inherited the throne in 1350 at the age of 16, when the great patih (prime minister) Gajah Mada was at the height of his career. Under his rule, Majapahit extended its power throughout the Indonesian archipelago. (en.wikipedia.org.).

Hikayat: Arabic "stories" in an Indonesian context it indicates a history account.

I Ching: Chinese traveller **I Ching** or **Yi Jing** (Yijing, Yiqing, I-Tsing or YiChing) (**義淨**, 三藏法師義淨 635-713) A Tang Dynasty Buddhist monk, originally named Zhang Wen Ming (張文明). The written records of his travels contributed to the world knowledge of the ancient kingdom of Srivijaya, as well as providing information about the other kingdoms lying on theroute between China and the Nalanda Buddhist university in India. He was also responsible for the translation of a large numbers of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. (en.wikipedia.org.).

Jalan: Literally means street in Malay.

Joglo: A type of Javanese roof reserved for houses of higher members of the society. The roof is of a two tier composition, pyramidal in form, but ends with a ridge rather than a peak [Figure 3.21].

Kala-Makara: Kala is a legendry demon carved above temple doors. He is usually flanked by two makaras, one on each side of the door. The makara is a legendry serpent with a crocodile head and an elephant's trunk [Figure 3.17].

Kalpataru: Wishing tree or Shajarat al-Khuld (tree of eternity) [Figure 3.36].

Kampung: Literally means "village," however, it also is a name for a type of Javanese roof, which is identified with the domicile of the common man. Structurally, this is the simplest type; it consists of a pitched roof that slopes in two directions supported by means of four columns [Figure 3.21].

Karamat: Arabic for “miracles” yet, in a Javanese context, it indicates those who take care of the tombs of saints.

Kasekten: Intangible, mysterious and divine energy which animates the universe. The kingship is mainly based on the accumulation of this power, and, as long as the central king can manage to keep this energy in him, the order of the universe and society is kept stable and prosperous. (Fukushima).

Ki Ageng Selo: believed to be the forefather of the Mataram dynasty. He resided in the village of Selo near Demak were he propagated the Islamic faith.

Kinnara: Half human, half bird divinity which resides in the sky [Figure 3.32].

Kori agung: See Paduraksa

Kraton: Indonesian for Palace

Krobongan Boma: Or alternatively called Sentong; in a classical Javanese house, this would be the central room in the *dalem* area of the house. This room is normally flanked by two others called *sentongs*. The Sentong Tengah or literally “the Central Sentong” is considered the most sacred room of the whole house [Figure 3.20].

Kul-kul Towers: These structures are found in Bali, where the kul-kul, which is a native musical instrument consisting of a split wooden block, is beaten to give signals and sound alarms. (Ismudiyanto and Atmadi)

Langgar Alit: A small one column mosque in the Kasephuan palace [Figure 4.11].

Langgar: A small mosque more to an oratory.

Limasan roof: A roof form which is finer than the kampung type, used for the abodes of higher rank Javanese families. Structurally, the *limasan* roof is formed by extending the *kampung* model to a rectangular plan with additional pairs of columns at either end. The roof beam does not run the full length of the rectangular building, rather it extends over the innermost set of columns. This means the *limasan* roof has four slopes, two along the longer and two along the shorter axes [Figure 3.21].

Ma Huan: (Chinese 马欢). A Muslim voyager and translator who accompanied Admiral Zheng He on three of his seven infamous Ming expeditions to the Western Oceans. During his expeditions, Ma Huan took notes about the geography, politics, weather conditions, environment, economy, local customs, and even the method of punishment for criminals. Returning home from his first expedition, he began writing a book about his expedition, the first draft of which was ready around 1416. He expanded and modified his draft during later expeditions. The final version was ready around 1451. The title of his book was *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (*The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*). (en.wikipedia.org.).

Makara: See Kala-Makara.

Mandala: An image consisting of concentric circles believed to possess mystical powers and used for meditation.

Masjid Agung: Literally, “Great Mosque,” which indicates the major Friday mosque of the city or town.

Memolo: See *Mustoko*.

Meru roof: A multi-tier, roof-like tower seen in Balinese temples [Figure 3.16].

Meru: A mystical mountain at the centre of the universe believed to be the residence of the Hindu gods.

Mustoko: Also spelled *mustaka* and known as *memolo,* is a finial that surmounts the *tajug* roof s of mosques and shrines. A similar element is also used in Hindu-Buddhist temples [Figure 3.19].

Naga: Serpent or snake.

Negarakertagama: Or ***N****agarakrtagama*, is an old Javanese poem written in 1365 as tribute to the late Majapahit king Hayam Wuruk. The poem describes many of the Hindu-Buddhist temples of its time which was the peak of the Majaphit era. (after en.wikipedia.org.).

Nyai Roro Kidul: Or Nyai Loro Kidul, is a Javanese mythical goddess believed to be the queen of the South Seas.

Omah: Or *dalem*, is the central part of the classical Javanese house. it is the only part of the that is totally concealed by walls due to its function as the intimate residing area of the inhabitants of the house. The *dalem* contains three closed spaces known as the *sentongs* [Figure 3.20].

Orang Asli: Literally means the indigenous people.

Paduraksa: A type of fancy gateway that has a roof. This gateway is usually highly decorated and the roof seems to look like that of a *candi*. It has two door leaves [Figure 2.287].

Parasang: (In Persian, *farsang*) is an ancient Persian unit of itinerant distance. It was extremely variable but usually corresponded to approximately 3.5 miles (5.6 kilometers), or the distance that could be traversed on foot in an hour. (en.wikipedia.org.).

Pawestren: Women’s prayer area in a Javanese mosque

Pendopo: See Serambi.

Peringgitan: Is the area that links the *pendopo* to the *omah* in a classical Javanese house. It is the place where shadow puppet plays (wayang) are performed during ritual and festive occasions [Figure 3.20].

Peripih: Usually, a stone box placed underneath the *candi*. It is divided into sections arranged in a mandala like pattern, sometimes with nine, sometimes 25 chambers, in which are placed elements symbolising the material world: gold, silver, bronze, semi-precious stones and seeds. These elements were deemed necessary for Hindu rituals on the statue in the *candi* to take place [Figure 3.15].

Petungan: A book covering numerology, fortune telling, sickness healing, and the processes of design and building.

Pintu bledeg: Literally "thunder door"; a two leaf door originally belonging to the *masjid* Agung Demak, currently on display in the mosque's museum [Figure 2.22].

Pradakshina: A clockwise Hindu ambulation.

Pranapratistha: Ceremonies held by Hindu priests to animate the statues of the deity in the *candi*.

Prasawya: A counter-clockwise Hindu ambulation.

Purnaghata: Also known as "urns or pots of plenty"; a vase with a lotus sprouting out of it [Figure 3.35].

Raniri, al-: An orthodox Muslim scholar from Randir, Gujarat. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1620 and, in 1637, left the declining city of Gujarat for Aceh, where he stayed at the Court of Iskander Thani. When Thani died in 1644, Raniri returned to his native Rander, where he died in 1658. His main book is titled *Bustan al-Salatin* (*Garden of the Sultans*). (Graaf, H. J. de. "Southeast Asian Islam,").

Saka calendar: An old Indian luni-solar calendar that was adopted in Java during the 7th-14th centuries. It consists of 12 lunar months, but about once every three years another month is added to compensate for the deviation from the solar year (Casparis, de J.G. "Indonesian Calendrical Systems,").

Sate: An Indonesian version of a Kebab (grilled meat), which very popular and usually cooked on the side walks.

Sejarah Melayu: Literally, *History of the Malay*. This is a local history book written around the early 17th century. It records the establishment of the Malacca kingdom and many others in the Peninsula.

Sejarah: Literally means "history."

Sentong See Krobongan Boma.

Serambi: Or *pendopo*, is a roofed wooden pavilion that has no walls that isusually placed in front of the Javanese house, mosque, and shrine [Figure 3.28].

Siva: Or also spelled Shiva, is the Hindu god of destruction and one of the Trimurti, the others being Vishnu and Brahma.

Soko guru: A name given to the four central columns used for supporting the roofs of Javanese houses and mosques.

Soko tatal: Also spelled Saka tatal, is the special name given to the North-Eastern column of the four *soko guru* group.

Soko tunggal: Literally means solitary coloumn. This describes the Javanese pavilions that were erected by using one central column to support the structure instead of the usual four columns in the *soko guru* concept [Figure 2.199a].

Suma Oriental: A book of historical accounts and observations written by the Portuguese Tome Pires, who had arrived in Malacca in 1512 shortly after the capture of the city by Albuquerque in 1511.

Sumba: A small Indonesian island that belongs to the Nusa Tengarra archipelago.

Sunan: A title of respect reserved mainly for the early saints who are credited with the spread of Islam in Java.

Surau: A small mosque not for a Friday congregation.

Surya: The Hindu sun-god.

Tajug: Also spelled Tajuk, literally means crown, from the Arabic Taj تاج() but in this context, a type of roof that is a four-sided pyramid used exclusively for religious buildings [Figure 3.21].

Tarekat: Arabic for “way, path, or method,” in this context, a Sufi order or organization.

Tiyamah: The name given to the building erected to the South of the *masjid* Agung Banten. The building is multi-purpose, and was intended as a school and meeting hall [Figure 2.218].

Trowulan: The capital of the Majapahit dynasty, located in the western part of Java about 50 kilometres to the Southwest of Surabaya [Figure 2.1].

Verandah: Or *emperan*, is the part of the *dalem* in a Javanese house that faces the *pendopo*. This area is usually separated from the *dalem* by means of a partition. It is used for public activities, and is also provided with a raised bamboo platform which is used for reclining or sleeping during the day [Figure 3.20].

Wali Sanga: Literally, "nine saints." They are credted in local histories as the propagators of Islam in Java. Their tombs are revered and considered as holy pilgrimage spots.

Wantilan: An open pavilion-type structure used as a cock-fight arena.

Wayang: A shadow play usually performed by leather puppets or *kulit*.

Ying-yai Sheng-lan: See Ma Huan.

Zabaj: The name given to Srivijaya by the Arabic texts of the Middle Ages.

Zheng He: (Chinese: 郑和; Wade-Giles: Cheng Ho; Birth name: Mǎ Sānbǎo; Arabic name: حجّي محمود شمس *Hajji Mahmud Shams*) (1371–1433), a Chinese mariner, explorer, diplomat, and fleet admiral, who made the voyages collectively referred to as the seven great Ming voyages (en.wikipedia.org.).

Ziyarah: Arabic for "visit." In an Indonesian context it indicates a visit to a holy man's tomb.