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# BATU ACEH: A STUDY OF 15TH – 19TH CENTURY ISLAMIC GRAVESTONES IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

OTHMAN BIN MOHD. YATIM, M.A. (DURHAM)

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to the Department of Anthropology,
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-9. OCT. 1985

## ABSTRACT

This study concerns certain gravestones known to Peninsular Malays as batu Aceh, Acehnese gravestones, which were erected, in pairs, on graves of Malay royalty and others, presumed to be important personages, in 15th-19th century Peninsular Malaysia.

Data for this thesis has been obtained from literary references (those specially related to the term batu Aceh only date from 1878) and from my own extensive fieldwork covering the period 1974-1983.

I examine the similarities between the rituals associated with death and burial in both Peninsular Malaysia and Aceh, which, I believe, encouraged the importation of batu Aceh during the height of Acehnese influence in Peninsular Malaysia.

The variety of shapes and decorations of the batu Aceh presented descriptive problems. Therefore, I introduce my own system of typology (Othman Types A-N) to be used in cross reference to photographs and diagrams. I attempt to relate this typology to chronology using other criteria in the absence of dated gravestones.

Attempts were made by earlier writers to associate the batu Aceh shapes and sizes with the sex and status of the deceased. I refute their contentions with regard to sex denoting shape but believe that the size of gravestones may be related to status.

Of 213 pairs of batu Aceh, 109 possess inscriptions, but only a minority of these give biographical detail; the rest contain quotations from the Koran and religious poems (Sufi ?).

The elaborate decorations on the batu Aceh (Othman Type F excepted) display some basic motifs also found in the art of pre-Islamic religions of Peninsular Malaysia. The other decorations are similar to those found throughout the Muslim world where their function is religious as well as decorative.

I discuss the nature of the 63 sites where batu Aceh are located - former state capitals and other river-side settlements and isolated plots. Some of the latter are associated with legendary figures and have become venerated as keramats (shrines).

Finally, I discuss the attitude of Malays regarding the preservation of the batu Aceh, in particular, where their continued existence conflicts with Islamic orthodoxy which prohibits veneration of the dead. I justify my contention for the preservation of the batu Aceh on the grounds of cultural heritage and their artistic merit.

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( from Linehan 1926).

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# NOTES

1. Malay Plurals.

In this study, but contrary to the common rules of Malay grammar, the plural of Malay nouns has been indicated by the addition of 's'. Thus, the plural of nesan is rendered nesans rather than the correct form nesan-nesan.

2. Surah (Chapter) and Ayat (Verse) of the Koran.

References in the Koran are indicated thus: Koran (Surah : Ayat).

# INTRODUCTION

"Considered superficially, history is merely information about past events ... In reality it is insight and verification, accurate discovery of origins and causes."

Ibn Khaldun (d. 1046) in his Muqaddimah, Rosenthal, F., (ed. & tr.), London, 1958, pp.3-4.

It is a long established custom dating at least from the 15th century in Peninsular Malaysia to place a pair of markers on graves following the burial. These gravemarkers[1] take different forms from simple undecorated wooden stakes to more permanent markers such as stones. The stone-markers vary from river pebbles, which are left in their natural state, that is no attempt is made to reshape them, to sculptured stones which in some cases have elaborate decorations carved on them.

Of the sculptured gravestones which mark Muslim graves, one group is now referred to by the Malays as batu Aceh or Acehnese stone (for e.g. see Pl. 1, Frontispiece) as it is believed that their place of origin was Aceh in Northern Sumatra. However, the term batu Aceh only appeared in the literature in 1920 (Sircom 1920:153). It is possible that the Malays' assumption that this particular type of gravestone was imported was correct, as the practice of importing gravestones is still carried out today.

My interest in studying these batu Aceh gravestones stems from my observations that the forms they take and decorations on them distinguish this group from other Malay gravestones (see Pls. 2 and 3).

The batu Aceh were used in Peninsular Malaysia in the period dating from the late 15th to the late 19th century. A matching pair of these gravestones was erected, originally, on each grave, although now, in some cases, only one of the original stones is still extant and in other only remnants of the stones exist. The condition of the gravestones varies according to where they are located e.g. in royal and/or maintained cemeteries, or in isolated plots and according to the amount of weathering which the stones have undergone. The situation is complicated further by the fact that some of the gravestones have been unprofessionally restored or renovated in the past and some have been removed from their original sites and relocated.

In an attempt to ascertain why the gravestones were erected, I wish to examine the religious beliefs and funeral rituals of the Malays concerning the burial of the dead and why it was thought desirable to use such elaborate and, presumably expensive, permanent markers as the batu Aceh must have been.

A significant fact about batu Aceh is that they exhibit a variety of shapes, decorations and sizes and also in the amount of information inscribed on the surfaces. The questions then arise - Can the term 'batu Aceh' be applied to all these gravestones? What are the features which can be recognised as belonging to batu Aceh? Can the shape and size of the batu Aceh be related to the status and to the sex of the deceased?

From the beginning of my study the typology of the stones presented serious problems. There are basically two types of stone - one in the form of slab placed upright and the other a detached pillar. Within

these two types a number of sub types can be distinguished. In the published literature, descriptions vary according to the writer, so that the descriptions are subject to a variety of interpretations and are therefore subject to possible confusion. I have sought to establish a simple system of typing the stones using an alphabetical system of nomenclature and supporting it by cross-reference to figures and photographs in the text. By using this system of typology, when I refer to a particular sub type, the reader does not have to ask himself "What does he mean by e.g. 'lantern shape'?" Instead, he is able to see that my term Othman Type G, for example, refers to a particular gravestone which has certain features, unique to this sub type, which he can observe for himself by reference to the diagrams and photographs in this thesis.

After introducing a system of typology, I shall attempt to establish a system of chronology by using information from the gravestones which are dated and for those which are not, by trying to establish dates for the opening of cemeteries and related artefacts and also by examining batu Aceh found throughout the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago to see if further information is available.

Only just over half the batu Aceh are inscribed and few of these give biographical details. I intend to examine the inscriptions in detail and see what can be learned from them. Where the information inscribed is religious, I intend to see if I can trace not only the source but the Muslim religious concepts contained within the message.

I shall examine the decorated stones with a view to relating their decoration to non-Islamic religious imagery belonging to the religions

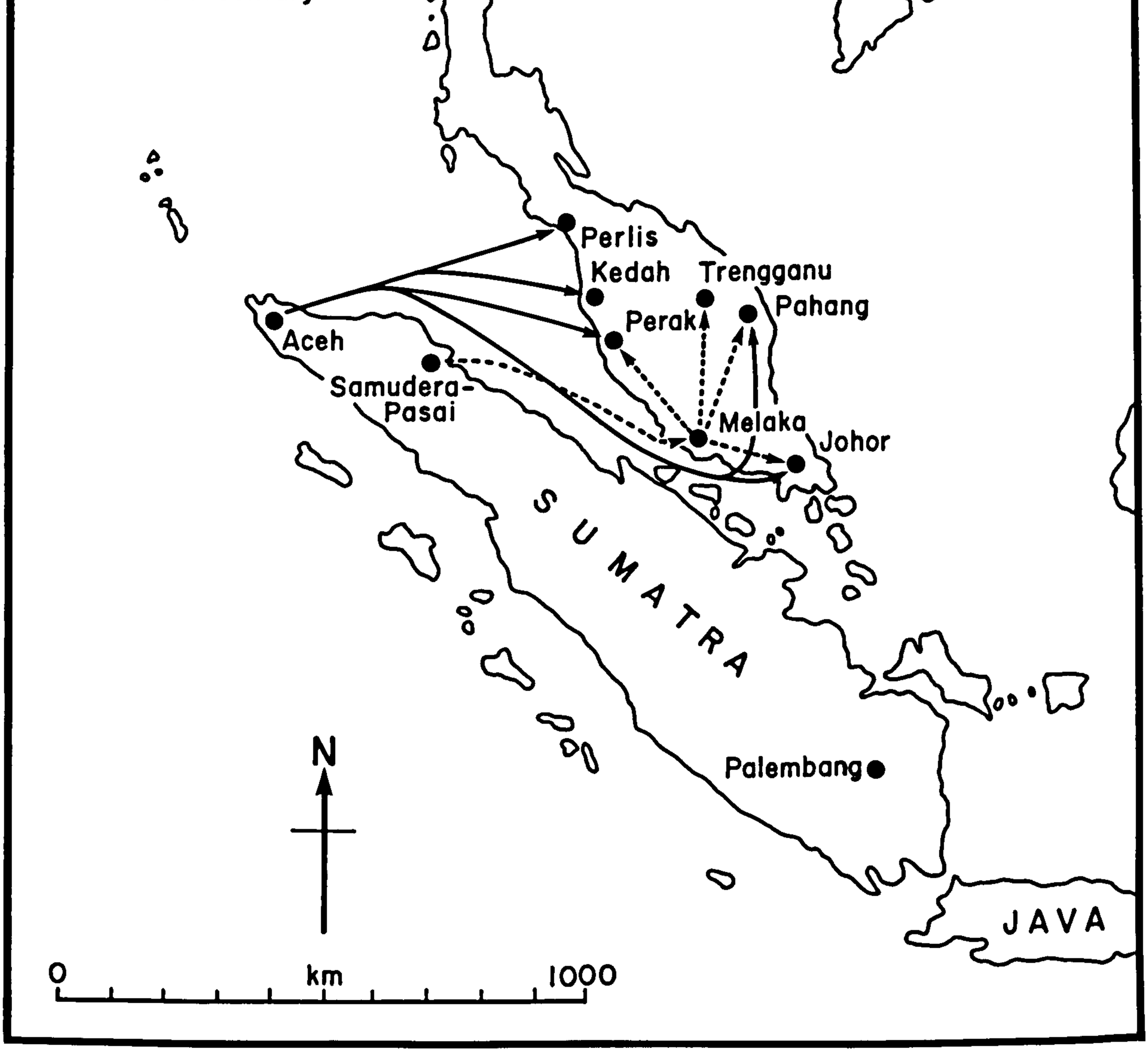
which were practised in Peninsular Malaysia before the advent of Islam and to the art of the Islamic world.

The actual siting of the graves marked with batu Aceh and their distribution throughout Peninsular Malaysia will be related to the history and geography of the region (see Map 1). I will study the legends of the region by using published material e.g. Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei (1964), Zakaria Hitam (1966) and Ishak Mohamad (1984) to see why certain unnamed graves are identified by the local people as belonging to legendary figures who were believed to have some association with the area. I shall examine the similarity of many to these legends throughout Peninsular Malaysia as a means of justifying the use of certain factors to account for the legendary deceased being honoured by such a grave. The distribution of graves with batu Aceh which have come to be venerated as keramats (graves of saints) will be studied to see whether this phenomenon is localized or widespread throughout the peninsula.

Finally I shall attempt to justify the preservation of the batu Aceh as an intrinsic and valuable example of the cultural heritage of Peninsular Malaysia.

The quotation at the head of this chapter reflects my line of approach to the subject, which is to give anthropological explanations of the significance of batu Aceh, by emphasizing their historical aspect, in order to obtain a better understanding of their value as projections of Malaysian Islamic culture.

Map I THE STAGES IN THE DIFFUSION OF BATU ACEH INTO PENINSULAR MALAYSIA



## Data for this Study

This study is based on data collected on archaeological surveys which were carried out in Peninsular Malaysia by the Monument Section of the Antiquities Division of the Muzium Negara (National Museum) of Malaysia. These surveys are one of the functions of the Section, as stated in its terms of reference when it was established in 1973. I joined the Muzium Negara in August 1974. The surveys, on which I was a member of the team, were conducted in three phases. The first, from September to October 1974; the second, from April to May 1975 and the third, from July to August 1977. From 1978 to 1980 the surveys were carried out by N.A. Halim. In between the surveys, visits were also made to the sites, surveyed earlier, for more detailed information. The aim of these surveys was to locate, photograph, make layout plans and to map the distribution of all the cultural properties throughout Peninsular Malaysia, which included ancient and historical monuments, forts, historical sites and graves of well-known and historical personalities, with a view to their subsequent preservation.[2]

Regarding batu Aceh, our first task was to locate the sites mentioned by earlier writers (see Chapter 1). At regular intervals, since 1974, there appeared in our local newspapers and journals reports on the discoveries in certain parts of Peninsular Malaysia of ancient monuments and historical sites and sometimes the grave of a well-known person. We followed up the accounts and began an investigation, in the course of which we gathered further information from inquisitive villagers which sometimes led to discoveries of more sites in the same village or even in a nearby village.

Occasionally we received letters from members of the public informing us of the existence of historical sites or monuments in their respective villages and asking us to carry out further investigations. Local historians also helped us, not only in locating historical sites and monuments in their respective States, but also in providing us with additional information. We are fortunate to have persons such as Zakaria bin Hitam of Kuantan, Pahang; Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis; the late Cikgu Haji Buyong bin Adil of Kuala Lumpur, and Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang of Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, who are acknowledged by the local people as historians, to provide us with relevant information.

In 1982 I was offered a scholarship by the Malaysian Government which gave me the opportunity to conduct further research on batu Aceh. From April to May 1982, before leaving for Durham in September 1982, I seized the opportunity to make another visit to a number of sites which had contained batu Aceh. My last survey was carried out during Summer (July to August) 1983, after which I made a brief visit to Aceh.[3]

## The Problems Relating to Locating of Sites

The task of locating the historical sites and monuments, including batu Aceh, presented problems; for, from the time they were first discovered and reported before the turn of this century, there have been many changes in Malaysia, politically, economically and geographically. These changes had taken place either naturally or deliberately. By 'naturally' I mean natural disasters such as the successive floods

experienced by many states in Peninsular Malaysia. These floods not only caused changes in the landscape, but resulted in many items of historical and cultural importance being either damaged or lost forever. As early as 1907, Abdul Shukor mentioned that "the grave of this Sultan (Alauddin Rahiat Shah) fell into the river some time back owing to the river bank being washed away" (p. 100). About five decades later, Ryan (1955:115) remarked that "unfortunately some tombs which were there (Perak) in 1908 are no longer in existence". In Pahang, Linehan (1936:238) was informed by the Secretary of the Sultan that "several inscribed tombstones of historical interest have fallen into the river at the junction of the stream Parit with the river Pahang at Pekan Lama".

Before Independence many Malay villages which contained batu Aceh were not developed and these places were frequented by wild animals. I was informed that at least three examples of batu Aceh (in Pahang, Perak and Kedah), were partly damaged because of rampaging elephants. Another example (in Perak) was damaged by being knocked down by a buffalo, when it tried to scratch its back against one of the curly shoulders of batu Aceh. Over the years some of these nesans were buried naturally, but in some cases they were later discovered by the villagers.

Many of the former capitals of Malay states were located along the river and most of these places are now abandoned together with the graves of those who died during their occupancy there. These places can only be reached by boat, sometimes hours of walking and tracking the hills.

The floods also caused many villages along the river to be permanently abandoned (e.g. Kampung Lubok Pelang)[4] and in the process many of the batu Aceh may have been left behind and subsequently forgotten. The present generations are unaware of the location of these villages.

Another problem is that as they were exposed to tropical climates for many centuries, coupled with the soft sandstone from which many of the batu Aceh were carved, the surface of these nesans have, not surprisingly, deteriorated. Thus, the vital information they contained has been lost forever. In other cases although only traces of inscriptions and decorative motifs remain, by comparing these with others which are not so badly weathered and deteriorated, we can obtain some clues to interpret the inscriptions.

Both before and after Independence in 1957, there were many deliberate steps taken by the Government of Malaysia (then Malaya) to resettle numbers of her people. During the Emergency (1948-1960), many rural villages were evacuated for fear of their being manipulated by the communist terrorists and to make government control easier. Later, when Malaya achieved Independence, many new land schemes were undertaken. In the process of clearing the jungle it is likely that some of these batu nesans were destroyed or severely damaged such as those at Sayong Pinang (Appendix 23, Fig. 45) and Tanjong Belading (Appendix 27, Fig. 49) in Johore. The construction of new roads (e.g. Pengkalan Ubah, Appendix 8) also caused many of these batu Aceh to be severely damaged.

Another problem I confronted in my research was that many of the places mentioned by earlier writers are no longer shown on the post-

Second World War maps of the region, for examples Pulau Indera Sakti, Pulau Berahman Indera in Perak; Kayang in Perlis and Tanjong Belading in Johore, probably because the places had long been abandoned.

Some nesans, including batu Aceh, were destroyed as a result of the ignorance of the people (even Malay officials) of their historical and aesthetical values. For example, when the graves with batu Aceh of the former Sultans of Perak were visited by Abdul Shukor in 1906, he discovered that many of the stones were either partly or wholly broken. He recommended most of them to be removed or replaced. These incidents explain why many batu Aceh have disappeared from Perak, to mention only one locality in Peninsular Malaysia.

However, despite all these difficulties we were able to locate 63 sites which contain batu Aceh (see Maps 4 & 11, Table 1). Unfortunately, the gravestones on as many as 54 graves are now missing without trace, either having fallen into the river and been swept away, replaced by modern ones or destroyed deliberately by the people.

Throughout this thesis attention will be drawn to the Appendices 1-63, which is placed at the end of this thesis, following the text. These Appendices contain the primary data of the study and are not repeated, in detail, in the text. The reason for this is that the information given is extensive and reference to the same information is necessary at more than one point in the text and separate location permits a smoother reading of the text.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF DATA

| Name of Site | Total No. of known Graves | Graves with a pair of nesans | Graves with a single nesan+ | Graves with pillar nesans | Graves with upright slab nesans | In-scribed nesans | Unin-scribed nesans | Keramats | Grave-stones now missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Makam Sayong Pinang, Johore (23)* | 25 | 25 | | 2 | 23 | 25 | | | 17 |
| 2. Makam Bendahara Tun Habab (Habib) Abdul Majid, Johore (20) | 23 | 23 | | 13 | 10 | 4 | 19 | | 9 |
| 3. Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah, Johore (19) | 20 | 20 | | 9 | 11 | 4 | 16 | | 7 |
| 4. Makam Diraja (Royal Cemeteries, Kedah (48) | 18 | 18 | | 8 | 10 | 3 | 15 | | |
| 5. Makam Sayid, Johore (21) | 9 | 9 | | 7 | 2 | 6 | 3 | | |
| 6. Ancient Graves, Johore (27) | 9 | 9 | | | 9 | 9 | | | 6 |
| 7. Makam Nibong, Pahang (4) | 8 | 8 | | | 8 | 2 | 6 | | |
| 8. Makam Ziarat Raja Raden, Pahang (2) | 7 | 7 | | | 7 | 3 | 4 | | |
| 9. Makam Chondong, Pahang (3) | 7 | 7 | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | | 2 |
| 10. Makam Raja Bruas, Perak (29) | 7 | 7 | | | 7 | 5 | 2 | | |
| 11. Makam Seluyut, Johore (26) | 5 | 5 | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | | 2 |
| 12. Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah I (1528-1549), Perak (31) | 4 | 4 | | | 4 | 4 | | | 1 |
| 13. Makam Laksamana Aceh, Perak (33) | 4 | 4 | | 2 | 2 | 4 | | | |
| 14. Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Kedah (45) | 4 | 4 | | 2 | 2 | | 4 | | |
| 15. Makam Lubok Pelang, Pahang (12) | 3 | 3 | | | 3 | | 3 | | |

TABLE 1 (continued)

| Name of Site | Total No. of known Graves | Graves with a pair of nesans | Graves with a single nesan+ | Graves with pillar nesans | Graves with upright slab nesans | In-scribed nesans | Unin-scribed nesans | Keramats | Grave-stones now missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. Makam Tok Aceh, Kedah (47) | 3 | 3 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | |
| 17. Makam Sultan Muhammad Shah I, Pahang (1) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | | | 1 |
| 18. Batu Nesans at Kampung Permatang Pasir, Pahang (9) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| 19. Makam Kuala Bera, Pahang (11) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | | | |
| 20. Makam Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka and Marhum Berdarah Puteh, Johore (16) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | | | |
| 21. Makam Tauhid, Johore (22) | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| 22. Makam Johore Lama, Johore (25) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 1 | | | |
| 23. Ancient Graves, Johore (28) | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | |
| 24. Makam Tok Tongsa, Perak (34) | 2 | 2 | | 2 | | | 2 | | |
| 25. Makam Tok Halus and Makam Tok Sena, Perlis (54) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 26. Makam Tok Aceh and Makam Tok Seri Manis, Perlis (56) | 2 | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 27. Makam Che Rial, Pahang (5) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 28. Makam Tok Aceh, Pahang (6) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 29. Makam Kuala Pahang, Pahang (7) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 30. Makam Bintang, Pahang (10) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| 31. Makam Kuala Temelong, Pahang (14) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 |

TABLE 1 (continued)

| Name of Site | Total No. of known Graves | Graves with a pair of nesans | Graves with a single nesan+ | Graves with pillar nesans | Graves with upright slab nesans | In-scribed nesans | Unin-scribed nesans | Keramats | Grave-stones now missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. Makam Panglima Md. Berani, Johore (17) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 33. Makam Masshor, Johore (24) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 34. Makam Tok Subang, Perak (30) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | |
| 35. Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Perak (32) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| 36. Makam Tok Dewangsa, Perak (35) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 37. Makam Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah (1577-1584), Perak (38) | 1 | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 38. Makam Sultan Muhammad Iskandar Shah, Perak (39) | 1 | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 39. Makam Sultan Iskandar Zulkurnain, Perak (40) | 1 | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 40. Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah (1770-1778), Perak (41) | 1 | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 41. Makam Sultan Alauddin Mansor Iskandar Shah (1778-1786), Perak (42) | 1 | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 42. Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut, Perak (43) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| 43. Makam Tok Tumung (Temong), Perak (44) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | |
| 44. Makam Tok Pasai, Kedah (46) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 45. Makam Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau (Sheikh Abdul Kadir), Kedah (49) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| 46. Makam Tok Jambi, Kedah (50) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |

TABLE 1 (continued)

| Name of Site | Total No. of known Graves | Graves with a pair of nesans | Graves with a single nesan+ | Graves with pillar nesans | Graves with upright slab nesans | In-scribed nesans | Unin-scribed nesans | Keramats | Grave-stones now missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 47. Makam Puteri Lindongan Bulan or Puteri Berdarah Puteh, Kedah (51) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 48. Ancient Grave (Makam Purba), Kedah (52) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 49. Makam Tok Gergut, Perlis (53) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 50. Makam Tok Jaya, Perlis (55) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 51. Makam Tok Surau, Perlis (57) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 52. Makam Tok Weng, Perlis (58) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| 53. Makam Tun Teja, Melaka (60) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 54. Makam Sultan Mansor Shah, Melaka (59) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 55. Ancient Grave, Trengganu (61) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 56. Ancient Grave, Trengganu (62) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 57. Makam Tok Raja Re, Trengganu (63) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 58. Makam Puteri Aceh, Pahang (15) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 59. Makam Bendahara Tepok, Johore (18) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 60. Batu Nesan, Pahang (8) | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| 61. Keramat Saiyid Abu Bakar, Pahang (13) | 1 | | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 62. Batu Nesan Puteri Aceh, Perak (36) | 1 | | 1+ | | 1 | | 1 | | |

TABLE 1 (continued)

| Name of Site | Total No. of known Graves | Graves with a pair of nesans | Graves with a single nesan+ | Graves with pillar nesans | Graves with upright slab nesans | In-scribed nesans | Unin-scribed nesans | Keramats | Grave-stones now missing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 63. Keramat Seri Benian, Perak (37) | 1 | | 1+ | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | |
| TOTAL | 213 | 210 | 3 | 68 | 145 | 109 | 103 | 9 | 54 |

* Number in ( ) indicates the Reference number in the Appendix

\+ Presumably one pair when first erected.

## NOTES

1 In order to break the monotony throughout this study the word gravemarkers, nesans, gravestones and tombstones will be used interchangeably, all, however, convey the same meaning.

2 All the unpublished reports of these surveys are kept in the Monument Section (Cawangan Monumen) of the Muzium Negara, while the photographs are in the Photo Library (Perpustakaan Foto) of the same museum. All are available for consultation by members of the public.

3 My visit to Aceh in late August and September 1983 was made possible partly by a travel grant from the British Academy, London, through the good office of the British Institute in South-east Asia, then in Singapore. Dr. Hasan Muarif Ambary, who was at that time doing his post-graduate study in Paris, drew the programme and made the local arrangements for this visit.

4 This place was called Lubok Peletang in the Raffles 18 version of the Sejarah Melayu, see Winstedt (1938:176), see also Brown (1952:151).

# CHAPTER ONE

## PREVIOUS WRITINGS ON BATU ACEH

Literary references to the Islamic gravestones which I now term batu Aceh, go back to the 16th century when the Portuguese Tome Pires wrote at Melaka in 1512 that:

> (when) king Mansursa (Mansor Shah) died, he was buried in the tomb of the kings in accordance with the custom ... (Cortesao 1944:250).

An inscribed nesan from the tomb referred to above is still extant today (Pl. 77). The name Sultan Mansor Shah and the date when he died (882 Hegira or 1477 AD) is inscribed on the stone. This Sultan was the fifth ruler of Melaka and reigned from 1459 to 1477.

Our next early reference belongs to the Englishman, John Davis, who visited Kuta Raja (then the Acehnese capital) in 1599 in his role as navigator to the shipowners, Houtman Brothers. Davis wrote a brief account of the burial customs of the Acehnese royalty from observations which he made when he visited Kuta Raja just before the accession of Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam (1607-1636). Davis wrote that:

> "every generation or kindred have their particular place to bury their dead ... They lay the corpse with the head towards Mecca, having a free stone at the head, and another at the feet ... But in the place of Kings Burials every grave has a piece of gold at the head, and another at the foot ...
>
> (Purchas 1905:321-322).

Among the graves which he probably saw in Aceh at the time of his visit would be those which are now identified at Kandang XII in Banda Aceh (see Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984:114-115).

## Gravemarking Customs

Indirect reference to batu Aceh by an Indian Muslim and a Dutchman is found in the 17th century. Both the references record the erection of permanent gravemarkers for the Acehnese ruler Iskandar Thani (1638-1641) according to the custom which is called in Acehnese pula batee (planting the stones to replace 'the ricinus (resinous ?) plants')[1] used as temporary markers. The Malay reference is contained in Bustanu's-Salatin (Bab II, Fasal 13) written by the Indian Muslim Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri or Nuru'l-Din ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanji ibn Muhammad Hamid al-Raniri (d. 1658) in 1638 on the instruction of Iskandar Thani, an Acehnese ruler from Pahang. In 1638, Sultan Iskandar Thani ordered his Chieftains to go over to Pahang to membubuh (erect) nesans on the graves of his immediate family (Iskandar 1966:57). The stones referred to, now identified as batu Aceh, are located in Makam Chondong (Appendix 3) in Pekan, Pahang. The same work records that when Sultan Iskandar Thani died in 1641, he was succeeded by his wife, Tajul Alam Safiatuddin (1641-1675). One week after her husband's death, she summoned the kejuruan batu (stone cutter) to her palace and ordered him to carve beautiful tombstones for her late husband. Bustanu's-Salatin gave a lengthy account of the pula batee ceremony performed for the Sultan Iskandar Thani (see Iskandar 1966:60-74).[2]

This ceremony was also witnessed by Nicholas de Graaff, an official of the Dutch East India Company who came to Aceh in 1641. He gave a description of this ceremony in his Reisen van Nicholas de Graaf na de viser gedeeltens des Werelds or Voyages of Nicholas de Graaff to the four corners of the World (1701).[3]

The pula batee ceremony, however is paralleled in other Malay regions where it is called tegga[4] batu or tegak batu (Marsden, 1784, based on observations which he made chiefly in West Sumatra in 1783) or menurun batu, membubuh batu, menanam batu or mengganti batu (Othman, personal observations). This ceremony is not confined to erection of batu Aceh.

Keramat (shrines)

Several batu Aceh sites (Chapter 6) are considered by the local people of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago to be shrines, for which they use the term keramat. Marsden, writing in 1783, said of Rejang practices:

> "on this occasion (i.e. setting up a few long, elliptical stones, at the head and foot &c), they kill a beast or a buffalo, and leave the head to decay on the spot, as a token of the honour they have done the deceased, in eating to his memory. The burying places are called crammat (keramat). They are held in extraordinary reverence, and the least disturbance or violation of the ground, though all traces of the graves be obliterated, is regarded as an unpardonable sacrilege" (Marsden 1784:249; also 265 on Lampong keramats).

References to Graves with Batu Aceh from 1878 to 1983

From the late 19th century, a marked increase can be observed in the interest of scholars in Islamic funeral customs, including grave-marking, by English and Dutch authors writing of Malay traditional beliefs concerning death and burial. Their writings refer to the

obligations placed on the families of the deceased, which involved erecting permanent gravemarkers. The gravemarkers were not studied from the point of view of their artistic merits, the topic I shall discuss in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

The first of these reports was that of Maxwell in 1878.[5] His attention was focused on the keramat (shrine) aspect of a particular grave by the Kemunting Malays (of Javanese extraction) in the second half of the 19th century in Perak.

The site described by Maxwell consisted of a pair of identical stones (which I term batu Aceh), named Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut (Appendix 43). It was in a long-deserted Javanese-Malay settlement, which had been covered by the jungle, and re-discovered, in about 1858, by road builders. According to his account:

> "The direction of the grave is as nearly as possible due north and south. The stones at its head and foot are of the same size and in every respect identical one with the other. They are of sandstone and are said by the natives to have been brought from Achin" (Maxwell 1878:237).

Maxwell's comment on the orientation of the gravestones seems to be first one to be found in the literature on gravemarkers in the Malay peninsula.

## Early 20th Century References

The information on the Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut supplied by Maxwell was partly quoted by Skeat in his book Malay Magic (1900:65-67) in his discussion on the keramats of Malaya. Skeat (1900:397-408)

also gave an account of Malay funeral rituals, the placing of gravemarkers and the relationship between the shape of gravestones and the sex of the deceased. This seems to be the first reference in the literature to a possible sex/shape relationship.

Snouck Hurgronje, one of the Dutch authorities on Acehnese culture, quoted Skeat's information on the relationship between the shape of gravestones and the sex of the deceased in his book The Acehnese (1906, I:431). He mentioned, also, the existence of a community of stonecutters at Kampung Meurassa, near Kuta Raja (now Banda Aceh). He remarked that "till quite recently (late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries) the people of Meurassa possessed great skill in cutting these stones (gravestones), so that batu Meurassa were in great demand throughout all Aceh" (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431). What he called batu Meurassa are the gravestones called batu Aceh in this study. Snouck Hurgronje drew our attention, as well, to the practice of the wealthier Acehnese ~~to have~~ of having beautifully carved stones on their graves.

In 1907, Abdul Shukor, the Private Secretary to the Sultan Idris Shah I of Perak was instructed to conduct a survey ~~of~~ of all the graveyards of the former Sultans of Perak. In his report (1907:97-106) he mentioned, specifically, that the tombstones of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (d. 1549) and Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah (d. 1584), the first and the third rulers of Perak respectively were made by the Acehnese. This report is curious, for it concerns the deliberate destruction of batu Aceh, following the Sultan Perak's plan to replace the old and damaged Perak royal gravemarkers with 'modern' nesans (see Pl. 2). Batu Aceh from five of the graves (Appendices 38-42) were replaced following Abdul Shukor's recommendation. Apparently no attempt was made to conserve, renovate, or even to record the objects before discarding them.

## References from 1911 Onwards

By 1911 we have Barnes's (1911a) description of a group of graves in Pekan known locally as Makam Chondong (Appendix 3). He mentioned, also, a tombstone belonging to Raja Fatimah (Appendix 2), with an inscription giving 1495 as the date of death, also at Pekan in Pahang (1911b). The gravestones, though not termed so by Barnes, are batu Aceh.

By the beginning of the 20th century the Dutch began to focus their attention on Aceh in Northern Sumatra. Moquette (1913, 1914) located the graves of the former rulers of Samudera-Pasai and Aceh. In 1914, he discovered the grave of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (Salih), who died in 1297 (Pl. 4 a-c), the first Muslim ruler of Samudera-Pasai (on the northeast coast of Sumatra). Bosch (1915) studied the Arabic inscriptions at Peut-plot-peut in the Pasai region (see Pl. 7c and Map 3).

In 1918, Winstedt[6] published in JMBRAS a brief account of a tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah (d. 1477) of Melaka (Appendix 59, Pl. 78), the sultan mentioned by Tome Pires in 1512. Winstedt (1920) deals with a group of graves at Bruas in Perak (Appendix 29). He believed these graves were of Muslim missionaries from Gujarat in India.

The royal tombs of Perak attracted Wilkinson (1920:56). He described the shape of the gravestones on the graves of early sultans of Perak as "four sided headstones carved with the confession of faith", probably following Abdul Shukor's description of the tombstones of Sultan Mahmud Shah (1764-1773) as "square tombstones" (Abdul Shukor 1907:102). Wilkinson (1920:55) gave also a description of Malay funeral

customs, including the designation of the shapes of gravemarkers in relation to the sex of the deceased, an interpretation which he acknowledged was taken from Skeat (1900:405). He introduced for the first time the term 'Chinese temple-lantern shape' to describe one of the characteristic shapes of batu Aceh. He also showed for the first time that the tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka, which came from the tomb described earlier by Tome Pires and by Winstedt (1918), was in the collection of Raffles Museum (now National Museum) of Singapore. In the same year, van Ronkel (1920) published an article in which he advanced the proposition that the nesans, mentioned by Barnes in 1911, which the local people called Makam Chondong, were the nesans despatched by Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh to Pahang in 1638 as reported by Bustanu's-Salatin (see this thesis ~~referred to above~~, pages 18, 55).

In 1920, Sircom reported a keramat at Temai in Pahang (Appendix 13), which was known locally as Keramat Saiyid Abu Bakar (see also Linehan 1936:235). Sircom's is the first published reference to the term batu Aceh used for a specific type of tombstone. In 1921, Evans (1921) studied a gravestone at the Keramat Sungai Udang, in Pengkalan Kempas, Negeri Sembilan, which he described as being made of batu Aceh i.e. Acehnese stone "the sandstone of the pillar (batu Aceh) is ... not found in the country (peninsular Malaya)" thereby making the suggestion that it was imported, probably from the region of Lhoksuemawe on the northeast coast of Sumatra (Evans 1921:166; see also Casparis 1980:5), where there are stone quarries (see Chapter 3).

In 1922, following a request from Winstedt, Moquette deciphered the inscriptions on the nesan of Sultan Mansor Shah, referred to above, and gave his opinion that the date inscribed on the nesan was 882AH/1477AD, and this was affirmed by Zainul-Abidin bin Ahmad (1922).

In his research into the tombs of the early Sultans of Aceh, including probably the tombs seen by Davis in 1599, Moquette was assisted by Djajadiningrat who deciphered the Arabic inscriptions on the stones. In 1923, Moquette and Djajadiningrat produced a joint article on the tombs found in Pasai.

Linehan and Evans made important finds of batu Aceh in 1926. Linehan, in Pahang, discovered two grave sites with batu Aceh near Dusun Pinang, Pahang Tua (at the mouth of the Pahang river). One gravestone (see Pl. 1, Frontispiece) was inscribed and Linehan interpreted the writing to say that the gravestone belonged to Sultan Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka. The date of death he read as AH 880 or AD 1475. He described the stone itself as "one of the type commonly known as Acehnese" (1926:188). Evans, in Kedah, reported a group of batu Aceh at a site called Makam Langgar at Kampung Bujang, Merbok, and associated in local tradition with the first Muslim ruler of Kedah, Sultan Muzaffar Shah, and his family. Evans used the description 'Chinese lantern type' for these stones, probably following Wilkinson's terminology of 1920 (see Evans 1926:71-82; see also Appendix 45 of this thesis).

Batu Aceh 1928-1940

No new discoveries of note in this period. Some contributions appeared which aided in the interpretation of sites and origins. In 1928 local Kedah historian, Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad, wrote a history of the state called Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri

Kedah or A History of the Kingdom of Kedah, which is still referred to by modern historians (e.g. Bonney 1971:2 note 5). In it, he indicated a practice similar to that noted by Linehan for Pahang (1926:191) of extracting gravestones from a site and re-locating them elsewhere, dating back to early times in Kedah. Sultan Abdullah al-Muazzam Shah (d. 1706) issued an instruction to his chieftains in 1701 to establish a new burial site where the graves of former Sultans of Kedah and their families could be relocated, thus founding a royal cemetery at Langgar near Alor Setar, the modern royal graveyard (see Appendix 48, Pls. 67-69).

Wilkinson and Winstedt, as early as 1920, had noted a similarity in Acehnese and Peninsular Malay gravemarking in the use of batu badan, a long flat stone connecting the two gravemarkers (head and footstones). Winstedt described a Johore grave with batu badan as having markers of 'Chinese lantern type' (probably following Wilkinson 1920, above) and complemented this with a description of tombstones at Kampung Makam at Kota Tinggi, Johore, as 'European lantern type'. He interpreted the small size of the nesans on some graves in Johore (Makam Sayid and Makam Seluyut) as signifying children's graves (see Appendices 21 and 26 and Pls. 42, 43 and 48).

In a later article, Winstedt (1932a) drew attention to gravestones housed in the Raffles Museum (now National Museum), Singapore, which had been found in Peninsular Malaysia in the 19th century. Both he and Moquette argued that two of these gravestones were those of Gujarati (Indian) traders named respectively Nakhoda Haji Al Kanbaiy (d. 1459, see Pl. 24a and Appendix to Chapter 6) and Ismail son of Haji Nasru'd-din son of Ismail Lai (?) (d. 1480, see Appendix to Chapter 6). The latter stone belongs to the batu Aceh of Othman Type A (Pl. 25a).

Linehan (1934), assisted by Abdul Hamid of Johore, deciphered the Arabic inscription on one of the tombstones at Makam Chondong, Pekan, Pahang. They identified the gravestones (Pl. 28a) as belonging to Marhum Muda Abdullah, the first cousin of Sultan Iskandar Thani, the Acehnese ruler born in Pahang (above). Abdul Hamid (1932) also attempted to decipher the Arabic inscription on the tombstones at Makam Alauddin Riayat Shah at Pagoh, Muar (Appendix 16) and Sayong Pinang at Kota Tinggi, Johore (Appendix 23). He identified one of the tombstones at Pagoh as belonging to Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (Pl. 37a) and one stone at Sayong Pinang as of Raja Sulaiman Shah (Pl. 45c). He was able to identify some of the quotations from the Koran inscribed on the gravestones found on both sites. Linehan (1936) in his A History of Pahang listed 19 of ancient graves and cemeteries in Pahang and gave brief descriptions of each of these graves. Many of these are examples of batu Aceh (Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13 and 14).

## Post-war Reports

After the Second World War a new generation of professional historians began to take an interest in the Islamization of the Malays in the period 14th-19th centuries when the batu Aceh were being used as gravemarkers. The dating on the stones was used by Marrison (1951), Fatimi (1963), and S.M.N. Al-Attas (1969) as an indication of the time when the area first embraced Islam. [7]

Archaeological research in Peninsular Malaysia, which was dormant during the war, began to regain momentum in the 1950s. Linehan (1951b),

published a note on a single batu Aceh specimen discovered at Batu Hampar, Perak, which was known locally as Keramat Seri Benian (Appendix 37, see also Wilder 1978). In 1953, a villager at Kampung Permatang Pasir, near Pekan in Pahang discovered, by accident, a gravestone of 'Acehnese type' (Appendix 9). This discovery was reported by Mahmud bin Mat (1955; see Mohd. Mokhtar bin Shafii 1980 et al below). Mahmud reported that the stone was inscribed with a quotation from the Koran, but neither the name nor the date of death was inscribed.

Historians used previous discoveries and reports on batu Aceh for historical interpretations. Hall, in his A History of South-east Asia (first published 1955, I am using 1976 edition) stated that the tombstones of Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang, which were described by Linehan (1926 and 1936:236), were "from Cambay in Gujarat" or "were imported from Cambay" (Hall 1976:206 and 213). He believed also that these tombstones were similar to the nesans of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (d. 1297) of Samudera-Pasai (discussed above), based on Moquette's reports (1912 and 1913) that all the early Islamic tombstones, found in Pasai, were brought from Gujarat in India.

N.J. Ryan (1955) used Abdul Shukor's 1907 survey of Perak royal cemeteries which, Abdul Shukor said, contained a large number of batu Aceh, and attempted a historical geopolitical account of the siting of the cemeteries, noting that they are almost exclusively to be found on the eastern (right up-stream) bank of the Perak river, between Durian Sebatang to Kota Lama Kanan, Kuala Kangsar. This article, in particular its map, has been used by the Malaysian Historical Society and Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (e.g. there is an unacknowledged reproduction of Ryan's map in the MBRAS reprint of Winstedt and Wilkinson A History of Perak (1934/1974:12).

In 1965, Mansor Tobeng, a teacher and part time writer, perhaps echoing Moquette (1912, 1913) and Hall (1955/1976), gave his opinion that early Islamic tombstones found in Samudera-Pasai and Pahang were imported from Cambay in India (above); he described batu Aceh marking the grave site at Tanjong Inggeris, Langgar, Kedah, known locally as Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau (Appendix 49), as exhibiting 'Kembayat' (Cambay or Gujarat) style. This argument seems to have originated from Moquette's stated opinion (above). However, Fatimi (1963:32) had already exposed the error of their view, noting that the tombstones of Sultan Malik al-Salleh and the ones from Gujarat (Pl. 5) are not the same (compare Fatimi's Plates II and III to Plate VI). However, I discovered that Fatimi himself made a mistake by assuming the gravestones (Fatimi's Pl. 1 facing page 10 and Pl. II facing page 30) as all belonging to the grave of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (Salih). In fact, these tombstones belonged to two separate graves but are in the same grave site. The tombstones (Fatimi's Pl. 1) are of Sultan Malik al-Zahir (Pl. 4d) and (Fatimi's Plate II) are that of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (see Pl. 4a-c of this thesis).

## Batu Aceh 1967-1982

The Malaysian (formerly Malayan) Historical Society through its journal (since 1954 called Malayan Historical Journal and later Malaya/Malaysia in History) has published illustrations of batu Aceh and has made attempts at both the preservation and the recognition of these gravestones as Malaysian historical monuments. Among the illustrations in the 1967 issue of its journal called 'Malaysia in Pictures' are

photographs of batu Aceh from Perak, Pahang and Johore. Its 1970 issue highlighted its other activities, that of the preservation of ancient monuments and shows a memorial board which has been placed by the Society at Telok Bakong in Perak, to record the history of this site, which contains the gravestones of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak (d. 1549) and his family (see Appendix 31).

An article in Malaysia in History by Buyong bin Adil (1971) dealt with the location of the former state capitals of Johore, based on information published earlier by Winstedt (1932c). When commenting about Kota Tinggi, Johore, Buyong bin Adil referred to the graveyard of Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Majid and his family at Kampung Makam. The Malaysian Historical Society, in the following year (1972) erected an information board concerning the graves. In 1974, the Society published their handbook of Peninsular Malaysian historical sites called Tempat-Tempat Bersejarah Malaysia. It should be pointed out that this handbook is in the nature of a public information document rather than a detailed and historically accurate treatise.

## Research on Batu Aceh Outside Peninsular Malaysia

From published work it soon becomes apparent that sitings of batu Aceh were not wholly confined to Aceh and Peninsular Malaysia. Szanton (1973) reports on one example of batu Aceh from the Sulu Archipelago in the southern Philippines. He is of the belief that this example resembles the tombstones of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (Appendix 59), but this claim cannot be verified as Szanton does not give any illustration and I have not been able to visit the site or obtain photographs.

Batu Aceh specimens have been sighted also in the Riau Archipelago (personal observation) and coastal Borneo. Bintarti and colleagues (1976) reported the discovery of graves with batu Aceh in Kalimantan Selatan (see also Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984). N.A. Halim visited Brunei in 1981 and reported finding batu Aceh on a grave in a cemetery (tanah perkuboran) at Sungai Kianggeh (illustrated in Halim 1981a).

Before commencing the research for this thesis, I spent a considerable time studying the published literature and doing extensive personal fieldwork into this question of whether the existence of batu Aceh outside Aceh and Peninsular Malaysia was a rare phenomenon. My findings are reported in Chapter 3.

## Interpretation of the Shape and Decoration on the Batu Aceh

Attempts have been made since 1878 to interpret the inscriptions of batu Aceh found on both sides of the Straits of Melaka in order to ascertain the name, status and date of death of the deceased and any other genealogical information. They attempted to read and translate the religious inscription. The nesan called Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut reported by Maxwell in 1878 (see Appendix 43, Pl. 61) is claimed by some Malays to be inscribed with a religious message i.e. the Shahadah (Maxwell 1878:237). Maxwell was unable to confirm the claim by the Malays, nevertheless, I shall argue from my own examination of the inscription - that the local Malays' interpretation is correct. This question is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Ibrahim Alfian (1973) made a comparative study of the Arabic inscriptions on the tombstones of Sultan Malik al-Salleh at Pasai, Sultan Mansor Shah at Melaka (Appendix 59) and Raja Jamil in Pahang (Appendix 2). He found that there was marked similarity between them, but for the word ٧١ which was not inscribed on the Pasai tombstone. The phrases written on each gravestone are those of a 'Sufi poem' concerning 'The Spider' (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Other attempts to interpret various features of the batu Aceh include the brief report (1976) of my surveys carried out in 1974 and 1975. This was my first attempt at tracing the origins of Peninsular Malaysian batu Aceh. In the report I attempted, also, an artistic interpretation of the decorations which richly adorn the majority of batu Aceh.

Other writers have published work dealing with the historical relevance of the stones and attempted to associate unnamed nesans with certain persons known to have been associated with the site. For example, Baharam Azit (1977) published an account of the grave at Pengkalan Samak, in Merlimau, Melaka (Appendix 60), which the local residents believe to be of Tun Teja, one of the wives of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the last Sultan of Melaka. Baharam Azit believes that it is probably not of Tun Teja but one of her maids. He argues that the gravestones from Tun Teja's grave (Appendix 60) are now placed on the grave of Orang Kaya Makmun at Merlimau. By right, he stated, the gravestones on the grave of Orang Kaya Makmun should have been 'round-shaped' (bulat), to indicate man's grave. However, my census indicates that pillar nesans are to be found on graves of women as well as men. He stated, further, that the original gravestones of Orang Kaya Makmun

were extracted from his grave by unknown person/persons, because the stones were believed to have been coated with gold. The gravestones from Tun Teja's grave were used to replace the missing gravestones.

In 1978, N.A. Halim, a researcher from the Muzium Negara, wrote a brief note on his visit to Makam Lubok Pelang at Kampung Bukit Ketupat, Jerantut, Pahang, possibly the grave of Marhum Sheikh (Appendix 12), the third ruler of Pahang (see legends associated with this grave site published in Baharon Azhar 1964 and Zakaria bin Hitam 1966). In 1980, Pahang State Museum issued a press statement stating that the date inscribed on a gravestone (Appendix 9) at Kampung Permatang Pasir (see Mahmud bin Mat 1955 above) is 419 Hegira (1028 AD). Mohd. Mokhtar bin Shafii (1980) used this evidence to support an earlier theory that Islam reached Peninsular Malaysia via China. He argues that this evidence indicates that east coast of Peninsular Malaysia received Islam earlier than Melaka (see also Zakaria Hitam 1982 for further discussion on this stone). There was an article by Shaharom Husain (1981) on the correct identification of the deceased based on the inscription inscribed on one of the gravestones in Makam Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah at Pagoh, Muar (Appendix 16).

Further finds of batu Aceh were made in the 1970s in addition to those by Muzium Negara staff. Two batu Aceh were found at Kampung Kuala Bera (Appendix 11) in Temerloh District, Pahang (Wilder 1978). While carrying out anthropological research in the village in 1966 Wilder was told of the existence of a foreign grave; he then located the gravemarkers during fieldwork in 1976. In correspondence with Zakaria Hitam (Wilder 1978:39-40), he learned that Zakaria Hitam had visited the site in 1958 and that a similar example had been sighted at Kampung Batu Gajah (see Appendix 15). These sites have since been

surveyed by the Muzium Negara. In his article (1978) Wilder illustrated the batu Aceh called Keramat Seri Benian (Linehan 1951b, see Appendix 37) and noted the close similarity of this stone and one of the two Bera specimens.

N.A. Halim (1982a, 1982b) had investigated sites in Johore in 1981 which had batu Aceh. In the same year (1981) under the auspices of Muzium Negara, Halim published a work on historical sites in Perak. In it he gave illustrations and brief descriptions of eight graves with batu Aceh:

1. Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah I, Telok Bakong (Appendix 31).
2. Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Kampung Lambor Kanan (Appendix 32).
3. Makam Laksamana Aceh, Kampung Lambor Kiri (Appendix 33).
4. Makam Puteri Aceh, Kampung Pulau Juar (Appendix 36).
5. Makam Seri Banim or Benian, Batu Hampar (Appendix 37).
6. Makam Raja Bruas, Kampung Kota (Appendix 29).
7. Makam Tok Subang, Kampung Kandang (Appendix 30).
8. Makam Tok Temong, Kampung Temong Ulu (Appendix 44).

I have used all the above examples except Appendices 37 and 44 in my article (Othman 1982d), an enlarged version of my earlier report (1976).

For some years I have been pondering on the possible importance of the elaborate designs which embellish the batu Aceh as a source of inspiration for Malaysian Islamic art. This consideration of artistic design is one of the topics which I raise and discuss in this thesis. To my knowledge no studies have been done on this aspect of batu Aceh, though Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984) touched briefly on the subject of the

source of decoration on Islamic tombstones in Indonesia in his thesis, but here he was discussing the use of similar decorations such as the lotus and a 'pointed top' (taille en pointe) commonly found on religious monuments and other artefacts throughout Indonesia (p. 347).

## Summary

The first information regarding Muslim burial of the dead in Peninsular Malaysia dates from Tome Pires account in 1512 concerning the burial of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka. However, there is no mention of gravestones. We do have a reference in 1599, by Davis, to the use of gravestones on the tombs of Acehnese rulers at then Kuta Raja, which we can now identify as batu Aceh, but their use in Peninsular Malaysia is not acknowledged in the literature before Maxwell's work in 1878. It was not until the 1920s that we get a definition of gravestones as batu Aceh (Sircom 1920:153). Other accounts include studies from the historical aspect of gravestones from the point of view of their historical interpretation of names, dates and other information including the attribution of gender to the stones and the orientation of the graves, in particular those graves with batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia. Little attempt at systematic archaeological surveys and conservation of the gravestones had been made until the work of Wilkinson, Winstedt and Linehan and the Dutch (who launched a special programme in the study of early Islamic gravestones in Aceh). These scholars raised and discussed a number of problems relating to batu Aceh, but they concentrated on specific areas (Wilkinson in Perak, Winstedt in Johore and Linehan in Pahang). No attempt was made to study the region as a whole.

Although this thesis is based on my own surveys, I acknowledge and make use of work both published and unpublished information concerning the batu Aceh and their environments. It is my intention not only to add to our understanding of the nature of batu Aceh but to open up topics suitable for further research.

## NOTES

1 See Snouck Hurgronje (1906, I:430), and for further discussion on Acehnese burial customs, see Chapter 2.

2 The gravestones of this Sultan has yet to be found but he was interred at Gunongan (see Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984:117).

3 This work has since been translated and annotated by Aboe Bakar (1980 unpublished).

4 The word '<u>tegga</u>' is not entered in any Malay-English dictionaries which I have consulted, even in Marsden's own <u>A Dictionary & Grammar of the Malayan Language</u> (ed. 1984, with an Introduction by Russell Jones, Singapore: Oxford University Press). However, Dr. Nigel Phillips (pers. comm.), of the School of Oriental and African Studies), London, is of the opinion, which I think is possible, that what Marsden meant by '<u>tegga</u>'is '<u>tegak</u>'(erect, or <u>menegak</u>, to erect). He observes that the Malay words ending in the letter 'k' are rarely spelt in full by Europeans, for example the word 'Perak' is sometimes spelt as 'Pera'. I am indebted to Dr. Nigel Phillips for this information. The word '<u>pula</u>' in Acehnese means to plant (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:267).

5 For a list of earlier British scholars and their contributions to Malay studies, see Jones (1984).

6 For a brief biography of Winstedt and list of his works, see Bastin & Roolvink (eds. 1964:1-23), see also Jones (1984:141-143).

7 The question of when, how, from where and who brought Islam to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago have attracted a number of scholars, see Fatimi (1963), Majul (1964), Drewes (1968), S.M.N. Al-Attas (1969), Johns (1975), Hasjmy (1981), Ismail Hamid (1982a and b) and Hooker (1983).

# CHAPTER TWO

## DEATH AND ISLAMIC FUNERAL RITUALS IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

### Introduction

From the information available in the literature referred to in Chapter 1 we learn that batu Aceh gravestones were used frequently during the period under discussion to grace the tombs of Peninsular Malaysian royalty and aristocrats. If the batu Aceh are used in Peninsular Malaysia as well as in Aceh then can we deduce that there was a similarity in their religious beliefs regarding death. In this Chapter I shall attempt to analyse the present day Malay concepts of life, death and the hereafter in order to arrive at a possible understanding of the attitude to the subject of the Muslims at the time of the erection of the batu Aceh, because I maintain that the tenets of the Islamic faith make it unlikely that the concepts will have undergone radical change. The description of eschatological beliefs and funeral ritual in this Chapter is not restricted to events surrounding one particular death. It is a combination of information derived from my own personal experience and observation[1] and data from field work interviews with middle-aged and elderly informants. Reference will also be made to similar rituals observed by other scholars in other Muslim societies either in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago or in other parts of Muslim world.

## The Malay Concept of the World, Life, Death and the Hereafter

The Malays, in common with other Muslims, believe in two worlds; the temporal and the eternal, known in Malay and Arabic as dunia and akhirat respectively. Dunia means the earth in the physical sense and refers to the period every individual spends in his present life on earth. They also believe in life after death. Akhirat refers to the hereafter or eternity, where every individual spends his next-life, after his worldly death, until the Hour of Judgement. Dunia, to Malays is the present world which is a temporary world (sementara) or fana in Arabic, while akhirat is a permanent world (kekal) or baqa' in Arabic. Each individual will experience life in both worlds. There is an ayat in the Koran (Surah Dhuha, 93:4) which is related to the concept of akhirat:-

" ولاخرة خير لك من الاولى "

"And verily the Hereafter will be better for thee
Than the Present". (A. Yusof Ali, 1946:1751)

This ayat has been misinterpreted by some Malays to mean that the dunia has little significance and therefore has led them to adopt a negative attitude towards the present life. To some Western scholars this negative attitude is regarded as one of the factors which contribute to Malays economic backwardness.[2] Raffles (1835, I:98-99), for instance, regarded Islam as retarding the progress of the Malays, for before the advent of Islam, they had in general made considerable progress in civilization. According to A. Yusof Ali, the ayat should be interpreted "to the truly devout man, each succeeding moment is better than the one preceding it". In this sense the 'hereafter' refers not only to the Future Life after Death, but also to "the soul of goodness in things" in this life. For even though some outward trappings of this shadow-

world may be wanting, a person's soul is filled with more and more satisfaction as he goes on". He believed, also, that "the Surah seems to have been revealed in a dark period in the outer life of the holy Prophet, when a man of less resolute will might have been discouraged. But the Prophet is told to hold the present of less account than the glorious Hereafter which awaited him like the glorious morning after a night of stillness and gloom. The Hereafter was, not only in the Future Life, but in his later life on this earth, full of victory and satisfaction" (pp. 1750-1751).

The Muslims believe that each individual experiences death and life twice. In the Koran there are two references to this effect. Surah 2, verse 26 says that "How do you disbelieve in God, seeing you were dead and He gave you life, then He shall make you dead, then He shall give you life, then unto Him you shall be returned" (Arberry, 1983:4). Another reference is in Surah 40, verse 11, which says that "They shall say, Our Lord, Thou hast caused us to die (two deaths), and Thou hast given us twice to live ..." (Arberry, 1983:482). The first death is placed before life in this world, in other words, before we are born we are actually dead, we are then given our first life at the time of our birth. While the second birth is our revival on the day of resurrection. The second death ends life on earth or the death of each individual at the conclusion of his or her ajal. (Ajal is an Arabic word meaning fixed time of death or fixed term of individual human life.) Death is defined as a cessation of involvement with dunia and entry into the sphere of akhirat. The word ajal is repeated a number of times in the Koran, and implies that the destiny of every man is determined by God (Smith & Haddad, 1981:11). It is interesting to note that one finds similar beliefs amongst Malays and Jordanian Muslims. Granqvist (1965) reports that the Jordanian Muslims believe that "the leaf has fallen".

This expression is familiar to everybody; she further observes that "they have all heard of the tree; called il-Mintaha or Tree of Souls. It is the tree of life in Paradise, on the leaves of which are inscribed the names of all the living men, each man having his own leaf. When a man's leaf has been loosened, he is doomed; when it falls, the end has come" (p.44). Indeed, the belief of "Every soul shall taste death" (a common statement inscribed on batu Aceh, see Chapter 4) is universal, it can also be traced in the New Testament as pointed out by O'Shaughnessy (1969:56).

Death will be determined by God since He appoints and determines the life span of every individual, so He determines the fixed limit of the earth and the duration of humanity as a whole upon it. Another concept relating to death is jasad or badan or sometimes called nafas or soul, the physical body, and ruh or spirit. At death the connection of the spirit whith the body is severed completely, although the spirit does not die. Many Muslims hold the belief that the spirit remains in the grave until the Day of Judgement, others that the spirit goes to the eternal world.

In announcing someone's death, Malays will say "so and so telah meninggal dunia" or "so and so already left this world" or in a polite way "so and so telah kembali ke rahmatullah" simply meaning "so and so has returned to God". Usually one will see the words "so and so telah berpulang ke alam baqa' pada ..." or "so and so has returned to the eternal world on ..." inscribed on modern gravestones marking the head of the grave. Later, any mention of the deceased person usually concludes with the saying "semoga ruhnya dicucuri rahmat" or "may his soul be blessed by God".

What is the attitude of Malays towards second death? In theory, they accept death as something natural and regard it as the end of the road of one's life. Although it may be a painful experience for the deceased's family to accept the reality of death, they should console themselves by firmly believing in their faith. Furthermore, there is an old Malay saying that "hidup lawannya mati" or "death is the opposite of life". The Koran (3:185) says that "Every soul must taste death" (see Chapter 4). However, man according to Hadith, is forbidden by the Prophet Mohammad to wish for his death (Lane-Poole, 1911:501), because to be created by God is an esteemed honour and this honour must be accepted gratefully and with responsibility, whereas wishing for one's death can be interpreted as avoiding responsibilities.

Does one know the time of one's death? The Malays believe that a person knows of his or her death exactly forty days before the actual time and day of death, but the person is unable to break the news to anybody and begins to behave strangely. In Malay society, if one behaves strangely, he or she is called membuang tabiat or 'discarding his or her normal habits'. This term may be used jokingly, for instance, a very hot-tempered person suddenly becomes very kind, loving and caring; a jovial man suddenly turns reserved and likes to be left alone or he often loses his temper and a usually mean person suddenly becomes generous and helpful. All this points to a state which is the opposite to a person's normal behaviour. There are some subconscious indications that a death is going to happen in a family, which appear usually in dreams or in a chain of strange incidents involving the relatives of a person whose death is imminent. Some people believe, for instance, that if a person dreams that his right upper tooth fell out, he must interpret this to mean that his father will die; if the lost

tooth is left upper tooth, his mother is going to die. Similarly, in daily life if someone in the process of serving tea or coffee, accidentally breaks the cup or glass, she, as well as the guest, will understand that something bad or terrible is going to happen (usually associated with death). But those involved do not dare to express their feelings and when death actually happens, they will say that "it is no wonder that a few days ago I dreamt that my right or left tooth fell out" or "it reminds me of the cup or glass that I accidentally broke last week" or they will say that "no wonder, I noticed him or her (referring to the dead person) behaving so strangely lately".

There is also a common belief in Islam, as well as in other religions, that the spirit of the dead sometimes returns to the places they once lived, and contacts members of their family through the media of dreams. The Malays in Perak believe that throughout the month of Ramadhan, the soul of all the dead are freed and permitted to visit their families, the ruh can observe the family but cannot physically show its presence. In anticipation of this visit, even today during Ramadhan, Malays in Perak will take down all the photographs normally hung in the house for fear that these family photographs might frighten away the ruh.

## Death and Dreams Concerning the Deceased

A number of Malays believe that anyone may see their deceased relatives in their dreams. In order to do so, before he retires to bed, he must first clean himself and perform an ablution; he must say a niat

(vow) that he or she wishes to see their deceased's relatives in a dream. The behaviour of the deceased's family also determines when the dead will appear in their dreams. For instance, if a member of the family commits a sin, in their dreams they see their loved one is being tortured in his grave.

Batu Aceh are significant enough in Malay belief to feature in dreams. Djajadiningrat (1980) tells us that the soul of Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam appeared in the dream of stone-cutters who were earlier ordered by Sultanah Safiatuddin Tajul Alam (his daughter) to prepare the most beautiful tombstones for her late husband (Sultan Iskandar Thani, d. 1641). In the dream Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam expressed his displeasure to the stone-cutters and told them that the tombstones that they are going to cut must not be better than his. The stone-cutters reported to Sultanah about their dreams. Accordingly, in compliance with this dream, Sultanah instructed the stone-cutters not to cut too elaborate tombstones.

## The Malay method of announcing death

There are many different ways in Muslim societies for announcing death. In Perak, when death occurs, news spreads immediately to the close family, friends and fellow villagers ~~through hire~~ by word of mouth and by hitting the mosque drum known in Malay as kerontong or taboh (or bedug in Acehnese). The Malays in Perak are able to determine whether the deceased is man or woman by counting the number of strokes produced by the mosque drum. Seven times indicates the deceased is a

man, five times indicates a woman. When news is spread by word of mouth, the recipient is expected to reply by saying انا لله و انا اليه راجعون (inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi rajiun), an Arabic expression meaning literally, "From God we come to Him we shall return". Normally, he will go on to say "sudah sampai ajalnya" or "his time has come". Perhaps it is one way of consoling the grieved family on the demise of their loved one.

One of the members of the deceased's family will spread the news to the mosque officials, they in turn will instruct a professional grave digger to prepare a grave.

## Disposal of the Dead in Malay Society

The following description attempts to set in order the various events in funeral rituals observed by the Malays; these rituals are based on instructions found in the Hadiths and combined with inherited local traditions.[3]

The common method of disposing of the dead in Islamic societies, including the Malay, is burial in the ground except in the unavoidable circumstances.[4] If death occurs in the evening the burial will take place the next morning. Throughout the night there will be a continuous recitation of the Koran, in particular the Surah Yasin (Koran 36:1-83), by the close relatives and the mourners. The reason for this is to seek God's mercy and forgiveness for the deceased's sins so that he will be grouped with the salihin (those who have been guaranteed a place in

Heaven). But if death occurs in the morning, burial follows on the same day, as, in addition to the rapid decomposition of body in the tropical climate, the Malays believe that a prolonged funeral time will 'menyiksa mayat' or 'torture the dead' or "for fear of disturbing the dead" (Skeat, 1900:404). Similarly, Malay custom, as well as Javanese (Geertz, 1960:72), does not permit the members of the deceased's family to weep excessively.[5] In fact weeping is strongly forbidden in Aceh (Moehammad Hoesin, 1970:91). The reason is that in Islam, the dead must be considered as the lucky ones chosen by God. Ideally, an early death will prevent the dead from committing more sins, and every individual must remember that his turn will come sooner or later.

Normally, on the day of burial all the senior members of the village will go to the deceased's house to pay their last respects and as a token of respect they do not go to work. Earlier, a piece of white cloth tied to the end of a pole is placed at the gate of the deceased's house, to signify that there is someone dead in the house.

Before the burial ceremony, certain religious rites have to be observed. Generally, Muslims are required to observe the following: washing of the dead, wrapping the dead with a piece of unsewn white cloth called kafan, the salat or prayer for the dead, the funeral procession and the burial itself. However, the ceremonial for the dead varies from one Islamic society to the other. There is another set of prohibitions in Malay tradition: throughout these processes the visitors are not supposed to drink or eat as a token of respect and to show sympathy to the deceased's family. However, all those involved in the burial will be invited to a religious feast known as kenduri arwah (arwah is a plural of ruh), or feast in remembrance of the deceased's

soul which is held at night after the burial is over and on the following six nights after that. In Aceh feasts are held on the 3, 5, 7, 10, 30, 40, 44, 100 days and anniversary of death (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:429; Moehammad Hoesin 1970:97). Similarly, the Malays in Peninsular Malaysia hold kenduri arwah on the 3, 7, 14, 40, 100 days and the anniversary of death (Skeat 1900:407-408). During these feasts a chant called tahalil is performed where all those present are expected to utter jointly the Shahadah ( لا اله الا الله ) for a hundred times. Kenduri arwah are sometimes offered on other occasions. In this way the Malays can also be regarded as believing in 'ancestor worship' for their activities directly or indirectly are 'governed' by their ancestors although they have long been dead. The dead are not forgotten, for as well as the anniversary funeral feasts (kenduri arwah or kenduri or slametan to the Javanese), this type of feast is usually held also on other occasions not directly related to the dead, such as to celebrate one's success in examination or one's promotion, or moving into a new house. Before the feast begins, the Imam will read the doa where the reason for having the feast is given out, and thanks are also offered to the dead (members of the family of the person who hosts the feast) for their guidance. At the same time all those present will pray together to God for His continued blessing on the dead.

As soon as a Malay is dead, the corpse which is called mayat, is laid on a stretcher made of bamboo, the head is pointed in the direction of Mecca. However, Skeat (1900:397) thought that it was the feet which were pointing in the direction of Mecca not the head. Then begins the ritual washing. In Perak, as well as in other states, this task is done, usually by members of the deceased's family or close relatives or sometimes by a professional washer, male or female according to the sex of the deceased. The work is done in a special room (one of the rooms in the house converted to facilitate this task) with

much reverence and decency. In Aceh, for male deceased, the washing is done by Teuku Meunasah, a mosque official (Moehammad Hoesin, 1970:92). In fact, he is responsible for several rituals: wrapping the mayat, leading the prayer, reading the talkin (grave tutorial) and ensuring that all the rituals are properly carried out. The Teuku Meunasah in Aceh may be the Imam of the village. Meunasah is an Aceh word derived from the Arabic Madrasah meaning a small mosque.

After elaborate washing, the nostril and other orifices stuffed with cotton, and the mayat is sprinkled with camphor, rosewater and water (a combination of ordinary water and tiny slices of pandanus leaves), the latter prominently featured in many Muslim societies of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. The feet are tied together while the hands are laid on the breast.

After washing, the wrapping of the corpse begins. The type of cloth or grave-cloth (shroud) used varies in different Islamic countries. For example, Malays prefer a piece of unsewn white cloth called kain kafan (Skeat 1900:399). When the mayat was properly wrapped, then it is laid carefully in a wooden coffin (keranda). It is one of the expected duties of the mourners to help in making the coffin. This job is willingly and voluntarily undertaken. This kind of self-help through co-operation is known in Malay as gotong-royong or tolong-menolong. Then, the unclosed coffin with the corpse inside it is carried to the other part of the house called serambi where the salat or prayer for the dead will be performed.

Salat for the dead or in Malay Sembahyang mayat may be performed in the mosque. However, the majority of Muslims, in particular, Malays

prefer this prayer to be held in the house of mourning unless the death occurs on Friday, when the prayer is held in the mosque. However, it is haram or forbidden to perform the prayer for an unbeliever (Koran 9:84), nor may he be washed though must be buried. Similarly (Tritton 1937-1939:654) a martyr is not washed in order that the trails of blood which are witnesses to his martyrdom are not removed, nor is it necessary to perform a prayer for his soul.

With the completion of prayers for the dead, the funeral procession begins. It is a sign of good manners, according to Malay custom, to join the funeral procession. Before this procession begins, it is customary for the deceased's children to walk three times under the coffin which has been held up by the coffin bearers.[6] The reason given is that it is a way for the children to say a last goodbye to their loved ones (either their father or mother), hopefully by doing this the effect of that death upon the children will not be so greatly felt. Usually, a small piece of grave-cloth (kain kafan) is left behind to serve as a constant reminder to the children of the reality of that death and that their loved ones have gone forever and will never see them again.

When the funeral procession reaches the tanah perkuburan (graveyard), where a grave has been dug according to specified dimensions - depth, height and width, the burial ritual begins. The keranda (coffin) is lowered slowly and reverently into the prepared grave which is known in Malay as liang lahad (Skeat, 1900:404). The lid of the keranda is then opened, the corpse is laid on its back, head pointing north and then its face is turned towards west, which is the direction of Mecca. Next the head is placed on a pillow which earlier was filled

with earth by a member of the deceased's family. The lid of the keranda is now replaced. Then, members of the deceased's family in turn, slowly and respectfully, cast a handful of earth onto the grave. This is continued by the deceased's close relatives and friends until the hole is fully covered.

What does burial symbolise in Muslim societies? It is related to the process of the creation of man, in the Koran (32:7-12), it is clearly stated that:

> "and He originated the creation of man out of clay,
> then He fashioned his progeny of an extraction of
> mean water,
> Say: Death's angel, who has been charged with you,
> shall gather you, then to your Lord you shall be
> returned" (Arberry, ed. 1983:423-424).

In Malay tradition there is an expression to this effect, the phrase "kamu dijadikan dari segumpal tanah dan setitik air mani dan kepada tanah jua kamu akan dikembalikan" means "you were created out of a lump of clay and a drop of sperm and to earth you shall return".

When the entire hole has been filled, another ritual begins. The wife/husband of the deceased will take the lead in pouring scented water on the newly-filled grave, this task is followed by the deceased's children, close relatives and lastly the deceased's friends. However, among the orthodox Malays, especially in Perlis, pouring scented water on the grave is not permitted, unless it is the intention just to flatten the earth and make the surface firm and solid (Abu Bakar Al-Shaari, 1957:152). The Tausuq - the Filipino Muslims in the island of Jolo of the Sulu Archipelago believe, according to Kiefer and Sather (1970:77), that they pour water on the grave "in order to 'Bathe the dead' and cool the body off on the assumption that it is burning in hell".[7] Whereas the significance of this ritual to the Bajau Laut

- another Filipino-Borneo Muslim society, the inhabitants of the islands of the Sulu Archipelago and the adjacent coastline of northern Borneo, is that "the water is meant as provisions (lutuq) for the use of the soul on its journey to heaven". It is interesting to note that, as observed by Evans (1937, 1968:273) the Negritos of Malaysia pour water "into the mouth of the corpse and sprinkle (it) on the grave, while a coconut shell containing water is placed on the grave, so that the spirit shall not suffer from thirst on its journey (to heaven)". The similarity of this concept among the Malays and the Orang Asli is not surprising, for even there, there is a claim from Ma'Betisek, a tribe of Orang Asli, that "they were originally Muslims but, unfortunately, the Malays took the Islamic religion from them and this made them pagans" (Wazir-Jahan Karim, 1981:17). But later they said they rejected Islam because of the rigidity of the Islamic teachings (Wazir-Jahan Karim, 1981: 207). There was even a suggestion (Hough, 1940:48) that "the Malay grave is in part a survival of a pre-Islamic aboriginal grave, later adapted to Islam but retaining some of the original structural features". In my research, however, I never came across any indication that pouring water is related to the release of thirst for the soul on its journey to heaven in Malay customs. But there is a related belief - that during the festival Eid il Adha, Kelantanese used to slaughter water buffaloes to enable the deceased to ride to heaven (Wilder, pers. comm.).

There is a belief in Medieval Islam that pouring water is related to the punishment going on in the grave, which indicates that the heat of the hell fire is experienced in the grave itself. Smith and Haddad (1981:45) cited an incident when Prophet Muhammad and his friend were walking by a graveyard, their camels refused to move. He told his friend that two people buried there were being tortured, as animals

can sense what is happening in the grave. So, they cut off the shoots from the tree and placed one on each grave to cool them. This precedent may explain why the Tausuq and Malays alike 'plant an odoriferous inflorescene of young palm' (Kiefer and Sather, 1970:77) near the grave.

In Peninsular Malaysia, at the present time, the dead are buried in communal graveyards called tanah wakaf; a plot of land specifically reserved by the government as burial ground, but there are cases where a number of wealthier persons have donated a piece of their land for this purpose. Traditionally, the Malays used to bury dead members of their family in a family graveyard, as in the case of the Acehnese. The Acehnese called their family graveyard 'bhom' (Moehammad Hoesin, 1970:91). Similarly, the Jama Mapun, Filipino Muslims of the Sulu archipelago, as observed by Casino (1976:1)2) prefer a family cemetery near the house.

## The Placing of Temporary Gravemarkers on Malay Graves

Once the grave is completely filled with earth, it is marked with a pair of temporary gravemarkers (Skeat 1900:405; Wilkinson 1920:55), made either of wood, stone or coral depending on the availability of the material in the locality. The Sumatran Muslims of Barus, for example, used coral[8] while the Malays used wood. The task of placing of these gravemarkers are usually done by a member of the deceased's family. Skeat (1900:405) remarked that "one of the relations then takes a piece of hard wood, and rudely fashions it with a knife a temporary grave-post

(nisan or nishan) ...; one of these grave-posts is placed exactly over the head (rantau kepala) and the other over the waist (rantau pinggang)".

A slight difference between Malay and the Acehnese burials is that the graves in Aceh are not marked immediately with temporary markers either of wood or stone, instead they plant small trees as temporary markers (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:427). They plant pokok djarak (bak nawaih) or pokok kuda-kuda (bak keulundong) as we are told by Moehammad Hoesin (1970:95). The Sumatran Malays plant pokok kembang kemboja (plumeric obtusa) as observed by Marsden (1784:288). However, in Aceh at least these temporary markers (trees) are replaced or supplemented with the proper gravestones in a ceremony called Pula Batee (see below), which takes place either on the 44th or the 100th day after the burial (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:430).

As in Aceh, the Malays in Peninsular Malaysia also plant trees at the end of burial ceremony, side by side with temporary wooden grave-markers. The trees, which provide shade for the mourners and a pleasant scented atmosphere, normally planted are pokok puding (codiaeum variegatum pictum) and pokok kembang kembŏja as in Aceh. But in old graveyards in Peninsular Malaysia, as well as in Aceh, one can see banyan trees (ficus bengalensis) which the Malays call pokok jejawi (pohon beringin in Indonesian).

The last ritual performed by the Malays of Peninsular Malaysia is reading the talkin, which is performed before the dispersal of all those present at the burial. The reading is done by an Imam (Religious leader) or Teuku Meunasah in Aceh. However, certain Islamic schools of thought, in particular the Maliki (observed in Perlis, personal observation)

disapprove the reading of talkin. The purpose of the talkin is to assist the deceased, so that he may give the correct answers when the Mungkar and Nangkir (the Angels of Death) interrogate him in his grave. Then, the grave is left in solitude and the mourners depart by saying a last fatiha (the opening Surah of the Koran) for the deceased and for all the dead in the same graveyard.

## The Orientation of Malay Graves

Endicott (1970:123) draws our attention to the orientation of Malay graves, citing Humphreys (1926:133-134) who said that the Malay graves in Trengganu are on a north-south orientation, the head of the corpse being pointed towards the north while the face towards west to Kiblat (the direction of Mecca). A similar observation was made earlier by Maxwell (1878:237) in Perak. He stated that the direction of the grave called Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut at Kemunting "is as nearly as possible due north and south". Another example from Perak is Keramat Seri Benian, which according to Linehan (1951b:152) is also in north-south orientation. In fact, all the specimens in my census (at least when in situ) indicate that batu Aceh gravestones were placed in north-south alignment. I observed that in Perak, the Malays use the terms 'sebelah matahari naik' and 'sebelah matahari jatuh' meaning 'sunrise' and 'sunset' respectively, as the orientation of the corpses in the graves. In Peninsular Malaysia various terms are used by the Malays to describe their orientation. Though the Malays have no uniformity of terms to orient themselves in life, nevertheless, as far as the orientation of the corpses in their graves are concerned, they make a definition of the points of compass.

## The Placing of Permanent Gravemarkers on Malay Graves

The erection of permanent gravemarkers in Aceh takes place 44 or 100 days after burial. But, in Perak as well as in other parts of Peninsular Malaysia, there is no fixed time for this occasion, it depends on the financial status of those concerned. When this ceremony takes place an elaborate ceremony is performed. In Aceh, this ceremony is called Pula Batee while in Perak it is called Menurun Batu. The similarities in these ceremonies suggest to me that they can be considered as one of the examples of Acehnese influences in Peninsular Malaysia.

Pula Batee or placing of the stones i.e. the actual tombstones, in place of the resinous plants which are put down as marks after the burial is still observed in Aceh (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:430, Moehammad Hoesin 1970:97). Djajadiningrat (1934:148) described Pula Batee as "de steenen planten, d.i. met zeker ceremonieel grafsteenen op een graf plaatsen ..." or to place stone on a grave with a certain ceremony. This ceremony is not allowed to take place during the padi planting season ( Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:259, Moehammad Hoesin 1970: 97). During this ceremony all members of the family must be present. This applied both to Acehnese who died in Aceh and to Acehnese who died elsewhere. According to Bustanu's-Salatin in 1638 Sultan Iskandar Thani (d. 1641), a Pahang-born Acehnese ruler observed this custom by despatching tombstones to Pahang to be erected on the graves of his family there. I believe this custom had a role in bringing batu Aceh into Peninsular Malaysia.

In Aceh, those who are wealthy prefer to erect very elaborately shaped batu Aceh which are decorated with highly ornamented Arabic calligraphy during the Pula Batee ceremony. They obtain these nesans from Kampung Meurassa, near Kuta Raja (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431). These nesans, called batu Aceh in this study, are known in Aceh as Batu Meurassa (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431). Those who cannot afford this type of nesan choose batu udep (Malay - batu hidup), which is a local undressed stone; or else they choose batu air (Malay - batu sungai), which are stones taken from the river bed. However, as far as possible, these alternatives must be of an approximate shape and size to form pairs (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431, Moehammad Hoesin 1970:95). Moehammad Hoesin stated that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the graves of former sultans of Aceh were elaborately ornamented and raised on a platform composed of batu badan, a long slab of stone underlying and connecting the head and the footstones. Our census indicates that batu badan were also used in royal cemeteries in Perak (Wilkinson 1920) and in Johore (Winstedt 1932c) and as well as in Kedah (see Appendix 47 and 48).

## The Malay Attitudes Towards Visiting the Graves

Whether the visiting of grave is permissible or not in Islam is debatable, but it helps to preserve the gravestones. In fact, it has been subject to some varying interpretations in the long history of Islam (Smith and Haddad 1981:186). There are reports, however, as pointed out by Smith and Haddad (1981:51) that Prophet Muhammad "urged the visiting of the dead in the graveyard particularly on Fridays, as

the dead will know and appreciate it". What is forbidden by Prophet Muhammad is "the worship of standing stones, tombs ..." (Gibb and Kramers 1953:629).

There are two contrasting opinions held by Malays regarding visits to graves. One totally forbids visits to any of the graves, while the second allows visits only to the graves of members of one's own family and to the graves of the Walis or saints, which Malays call keramat. Walis are persons who possess mystic knowledge. In most Islamic countries, when the walis are dead, their graves immediately become the centre of attraction, where followers flock "to seek some form of intercession, favour, or blessing. This may involve telling the saint about one's problems, asking a particular favour, or simply obtaining blessing (baraka) from being in the presence of one of God's blessed ones. In return for the saints' favour the believer may make some kind of vows" (Smith and Haddad, 1981:186). Gibb and Kramers regards Walis as similar to the great ascetics of Brahmanism, the only difference between these two is that Brahman managed to gain complete power over nature by penance while in Islam the power is a gift from God rather than the personal merit or ascetic practices of the walis. Therefore, the Muslims who forbid grave visitations do so because they consider them to be acts of idolatry or syirik, which for them are serious and unpardonable sins.

Our census (Table 1) indicates that nine graves using batu Aceh as the markers are regarded by the local residents as keramat e.g. Keramat Seri Benian (Linehan 1951b:151-153) and Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau (Mansor Tobeng 1965, see Chapter 6). These keramats attract non-Muslims as well (Winstedt 1924), they go to these keramats

and ask the walis to favour them with the lottery 'lucky numbers'. They make the vows that, should they win the lottery, they will do something for the walis in return, ranging from slaughtering goats to roofing the grave. Ironically, some Malays are also known to have participated in this activity though they are well aware that asking spiritual favour other than from God and gambling itself are both against the teaching of Islam and specified as kufur or one of the unpardonable sins.

It is customary for Malays of the second category i.e. those who do not object to grave visitations, to visit the graves of their ancestors at least twice a year i.e. on the first day of the Syawal month on the occasion of Eid il Fitri or Hari Raya Puasa (Fitrah), a religious celebration after all Muslims have completed the obligatory fasting in the month of Ramadhan. Another visit is on the twelfth day of the month of Zulhijjah on the occasion of Eid il Adha, where all the able Muslims perform their hajj, this celebration is known in Malay as Hari Raya Haji. During each of these visits they pray for the deceased,[9] distribute alms in their name and pour scented water on the grave. This holy water is prepared on the night before the visit when a kenduri arwah is also performed. However, there are a few restrictions to be observed when visiting Muslim graveyards:- the dead must always be respected; Women who are menstruating are not allowed to enter burial grounds and visitors (Muslim and non-Muslims alike) must be well-attired and well-behaved because their behaviour is 'watched' by the dead. If the dead are not pleased they will appear in the visitor's dreams expressing their displeasure.

The visit is intended to remember the dead and the mortality of man. There may be visits between these two occasions but they are very rare, usually only in conjunction with a later funeral in the village. After these visits, the graveyards remain deserted, indeed it fits in well with their description of it as 'a city for the dead'.

The above discussion on the similarities of beliefs and practices relating to death in Aceh and Peninsular Malaysia can be summarised in the following table:

| ACEH | PENINSULAR MALAYSIA |
|---|---|
| 1. Concepts of World, Life, Death and Hereafter | Concepts of World, Life, Death and Hereafter |
| 2. Announcing the death | Announcing the death |
| 3. Funeral rituals - washing<br>wrapping<br>prayers<br>burial | Funeral rituals - washing<br>wrapping<br>prayers<br>burial |
| 4. Orientation of corpse in graves (North - South) - Head pointing north<br>Face turned towards the West i.e. Mecca | Orientation of corpse in graves (North - South) - Head pointing north<br>Face turned towards the West i.e. Mecca |
| 5. Gravemarking - temporary - resinous plants<br>permanent - stone<br>ceremony - pula batee | Gravemarking - temporary - resinous plants and wooden stakes<br>permanent - stone<br>ceremony - menurun batu, menanam batu, mengganti batu |
| 6. Orientation of gravemarkers - North - South | Orientation of gravemarkers - North - South |
| 7. Family burial sites - bhom | Tanah wakaf |
| 8. Visiting of graves | Visiting of graves |
| 9. Belief in keramat | Belief in keramat |

Fig. 1. Similarity in Beliefs and Practices Relating to Death in Aceh and Peninsular Malaysia

## Summary

I have traced the similarities of the religious concepts relating to the World, life, death and the hereafter of the Malays and Acehnese as portrayed on the batu Aceh. From which I have concluded that the gravestones of the Acehnese would have been acceptable to people in places such as Peninsular Malaysia which had come under the influence of Aceh, probably because the style and decoration were of such artistic merit (see Chapters 4 and 5), it would make them highly desirable objects and this would justify their importation from Aceh by the Peninsular Malaysian royalty and aristocrats.

## NOTES

1. When my mother passed away in July 1965, I was then only sixteen years old, but still remember, vividly, all the rituals that took place.

2. For further discussion on Islam and Malay economic backwardness, see Wilder (1975).

3. The situation which some scholars regard as 'Folk Islam', i.e. "a synthesis of native and Islamic beliefs and practices" (Casino, 1976:94).

4. It is everyone's hope to die peacefully in his own home. But if death does occur, for instance, in the middle of the ocean, the body must be disposed of as circumstances permit. One good example of this is that before 1970s, those Muslims travelling by sea from Asia and South-east Asia who went to Mecca to perform the hajj, especially those from Malaysia, had to travel by ship: the journey usually took about one month, those who died during the journey had to be buried at sea after all the necessary funeral rituals had been performed.

5. There is a reference in Imam Ghazali's (renowned Muslim philosopher) Kitab ahwal al-qiyama (p.30) which says that "loud lamenting is forbidden, but there is no harm in crying over the dead, although it is better to be patient" (Smith and Haddad, 1982:59).

6. As far as I know this ritual is only observed in Perak, which is where I witnessed it myself. See note 1. above.

7. For the judgement and punishment of the dead in Islam and in other world religions, see an interesting comparative study made by Prof. Brandon in his book <u>The Judgement of the Dead - An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of Post-Mortem Judgement in the Major Religions</u>, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967.

8. Muslims of the Maldives Island also used coral as their grave-markers, see Forbes (1983:43-47).

9. Prayer in this context refers not to that said at the funeral itself, but to continued supplication on behalf of the deceased either at the graveyard or during the funeral feasts (<u>kenduri arwah</u>).

# CHAPTER THREE

# TYPOLOGY

## Introduction

A noticeable feature of the nesans of batu Aceh is that a variety of shapes exist. From a cursory observation of all the batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia (and those to be seen in Aceh) it appears that they are of two basic shapes 1) a slab of stone i.e. of width greater than depth, placed upright, (some of these have side extensions) and 2) a detached pillar of stone.[1] Within this second category there are those which are in the shape of a rectangular block (with or without side extensions) and those in the form of a cone standing, apex down, on a rectangular base (though in fact the whole structure, including the shaft, is fashioned from a single block of stone). Of this variety of pillar, some of the cones have facetted sides.

So it can be seen that the batu Aceh is a complex structure and a problem exists for scholars and field workers in being able to not only to recognise the shape of the batu Aceh, but to be able to describe, accurately, the variations so that others can recognise them.

Earlier writers commenting on the differing shapes of the grave-stone have used various terminology. Abdul Shukor (1907) differentiated the two shapes as 'square' and 'octagonal'; Wilkinson (1920) speaks of 'four sided monumental headstone' for the slabs and 'curious polygonal

type, narrow at the base and bigger near the top', and also as 'Chinese temple-lantern type' (probably to him their shapes resemble a Chinese temple lantern), when referring to some of the pillar gravestones in Pahang and Perak. Winstedt (1932c) not only referred to a pillar form in Johore as 'Chinese lantern type', but also called some of them as 'European lantern type'. Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984) distinguishes the two basic types as 'bucrane-aile' (stylised ox skull with wings) and 'cylindrique' (cylindrical). However, his terminology, applies not only to batu Aceh but all the early nesans in Indonesia.

So it can be seen, that there has been no consensus of opinion with regard to the terminology to be used to describe the stones and some descriptions present problems because the nomenclature used is subjective e.g. Wilkinson's 'Chinese temple lantern'; Winstedt's 'European lantern'; Damais (1957) 'hornes'; Tjandrasasmita (1975) 'wings' and Hasan Muarif Ambary's 'bucrane-aile'.

After studying the above descriptions of the shapes of the batu Aceh, I came to the conclusion that a system of defining, not only the basic shapes but the variations within the shapes, was necessary for two reasons. The first being, that it would enable readers of this thesis to get a quick and accurate picture of the stone under discussion by relating the defined type to an illustration and/or photographs of an actual specimen or similar specimens in the Appendices of this thesis. Secondly, to enable future field workers to have a framework for descriptions of any subsequent batu Aceh which are discovered.

Othman Types

If we are to recognise broad definitions of shapes we could take them as:

Slab of which there are 108 pairs (46 pairs having curly shoulders).

Rectangular pillars of which there are 21 pairs.

Cone shaped pillars on rectangular bases of which there are 33 pairs.

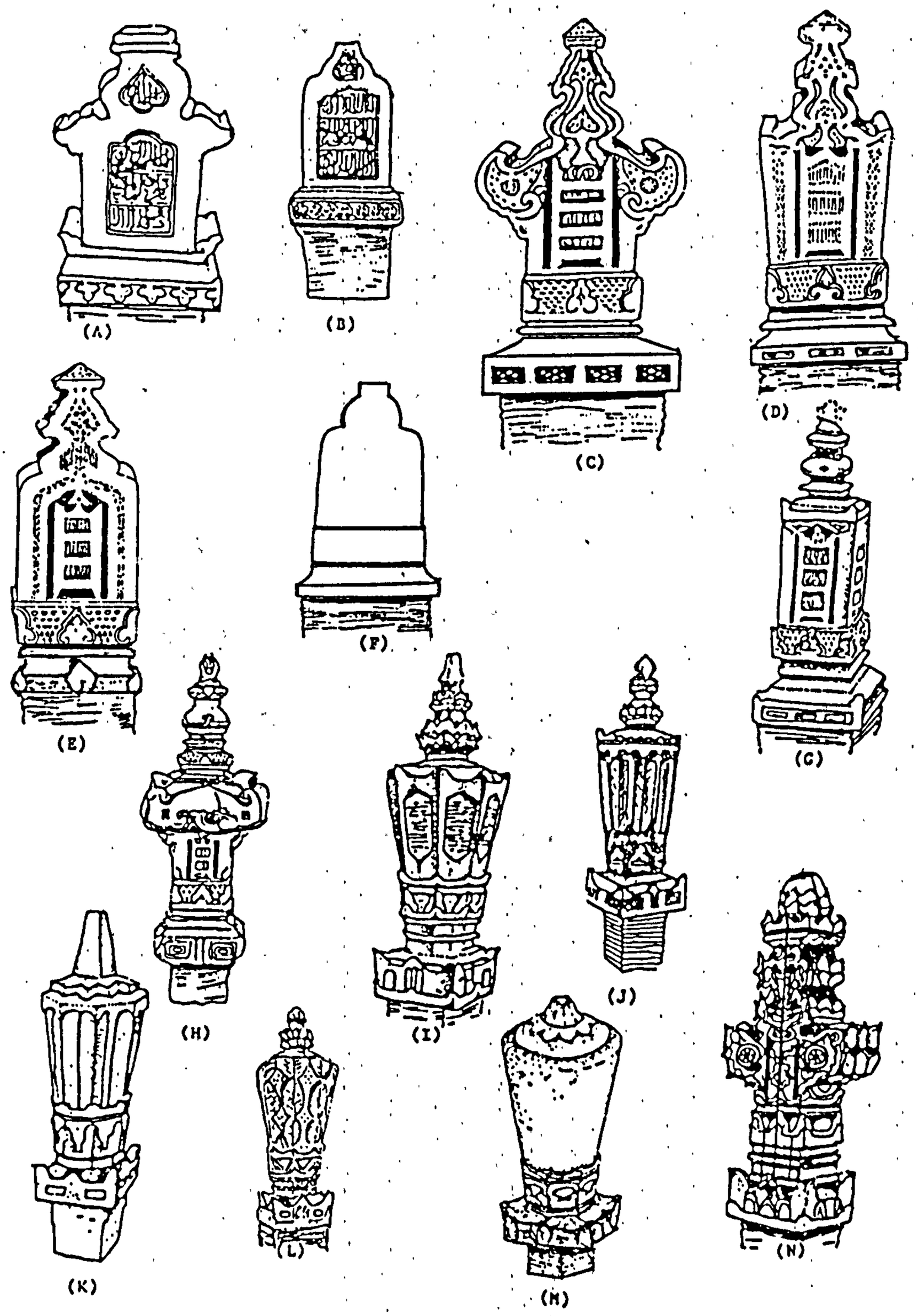
Rectangular pillars with extension (curly shoulders) of which there are 16 pairs.

However, I consider that the above groupings are inadequate because there are more discernable variations than is covered by this system. I maintain that there are 14 sub types of batu Aceh which can be recognised and support my argument by submitting drawings of each type in the text (Fig. 2) and photographs in the Appendices. The proposed system of sub-typings removes the necessity for introducing similes when describing the stones.

Terminology

As stated in the introduction to this chapter each stone is a single entity and can be divided into various parts and using the same nomenclature, as far as possible, for each shapes (Fig. 3); - head (Malay - kepala), body (Malay - badan) and foot (Malay - kaki) or base. Where the 'head' is surmounted by projecting ornament I term this top; where the body curves inwards to the head shape, I used the term

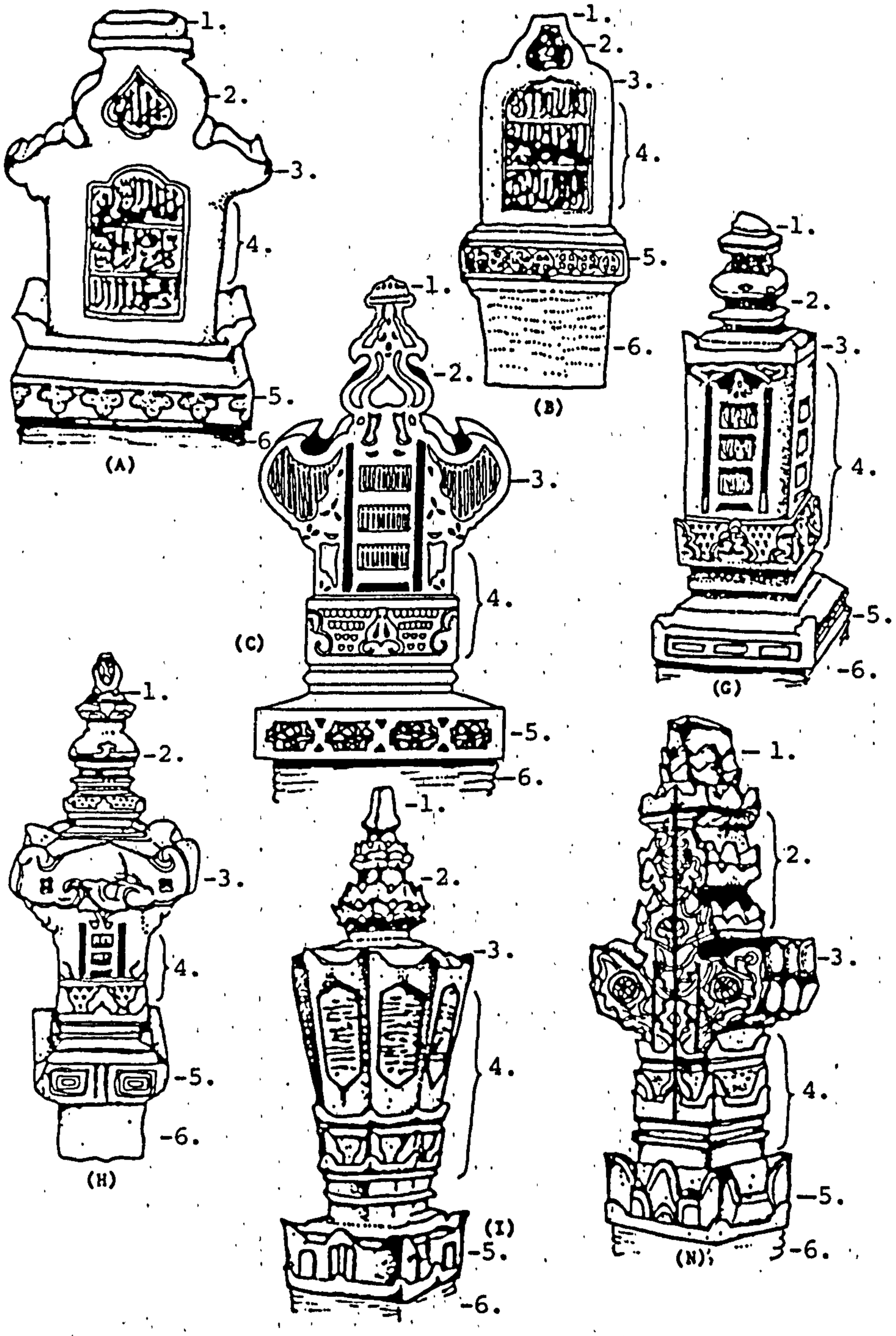
Fig. 2




TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF OTIDIAN TYPES OF BATU ACEH.

Fig. 3

Parts of the Batu Aceh of selected Othman Types - A, B, C, G, H, I and N.




Key

1. Top
2. Head
3. Shoulder
4. Body
5. Foot or Base
6. Shaft

shoulders; where the shoulders project in an ornamented shape I use the term curly shoulders. Where a division occurs in the shape of ornamentation of the body I refer to upper and lower body and featured below the body is the foot or base. These determined parts are illustrated on Fig. 3. Below the base is a shaft of undressed stone which is inserted into the ground (or, less commonly, into the base of the monument batu badan). It is not intended, that this terminology should imply that the stones are in any way of anthropomorphic shape, but for convenience. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the 'head' including the 'top' are regarded, by the Malays, as equivalent to head of the deceased, as their family, or in the case of the royalty - the Keeper of the cemetery, tie head-cloths over this part of the stone when it is erected (e.g. see Pls. 40a, c, 41a-c, 44a, b, 48). In the case of maintained cemeteries, this head-cloth is renewed whenever necessary.

Each of the 14 sub types of batu Aceh, which I recognise, I have designated as Othman Types using the Roman letters A - N (Fig. 2). Each particular Othman type has in its shape certain unique features or a certain combination of features found on the other types, which enable it to be differentiated (certain forms of decoration add to the distinguishing features , see Chapter 5). Othman Type A (slab) has a double rimmed top, projecting curly shoulders and a rectangular body rising from a collar which form the upper tier of the rectangular base. This combination of features is unique to A. Othman Type B (slab) has a simple flattened top; its smooth shouldered rectangular body; its base lacks the elaboration in the form of a two tiered structure found on other Types. These features taken in combination distinguish it from the other Othman Types.

The very elaborately ornamented Othman Type C (slab) with its tiered head, rising above upward and inward curving shoulders are features unique to this type. It has a particularly large base. Othman Type D (slab), although its tiered 'gunungan head' (see below and Chapter 5) is similar to Othman Types C and E, has shoulders, projected upwards and blunted (a feature not found on other Othman Types) and its base is similar to that of Type C but is much smaller.

The shoulders of Type E (slab) curve smoothly as to those of B, but the combination of these shoulders with tiered head are unique. Othman Type F (slab) viewed from a distance can be taken to resemble B, but closer inspection will reveal that the depth of the slab is only approximately half that of B. The characteristic of this stone is its lack of any form of decoration (see Plate 10d).

When we examine the body of Othman Type G we see quite different basic shape from all other batu Aceh types. It is in the form of a rectangular pillar whose top rim (shoulders ?) has raised corners. The head is a three-tiered structure of relatively simple shapes. Othman Type H (pillar/rectangular) is marked by its square projecting shoulders which overhang the body and have upward curving corners. Its head is tiered and a more elaborate form of that of G.

The Othman Types I - M are all basically inverted cones rising from rectangular bases, nevertheless, each type has distinctive features. Type I's octagonal facetted sides are panelled and contain inscriptions - a feature not found on other cone shapes. Type J's tiered head in conjunction with its sectioned or facetted body make it distinct from Type K which has a simple stalked top. We can observe that Othman Type

L with its two tiered head and patterned body (diamond shapes in panels) is markedly different from the other cone shaped pillars. The head shape/top of Type M bears some similarity to that of Type K but its smooth inverted cone shape is undeniably different. Finally Type N, which is different from all the other rectangular pillar types as its rectangular body had projecting shoulders and multi-tiered head/top and a seam-like line stretching from base to top.

There are other differences, with regard to size (see Appendix to this chapter) which I take into consideration in differentiating between the Othman Types, nevertheless, I maintain that as can be seen from silhouettes each of Othman Type (Othman Type F side view if compared with B) can be distinguished from any other by shape. Within each category of Othman Types variations occur e.g. head shapes and tiers vary, bases differ in thickness, shoulders may be more prominent in some specimens and decorations may alter (see Chapter 5) but the basic differences between each of the 14 sub types described still exists.

However, it must be pointed out that the clearest way of distinguishing one Othman Type from any other, is to take into account the decoration (see Chapter 5) as well as the shape, for as will be seen certain decorations or combination of decorations, including in some cases inscriptions, are unique to particular types.

## Type and Nature of Stone Used for the Batu Aceh

Other variations between the Othman sub types can be seen when examining the basic material used in the manufacture of the batu Aceh.

The majority of the gravestones are fashioned from sandstone; exceptions being one specimen of Othman Type B (Appendix 12) which is composed of green marble and three examples of Othman Type M (one from the Appendix 48 and Appendices 25 and 34) which are of pale grey granite. The sandstone itself varies both in colour, from pale grey to light brown, and in texture from fine to coarse grained. The particles of quartz and other minerals e.g. silica and iron oxide alter both the nature and appearance of the rock, which undoubtedly effected the execution of the shape, decorations and durability of the stone. When details of each of the Othman Types are related (see Appendix to this Chapter) as far as possible a description of the actual composition of the stone will be given.

The 14 sub types are not constructed out of 14 different kinds of stones or grades of stone. Close examination will reveal that the sandstone used in one particular sub type e.g. Type C bears a marked similarity to the stone used for Types D, E, G and H i.e. soft fine grained pale greenish grey sandstone which is adversely effected by weathering. Type A is coarser grained stone than Type B, and Type F is coarser again. Types I, J and K show only slight variations in the basic material, but whether this is sufficient to imply a different source is difficult to state with any certainty. Type L seems to have been executed from fine and medium grained sandstone; Type N is of a similar fine grained grey sandstone to L. So I reached the conclusion that there was only a small number of quarry sites supplying the basic material.

## Sources of Stone

It would have been satisfying if I had been able to trace the source of the stone used for the batu Aceh. Although this proved impossible, we do have some clues to the location of quarries from which the stone could have been obtained. Earlier observers (e.g. Low in 1877, see Sadka 1954, Barnes 1911b and Evans 1921) were of the impression that the particular sandstone used for batu Aceh was not to be found anywhere in Peninsular Malaysia. All of them point to Aceh as the source of this material.

In Northern Sumatra, there were two old established quarries, one at Embangan in Lhoksuemawe region and the other at Pulo Batee, opposite Ulee Lheue (Olehleh), near Banda Aceh (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431). The sandstone in the latter quarry must have been fine grained, as Hurgronje comments on the fact that it was "easily workable".

The above statements add weight to the contentions of the natives of both Aceh and Peninsular Malaysia, quoted by European writers in the nineteenth century, that the batu Aceh originated in Aceh. However, if any of the later batu Aceh of Peninsular Malaysia were manufactured in situ, then quarries in Penang Island, did, and still do, exist, so that material (not sandstone) was available. Against this statement we have to consider that the material from Penang Island could have been sent over to Aceh for the purpose of manufacturing the gravestones, which were later exported. Hurgronje (1906, I:431, note 1) writes of "hewn-tombstones" being exported from Penang to Aceh in the early twentieth century. This was too late, of course, for batu Aceh, but the practice could have been taking place earlier than this period.

## Size and Weight of the Batu Aceh

As well as batu Aceh varying in shape or Othman Type, they also vary in size and consequently weight. Each pair of batu Aceh, of any of the Othman Types, differ in minor or major respects from any other pair with regard to size and weight. The reason for the variations could be that the material, the stone blocks, could have reached the monumental masons or stone carvers in variety of sizes. Limitations as to the size of the original stone blocks would have been determined by the quarrying methods and stone cutting equipment, together with the natural fractures in the rock. As stone is not as malleable as wood, then it would have been easier to use stones of available size rather than cut them down to a given size, the accepted pattern for the batu Aceh being adapted to the size of the stone. On the other hand limits as to size could have been established. With the passage of time fashions change and bigger or smaller stones could be desired. Another possible reason for the change in style is that it might be due to religious restrictions.

In the Appendix to this Chapter the range of sizes for each particular Othman Type is given and from these descriptions the following facts emerge:-

1. Othman Types A - F vary between 55 x 33 x 21 cms and 56 x 34 x 20 cms. Types G, H and I are of more massive construction reaching heights ranging from 120 cms to 158 cms and maximum width to height ratios G = 1:4.25, H = 1:2.8 and I = 1:3 approximately.

2. That the marked changes in size of all the Othman Types A - N of the batu Aceh occur. The Slab Types A - F, with or without side extensions (curly shoulders), are comparatively small as compared

to Types G - N. Types G, H and I are the largest of the batu Aceh. Types J, K, L and M are smaller than Types G, H and I but larger than stones in Types A - F. Othman Type N is an anomaly. It is a similar size to J, K and L but larger than Type M. The latter (Type M) is the smallest of the cone shaped Pillars and is of a different type of stone, being of granite.

While the variations of sizes of batu Aceh can be measured, their weight can only be estimated. Observations of earlier travellers provide us with clues as to size and weight of the batu Aceh in the late sixteenth century. John Davis (1625), who was in Kuta Raja (Banda Aceh) in 1599, reported that he saw the tombstones of earlier rulers of Aceh and according to him "every grave has a piece (stone) of gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing at least five hundred pounds weight". He also observed that "the King has two such pieces in making and almost finished, which we saw, that are a thousand pounds weight a piece".[2] This estimation of weight may have been an exaggeration, nevertheless, the sizes of the tombstones he described which are still extant, suggests that they are of a considerable weight.

Similarities in all Othman Types

In what ways are these stones similar and representing variations of a single tradition or 'culture'?

There can be no doubt that these two basic types - Slab and Pillar, delineated by shape, are variations of nesan of batu Aceh.

There are certain features common to both types. In the sculptured features there are marked similarities e.g. rectangular shaped base, with its embellishments, appears on the base of Type C (slab) and a similar design is to be found on the lower part of Type H (pillar); the engraved 'ladder' with or without Arabic script between the rungs of Types C, D and E (slab) is echoed in Types G and H (pillar); the elaborately shaped and decorated Type C has features in common with Type N e.g. the shoulders and wealth of decoration.

The use of panels containing calligraphy are a feature of Types A (some), B, C (some), D and E (slab) and Types G, H (some) and I (pillar). Types J, K and L still retain the panels but without decorations. At a cursory glance Type M may seem to be very different from Types I, J, K and L, but close inspection will reveal that the 'head' is similar to Type K, the base and the lower body decoration on all of these types (I - L). Even though, as stated above, the stones have marked similarities, nevertheless, all have distinguishing features, which enable them to be separated into groups. I should emphasize here that the diagrams (Fig. 2) are of stones which are representative of each of the Othman Types A - N.[3]

Changes in the Shape and Size in Relation to Chronology

When the changes in shape, size and consequently weight of batu Aceh took place cannot be ascertained with any accuracy but can be estimated. I consider that the change from Slab to Pillar took place in the 1520s with the founding of Greater Aceh at Kuta Raja. The grave-

stones of the founder of Greater Aceh (Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, d. 1530) is of Pillar shape (Pl. 7a) and examples of Type H belonging to his successors who died between 1548-1579) are in the same cemetery (Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984:115). My findings are in agreement with that of Hasan that Types G - N are not to be found in Samudera-Pasai and its vicinity. We believe that the reasons for this were that when Pasai became part of Greater Aceh in 1524 the production of batu Aceh (Types A and B) in Pasai ceased and the manufacture of gravestones began in Kuta Raja (probably at Kampung Meurassa). Type C as will be discussed later, dates from this period.

Based on the evidence of batu Aceh on the graves of the former Sultans of Perak, Wilkinson (1957:73) was of the opinion that changes in the shape of batu Aceh took place about AD 1700. He stated that "the tombs of the early Perak kings were of the Acehnese type - four sided monumental headstones carved with the confession of faith". These could be any of the variations of the Types C - E or G and H from his vague description. He states further that "the type seems to have suddenly changed. The gravestone of the Sultan Marhum Besar Aulia 'Allah (Sultan Mahmud Iskandar Shah, d. 1720) is of a curious polygonal type narrow at the base and increasing near the top". These could be any of the Types I, J or K (?), as gravestones of eighteenth century Acehnese ruler (e.g. Sultan Mahmud Shah, d. 1740, see Fig. 47 in Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984:422) which can be located in the compound of BAPERIS (Badan Pembina Rumpun Iskandar Muda) in Banda Aceh, are the same as the one described by Wilkinson.

I believe that the change in the shape of the batu Aceh from slab to pillar probably occurred in the sixteenth century because we have a

dated pillar tombstone of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (Pl. 7a), who died in 1530, which is about 170 years earlier than Wilkinson's date for the change from slab to pillar. A possible explanation for changes in style is that Wilkinson did not observe any of Types G and H which were in use prior to this date. My argument can be concluded in the following illustration (Fig. 4).

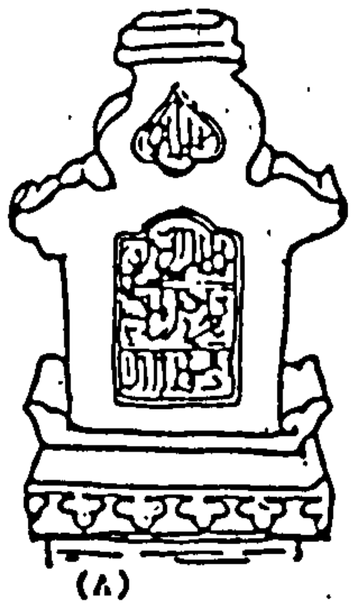
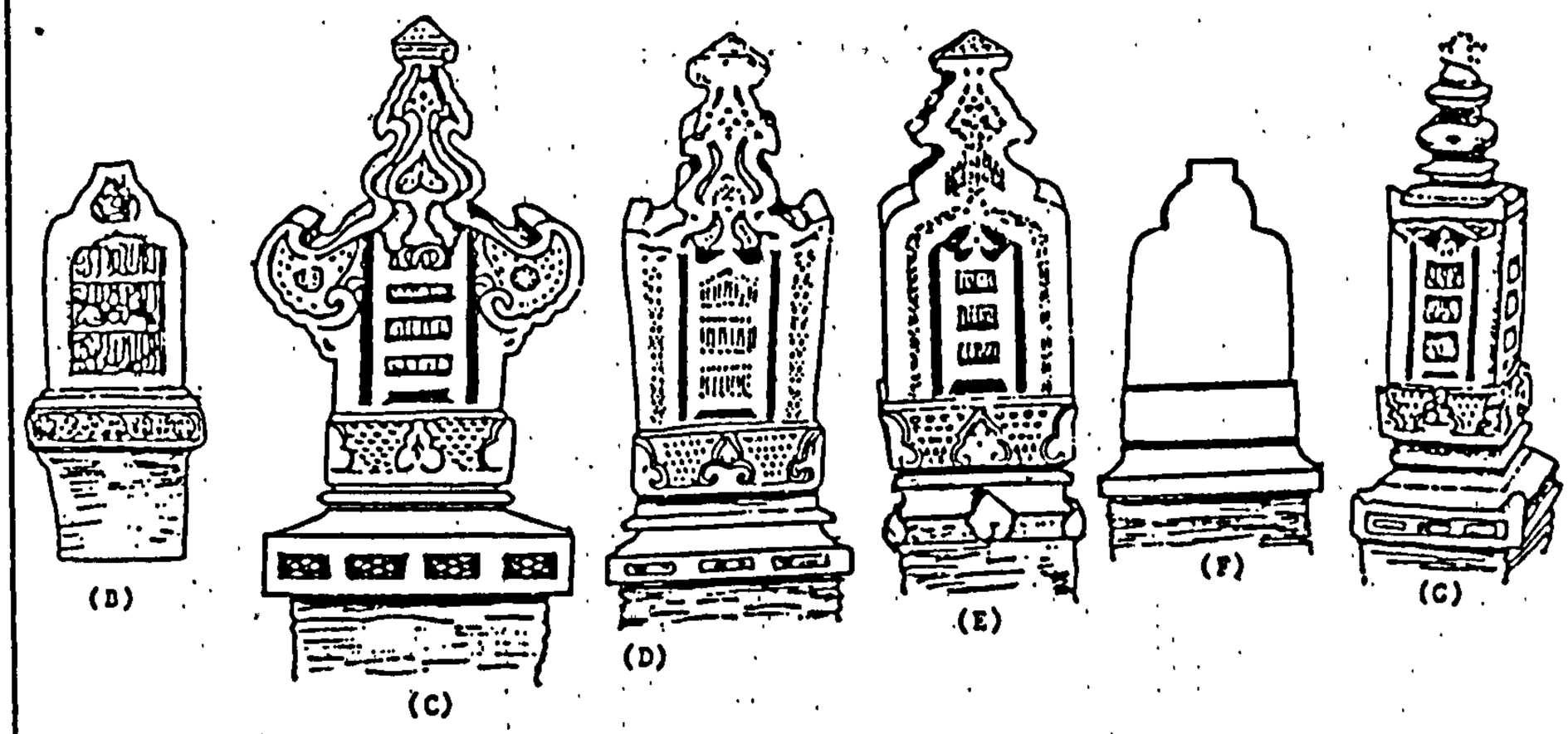
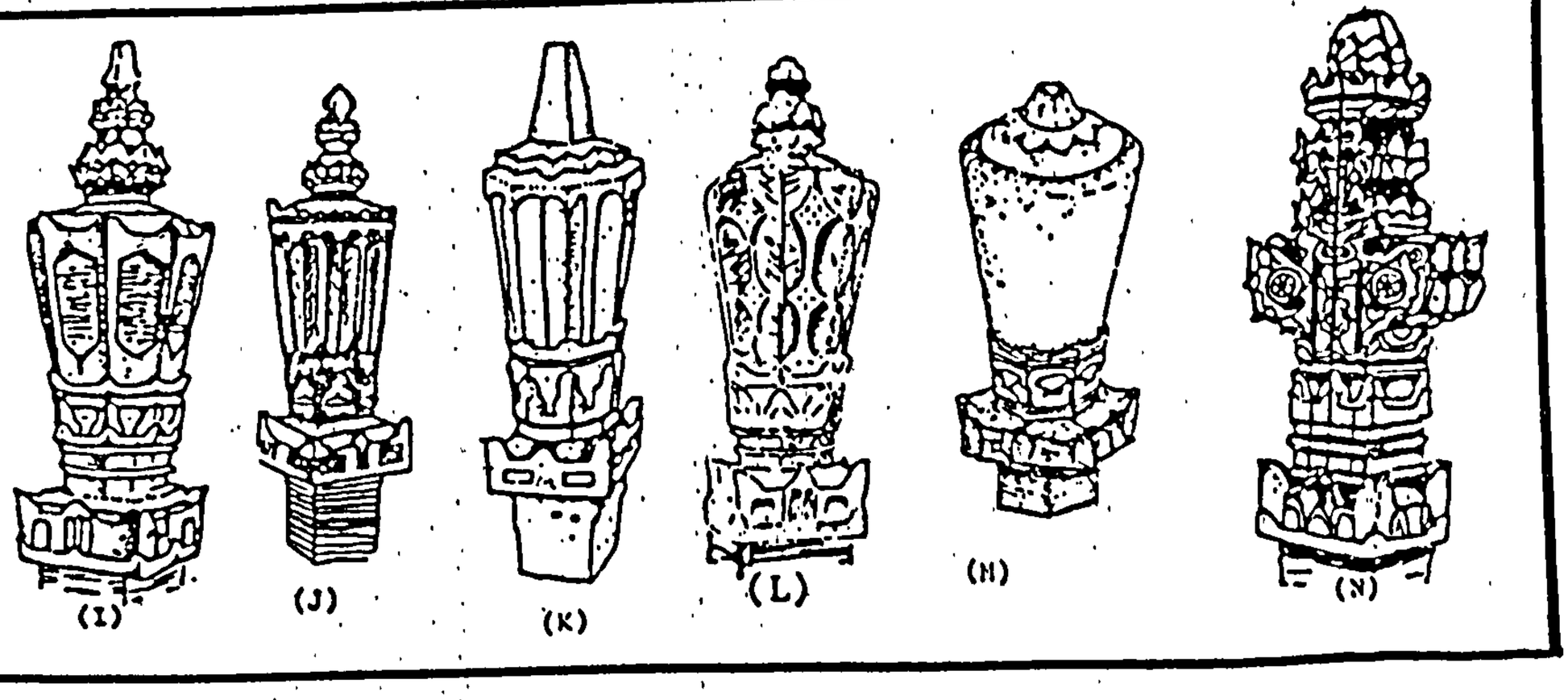
## Interpretation of the Shape

In the various Othman Types certain decorative shapes feature which could originally have had symbolic meanings. Questions then arise - Were they intended to be symbolic or just an elaborate decoration which served in the absence of human representation? If, when it was first used, its meaning was symbolic then did the symbolic meaning remain consistent? Could the object eventually become purely decorative?

The part of the batu Aceh which shows marked variation in shape is the 'head' and/or 'top'. They range from stupa (Fig. 6 a-j), gunung-gunung or gunungan[4] (Fig. 6 k-n), chandi (Fig. 6 o-r) to parts of the lotus plant (Fig. 6 s-v). These shapes have been given various interpretations by scholars.

I observed that the shape of the 'head' and/or 'top' of the batu Aceh of Othman Types A, B and F is in the shape of a bulbous dome which resembles the shape of stupa of the Hindu-Buddhist temples. What could be the connection between the shape of dome and the gravestones? A possible explanation of the use of 'dome', as pointed out by Grabar

Fig. 4

| | |
|---|---|
| 1400 AD |  (A) |
| 1500 AD |  (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (C) (C) |
| 1600 AD | (H) |
| 1700 AD — 1800 AD |  (I) (J) (K) (L) (M) (N) |

Progression of Othman Types

(1976:44) is that "it is not its association with funerary architecture in the past, but its significance in other aspects of Islamic architecture - as a sign of honour and veneration". Grabar states that "the dominal (domed ?) structure was adopted as the most common form to be used over holy spots and tombs not because of its precise funerary attribute but because of its general meaning as a sign of veneration". Another scholar, Cammann (1979:194, note 3) draws our attention to "one basic symbolic concept that was internationally known as the idea of the sky as a dome, along with the related concept of 'the sky door', which gave access to Heaven".

The shape of the 'head' or/and 'top' of batu Aceh of Othman Types C, D and E is in the form of gunungan (mountains). Gunung-gunung is equivalent to Indonesian gunungan, where emphasis is laid upon the tree-like character of the decoration. The adoration of mountains was once a general cult among the people of Indonesia (Linehan 1951a:101), which was associated with the Sailendera dynasty, the 'Kings of the Mountains'. The principal motif is of the tree of life which symbolises the highest unity, a totality comparable to Brahma in Hindu religion, and to the Tao in Chinese philosophy.[5] In the Hindu religion, the heavenly mountain abode of the gods is known as Mahameru or Mount Meru, which is usually thought of as a high mountain top surrounded by four lower levels. Moorhead (1957:32) stated that the Mount Meru is 600,000 feet and with three peaks of gold,[6] silver, and iron on which the gods dwelt. Gunung perhaps represents the 'mountain mother' which in Hindu mythology is "from whom all living things appear and to whom they return in death" (Campbell 1974:22). In Indian cosmology, de Josselin de Jong (1980:158-159) reiterates that "the Meru is also a centre and pivot of the universe : it stands in the middle of the human world, Jambudwipa,

and around it are grouped the cities of eight lokapala (the Protector of the World) and the four points of the compass". He further adds that "the preoccupation of Indian cosmology and astrology with the number 4 and its multiple is also found in Indonesia". So it could be argued that when the Acehnese designed the batu Aceh with four sides (Type G) and eight sides or facets (Types I - L) they were being influenced by the Indian system of cosmology with its mystical association with the numbers 4 and 8. Another interpretation of the number 8 was made by another scholar, Taploo (1977:145) who suggests that "eight in Islam (is) connected with the stages of paradise".

Another feature of the batu Aceh which is subject to mystical interpretations is the tiered 'head' and/or 'top' of Types G and H. According to Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984:419 and Fig. 28) these shapes resemble a miniature chandi (Hindu-Buddhist temple).[7] The significance of chandi in Indian religions is twofold: it was not only a small temple containing a niche for the ashes of important persons, but a place for worship as well. Hasan also considers the shape of the 'head' of Types I, J and L also resembles a chandi, but I am inclined to consider them as parts of the lotus plant as are the tops and/or heads of Types K, M and N. The significance of lotus will be discussed later in the chapter concerning decorations on batu Aceh (Chapter 5).

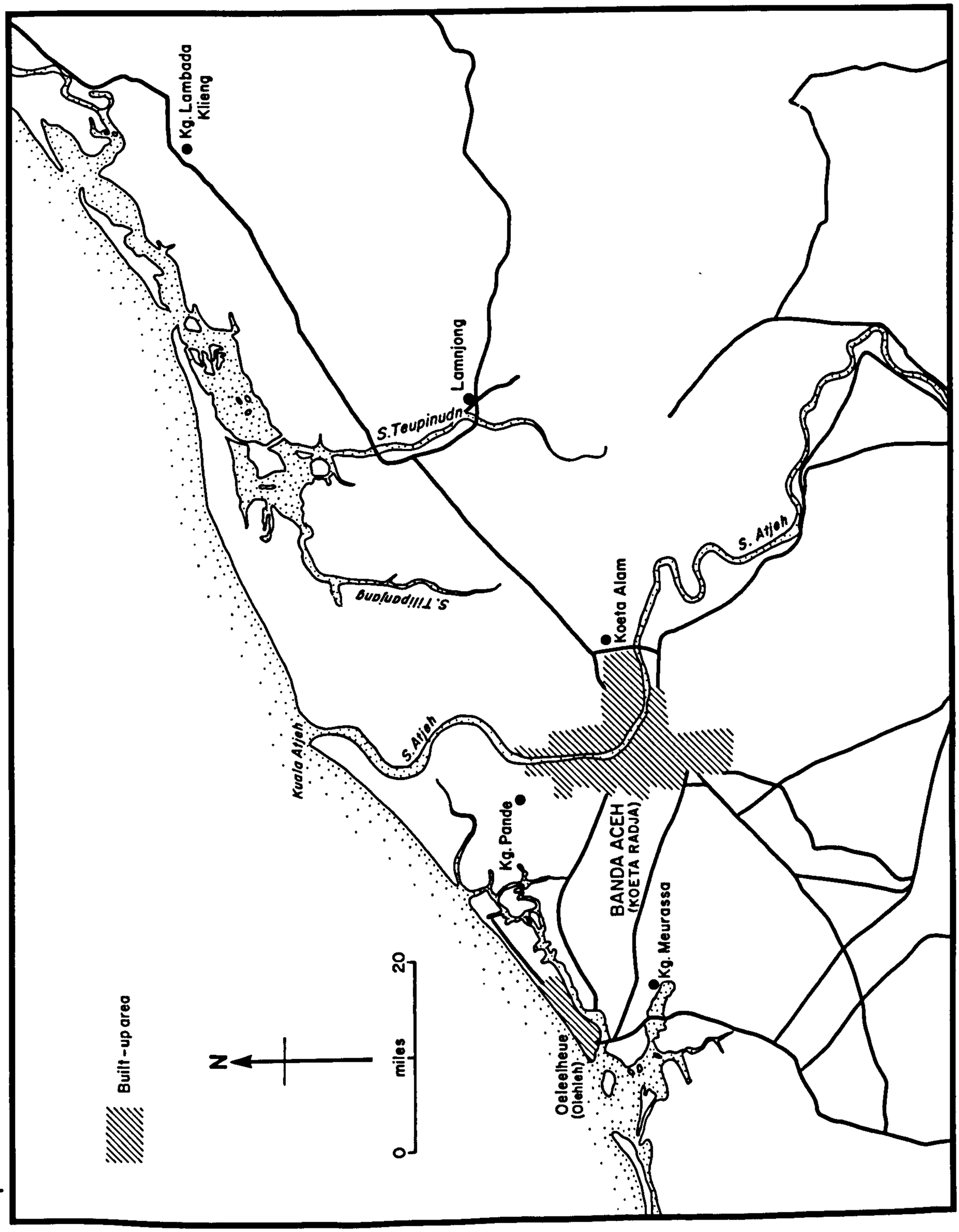
Thus, in the interpretation of the various shapes, which resemble objects that exist in reality, we are hindered by the lack of documentary evidence as to the local symbolic meaning, if any, which was attached to the objects. What is evident is that the objects used e.g. stupa, tiered roof of chandi and parts of the lotus plant are subject to religious symbolism in other cultures. These objects were used on the

batu Aceh over a considerable period. I have not been able to ascertain why the stupa gave way to the chandi's roof and with the cessation of the chandi's tiered roof, the lotus in its various forms, was used exclusively on the head/top position.

## Specimens of Othman Types of Batu Aceh Outside Peninsular Malaysia

The question must arise - Are the basic types of batu Aceh and all their 14 Othman sub types limited to Peninsular Malaysia? If they are, then that would suggest that the proliferation of sub types was feature of this area. If it was possible to identify the basic types of batu Aceh and their various Othman sub types in Aceh and elsewhere, it could provide us with a more accurate system of dating the gravestones, either by the discovery of more inscribed stones with names and, better still, dates or other information, where this is lacking, such as the date of the opening of the cemeteries containing such gravestones, datable artefacts with the graves, or corroborative written evidence from reputable historical sources.

My quest proved successful in the first case. That is, it was possible to identify the basic types (defined in this thesis as 'Slab' and 'Pillar') and all the 14 Othman sub types in Aceh (some specimens are illustrated in Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984 and the rest I can verify from personal observations). The specimens of the Othman sub types C, D, I, J and N are also to be found in Java; Types C and N in Borneo (Brunei and South Kalimantan); Types A, J and N in Riau and Type A in Sulu Archipelago.




Map 2 MAIN SITES OF BATU ACEH IN AND NEAR BANDA ACEH

The batu Aceh gravestones which are located outside Peninsular Malaysia can be summarised in the following table:

North Aceh[8]

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Meunasah Beringin, Samudera-Pasai (Pl. 7c) | 2 | Malik al- Salleh | 1297 | A |
| 2. Meunasah Beringin, Samudera-Pasai (Pl. 7c) | 124 | Tengku Peut-ploh-peut | 15th century | A, B |
| 3. Kutakarang, Samudera-Pasai | ? | Cot Astana | 15th century | A |
| 4. Pidie | 10 | Poeteroí Bale | 16-17th century | A, C, I, J, K |

Aceh Besar (Map 2)

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kuta Alam (Pl. 6b) | 16 | Sultan Shamsu Shah | 15-16th century | C, D? I? |
| 2. Darul Kamal | 9 | Sultan Mudhafar Shah | 1513 | C |
| 3. Kampung Pande (Pl. 6a) | 200 | Tengku Meurah | 16-17th century | C, E, F, H |
| 4. Kandang 12 | 12 | Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah and 4 other Sultans, all dated | 1530-1579 | C, D, G |
| 5. BAPERIS | many[9] | Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Shah | 1760-1764 | H, L |
| 6. Lambada Keling (Pl. 8) | 2 | ? | 17-18th century | N |

cont.

West Aceh

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Lamno | many | Tengku Makhdum | 15-17th century | C, I, J |
| 2. Kuala | many | Makhdum Unga | 16th century | A? |
| 3. Gle Njong | many | Marhum Daya | ? | C |
| 4. Aekdakka | many | Imam Khatif | 1629 | I |
| 5. Kayu Manang | 8 | Ulamak ? | 16-17th century | M |
| 6. Tuan Makhdum | 5 | Makhdum ? | 17th century | G |

Outside Aceh

Bintan

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Bintan Buyuh | many | ? | 1470 | A |
| 2. Penyengat Island[10] | many | ? | 16-17th century | N |
| 3. Hulu Sg. Riau | many | ? | 17th century | J |

Lampong

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Wonosobo | 4 | ? | 16-17th century | C, I |

cont.

Banten

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Maulana | 9 | Maulana Hassanuddin and other Sultans and wives | 1570- | C, D |
| 2. Masjid Banten | 14 | Pangeran Muhammad and 3 other Sultans | 16-17th | D, J |
| 3. Maulana Yusuf | many | Maulana Yusof | 1580 onwards | N |

Jakarta Raya

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Pangeran Jayakarta | 8 and many fragments | Pangeran Jayakarta | 17-18th century | N |

Lombok

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Seloparang | ? | ? | 16th century | C |

South Sulawesi

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tamalate | ? | Sultan Hasanuddin | ? | C? N? |

South Kalimantan[11]

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Banjarmasin | 2 | Haji Malik | 16-18th century | C, N |

cont.

Brunei[12]

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Sg. Kianggeh | 1 | ? | 16th century | C |

Sulu Archipelago[13]

| Site | No. of graves with batu Aceh | Name attributed | Date | Othman Types |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Jolo | 1 | Makhdum ? | 15th century | A? |

Table 2 Batu Aceh Outside Peninsular Malaysia

Chronology of Othman Types in Peninsular Malaysia (Table 3)

It is necessary to state here that the sequence of Roman letters in the Othman Types system should not be taken to imply that it is a definite chronological scale. There are a number of problems faced by any scholar when trying to establish a time scale; the chief being the absence of dating on the majority of the gravestones. Another, that different Othman Types appear in the same cemetery e.g. Makam Chondong at Pekan, in Pahang (Appendix 3), where Types C, F and H exist. So what success can be expected in establishing a system of Types and relating it to chronology?

Type A (e.g. Plates 1, 26, 37, 45c)

Here success is due to the fact that almost all these tombstones (see Chapter 4) have dates, which range from 1475-1488. These are the earliest known examples of batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia.

Type B (e.g. Plates 27 b, d, e, 33)

Some specimens belonging to this Type are dated. The dates range from 1495-1511/1512 (see Barnes 1911b and Linehan 1936).

Types C, D and E (e.g. Plates 44 for C, 47 for D and 30 for E)

Types C, D and E are to be found in a cemetery where Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak, who died in 1549, is buried. Graves here with Types C, D and E have been attributed by Abdul Shukor (1907) to the wife, daughter and religious teacher of the Sultan. However, I consider this purely speculative as there is no historical evidence. Specimens of Type C are distributed widely throughout the Peninsula (see Map 6 and Table 3). To date, it has not been possible to establish an exact time scale, but there is some justification for assuming that examples of these Types which were found in Bruas, Perak, existed before the fall of Melaka to Portuguese in 1511, based on the evidence from the Sejarah Melayu (Appendix 29).

Type G (e.g. Plates 45 a, b and 56)

Specimens of this Type were found in Sayong Pinang, Johore, the place which was occupied by Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah I of Johore in 1530. So we can assume that Type G could date from the 1530s.

Type H (e.g. Plates 28 a and 38 b, c)

Specimens of this Type were found in Pekan, Pahang, in a graveyard

known as Makam Chondong. From the evidence of Bustanu's-Salatin, we know that this Type was sent from Aceh to Pahang in 1638.

Types I, J, K, L, M and N (e.g. Plates 38 d, e and 69)

Specimens of these are widespread. Some of which can be found in Kedah Royal Cemetery, opened in 1701 (Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad 1968:94). So it is quite possible that these range from early eighteenth to late nineteenth century. Type M is of unpolished granite and therefore it must have come from a different quarry to that of Types G-L. This could account for the lack of detailed decoration on the body as this material does not lend itself to fine carving. I believe it to be of later date than Types G-L.

Type F (e.g. Plates 29 c and 53)

So there remains Type F, the undecorated stone which is similar to Type B, without the decorated base, body and head decorations. Examples of this Type are to be found in Pahang and Perak (see Chapter 6), where the local inhabitants believe that the reason for their plainness, was that people could not cope with the demand (Halim, pers. comm., 1983). Based on the similarity with Type B, one would assume that these stones could be of similar dates i.e. 1495-1511, but I have found similar stones of this Type F in the same graveyard as Type H in Makam Chondong, Pahang. This graveyard could, based on the evidence in Bustanu's-Salatin, be dated not later than 1638. One example of this Type F was executed in marble, was found at Lubok Pelang (Appendix 12). This site could have been in existence since 1497 (according to Linehan and cited in Zakaria bin Hitam 1966:49). The use of marble (green) is not found in other Othman Types.

TABLE 3 - DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

| Name of Site | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| 1. Makam Sayong Pinang, Johore (23)* | 21 | 2 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | |
| 2. Makam Bendahara Tun Habab (Habib) Abdul Majid, Johore (20) | | | 5 | | | | | 4 | | | 4 | | | 2 |
| 3. Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah, Johore (19) | | | 5 | | | | | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | | |
| 4. Makam Diraja (Royal Cemeteries), Kedah (48) | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 5. Makam Sayid, Johore (21) | | | 5 | | 1 | | | | | | 3 | | | |
| 6. Ancient Graves, Johore (27) | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Makam Nibong, Pahang (4) | 1 | 5 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Makam Ziarat Raja Raden, Pahang (2) | | 4 | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Makam Chondong, Pahang (3) | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 4 | | | | | | |
| 10. Makam Raja Bruas, Perak (29) | | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 11. Makam Seluyut, Johore (26) | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah I (1528-1549), Perak (31) | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 13. Makam Laksamana Aceh, Perak (33) | | | 2 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| 14. Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Kedah (45) | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | 2 | | |
| 15. Makam Lubok Pelang, Pahang (12) | 1 | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 3 (continued)

| Name of Site | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| 16. Makam Tok Aceh, Kedah (47) | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 1 |
| 17. Makam Sultan Muhammad Shah I, Pahang (1) | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. Batu Nesans at Kampung Permatang Pasir, Pahang (9) | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19. Makam Kuala Bera, Pahang (11) | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 20. Makam Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka and Marhum Berdarah Puteh, Johore (16) | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21. Makam Tauhid, Johore (22) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 22. Makam Johore Lama, Johore (25) | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| 23. Ancient Graves, Johore (28) | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 24. Makam Tok Tongsa, Perak (34) | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | |
| 25. Makam Tok Halus and Makam Tok Sena, Perlis (54) | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26. Makam Tok Aceh and Makam Tok Seri Manis, Perlis (56) | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27. Makam Che Rial, Pahang (5) | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 28. Makam Tok Aceh, Pahang (6) | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 29. Makam Kuala Pahang, Pahang (7) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 30. Makam Bintang, Pahang (10) | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 31. Makam Kuala Temelong, Pahang (14) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE 3 (continued)

| Name of Site | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| 32. Makam Panglima Md. Berani, Johore (17) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33. Makam Masshor, Johore (24) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 34. Makam Tok Subang, Perak (30) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35. Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Perak (32) | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| 36. Makam Tok Dewangsa, Perak (35) | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 37. Makam Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah (1577-1584), Perak (38) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 38. Makam Sultan Muhammad Iskandar Shah, Perak (39) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 39. Makam Sultan Iskandar Zulkurnain, Perak (40) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 40. Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah (1770-1778), Perak (41) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 41. Makam Sultan Alauddin Mansor Iskandar Shah (1778-1786), Perak (42) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 42. Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut, Perak (43) | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 43. Makam Tok Tumung (Temong), Perak (44) | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 44. Makam Tok Pasai, Kedah (46) | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| 45. Makam Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau (Sheikh Abdul Kadir), Kedah (49) | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| 46. Makam Tok Jambi, Kedah (50) | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | |

TABLE 3 (continued)

| Name of Site | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| 47. Makam Puteri Lindongan Bulan or Puteri Berdarah Puteh, Kedah (51) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 48. Ancient Grave (Makam Purba), Kedah (52) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 49. Makam Tok Gergut, Perlis (53) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 50. Makam Tok Jaya, Perlis (55) | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 51. Makam Tok Surau, Perlis (57) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 52. Makam Tok Weng, Perlis (58) | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| 53. Makam Tun Teja, Melaka (60) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 54. Makam Sultan Mansor Shah, Melaka (59) | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 55. Ancient Grave, Trengganu (61) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 56. Ancient Grave, Trengganu (62) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 57. Makam Tok Raja Re, Trengganu (63) | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 58. Makam Puteri Aceh, Pahang (15) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 59. Makam Bendahara Tepok, Johore (18) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 60. Batu Nesan, Pahang (8) | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| 61. Keramat Saiyid Abu Bakar, Pahang (13) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 62. Batu Nesan Puteri Aceh, Perak (36) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |

TABLE 3 (continued)

| Name of Site | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| 63. Keramat Seri Benian, Perak (37) | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 29 | 14 | 46 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 16 |

* Number in ( ) indicates the Reference number in the Appendix

? Gravestones have long been missing or replaced, so, their Types cannot be determined

## Time Scale of Othman Types in Peninsular Malaysia in Comparison with Those in Aceh and Outside Aceh

Here, attempts will be made to date the Othman Types in Peninsular Malaysia by comparing them with similar Types in Aceh and areas which had been under Acehnese influence. The material used for the latter areas was largely obtained from Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984). Othman Type A stone in Pasai is dated 1297 (Moquette 1913) and at Kutakarang in 15th century, whereas those of Peninsular Malaysia are all in the range of 1475-1488. However, I consider that there could have been either, a mistake in the Pasai dating because an Othman Type A is found at Kutakarang of a date presumed to be in the 15th century as is the one at Kuala or, the gravestones of Sultan Malik al-Salleh were erected to replace the earlier, possibly damaged stones and given the original date. The stone at Bintan Buyuh is dated 1470 which makes it just prior to the Peninsular Malaysian specimens.

Othman Type B stones dated 1495-1511/1512 at Pahang (Pl. 10b) compare well with those of the same type at Meunasah Beringin, where there were in fact 124+ graves of this type, dating, it is believed, from the 15-early 16th century (Pl. 7c).

Othman Type C stones are not dated but from the grave at Darul Kamal, one of the Sultans was known to have died in 1513, this type of stone was in use then. In Peninsular Malaysia, examples of this type whose dates can only be assumed from the association between the graves and the local tradition of ownership (see Pl. 11 a and b).

Othman Type D: samples of this Type found in Peninsular Malaysia at Bruas and Johore, are undated, whereas in Banten and in Riau Archipelago there are stones of this Type, 'many' of which date from 1580 onwards (last date not given by Hasan Muarif Ambary), there are a number of others at cemeteries in Banten dating from late sixteenth to early seventeenth century (e.g. Pl. 11 c and d).

Othman Type E are found at Kampung Pande, Aceh Besar whereas examples in Peninsular Malaysia can be seen at Johore Lama, Perak and Perlis. However, all are undated.

Othman Type F are found at the 16-17th century graveyards at Kampung Pande, Aceh Besar which contains 200 batu Aceh, together with other types. In Peninsular Malaysia, Types F are to be found at Bruas, Perak and in Pekan, Pahang.

Othman Type G, examples of which are found in Kandang 12, Aceh Besar with the dates of 1530-1579. Those in Peninsular Malaysia were undated (Pl. 12 a and b).

Othman Type H, several examples of which are to be found at Kampung Pande, in cemeteries dating from late sixteenth century onwards and those in the cemetery of BAPERIS are dated 1760-1764. Similar examples in Peninsular Malaysia are to be found at Pekan in Pahang, at Kota Tinggi in Johore and in Perak (Pl. 12d).

Othman Type I were widespread in the areas under Aceh's influence e.g. Pidie (possibly 17th century), Aekdakka, Barus, dated 1629, Lampong (possibly late 16th to early 17th century). (See Pl. 13a, d and e).

Othman Type J presented difficulties due again to the fact that this stone was uninscribed. Examples are to be found in Pidie of an estimated date of 17th century and at Bintan. Peninsular Malaysian examples are at Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, Johore, in a cemetery established at least in 1699 if not earlier.

Othman Type K are found in Pidie in a graveyeard, believed to date from 16th century onwards, and at Masjid Banten in a graveyard which had four graves of Sultans, the earliest dating from an estimated late 16th to early 17th century. So, it is possible that this Type was 17th to 18th century and can be compared with those in Kedah, in a cemetery dating from 1701.

Othman Type L are to be found at BAPERIS, near the Museum of Banda Aceh (Pl. 13c) and are assumed by the Museum to be early 18th century. Those examples in Peninsular Malaysia are in the Kedah Royal Cemetery dating from 1701 (Pl. 13b).

The cemetery in Kayu Manang dates from late 16th century contains graves with examples of Othman Type M but it is difficult to estimate their actual dates. Those found in Peninsular Malaysia are in Perak and Kedah. Kedah examples must date from 1701 onwards.

Othman Type N I believe to be the last Type of batu Aceh. Several examples are to be found in the 17-18th century cemetery at Penyengat Island; at Pangeran Jayakarta (cemetery with similar date) eight complete, plus a number of fragments are to be seen.

So, considering the above discussion I suggest that there are some justification for considering the Othman Type System to be taken as an approximation of the chronological order of the erection of batu Aceh. Though there is no justification for assuming that a style was limited to a particular period.

## Form of Batu Aceh in Relation to Sex and Status of Deceased

There remain other aspects which have been related to the shape of the two basic types of batu Aceh. These are the association and modern interpretation of styles or shapes of gravestone with the sex of the deceased and the relative size of gravestones in relation to the status of the deceased.

## Batu Aceh and Sex of Deceased

### Previous Writings

Attempts have been made by scholars who have studied Malay gravestones including batu Aceh to try to find an acceptable explanation for those stones which they and the local people consider are associated with the sex of the deceased. Skeat (1900:405) observed the distinction in Malaya between the temporary wooden grave-post (nisan) of a man being 'rounded' and a woman 'flattened', but there is no indication that he was speaking of the permanent gravestones. Similar information on the

distinctions according to sex in Aceh memorials was supplied by Snouck Hurgronje (1906, I:431) "tombstones were given a different shape according as they were intended for men or for women .... Those for men ... were prisms with four, six or eight angles ... narrowed towards the base ... side surfaces resembled reversed trapezia. Foot pieces and ornamental tops of various forms ... and the whole surface was cut in fine patterns of leaf-work, the word of the confession of faith being sometimes engraved on the stone. For women the side surfaces ... were made narrow, the back and front broad; as the Acehnese express it, the stones are "flat" or "thin". On both sides, where the crown joined the trunk, were widely projecting spiral ornaments suggesting ears, and called subang (earrings) by the Acehnese". (See Chapter 5).

Barnes (1911a:36) referred to Makam Nibong where "there are ... a number of graves but all appear to be female. On one is a clear inscription in Arabic. It is carved however in lapidary's style which baffles the few persons in Pekan who claim to read Arabic. I could hear no traditions as to the date of these graves or as to their occupants". Wilkinson (1920) and Winstedt (1932c) repeat Skeat's information of 'round posts are set for a man; flat for a woman'. Linehan (1951b) speaks of gravestone of Keramat Seri Benian as of 'Acehnese style' and he states "the inscription contains neither the name of the deceased nor the date, but the shape of the stone and the rosettes shows that it was made to mark the grave of a woman". Barnes (1911b) while saying that Makam Nibong's gravestones showed that they belonged to females, nevertheless, goes on to say that there are no dates on the gravestones or names of their occupants. So he cannot supply proof that they belonged to women. Linehan (1951b) is still repeating the assumption that a gravestone can reveal the sex of the deceased by the shape and the

rosettes. None of the above statements constitute proof of sexual association of the stones and decorations.

My reasoning is that the evidence supplied by these earlier writers on the subject is circumstantial. Othman Types C and N, with what are considered by previous writers to be 'earrings' are to be found on graves of both sexes. For example, the gravestone (Type C) accredited by Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (1974:13) as belonging to a man, Sultan Muzaffar Shah at Telok Bakong in Perak (Appendix 31). There are other examples including Makam Panglima Md. Berani at Pagoh, Muar (Appendix 17) and Makam Bendahara Tepok at Segamat, Johore (Appendix 18) where the curly shoulders (what some writers including Snouck Hurgronje and Linehan term 'ears') have a floral motif (earrings) but where the local inhabitants and local writers (e.g. Halim 1979, unpublished), as marking nevertheless accept the gravestones ~~to mark~~ the graves of men.

Othman Type N, has disc shapes in similar position to the rosettes of Othman Type C e.g. Makam Purba in Langkawi, Kedah (Appendix 52), Makam Tok Aceh in Alor Setar, Kedah (Appendix 47) and Makam Purba (Ancient Grave) in Panchor, Johore (Appendix 28), but again they are accepted both by local people and Malaysian writers as marking graves of both sexes.

## Size of Gravestones in Relation to Age and Status of Deceased

From the descriptions of the Othman Typology, it will be seen that the size of each particular Type of gravestone has a range of sizes (see Appendix to this chapter). What accounts for this? It could have been

economic, but I consider that it is more probable where the range of size is distinct to have been associated with age. In present day Peninsular Malaysia and from tours of European cemeteries (e.g. St. Godric's, Durham), the graves of children are markedly smaller (babies the smallest of all), than for those of adults. Winstedt (1932c) writes of Tanjong Sibadam where he talks of the graves of "one adult ... (and) two children" and at Bukit Seluyut of three graves "two large ... and one child's grave". These statements imply that there was a discernable difference in size. Kiefer and Sather (1970:78) states that on the Sulu Archipelago "small markers are used for children, with the size of the markers giving a rough indication of the age of the child at death".

The smallest examples of batu Aceh in our census, are the graves believed by local people to be those of children; that at Kota Tinggi (Appendix 21, Pl. 43 c) to be the grave of a boy and the one at Tanjong Belading (Appendix 27, Pl. 49 b) to be of a girl. The former stone is of Othman Type L and the latter is of Type B. There are a number of relatively small batu Aceh which could be, in my estimation, be of children.

Size of Batu Aceh in Relation of Status of Deceased

It is usual throughout the civilized world for important people, in particular royalty, to be allotted monuments greater in size than their subject, usually decorated. What indication is there that such a practice was followed in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago? Othman Types A and B usually were inscribed with the name of the deceased and, therefore, we can obtain information about their status. Special cemeteries

or sections of public cemeteries were set aside for their graves. It is noticeable that their batu Aceh are well-built and larger in size than those of their subjects. A good example can be seen at the Kedah Royal Cemetery (Appendix 48, Pl. 69). The importance of the person in the family is also found here, in that the Sultans have a larger and more elaborate structure than that of ~~his wife and family.~~ their wives and families. The examples from non-royalty can be seen at Makam Laksamana Aceh in Perak. So, one can say that the practice of relating status to size of the grave-stone is found throughout the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

## Summary

The gravestones which I call batu Aceh occur in two basic forms, the Slab and the Pillar. It is possible to subdivide these two main types into fourteen, recognizeable, sub types, for which I have established a system of typology which I term the Othman System and delineate them as Othman Types A - N.

The 14 types were described according to a number of features. The embellishments in the form of decoration in Arabic calligraphy (where this is used) and floral and geometrical designs do not affect typology and will be described in Chapters 4 and 5).

Establishing a system of chronology, corresponding to the Othman Typology, was difficult due principally to the absence of dating and even inscriptions of any kind on some categories of gravestone. It was hoped to clarify the situation by examining those batu Aceh outside Peninsular Malaysia, using material supplied by others. There proved to be very

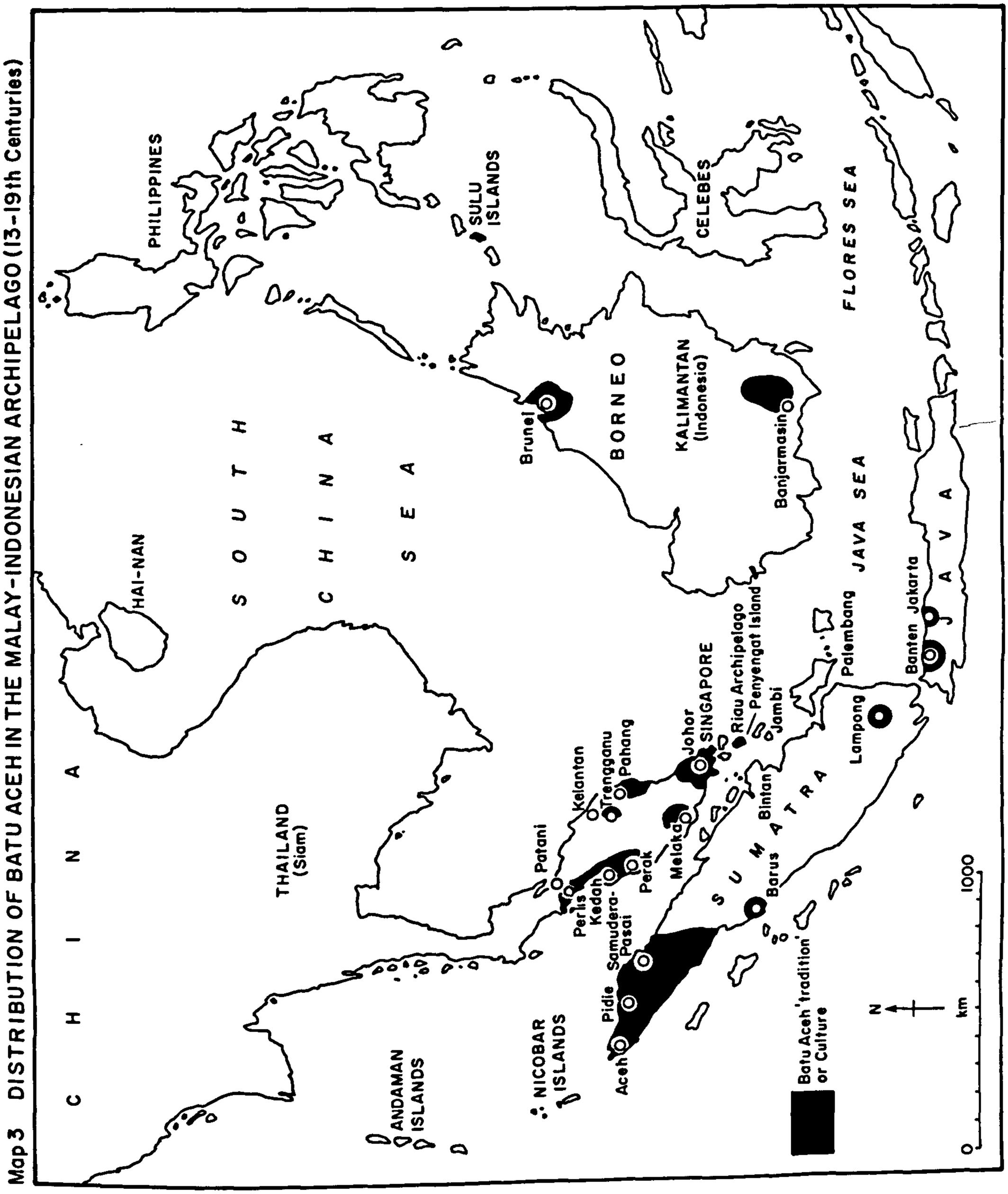
little corroborative material, except for the data given in Hasan Muarif Ambary's thesis. However, the latter's description plus photographs provided some assistance. There were indications that the Othman System of Typology could be a guide to the dating of the various Types (see Fig. 4).

Other related problems were examined. The first was to see if there was any justification in accepting the views put forward by Skeat, Snouck Hurgronje, Barnes, Wilkinson, Winstedt and Linehan for differentiating the stones in terms of sex. I came to the conclusion that it was not possible for two main reasons. One, that the accounts in the literature were, in most cases, a direct assumption that the earlier writers were correct and the view perpetuated without any additional information. The second, that sexing based on certain decorative features could not be justified, as for example the stones bearing 'earrings', considered to be woman's attire, are also to be found on gravestones attributed to men. (For further discussion on this subject see Chapter 5 which comments on the familiarity of the earring (rosette design) on other artefacts throughout the Islamic World ).

However, it seemed possible to associate status with the size of the stones and their styles, for examples could be found, in the case of Royalty, to justify size and siting as being different from that of non-royal chiefs and the commoners.

The size in relation to age of deceased could only be assumed on comparative grounds in that it is a feature of cemeteries elsewhere that children are allotted smaller gravestones than the adults, therefore, it was, at least, possible in the batu Aceh situation.

Whatever variations the batu Aceh underwent, in terms of shape or style, the fact remains that they continued to be erected over four hundred years, thus constituting a substantial 'tradition' or a 'culture' of Islamic gravemarking (see Map 3) which has received little prominence in the history and anthropology of the Malays.


Map 3 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH IN THE MALAY-INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO (13–19th Centuries)
PHILIPPINES
SULU ISLANDS
CELEBES
SOUTH CHINA SEA
FLORES SEA
JAVA SEA
Brunei
BORNEO
KALIMANTAN (Indonesia)
Banjarmasin
HAI-NAN
THAILAND (Siam)
Patani
Kelantan
Trengganu
Pahang
Perlis
Kedah
Perak
Melaka
Johor
SINGAPORE
Riau Archipelago
Penyengat Island
Jambi
Palembang
Bintan
SUMATRA
Barus
Lampong
Banten
Jakarta
JAVA
Samudera-Pasai
Pidie
Aceh
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NICOBAR ISLANDS
Batu Aceh 'tradition' or Culture
N
km
1000
0

## NOTES

1. Pillar, detached, not necessarily cylindrical or of classical proportions. A definition taken from Chambers Everyday Dictionary (eds.) Macdonald, A.M. and Kirkpatrick, E.M., (Revised edition, latest reprint), Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers Ltd., 1983, p.544.

2. It appears from this description that the gravestones for the Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah Al-Mukammal (1589-1604) were made before he died.

3. Fig. 2 shows the typical examples of Othman Types. A is a drawing of the headstone of Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang; B is of one of the stones in Makam Nibong, Pahang; C is of Makam Tok Subang, Perak; D & E are of Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak; F is another stone in Makam Nibong, Pahang; G is of Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Perak; H is of Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah, Johore; I, J, K and L are all from the Kedah Royal Cemetery, Alor Setar; M is of Makam Tok Tongsa, Perak and N is of Makam Purba (Ancient Grave), Pulau Langkawi, Kedah.

4. Brakel (1975:60) remarked that the word gunung (mountain) is not an Acehnese word. Their word for gunung is gle. He also pointed out that "in the Malay language words which have a noun as their basic morpheme, with the suffix -an, while the noun itself is either doubled or reduplicated, may carry the meaning of '-like thing', so that 'kuda-kudaan' means (clothes-horse), 'anak-anakan' (child-like thing) means 'doll'. So the word gunungan may be translated as 'mountain-like structure' which is a 'symbolic mountain'.

5. See V. van der Hoop, Indonesiche Siermotieven, Batavia: Koninklijk Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Waterschappen, 1949:274-281, see also Linehan, 1951a:101.

6. Gold or yellow colour is a colour reserved for Malay royalty. The tradition of yellow as a royal colour could have related to the widespread use of gold for decoration and ornamentation in early Malay courts (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:12).

7. It is worth mentioning here that the roof of some of eighteenth century mosques in Melaka resemble the shape of the upper part of a chandi, see Abdullah bin Mohamed (1976). See also my brief article entitled "Early Mosques in Malaysia - Specific Features and Influences" in Malaysian Panorama, vol. 12, nos. 3 & 4, Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Malaysia, 1982, pp.15-23.

8. Information derived from Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984) and in some cases personal observation at Banda Aceh and Samudera-Pasai, North Aceh in 1983.

9. The use by Hasan Muarif Ambary of the term 'plusieurs' (several), means that it is impossible to arrive at an accurate figure. As in the case where only fragments of stones exist and are in a poor state of preservation.

10. Information obtained from personal visit in 1982 and supplemented by Hasan Muarif Ambary (1984). However, it appears that Hasan did not visit Penyengat Island, for one of the graves with batu Aceh which I visited and said by the local people to be of Raja Ali Haji (Pl. 9) was not mentioned in his thesis.

11. Information derived from a report of a survey by Bintarti and others (1976).

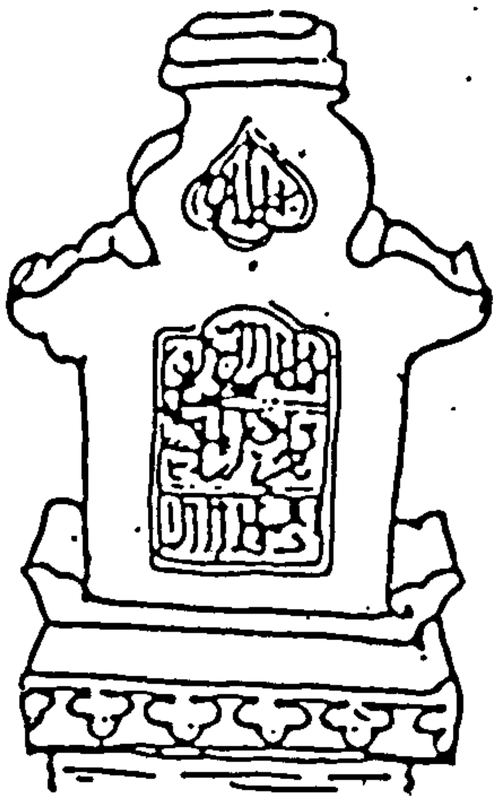
12. Information derived from Halim (1981:23-24).

13. See Szanton (1973). I assume that the type of stone on this grave is Type A because according to Szanton it is similar to tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka which I grouped in Type A.

## Appendix to Chapter 3

## Typical Features of Batu Aceh (Othman Types A-N).

### Type A



Basic shape - Slab

Range of Sizes - 44 x 24 x 7 to 48 x 28 x 14 cms.

Nature of Stone - sandstone; coarse and pale colour.

Back and Front - similar

Base - rectangular and decorated

Body - smooth surfaced with framed engraved panels containing Arabic script (in many specimens). Some specimens have collar surrounding lower body which could be regarded as second tier of base, others have projecting border.

Shoulders - projecting and curly i.e. having curls or bending or wave-like in shape.

Head - continuous with body; flat back and front with engrave motif.

Cap - two or more rims; flat topped.

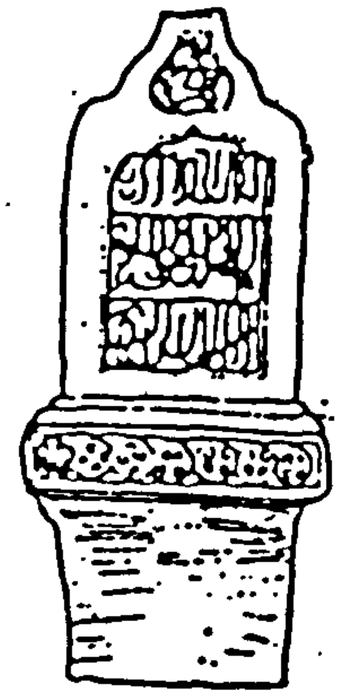
No. of specimen - 29 pairs.

### Type B

Basic shape - Slab

Range of sizes - 55 x 33 x 21 to 59 x 36 x 25 cms.

Nature of stone - sandstone; coarse and pale colour.



Back and Front - similar

Base - rectangular and decorated, in some examples top has two stepped ridges, in other examples - one.

Body - smooth surfaced except for panels on four sides which occupy a larger surface area than Othman Type A. Some specimens have differentiated lower body.

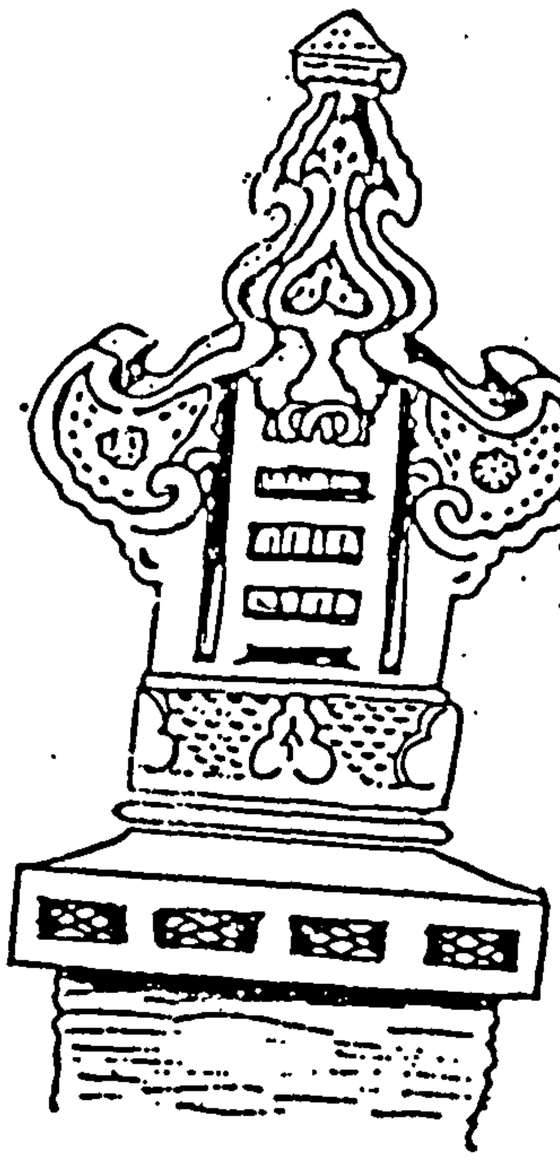
Shoulders - smooth (not projecting).

Head - continuous with body; slight necking; engraved with pattern.

Top - none, head narrowed with flattened top forming rectangle.

No. of specimen - 16 pairs.

Type C



Basic shape - Slab

Range of Sizes - 56 x 30 x 14 to 71 x 44 x 18 cms.

Nature of stone - sandstone- fine grained and light brown colour.

Back and Front - similar

Base - rectangular, appears to be in two sections, the lower ridged above shaft. Upper section decorated.

Body - highly decorative, containing small recessed panels in ladder shape.

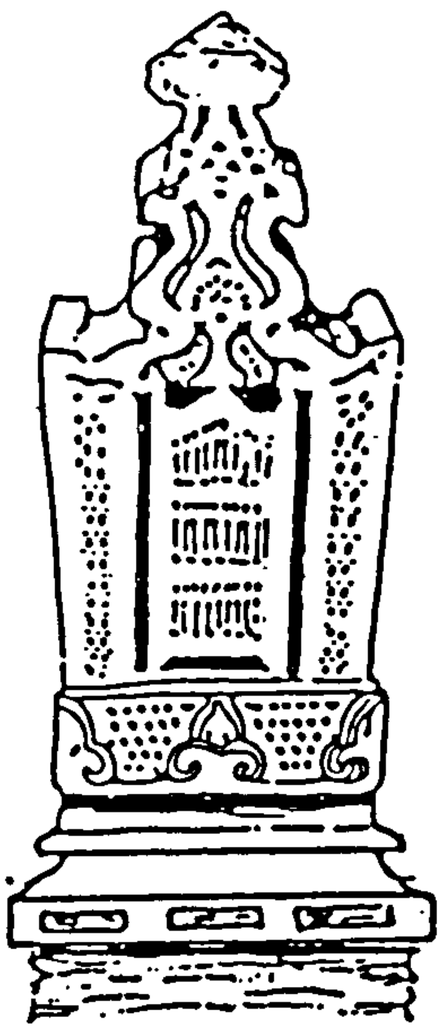
Shoulders - projecting and decorated, top have upward curl.

Head - has two tiers, both decorated; Lower - bulbous, Upper - has triangular base with corners extended.

Top - shape at top terminating in peak.

No. of specimen - 46 pairs.

Type D



Basic shape - Slab

Range of sizes - 68 x 25 x 18 to 75 x 28 x 20 cms.

Nature of Stone - sandstone; soft and light brown colour.

Back and Front - similar

Base and Body - similar to Othman Type C, but here the whole structure appears to be raised and placed on a plinth. However, it is, as in all cases of batu Aceh, a single block of stone.

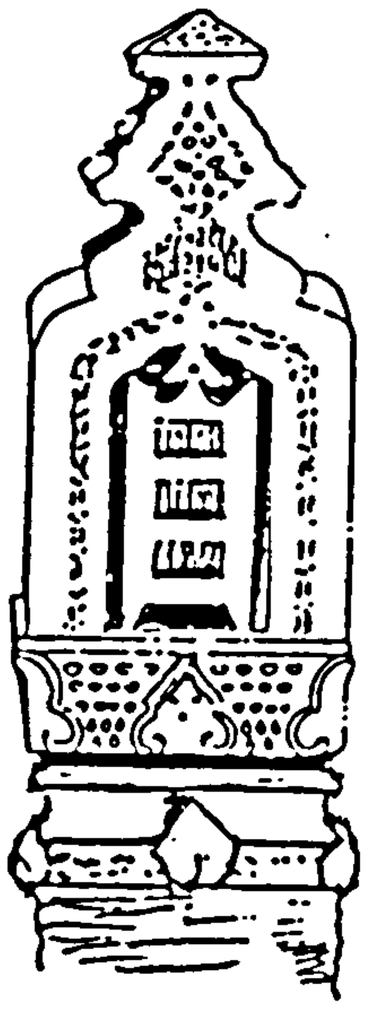
Shoulders - Markedly different from Type C, they do not project, but the stone is slightly wider in this region; top of shoulders are ridged.

Head - two tiered.
Lower - bulbous with engraved motifs.
Upper - triangular with projecting corners of base.

Top - Pyramid surmounting a rectangular base.

No. of specimen - 8 pairs

Type E



Basic shape - Slab

Range of sizes - 46 x 16 x 8 to 50 x 30 x 12 cms.

Nature of Stone - sandstone- soft and light brown colour.

Back and Front - similar

Base - similar to Type D, decorated rectangle. Ridged below leading to shaft.

Body - rectangular similar to Type B but decorations different. Here we have the ladder of Types C and D but the decorations on either side of the ladder curve over top of it.

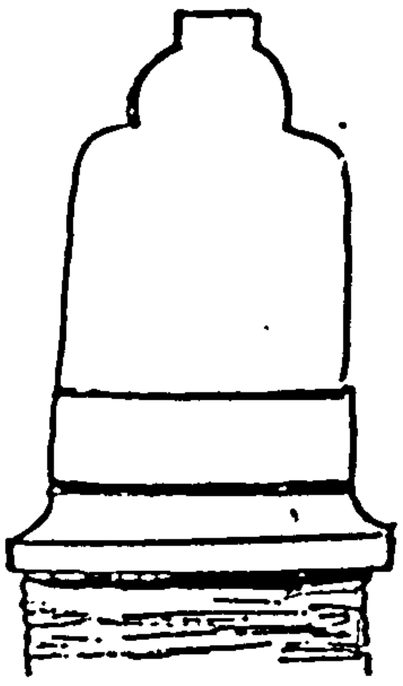
Shoulders - not projecting, smooth curve to head.

Head - two tiers;
Lower - bulbous
Upper - triangle with corners of base projecting, similar to Types C and D.

Top - Pyramid surmounting rectangular base.

No. of specimen - 8 pairs.

Type F



Basic shape - Slab

Range of sizes - 54 x 32 x 18 to 56 x 34 x 20 cms.

Nature of Stone - sandstone and one of marble.

Back and Front - similar, the whole stone is similar to some variations of Type B but it is a much thinner

slab. The whole stone is undecorated.

Body - rectangle - no decorations

Shoulders - not projecting; smooth

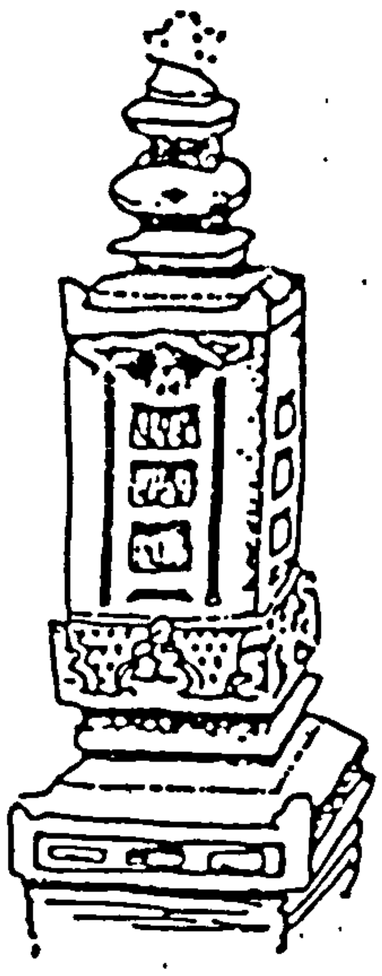
Head - continuous with body, slight necking - no decoration.

Top - none, head narrowed with flattened top forming rectangle.

No. of specimen - 11 pairs.

Type G

Basic shape - Pillar-flat 4 sided



Range of sizes - 120 x 34 x 20 to 165 x 45 x 25 cms.

Nature of stone - sandstone- fine grained and light brown colour.

Sides - all sides similar. The whole stone when viewed from the front or back has patterns similar to those found on the Slab.

Base - similar to Type D i.e. a plinth which narrows to a ridged stem.

Body - Lower part rectangular decorated structure comparable with base of Types B, C, D and E but now can be considered as part of body - all sides equal length patterned engraved in ladder shaped motif (as on Types C, D and E).

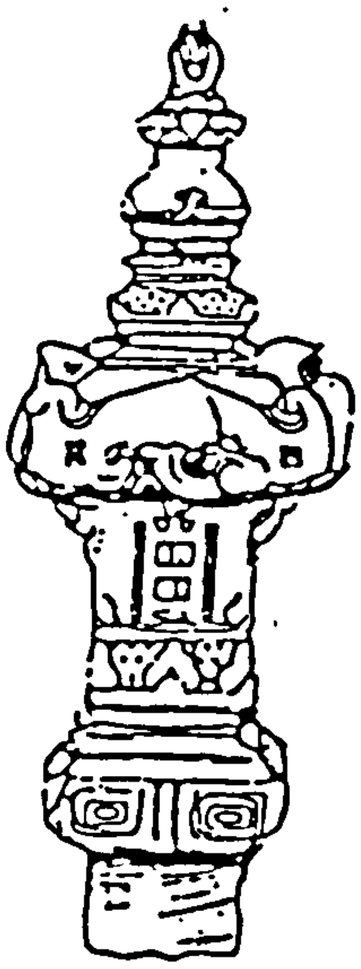
Shoulders - not emphasized, just a border with raised corners - similar to 'fringe' encompassing lower part of body in Type A.

Head - Three tiers, middle one bulbous.

Top - rectangular surmounted by knob.

No. of specimen - 3 pairs.

Type H



Basic shape - Pillar

Range of sizes - 128 x 50 x 50 to 158 x 58 x 58 cms.

Nature of Stone - sandstone; fine grained, vary from pale to light brown colour.

Base - rectangular, decorated.

Body - similar to Type G in that lower part corresponds to base in above Type. Upper part relatively smooth with engraved ladder shaped motif as in Types C, D, E and G.

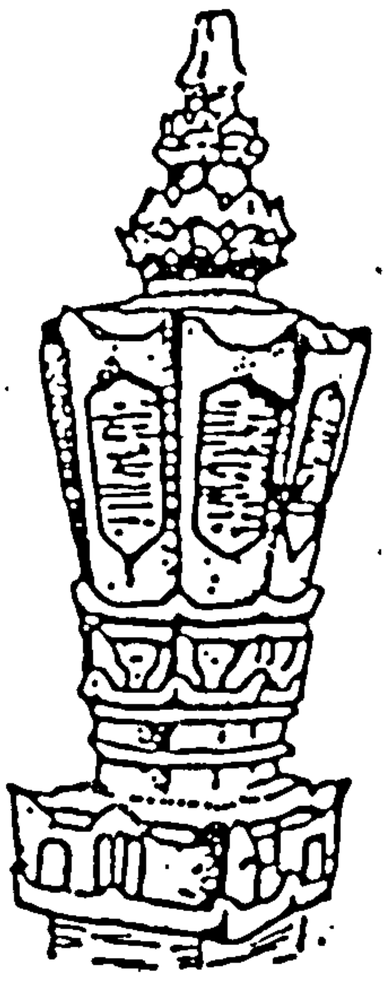
Shoulders - markedly different from Type G, in that a considerable widening of the stone into an elaborate rectangular shape with decorations curving upwards at the corners.

Head - elaborate multi-tiered structure decreasing in size.

Top - knob.

No. of specimen - 18 pairs.

Type I



Basic shape - Pillar

Range of Sizes - 110 to 125 cms (height).

Nature of Stone - sandstone- fine grained and light brown colour.

Base - rectangular, decorated with projections at corners and centre of sides of top edges.

Body - Markedly different to Type H, assuming the shape of an inverted cone rising from a rectangular

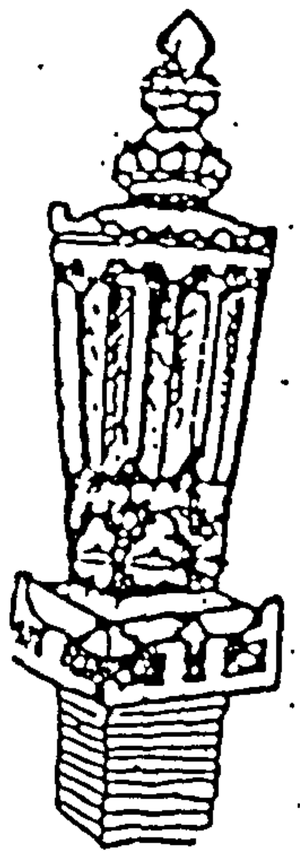
base. The sides of the cone being facetted (8 facets or sides).
Lower body - rimmed, signs of what were the decorated base in Types A - E and the lower body of Types G and H. Octagonal shape becomes emphasized as it progresses up to the widening body.
Upper body - marked by a single recessed panel in each side. Sides terminating in raised corners.

Head - Two tiered - very elaborate.

Top - knob.

No. of specimen - 4 pairs.

Type J



Basic shape - Pillar

Range of Sizes - 88 to 102 cms. (height).

Nature of Stone - sandstone; fine grained and light brown colour.

Base - rectangular, decorated with raised corners and centre of top edges.

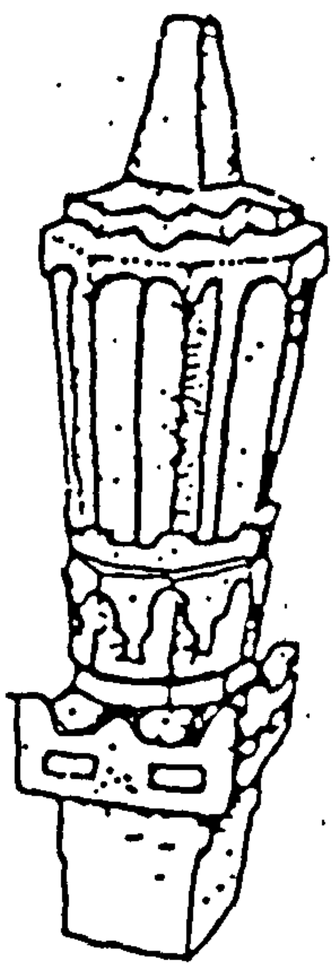
Body - Octagonal, widening upwards from base inverted cone shape.
Lower body - as in Type H and I, what was the pattern or decorated base is now part of the lower body.
Upper body - differs from Type I, in that each of the octagonal facets of the lower body undergoes alteration - becoming two sided by convoluting inwards to the centre. However, eight panel shapes remain, having the inner folds as their sides. At the top, the panels reassume their octagon shape.

Head - Two tiers, elaborately decorated similar to Type I.

Top - Knob ending in point.

No. of specimen - 4 pairs.

Type K



Basic Shape - Pillar.

Range of Sizes - 65 to 80 cms. (height).

Nature of Stone - sandstone- fine grained and light brown colour.

Base - similar to Types I and J i.e. rectangular and decorated with points at corners and centres of top edges.

Body - Basically octagonal sides widening as they extend upwards in an inverted cone shape.
Lower and Upper body similar to Type J i.e. commencing as an octagonal at lower part, with each side at upper body convoluting into two, to form a sixteen sided structure; resuming its original octagonal shape at the top. The sides of the octagon are the centre of the decorative 'panels'.
The whole structure is not as elaborate as Type J.

Head and Top - Markedly different from J, no actual head shape exists but rather a two tiered eight pointed star, surmounted by a smooth surfaced quadruple projection narrowing to the top.

No. of specimen - 15 pairs.

Type L

Basic Shape - Pillar

Range of Sizes - 75 to 85 cms. (height).

Nature of Stone - sandstone; fine grained, light brown colour.

Base - similar to Types I-K i.e. rectangular with side edges and centre of panels raised in points.

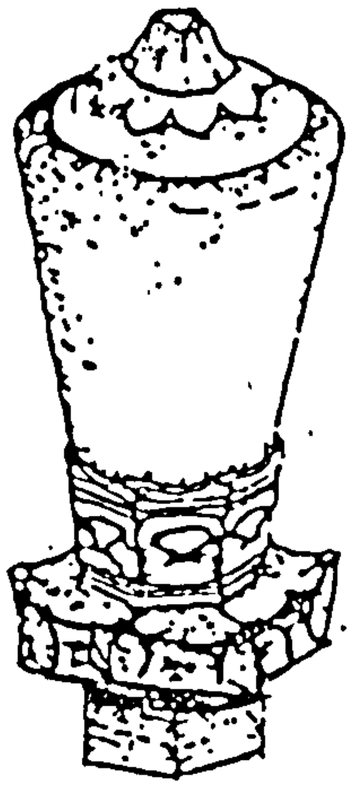
Body - Octagonal facets on inverted cone.
Lower part - octagonal border pattern similar to base of upright slabs as in Types H-K.
Upper part - a different pattern from other Types previously mentioned. The straight edged panels with an outward folding centre giving a sixteen-sided structure, now have their edges interrupted by two tiers of diamond shapes. At the top of the body, the now sixteen-sided structure maintains its number of facets and narrows inwards forming a two tiered eight pointed star. The tiers are shallower than on Type K.

Head - Markedly different from Type K. Here there are a two tiered bulbous structure carved into lobes, the upper one smaller than the lower - similar to Types I and J though decorations are different.

Top - knob.

No. of specimen - 7 pairs.

Type M



Basic shape - Pillar

Range of Sizes - 70 to 82 cms (height).

Nature of Stone - granite.

Base - rectangular with top corners and centre raised in points.

Body - Lower part is hexagonal with decorations.
Upper part - cone shaped; smooth cylinder shape with bevelled top.

Head - eight petal shapes but not as sharply defined as in Types K and L.

Top - quadruple, narrowing to blunt top patterns.

No. of specimen - 3 pairs.

Type N

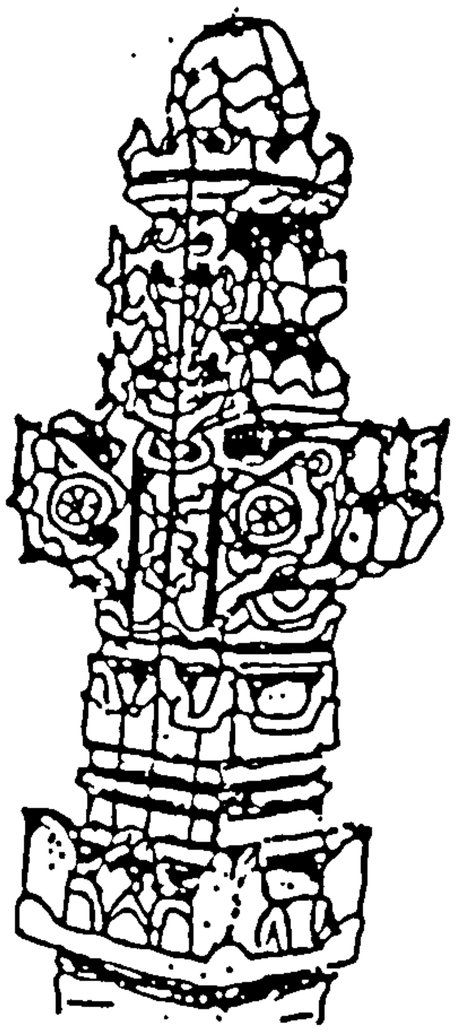
Here we have what appears, at a cursory glance, to be an entirely different form of gravestone. However, close scrutiny will reveal that this Type of stone bears marked similiarities to both the 'Slab' and 'Pillar' batu Aceh, but I believe from the description below that it should be considered as 'Pillar'.

Basic shape - Pillar

Range of Sizes - 75 x 35 x 20 to 90 x 40 x 22 cms.

Nature of Stone - sanstone; soft and pale colour.

Base - rectangular with pointed corners and centre, similar to Types H-M.



Body - Lower part - border pattern similar to bases of 'Slab' and of lower body of 'Pillar' Types G-M.
Upper part - extending from fringe, similar to Type A and bears a remarkable similarity to Type C in general shape. The ladder shaped motif is not depicted here but the deeply recessed side grooves are clearly visible.

Shoulders - wide and curving upwards similar to, but more elaborate than, Type C.

Head - two to five tiers.

Top - rectangular base with curving and pointed sides and centres, surmounted by blunt four sided knob.
An unusual feature of this Type of stone is the ridge with projects the whole length of the stone from base to cap, giving the appearance that the stone is cast in two pieces and joined. This is not the case.

No. of specimen - 16 pairs.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# INSCRIPTIONS

## Introduction

An outstanding characteristic of batu Aceh is the ornamentation of the stones. The ornamentation consists in (a) the sculpturing of the stone itself and (b) in the decoration of the surface, where floral and other, non-human objects and Arabic calligraphy in Late Kufic[1] and Nashki[2] in artistically fashioned calligraphy, are embossed or incised.

This Chapter will concentrate on the inscriptions from the standpoints of their literal meaning and religious significance. The use of inscriptions as decoration will be discussed along with other decorations in the next chapter (Chapter 5).

From an examination of my census (Appendices 1 - 63) on the distribution of batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia, it can be said that out of a total of 213 pairs of batu Aceh 109 are inscribed (see Table 5 below). We can separate them according to the Othman Types as follows:

| Type | No. inscribed (pairs) | Total No. Specimen of Type (pairs) |
|---|---|---|
| A | 27 | 29 |
| B | 10 | 16 |
| C | 32 | 46 |
| D | 8 | 8 |
| E | 8 | 8 |
| G | 3 | 3 |
| H | 18 | 18 |
| I | 3 | 4 |

Table 5 Inscribed batu Aceh According to the Othman Types

The specimens of Othman Types J, K, L, M and N lack any inscriptions. The reason for this can only be conjectured. It could be that fashions changed so that inscriptions were undesirable. It could have been from purely economic reason, for a high degree of skill would be required, in particular now that the basic shape of the batu Aceh had been changed, and this would have made inscriptions more expensive; the religious authorities could have forbidden inscription; in the latter case this prohibition could have influenced the change of Othman Types, for Types J, K and L's octagonal sides were convoluted which rendered inscriptions on them almost impossible; the use of unpolished granite for the smooth bodies of Type M again made inscribing them extremely difficult and as for Type N the decorations were so designed to eliminate any bare surface suitable for inscriptions.

## The Introduction of Arabic Script into South-east Asia

It should be noted that the batu Aceh is not only inscribed stone to have been found in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. There are inscriptions on stones dating both prior to and contemporary with batu Aceh. However, these inscriptions are not in the Arabic language nor do they portray Arabic script.

Before the introduction of Arabic script, the Malay language had adopted two Indian scripts in its writing. These were Pallavan (Sanskrit) which the Javanese evolved into Kawi, and Nagari script, which had been introduced by the Palas from Bengal in the eighteenth century (de Casparis 1980).

Among the major contributions of Islam to the people of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago was its effect on the development of the Malay language. With the advent of Islam and the consequent conversion of Malay kingdoms to the Islamic faith, the Arabic alphabet and Jawi[3] script were introduced and adopted by the Malays as the medium of writing the Malay language. S.M.N. Al-Attas (1969:27-28) remarked that as a result of the influence of Islam, the Malay language underwent great changes and enrichment, due to the borrowing of a large number of Arabic and Persian words. Now the Malay language acquired the status of a literary and religious language and became the medium of religious preaching and the lingua franca, displacing the previously important role of the Javanese language in the region.

## Inscribed Stones Prior to and Contemporary with Batu Aceh

Arabic inscriptions were present in Malay-Indonesian Archipelago before the acceptance of Islam in the thirteenth century by the local inhabitants. These were to be found on monuments, including gravestones in places which had been visited by and/or settled by the families of Arab traders and preachers. These monuments are to be found along the Arab trade routes around the Archipelago and up into China. Arab historians and geographers have made numerous references to the existence in the middle of 8th and 9th centuries AD, of definite shipping routes from Arabia to China, in particular to Canton, which included calls at several ports of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago (Tibbetts 1957).[4] The discoveries of a number of inscribed monuments along these routes supports their views.

Two inscriptions pre-11th century AD have been found in the Phan-rang region, in the south of Champa, "the land which once belonged to the Chams, an ancient people of the Malayo-Polynesian race, who are mostly Muslims, having a matrilineal society and very close ethnological, linguistic, cultural and historical ties with the Malays of the Peninsula and the Archipelago" (Fatimi 1963:42-43). The first monument (Pl. 14b) is a gravestone with an Arabic inscription, in the Kufi script, and is dated 1039 AD. This gravestone is on the grave of Ahmad, son of Abu Ibrahim, son of Abu 'Arradah, the Rahdar, alias Abu Kamil, who died on Thursday at night, on 29th of Safar, in the year four hundred and thirty one (1039 AD). The second (Pl. 14c) "is a very mutilated piece of what must have been a pillar with an inscription laying down regulations for the payment of taxes, settlement of debt, etc." (Fatimi 1963:43). The first stone (gravestone) is beautifully calligraphed in

contrast with the inscription on the second stone. Fatimi (1963:46, 60) remarked that the Kufi script on the gravestone shows a high degree of legibility and ephigraphical elegance compared to the inscription on the second stone which was executed in poor Jawi. Ravaisse (cited in Fatimi 1963:43), who deciphered both of the inscriptions, puts their dates between 1025 and 1035 AD. From the inscription on this gravestone, Fatimi (1963:47) deduces that Abu Kamil "was a Shia".

In Brunei, a gravestone inscribed with the name and date of death has been discovered in one of the cemeteries, near Jalan Residency, in Bandar Seri Begawan. It marked the grave of a woman named Makhdarah, who died in 440 Hegira (1048 AD). The importance of this woman has yet to be ascertained (Abdul Latif Hj. Ibrahim 1979).

Another inscribed monument has been discovered at Leran, near Surabaya in Eastern Java. It is a gravestone of a Muslim woman named Fatimah and dated 1082 AD. The stone (Pl. 14a) was inscribed in the Kufi script. The reverse side of this gravestone was inscribed with a quotation from the Koran (55:26-27). This quotation, as will be explained later, contains elements of Sufism. Fatimi (1963:38-39) interprets the name and the date on this Leran gravestone as evidence of the settlement in the area of a considerable number of Muslims, since it is known that the early Muslim traders were never accompanied by their families on their long voyages. If these traders remained in one place for a considerable time, they would marry native women after converting them to Islam.

What is the significance of these earlier dated stones in the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago? Fatimi (1963:38) has

rightly pointed out that the "full significance of these earlier monuments has not yet been realized, greater importance having been given to the tombstone of Malik as-Salih, which is later than these by more than two hundred years". He concludes that "one of the reasons for this preference is that Islam has usually been identified with the Muslim Empire. Thus due notice has not been taken of the advent of Islam in Peninsular India and of its progress in China. Islam in Malaysia has also been neglected as it did not build an Ummayad or an Abbasid or a Fatimid Khalifate or a Mughal Empire".

As the names of these individuals suggest, and, also, is argued by Fatimi, that they were not local persons. The conclusion can be drawn that before the thirteenth century, the local people had not been attracted to Islam in any significant number, or else, I suppose, there would have been gravestones inscribed in Kufi script referring to local people.

## Batu Aceh and Contemporary Monuments

The first dated gravestone attributed to the local Muslim ruler has been discovered at Pasai and it marked the grave of Sultan Malik al-Salleh, who died in 1297 AD. On this tombstone, the type which I term as batu Aceh, the name of the deceased and the date of his death are clearly inscribed. It was also inscribed with a quotation from the Koran (59:22-24) and a Sufi poem (see later).

Although Arabic inscriptions were beginning to be accepted by local people and inscribed on their gravestones, in the area where

Islamic influence was still insignificant, the gravestones continued to be inscribed in Sanskrit or Kawi - the script and language which was widely used, before the advent of Islam, on gravestones found, for example, in Central and North Sumatra and Java (Damais 1957, 1968; de Casparis 1980; Hasan Muarif Ambary 1984).

In the area where Islam began to leave its impact on the local people, the inscriptions were in a mixture of Sanskrit or Kawi or Jawi and Arabic. Batu Bersurat Trengganu (Pl. 16) or known in English as 'the Trengganu stone' is a good example of this category of inscription. The Trengganu stone bears the date, 702 Hegira (1303 AD)[5]. In many ways, this stone bears marked similarities with the one discovered at Phan-rang region (discussed earlier), except that the former has a much later date. Based on their similarity, in particular their type of inscription, Fatimi (1963:53) detects the Champa origin on the Trengganu stone. He writes that "it appears that living with the people of Champa, the Malaysians tried to imitate their ephigraphical exploits". The inscription on the Trengganu was regarded by Jones (1971:1216) as "the first clearly Islamic Malay inscription" ever found in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. However, Hooker (1983:7) remarks that the inscription on the Trengganu stone "is written in Malay (in Arabic script) and contains a short list of ten rules, breach of which was punished ... the content of the rules is not Islamic but local Malay/ Javanese ... the language used contains a large proportion of Javanese and Sanskrit terms".

Another example of combined Sanskrit and Arabic inscriptions has been found on a tombstone in Brunei. One side of the stone was inscribed in Arabic while on the other was Sanskrit (Pl. 15). The Arabic script

reads "Sulaiman bin Abdul Rahman bin Abdullah Nurullah Wafat Tahun 821 Hegira (1418/1419 AD)" (Sharma 1979:99).

On the Malay peninsula, another inscription in Arabic and Kawi has been found on a tombstone at Pengkalan Kempas.[6] Casparis (1980:2) remarked that "as to the Jawi inscriptions, they are dated 872 (written out in full as delapan ratus tujuh puluh dua tahun) of the Hijrah era during the reign of Sultan Mansor Shah. This year corresponding to AD 1467/1468, does fall within the reign of Mansor Shah (1459-1477)" (see Pl. 17).

The inscription is contemporary with that found on the first dated batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia i.e. the tombstone of Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang, who died in 1475 AD.

The inscriptions of the Pengkalan Kempas tombstone are contemporary with those found on the type which I call batu Aceh. They show a combination of Sanskrit or Kawi and Arabic. They differ also from batu Aceh in shape and decoration. However, the content of the inscriptions are similar to those on batu Aceh i.e. they give the name, date of death and have a religious slogan.[7]

## Arabic Calligraphy on Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Arabic calligraphy was inscribed on batu Aceh of both 'Slab' and 'Pillar' types (91 and 18 pairs respectively). These inscriptions are either in relief, incised or embossed, in 1, 2 or 3 horizontal lines of

script (Pls. 18b, c and 19), or in some cases the relief inscriptions are continued vertically (see Pl. 19b, 30b and 52), and are used to embellish both the front and back surfaces of the stone. The type of script used is either 'Late Kufic' or Naskhi. Due to the stones being exposed to tropical weather for centuries, only parts of some of the inscriptions are legible, but by comparing them with similar specimens which are in better preservation, I was able to recognise and decipher them, in particular, those inscribed with the Shahadah (see later).

## Interest of Previous Scholars on the Inscriptions of the Batu Aceh

Interest of the earlier scholars (e.g. Barnes 1911a, Winstedt 1918 and Moquette 1922) in the inscription on batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia was mainly in their dates, the artistic and cultural aspects of them was ignored. In fact, when Linehan (1936) gave a list of Arabic inscriptions on the batu Aceh found in Pahang by the 1930s, he was interested in the historical aspect of the stones. He did, however, in his article published in 1926, comment as well on the grammatical errors in the Arabic inscribed on the tombstones belonging to Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang, which he had discovered earlier at Dusun Pinang (Appendix 1). He remarked that "the Arabic is grammatically not wholly correct. Therefore it is difficult to determine what is the right way to read it". He discovered also that some of the words were mispelt, which prompts him to remark that "let us say that the stone-cutter only imitated some well-known characters, without knowing what they meant" (Linehan 1926: 190).[8]

Some of the Arabic inscriptions on batu Aceh found in Johore were deciphered by Abdul Hamid (1932). He was able to identify some of the quotations from the Koran inscribed on batu Aceh, in particular those found at Sayong Pinang. But he did not give any comment on the quality of the Arabic calligraphy on the batu Aceh which he had studied. Similarly, he did not offer any interpretation of the significance of the quotations from the Koran on the batu Aceh. However, when seeing the Shahadah on one of the batu Aceh found at Sayong Pinang, he questioned "is it the grave of a mystic?" (p. 163). As Linehan did in Pahang, Abdul Hamid was also able to point out the stone-cutters' errors in the inscriptions on the batu Aceh found at Kampung Raja, Pagoh, Muar (see Appendix 16).

In 1973, Ibrahim Alfian discussed briefly one of the categories of Arabic inscription on batu Aceh which I call 'Sufi poem' (see below) found on the tombstones of Sultan Malik al-Salleh of Pasai and compared them with the same poem found on the tombstones of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka and Sultan Abdul Jamil of Pahang. He called the quotation simply as 'puisi' (poetry), but he did not state whether the puisi contained Sufi elements or not.

Thus the interest of earlier scholars lay first of all in the history of the deceased as could be gleaned from the inscriptions on the tombstones. This led to interest in the Arabic inscript itself and they postulated on the reasons for errors in the grammar and spelling of the Arabic inscriptions. Next, interest was taken in the religious texts inscribed on the batu Aceh and the reasons for them being there. In 1973 Ibrahim Alfian attempted to make a comparison of tombstones bearing 'puisi' (poetry) and different treatments of the same poetry. My interests are in the historical aspects of the inscriptions but I wish

to broaden the discussion, because I consider that the importance of the inscriptions is not solely confined to their historical value. I intend to attempt a classification of the inscriptions and relate the nature of them to religious and philosophical concepts.

## Classification of Information from the Inscriptions on the Batu Aceh

There are 109 inscribed batu Aceh known to date. From my census it is possible to classify the content of the inscriptions into five categories:

| Nature of information | No. of stones |
|---|---|
| 1. Name, genealogy of the deceased and date of death. | 7 |
| 2. Quotations from the Koran. | 38 |
| 3. The Shahadah. | 41 |
| 4. Sufi poems. | 6 |
| 5. Quatrain. | 1 |

All but one of these inscriptions is in Arabic; the exception is a mixture of Arabic and Malay. However, it should be noted that one category is not used exclusively; in fact, there are various permutations.

### Name of Deceased, Genealogy and Date of Death

Our census indicates that six tombstones are inscribed with the name, genealogy of the deceased and the date of death and one gravestone

was inscribed with the name and genealogy of the deceased but no date was given. These tombstones are as follows:

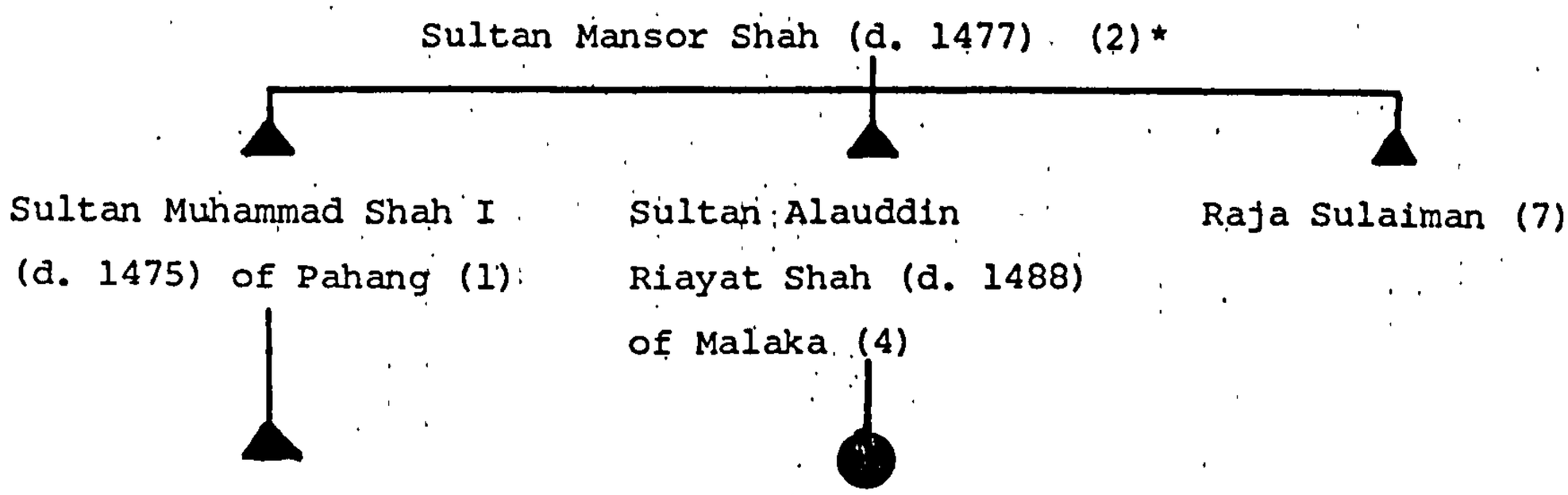
1. Tombstones of Sultan Muhammad Shah I (d. 1475) of Pahang (Appendix 1).
2. Tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah (d. 1477) of Melaka (Appendix 59).
3. Tombstone of Ismail son of Haji Nasruddin son of Ismail Lai (d. 1480), see Appendix to Chapter 6.
4. Tombstones of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (d. 1488) of Melaka (Appendix 16).
5. Tombstones of Raja Fatimah (d. 1495) of Pahang (Appendix 2).
6. Tombstones of Raja Jamil (d. 1511/1512) of Pahang (Appendix 2).
7. Tombstones of Raja Sulaiman of Melaka (undated), (Appendix 23).

All, with the exception of number 3, are belonging to royalty. What can we learn from the above inscriptions?

The inscriptions tell us the genealogical ties of early Malayan rulers. The inscriptions enable us to interpret the nature of the Malay society, in particular royalty, in the fifteenth to the late nineteenth century.

From the inscriptions we can establish, with the exception of number 3 above, that all the deceased were related, either by kin or marriage. It is better explained in the following diagram.

Table 6 Family of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka




* Sultan Mansor Shah (2) was pre-deceased by his son (1) by two years. (6) married (5), cousin.

Indeed, they were the persons who featured in the Melakan period of Malaysian history. Their inscriptions give further solid evidence to support earlier historical writings. In the case of the Sultans, their dates of death provide us with the precise date of the end of their reign.

We are unable at present, to determine the identity of Ismail son of Haji Nasruddin son of Ismail Lai (Pl. 25a) and to ascertain whether he was a local person or a foreigner, although Moquette (cited in Winstedt 1932a) attributed this gravestone to one of the traders from Gujarat. He based his deduction on the historical and commercial ties which Gujarat and Melaka had in the fifteenth century. It seems probable that Moquette was right but we have no record which indicates that there were Gujarati traders who died in Melaka.

## Islamic Influence on Malay Kingship

The effect of the introduction, or imposition, of Islam in Malay-Indonesian Archipelago not only brought a new religion, a new form of writing and literature but the people, in particular the rulers, sought to identify themselves with Islam, thus adopting an alien system of authority and titles.

The words 'Sultan' and 'Shah' used by the Malay rulers and inscribed on their tombstones reveals that the Malay rulers had adopted Islamic titles which denoted what Milner (1983:43) called "Persian and Sufic notions of leadership". Milner (1983:35) adds that "Malay utilization of the medieval Islamic tradition of kingship was expressed at the most obvious level, in the adoption of titles and descriptive formulae used in the Persianized Muslim world". Not only were the titles of the rulers changed to 'Sultan', they were also proclaimed by the people to be 'God's Shadow on Earth' or 'Helper of the World and of the Religion' or 'Shadow of God on Earth' (Johns 1957:27, Milner 1983:35). The headstone of Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang was inscribed with the words "There passed away Sultan Muhammad Shah ... son of Sultan Mansur Shah, the son of the late Mudzaffar Shah, the son of the late Muhammad Shah ..." (translated by Linehan 1926:191, see Appendix 1). On the tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (Appendix 59) the words "This is the consecrated the holy grave of the brilliant illuminated tomb of the just Sultan, the magnanimous ruler Sultan Mansor Shah son of the deceased Muzaffar Shah ..." (translated by Moquette 1922:3). While the headstone of Sultan Alauddin Shah of Melaka was inscribed as follows "This is the grave of the brilliant the blessed, the pure Sultan Alauddin, son of Sultan Mansor Shah, son of Sultan Muzaffar Shah ..." (translated

by Abdul Hamid (1932:159), see Appendix 16. In fact, these were the changes brought about by Islam in the political field of the Malay Archipelago. It substituted the Sultanate system of government for the devaraja (God-king) which was a system of Hindu divine kingship. There are many examples which illustrate how Islam functioned in the Sultanate and political systems. In Malay literature, there are many indications (e.g. Sejarah Melayu and Bustanu's-Salatin) of efforts made to identify the Malay ruler as Khalifah (Caliph), the representative of Allah, who governed the country according to His law.

## The Sufi Influence on the Archipelago Rulers

In the content of the inscriptions on batu Aceh it is possible to detect elements of religious philosophy which are of Sufic origin. The mysticism of the Sufis attracted the rulers of Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, in particular, according to Milner (1983:39) "the mystical notion of the Perfect Man". Milner based his evidence on Malay hikayats (stories) where the Sultans are depicted as having the attributes of a perfect man e.g. as "God's shadow on Earth". This Sufic concept was first introduced into the Islamic world by Ibn al-Arabi, a Persian who died in 1240. The idea was developed further by Abdul Karim al-Jili (d. 1428). It was he who stressed the Buddhist/Christian concept of the divine nature of man's origin and the spiritual journey which man must undergo, from first leaving God to dwell on earth in order to enable him to return to God. This upward journey would be difficult and success could only be achieved by going through a series of stages by which he gained spiritual knowledge until he came to the realization that he was unified with God (S.M.N. Al-Attas 1963:20).

The first evidence of Malay royalty interest in the "Perfect Man" can be found in Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai. It records that a fourteenth century ruler of Pasai gained magical power after his conversion to Islam. With this power and his sanctity or keramat, the Raja was able to defeat "an Indian yogi, skilled in magic arts" (Milner 1983:40).

Sejarah Melayu provides further evidence of the Malay Raja's interest in the "Perfect Man". It records that Sultan Mansor Shah (1456-1477) (see Plate 59 where his tombstone with batu Aceh is illustrated) was interested in tasauwuf or mysticism and he studied the mystical book called Durr Mandzum (or Daru'l-mazlum, Winstedt 1938:127), written by Maulana Abu Ishak and taken to Melaka by his student; Maulana Abu Bakar. There were even exchanges of theological and mystical questions between Sultan Mansor Shah and theologians in Pasai (Milner 1983:40). When he died his gravestone was inscribed. One of the words was "zawiyah" meaning the place where the Sufis carried out their religious activities (Rauf 1964:83, 105; Anonymous 1959:37; Schimmel 1975:231).

When Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (d. 1488) succeeded his father as Sultan of Melaka (see Plate 37a), he copied the practices of Caliph Umar Ibn al-Khattab, who is known to have disguised himself, at night, in order to discover the condition and practices of his subjects. According to Sejarah Melayu, the Sultan, when learning that thieves were rampant in Melaka, decided to go out at night and patrolled the city and he managed to arrest the thieves. S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:22) regarded Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah as "a disciple of a mystic". The inscriptions on the tombstone of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah described him as a 'brilliant' and 'just' Sultan, thus qualified to be a "Perfect Man". Brakel (1975:59) stated that heterodox mysticism claimed that by

imitating "the Prophet ('the Perfect Man' or al-Insan al-Kamil) one could ultimately achieve union with the Divine."

In Aceh, according to Brakel (1975:59), Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (1588-1604) "is referred to ... as Sayyidi al-kamil (My perfect Lord)". He further emphasizes that these concepts of kingship and the "Perfect Man" had their origins from Hindu religious theory which has been integrated into Muslim context.

So from the inscribed batu Aceh we can deduce the effect of Islam on the Peninsular Malaysian rulers. Their titles had been changed to those of Arabic/Persian Rulers. The influence of the mystic Sufi sect can be detected from the wording on the stones; in particular the Sufi concept of the "Perfect Man".

Quotations from the Koran

Another category of inscription to be found on batu Aceh is quotations from the Koran. The quotations were taken from:

| Quotations | Frequency |
|---|---|
| 1. Koran (2:255) | 4 |
| 2. Koran (3:17 ) | 1 |
| 3. Koran (3:18 ) | 3 |
| 4. Koran (3:19 ) | 1 |
| 5. Koran (3:25 ) | 2 |
| 6. Koran (3:26 ) | 1 |
| 7. Koran (3:27 ) | 1 |
| 8. Koran (3:185)* | 2 |
| 9. Koran (9:128) | 1 |
| 10. Koran (9:129) | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Koran (10:62) | | 1 |
| 12. | Koran (20:55) | | 1 |
| 13. | Koran (21:35)* | | 1 |
| 14. | Koran (28:88) | | 4 |
| 15. | Koran (29:57)* | | 2 |
| 16. | Koran (55:26) | ?42:19 1475 AD | 4 |
| 17. | Koran (55:27) | | 2 |
| 18. | Koran (55:28) | ?57:25 ca1500AD | 1 |
| 19. | Koran (59:21) | | 1 |
| 20. | Koran (59:23) | | 1 |
| 21. | Koran (59:24) | ?61:13 1480 AD<br>102:2 1485 | 2 |

The verses are not usually quoted in full, only certain lines are used and in some cases two or three lines from different verses were inscribed on one tombstone. Due to limited space on the stone, usually the quotation ends abruptly, but it continued on the other panels of the same stone. If a longer quotation is used (e.g. Koran 2:255), it begins on the headstone and ends on the footstone. In fact, Koran (3:185, 21:35, 29:57, see above list of quotations marked *) have the same wording and meaning i.e. "Every soul shall taste death". These quotations are inscribed on 8 gravestones. The same quotations can also be found on Muslim gravestones in Indonesia (Damais 1957) and in Iran (Miles 1939). Two gravestones have Koran (2:255 or Ayat al-Kursi)[9] and another two Koran 28:88. Koran (28:88) includes the literal meaning that 'from God you come and to Him you shall return' (for a full translation of all these quotations see Appendix to this Chapter).

The content of the quotations, however, have one common theme i.e. stressing the fact that "God only exists and He fixes the will of man", regarded by Archer (1937:7) as one of "the chief elements of Sufi doctrine".[10] S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:20) adds that "to the Sufis, the existence of man's individuality is not independent, since all

beings depend for their existence on God. Man comes from God, and his return will be to God". Archer (1937:3) further remarked that "the germs of sufi-pantheism[11] are to be found in the Qur'an" and he cited Koran (28:88, 55:26 and 2:109) as the examples. Koran (28:88) says that "Everything is perishing (halik) except the face of God". Koran (55:26) says that "Everyone on earth is passing away (fani) but the glorious and honoured face of thy Lord abideth forever" while Koran (2:109) says that "Wheresoever ye turn, there is the face of Allah". The quotations serve to emphasize the absoluteness of God, Who is described in the Koran as Ahad (one). This doctrine, according to S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:25-26) "clearly shows that Allah of the Sufis - Malay or otherwise - ... a dynamic Being, constantly realizing His infinite creative possibilities in the manner described by the Koran as 'untouched by weariness, and unseizable by slumber or sleep' (Koran 2:255)". Indeed, as pointed out by Bousfield (1983:109) "in these Quranic indications we could find the whole of the Sufi cosmology".

Archer (1937:7) pointed out that "the two chief doctrines of Sufism are that of 'The One' (Ahad), and that of 'the way of the One' (tariqat). The 'ladder' decoration with or without inscriptions between the rungs (see Chapter 5) I believe can be associated with this concept of a way up to God.

The Shahadah

A total of 41 of our specimens are inscribed with the Shahadah - a Muslim affirmation of faith either in full i.e. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (La ilaha illallah Muhammad ar Rasul Allah) or There is no God but

Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, or the first part of the Shahadah i.e. لا اله الا الله (La ilaha illallah) or There is no God but Allah. The latter is a form of zikir, usually repeated in chorus and used by the Sufi orders to achieve a kind of religious ecstasy. By confessing the Shahadah (Creed) a Muslim believes in the unity of God (tauhid). In fact, every new born Malay child has the Shahadah whispered into its ears by its father and every dying Muslim (if possible) is persuaded to utter the Shahadah in the hope that his soul will have a safe journey to attain unification with God. It is inscribed on their gravestones to serve as a constant reminder to "the wandering soul onward ... until it reaches the desired goal - perfect union with the Divine Being" (Archer 1937:8).

The Shahadah is the first pillar of Muslim faith (rukun iman). According to Schimmel (1975:167) "the distinctive worship of the Sufi is the zikir, the remembrance or recollection of God". The Sufis believe that "nobody can reach God without constantly remembering Him" (Schimmel 1975:167). In the Middle Eastern Islamic belief, only those who have said the testimony - the Shahadah will be taken out of the Fire by God (Smith & Haddad 1981:81).

Moehammad Hoesin (1970:97), perhaps using information supplied earlier by Snouck Hurgronje (1906, I:431), stated that vast number of gravestones (batu Aceh) manufactured at Kampung Meurassa[12] were embellished with the Shahadah (see e.g. Pl. 11d). Similar gravestones found in Peninsular Malaysia (probably from Kampung Meurassa) show that the inscriptions were on the body (e.g. Pl. 11c), on the panel-texts (Pls. 18 b, c and 19), inside the 'vase' panels (Pl. 18a), on the curly shoulders (Pl. 22b) and on the base (Pl. 20). Examples of batu

Aceh inscribed with the Shahadah are as follows:

1. Pahang (Appendices 5, 8 and 11).
2. Johore (Appendices 19, 22, 23 and 25-27).
3. Perak (Appendices 29-33, 37, 43 and 44).
4. Kedah (Appendices 48, 49 and 51).
5. Perlis (Appendices 53-57).
6. Melaka (Appendix 60).
7. Trengganu (Appendix 63).

It is difficult in some cases to readily decipher the Shahadah. The reason for this is that the Arabic writing is fashioned so as to produce an artistic effect rather than easily legible script (as in the case of the specimens from Kampung Kuala Bera, see Appendix 11). On close examination the inscriptions can be deciphered. To illustrate this, the line of script from one of the specimens of Type C (see Pl. 18b) can be broken to give لا اله الا الله or لا اله الا الله (see Pl. 62).

I believe, the inscriptions were used not only as a religious slogan aimed at reminding the Muslim visitors of the unity of God[13] but also were artistically fashioned so as to form decorations.

## Sufi Poems[14]

The next category of inscription to be found on batu Aceh is what I call 'Sufi poems'. There are two such inscriptions:

(a) الموت باب وكل الناس داخله
الموت كاس وكل الناس شاربه

Its translation:

"Death is a Cup of which all men drink
Death is a door through which all men enter"

(see Abdul Hamid 1932:167).

and

(b) انما الدنيا فنا ليس للدنيا ثبوت
الا انما الدنيا كبيت نسجته العنكبوت

Its translation:

"Listen. Verily the world is perishable the world is not everlasting,

Verily the world is like a Web weaved by a spider"

(see Linehan 1936:229).

Our census indicates that six tombstones are inscribed with one or the other of these poems. The first poem is inscribed on the tombstones of Raja Fatimah and Raja Jamil (Appendix 2) and on one unidentified gravestone at Makam Nibong (Appendix 4). Two more examples are to be found in Johore; one at Pagoh, Muar (Appendix 16) and the other at Sayong Pinang (Appendix 23). The second poem was inscribed on the tombstones of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (Appendix 59), Raja Jamil at Makam Ziarat Raja Raden in Pekan, Pahang (Appendix 2) and that of Sultan Malik al-Salleh of Pasai, who died in 1297 AD (Ibrahim Alfian 1973:34-36).

The poem reflects the Sufis vision of world and death and the hinderance they have to face on their journey to find union with their Divine Being. As pointed out by Archer (1937:9) "another interesting characteristic of the Sufi is his extensive use of symbols (in this

case - words) ... in the mind of the Sufi is not merely an object or an idea. For him every object has, besides its own immediate significance, also an ideal content. It is this latter content which is the real object of the Sufi's search ... Objects are, therefore, veils, - not veils that hide, but veils that reveal the One. This attitude is especially noticeable in Sufi poetry which, as a rule, is written with a double sense".

Quatrain

This last category of inscription to be found on batu Aceh is that called by Abdul Hamid (1932:161) a "quatrain", a stanza of four lines usually rhyming alternately. This 'quatrain' was inscribed on the tombstone of Marhum Berdarah Puteh at Pagoh in Muar (Appendix 16).

The inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كل نفس ذائقة الموت خلقت من

التراب قصر(ت) حيا وعملت الفصاحة في

الخطاب وعدت الى التراب فصر(ت)

ميتا كأنك ما برحت من الترابي

Engku Abdul Hamid remarked that "with the last two words of line two begins a quatrain from the Alf Laila wa-laila" (Arabian Nights)[15]. The quatrain:

خلقت من التراب فصرت حيا وعلمت الفصاحة في الخطاب

وعدت الى التراب فصرت ميتا كأنك ما برحت من التراب

The quatrain concerns a story of Ali Sher and the Slave Girl Zamrud, on the 309th nights. Burton (cited by Abdul Hamid 1932:161) translates the quatrain as:

"Thou wast create of dust and cam'st to life, And
learned'st in eloquence to place thy trust;
Anon, to dust returning, thou becamest
A corpse, as though ne'er taken from the dust."

The theme of this quatrain is mystic, as pointed out earlier by S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:20) that "to the Sufis, the existence of man's individuality is not independent, since all being depend for their existence on God. Man comes from God, and his return will be to God".

So, it can be said that some of the inscriptions found on batu Aceh contain veiled messages of Sufism. These concerned the Sufi's vision of life, death and the mystical journey of the soul to the 'Throne of God' to be in communion with Him. Although these inscriptions can be classified as containing a Sufi element, the exact date when Sufism was first introduced to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is not known. However, Snouck Hurgronje (1906, II:9-10) indicated that some form of mysticism was introduced "to Eastern Indian Archipelago simultaneously with the introduction of Islam". In support of this, Johns (1961a:23) while reminding us of the importance of the Sufi movement in the Muslim world from the thirteenth century, speculates that it was not until this time (13th century) that Islam "took root" in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

We have no earlier 'mystic' writings before the appearance of Hamzah Fansuri,[16] a sixteenth century Acehnese mystic. In fact, Milner

(1983:41) has pointed out, rightly, that "if the mystics of the courts of Pasai and Melaka expressed their doctrine in writing, these words have not survived". Nevertheless, I believe, the inscriptions on the tombstones of early rulers of Pasai and Melaka, although limited, throw some light on the existence of Sufistic elements as early as the thirteenth century. On the Peninsular Malaysia, the inscriptions on the tombstones of early sultans of Melaka, do indicate that Sufi elements had already reached Melaka at least in the late fifteenth century. In fact, one of the sultans, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (d. 1488) was regarded by S.M.N. Al-Attas as a "disciple of a mystic". This is contrary to B.W. & L.Y. Andaya's (1982:53) opinion that there is no Sufi connection in the Malay peninsula in the Melaka period.

Summary

From an extensive study of the inscriptions on the batu Aceh we can obtain a considerable amount of valuable information.

The inscriptions, are written in Arabic script using Kufic (late) or Naskhi, in the Arabic language, with one exception that of Raja Fatimah (see Appendix 2) which, although written in Arabic, uses a mixture of Arabic and the Malay language. The information given on the stones can be divided into biographical and religious. The earlier specimens (types A and B) contain both types of information but as time progresses the biographical disappears altogether and gives way solely to the religious. Even the latter evolves from the earliest form which had long passages of religious texts e.g. Shahadah until, before

it ceases to be used, that is reduced to only one word that of الله (Allah).

From the biographical detail on the early batu Aceh (Othman Types A and B) we can obtain some anthropological details regarding descent and marriage customs. The batu Aceh of Sultans Mansor Shah, Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang and Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka depict the patrilineal descent of the rulers (shown on Table 6) and the acceptance, at that period (15 and 16th century), of parallel cousin marriage i.e. offspring of two brothers which, although still permitted in Malaysian society, is nevertheless rare nowadays. We have no other evidence from batu Aceh to ascertain how widespread this practice was.

The religious inscriptions are taken either directly from the Koran or from Sufic literature. The Sufic concepts, not confined to Islam, are evident in such phrases as "Death is a door through which all men must enter" and the Sufi concept of the "Perfect Man".

The batu Aceh which have inscriptions giving biographical details including date of death date from 1475 and the last dates is 1511/1512 (the time of the fall of Melaka). Considering the length of time, 400 years, over which batu Aceh were used in Peninsular Malaysia, the period represented here (1475-1511/1512) is extremely short. After the fall of Melaka inscriptions with biographical detail and quotations from the Koran are no longer used on batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia. We have to question why this was so. Was there a fundamental change in the attitude to religion? Was it no longer possible to order special personalized inscriptions or did they have to take what was mass produced? In Aceh, the name of the Sultans (e.g. Sultan Ali Mughayat

Shah, d. 1530) still continued to be inscribed on their gravestones of similar style (batu Aceh), so the change in Peninsular Malaysia, that is, the ommission of biographical data and the use of quotations from the Koran was not mirrored in Aceh.

After the fall of Melaka the kingdom disintegrated and for some considerable period there was no strong Malay power in the Malay peninsula. Trade with Aceh underwent a change as Aceh spread its influence over Peninsular Malaysia. Therefore, Aceh could have brought in batu Aceh as trade goods rather than people of Peninsular Malaysia being able to order specially inscribed gravestones.

Why the Shahadah replaced quotations from the Koran is more difficult to determine. It could have been that the Shahadah had more general appeal in the case of mass produced stones. Inscriptions, in the form of the Shahadah, were evidently still being produced in the eighteenth century. Although the tradition for putting inscriptions on the batu Aceh ceased after this time, nevertheless, other gravestones (not batu Aceh) were inscribed and still are to this day.

## NOTES

1. The oldest form of Arabic calligraphy is Kufic; named after the town of Kufah, near Baghdad, in which it may have been used first. Kufic is bold, angular and majestic. It is ideally suited to monumental used for inscriptions on stone, including gravestones. By the eleventh century, in addition to Kufic there were eight basic scripts in use (see examples below). These include Thuluth, Rayhani, Tauqi, Muhaqqaq, Farsi, Diwani, Ruq'ah and Naskhi.

The Variations of the Shahadah in Various Arabic Scripts.

(from Katalog Pameran Hasil Sumbangan Islam Hingga Abad Ke 15 Hijrah, Kota Kinabalu: Kementerian Kebudayaan, Belia dan Sukan, Sabah, 1981).

2. Naskhi is cursive script which was developed from the need to write with greater speed and with greater accuracy. Both of these criteria were fulfilled by the Naskhi scripts which employed both diacritical points and vowel sounds, making it easily understood.

3. No one knows for certain when the script was first termed Jawi. Wilkinson (1959, I:452) indicates that "the word Jawi in Malay is

connected with the meaning of 'jawi-jawi' or 'jejawi tree', jawi rice or padi (i.e. ordinary swamp rice in contrast to glutinous rice), and cattle or ox", which has no connection at all with writing. Beg (1983:189) defined Jawi as "the Arabic adjectival form of Jawa (Java); Malayan; appertaining to Malayan peoples and countries. Huruf Jawi is the Malayo-Arabic written characters". Why is it connected to Java? Historically Islam reached there only in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Arnold 1965:388) which is quite late compared to other states in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Omar bin Awang (1980:45-46) suggests that "if one scrutinises the meaning of the word al-jawah found in Arabic sources written before the middle of the fifteenth century AD (citing Yaqut, Mu'jam al-Buldan, ed. F. Wusteinfeld, (Leipzig 1868), vol. III, p. 445; Abu al-Fida, Taqwim al-Buldan, (Paris 1840), p. 368; Ibn Battutah, Rihlat Ibn Battutah (Cairo 1964), vol. II, pp. 152-154, one would discover that al-jawah meant the island of Sumatra. The fact points to a strong possiblity that the Jawi script could be named by the Arabs as the script pertaining to Sumatra". This suggestion seems plausible to me.

4. For the references to Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean from ancient to early Medieval times see Hourani (1951) and discussion on the role of Arab traders in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago from the 8th to 16th century see Meglio (1970). For a discussion on Asian trade and European influence in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the 16 and 17 centuries see, Meilink-Roelofsz (1962). During my visit to Canton, China in December 1982 I was taken to the Muslim cemetery there which contained graves of early Arab traders who died there in the 7th and 8th centuries (Othman Mohd. Yatim 1982a).

5. Some scholars have cast doubts over the accuracy of this date. For a detailed discussion on this issue see Fatimi (1963:61-66). This has also led S.M.N. Al-Attas (1970b) to write his book dealing specifically on the question of dating of this stone. Hooker (1983:7) has pointed out that "in all the debate on (this stone) it is remarkable that this inscription has only been cited as evidence of dating. In fact its provisions tell us more about Islam at this time than any other single source".

6. For a detailed discussion on this stone see Casparis (1980:1-22).

7. For a textual survey of inscriptions, including funerary inscriptions, in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, see Damais (1968).

8. I think Linehan was unfair in his comments, for, after all, the stone-cutters/engravers were not scholars and, moreover, the Arabic language was not their own language.

9. In Folk Islam, Ayat al-Kursi of the 'Verse of the Throne' (Koran 2:255) is attributed with a potency to ward off evil. I observed that this ayat was also inscribed on Chinese Islamic porcelain found in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, see Othman Mohd. Yatim (1981a).

10. For an introduction and discussion on Sufism, see Nicholson (1914, 1975) and Schimmel (1975). For discussions on Sufism in Sumatra, see Archer (1937) and Sufism as practised by the Malays, see S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963).

11. S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:10) rejects the use of the word pantheism. He argues that "analysis of the significance of the term pantheism reveals that the Sufi doctrine of the 'Unity of Existence' has never been polluted by pantheism".

12. During my visit to Kampung Meurassa, near Banda Aceh (then known as Kuta Raja), in September 1983, I visited three of the village's graveyards where I observed that most of the batu Aceh in these graveyards are identical with the ones in the Peninsular Malaysia. A photograph of slab and pillar batu Aceh produced at Kampung Meurassa can be seen in Snouck Hurgronje (1906, II:59). Now, in Kampung Meurassa, some of the batu Aceh have lost their original function and they have been painted to make them 'attractive to tourists'. (See Pl. 21)

13. Prof. Oleg Grabar (1983:97-98) made a remark on the beauty and the function of Arabic calligraphy in Islamic art, he said that the artistic function of writing was not only limited to the aesthetic quality of the script but the chosen texts convey religious messages as well. He adds that "the choice of passages from the Koran has a precise purpose", for example, the repetition of the Shahadah was not "mere ritualistic redundancy. Their objective was to evoke the key Muslim idea that all creations and all acts occur only by the will of God".

14. Commenting on the quotations which I term as 'Sufi poem', Mr. John Bousfield (in.litt. 29.5.1985) says that "unfortunately, although I feel that these poems are Sufi, and can be given a Sufi interpretation, I cannot at this moment prove it by locating these lines in any known Sufi poem".

15. The presence of Sufi elements in some of the stories in the Arabian Nights was indicated by Nicholson (1914:63).

16. Hamzah Fansuri, who lived between 1550-1600, was the earliest Malay writer of prose and poetic work in Sufi literature. S.M.N. Al-Attas (1963:23) regards him as "a veritable Ibnu'l-Arabi of the Malays". S.M.N. Al-Attas also proposes that the four line shi'r of Ibnu'l-Arabi in his works of Sufi poetry may have been the origin of the Malay shair - a verse-form composed of four lines to a verse having the same end-rhyme. For further discussion on the origin of Malay shair, see S.M.N. Al-Attas (1968) and for a detailed evaluation of Hamzah Fansuri's works, see S.M.N. Al-Attas (1970a).

## Appendix to Chapter 4

Quotations from the Koran inscribed on batu Aceh and their translations.

Koran (2:255), from Yusuf Ali (1946:102-103).

255. God! There is no god
But He,—the Living,
The Self-subsisting, Eternal.
No slumber can seize Him
Nor sleep. His are all things
In the heavens and on earth.
Who is there can intercede
In His presence except
As He permitteth? He knoweth
What (appeareth to His creatures

As) Before or After
Or Behind them.
Nor shall they compass
Aught of His knowledge
Except as He willeth.
His Throne doth extend
Over the heavens
And the earth, and He feeleth
No fatigue in guarding
And preserving them
For He is the Most High,
The Supreme (in glory).

٢٥٥- اَللّٰهُ لَآ اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ ۚ
اَلْحَيُّ الْقَيُّوْمُ ۚ
لَا تَاْخُذُهٗ سِنَةٌ وَّلَا نَوْمٌ ۗ
لَهٗ مَا فِي السَّمٰوٰتِ وَمَا فِي الْاَرْضِ ۗ مَنْ
ذَا الَّذِيْ يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهٗٓ اِلَّا بِاِذْنِهٖ ۚ

يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ اَيْدِيْهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ ۚ
وَلَا يُحِيْطُوْنَ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهٖٓ
اِلَّا بِمَا شَآءَ ۚ
وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَالْاَرْضَ ۚ
وَلَا يَـُٔوْدُهٗ حِفْظُهُمَا ۚ
وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيْمُ ۝

Koran (3:17, 18 and 19), from Yusuf Ali (1946:126-127).

17. Those who show patience,
Firmness and self-control;
Who are true (in word and deed);
Who worship devoutly;
Who spend (in the way of God);
And who pray for forgiveness
In the early hours of the morning.

١٧- اَلصّٰبِرِيْنَ وَالصّٰدِقِيْنَ
وَالْقٰنِتِيْنَ وَالْمُنْفِقِيْنَ
وَالْمُسْتَغْفِرِيْنَ بِالْاَسْحَارِ ۝

18. There is no god but He:
That is the witness of God,
His angels, and those endued
With knowledge, standing firm
On justice. There is no god but He,
The Exalted in Power,
The Wise.

١٨- شَهِدَ اللّٰهُ اَنَّهٗ لَآ اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ ۙ
وَالْمَلٰٓئِكَةُ وَاُولُوا الْعِلْمِ قَآئِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ ۚ
لَآ اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيْزُ الْحَكِيْمُ ۝

19. The Religion before God
Is Islam (submission to His Will):
Nor did the People of the Book
Dissent therefrom except

Through envy of each other,
After knowledge had come to them.
But if any deny the Signs of God,
God is swift in calling to account.

١٩- اِنَّ الدِّيْنَ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ الْاِسْلَامُ ۗ
وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ الَّذِيْنَ اُوْتُوا الْكِتٰبَ

اِلَّا مِنْۢ بَعْدِ مَا جَآءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ بَغْيًۢا بَيْنَهُمْ ۗ وَ
مَنْ يَّكْفُرْ بِاٰيٰتِ اللّٰهِ فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ سَرِيْعُ الْحِسَابِ ۝

Koran (3:25, 26 and 27), from Yusuf Ali (1946:128-129).

25. But how (will they fare)
When We gather them together

Against a Day about which
There is no doubt,
And each soul will be paid out
Just what it has earned,
Without (favour or) injustice?

٢٥- فَكَيْفَ إِذَا جَمَعْنَاهُمْ
لِيَوْمٍ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ ۖ
وَوُفِّيَتْ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ مَا كَسَبَتْ
وَهُمْ لَا يُظْلَمُونَ ○

26. Say: "O God!
Lord of Power (and Rule),
Thou givest Power
To whom Thou pleasest,
And Thou strippest off Power
From whom Thou pleasest:
Thou enduest with honour
Whom Thou pleasest,
And Thou bringest low
Whom Thou pleasest:
In Thy hand is all Good.
Verily, over all things
Thou hast power.

٢٦- قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ
تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ
وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ
وَتُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ
وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ ۖ
بِيَدِكَ الْخَيْرُ ۖ
إِنَّكَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ○

27. "Thou causest the Night
To gain on the Day,
And Thou causest the Day
To gain on the Night;
Thou bringest the Living
Out of the Dead,
And Thou bringest the Dead
Out of the Living;
And Thou givest sustenance
To whom Thou pleasest,
Without measure."

٢٧- تُولِجُ اللَّيْلَ فِي النَّهَارِ
وَتُولِجُ النَّهَارَ فِي اللَّيْلِ ۖ
وَتُخْرِجُ الْحَيَّ مِنَ الْمَيِّتِ
وَتُخْرِجُ الْمَيِّتَ مِنَ الْحَيِّ ۖ
وَتَرْزُقُ مَنْ تَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ ○

Koran (3:185), from Yusuf Ali (1946:172).

185. Every soul shall have
A taste of death:
And only on the Day
Of Judgment shall you
Be paid your full recompense.
Only he who is saved
Far from the Fire
And admitted to the Garden
Will have attained
The object (of Life):
For the life of this world
Is but goods and chattels
Of deception."

١٨٥- كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ ۗ
وَإِنَّمَا تُوَفَّوْنَ أُجُورَكُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ
فَمَنْ زُحْزِحَ عَنِ النَّارِ
وَأُدْخِلَ الْجَنَّةَ فَقَدْ فَازَ ۗ
وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا
إِلَّا مَتَاعُ الْغُرُورِ ○

Koran (9:128-129), from Yusuf Ali (1946:479-480).

128. Now hath come unto you
An Apostle from amongst
Yourselves: it grieves him
That ye should perish:
Ardently anxious is he
Over you: to the Believers
Is he most kind and merciful.

١٢٨-لَقَدْ جَآءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ
أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ
عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ ○

129. But if they turn away,
Say: "God sufficeth me:
There is no god but He:
On Him is my trust,—
He the Lord of the Throne
(Of Glory) Supreme!"

١٢٩-فَإِن تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ حَسْبِيَ اللَّهُ ۖ
لَآ إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۖ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَهُوَ رَبُّ
الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ ○

Koran (10:62), from Yusuf Ali (1946:500).

62. Behold! verily on the friends
Of God there is no fear,

٦٢-أَلَآ إِنَّ أَوْلِيَآءَ اللَّهِ لَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ

Koran (20:55), from Yusuf Ali (1946:800).

55. From the (earth) did We
Create you, and into it
Shall We return you,
And from it shall We
Bring you out once again.

٥٥-مِنْهَا خَلَقْنَٰكُمْ وَفِيهَا
نُعِيدُكُمْ وَمِنْهَا نُخْرِجُكُمْ تَارَةً أُخْرَىٰ ○

Koran (21:35), from Yusuf Ali (1946:829-830).

35. Every soul shall have
A taste of death:
And We test you
By evil and by good
By way of trial.
To Us must ye return.

٣٥-كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ ۗ
وَنَبْلُوكُم بِالشَّرِّ وَالْخَيْرِ
فِتْنَةً ۖ وَإِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ ○

Koran (28:88), from Yusuf Ali (1946:1027).

88. And call not, besides God,
On another god. There is
No god but He. Everything
(That exists) will perish
Except His own Face.
To Him belongs the Command,
And to Him will ye
(All) be brought back.

٨٨-وَلَا تَدْعُ مَعَ اللَّهِ إِلَٰهًا آخَرَ ۘ
لَآ إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ
كُلُّ شَىْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُۥ ۚ
لَهُ الْحُكْمُ وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ ○

Koran (29:57), from Yusuf Ali (1946:1045).

57. Every soul shall have
A taste of death :
In the end to Us
Shall ye be brought back.

٥٧- كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ ثُمَّ إِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ ○

Koran (55:26, 27 and 28), from Yusuf Ali (1946:1475-1476).

26. All that is on earth
Will perish :

27. But will abide (for ever)
The Face of thy Lord,—

Full of Majesty,
Bounty and Honour.

28. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

٢٦- كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ ○

٢٧- وَيَبْقَىٰ وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ

ذُو الْجَلَٰلِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ ○

٢٨- فَبِأَيِّ آلَاءِ رَبِّكُمَا تُكَذِّبَانِ ○

Koran (59:21, 23 and 24), from Yusuf Ali (1946:1527-1529).

21. Had We sent down
This Qur-an on a mountain,
Verily, thou wouldst have seen
It humble itself and cleave

Asunder for fear of God.
Such are the similitudes
Which We propound to men,
That they may reflect.

23. God is He, than Whom
There is no other god ;—
The Sovereign, the Holy One,
The Source of Peace
(and Perfection),
The Guardian of Faith,
The Preserver of Safety,
The Exalted in Might,
The Irresistible, the Supreme :

Glory to God !
(High is He)
Above the partners
They attribute to Him.

24. He is God, the Creator,
The Evolver,
The Bestower of Forms
(Or Colours).
To Him belong
The Most Beautiful Names :
Whatever is in
The heavens and on earth,
Doth declare
His Praises and Glory :
And He is the Exalted
In Might, the Wise.

٢١- لَوْ أَنْزَلْنَا هَٰذَا الْقُرْآنَ عَلَىٰ جَبَلٍ
لَرَأَيْتَهُ خَاشِعًا مُتَصَدِّعًا
مِنْ خَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ وَتِلْكَ الْأَمْثَالُ نَضْرِبُهَا
لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ ○

٢٣- هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ
الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ
الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمُهَيْمِنُ
الْعَزِيزُ الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ
سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ
عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ ○

٢٤- هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَالِقُ
الْبَارِئُ الْمُصَوِّرُ
لَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَىٰ
يُسَبِّحُ لَهُ
مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ○

# CHAPTER FIVE

# DECORATIONS

## Introduction

I have discussed the various types of batu Aceh in Chapter 3, in relation to their shapes. Earlier scholars (e.g. Abdul Shukor 1907, Wilkinson 1920 and Linehan 1926, 1936 and 1961b), when commenting on this type of nesans, had concluded that the stones were of 'Acehnese style'. By 'Acehnese style' did they mean the shape alone or the shape together with the decorations? As Othman Type F has no decorations and yet is undoubtedly a batu Aceh, (see Chapter 3, p. 88 ), one could conclude that shape alone was the determinant. Yet, when one makes a close examination of the decorations on the decorated stones, it can be seen that the 'Slab' and 'Pillar' types and their variations (Othman Types) have certain decorations in common and there is a progression, or a continuation of a theme or themes, from one type to another; an example being the 'ladder' symbol (Fig. 9e) found on variations of 'Slab' of Othman Types C, D and E and on 'Pillar' of Othman Types G and H and the form of decoration on the bases and/or lower bodies of all the decorated stones. This being the case one must conclude that the decorations form an integral part of the batu Aceh.

In this Chapter attempts will be made not only to describe the decorations but to interpret their symbolic meaning. Cammann (1976:194) indicates that Islam, as well as other major world religions, communicates ideas by using various types of visual symbols. However, as pointed out by Allan (1982;9), the task of defining symbols and what they stand

for, in Islamic art, is extremely difficult. He stated that this difficulty arises because "in Islam there is a strong antipathy towards representations of human beings ... this leads to a shortage of obvious religious symbols in Islamic culture, apart from the Koranic script".

## The Forms of Decoration

### Calligraphy

The inscriptions on the batu Aceh, which were discussed in the last Chapter (Chapter 4), must be considered as a form of decoration. The message or statement, which the Arabic script portrays, is used in decorative style; this is apparent in the specimen of Othman Types A where the centre panel contains a text and where the characters are artistically fashioned to form patterns. In the 'vase-shaped panels' or 'kalimah' panels on the head, the 'Alif' of the word الله (Allah) is elongated to reach the apex of the design. In fact, where Arabic calligraphy is used on the batu Aceh it is in decorative form, though the message is religious. Indeed, in the Muslim world extensive use is made of calligraphy as a form of decorative art on mosques, metalwork, ceramics, glassware and miniature paintings (Grabar 1983:77-117). The fact which is considered by Bamborough (1976:24) as "the greatest artistic achievement of Islamic culture".

### Varieties of Decorations

As is common among all Islamic art, where the human form is forbidden for religious reasons, the use of designs such as floral or

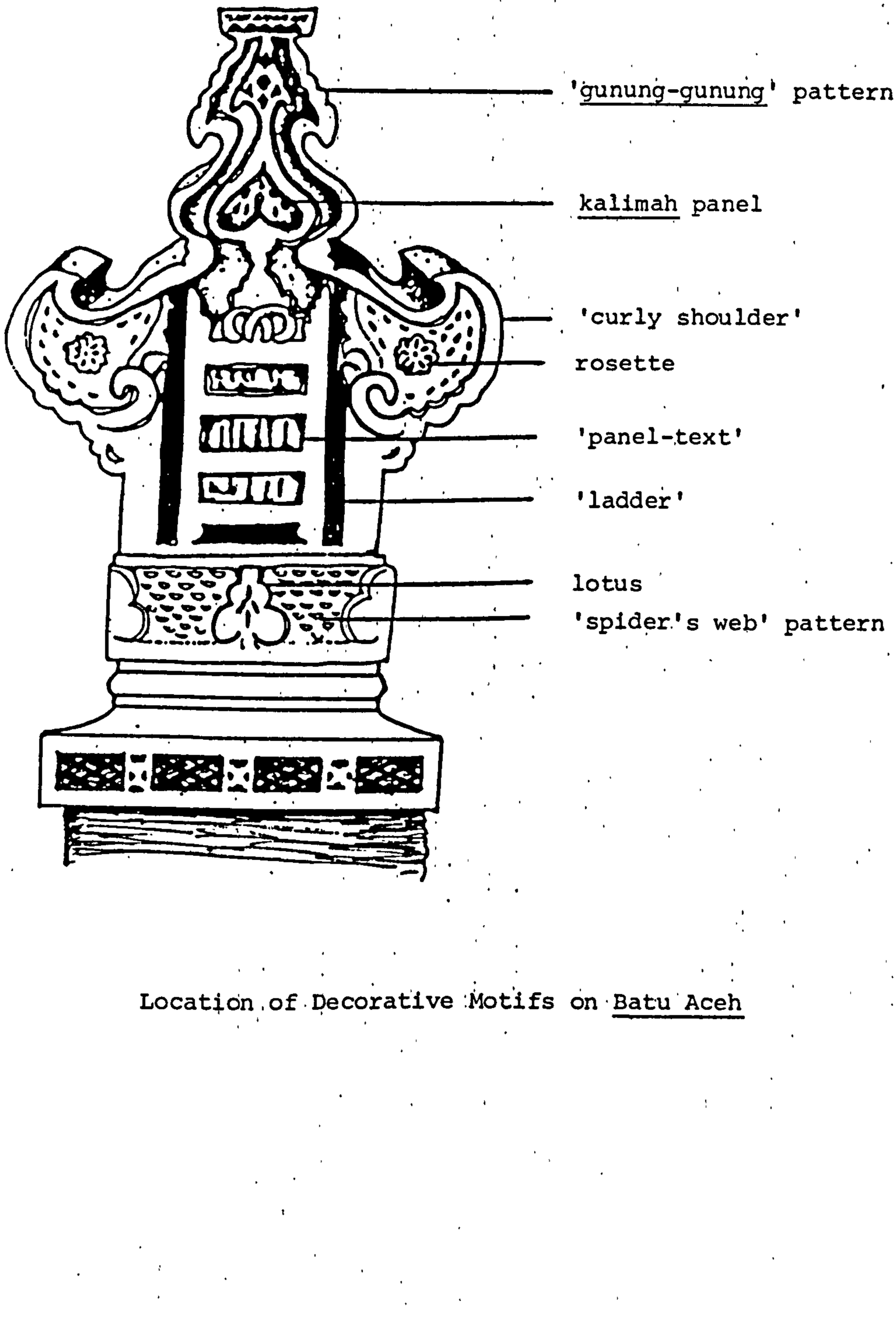
vegetal, 'webs' or 'nets', geometric, mihrab (niche) and 'vase' shapes prevail (Fig. 5). The prohibition of using human form in art is justified by the acceptance by the orthodox Muslims of the belief that "on the Day of Judgement when the painter (any artist) stands before the Throne of God he will be commanded to put life into the works of art he has created, and when he confesses his inability to do so, he will be forthwith cast down into Hell" (Arnold 1932:2).[1] However, Bamborough (1976:25) was of the opinion that the artistic tradition and development of Islamic art has more to do with the absence of pictorial forms ... than Koranic law. Although this prohibition is not strictly adhered to in most of the Muslim world, it no doubt accounts for the development of such a high standard of decoration using floral and vegetal motifs to create symbols of aestheticism. Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (1931:112) recognised this development when they said that "the most casual survey of Islamic art will show that ornamental design must be ranked as the outstanding minor art evolved by Muslim genius".

## Design Motifs

### Lotus

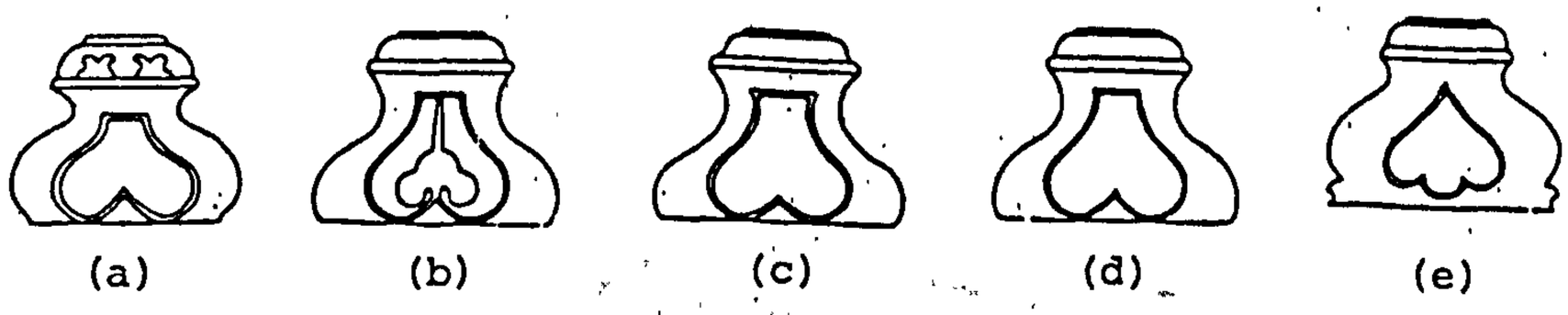
A peculiar feature of the batu Aceh decoration is the use of the lotus. On all the decorated gravestones some part of the lotus plant is depicted; the petals appear singly or grouped on the base, body, heads and tops of the stones. Complete blossoms, or 'crowns', feature on the heads and/or tops of Othman Types I, J, L and in stylised form on N. Othman Types K and M present difficulties in interpretation of the head/top design as to whether they represent an inverted flower on

Fig. 5



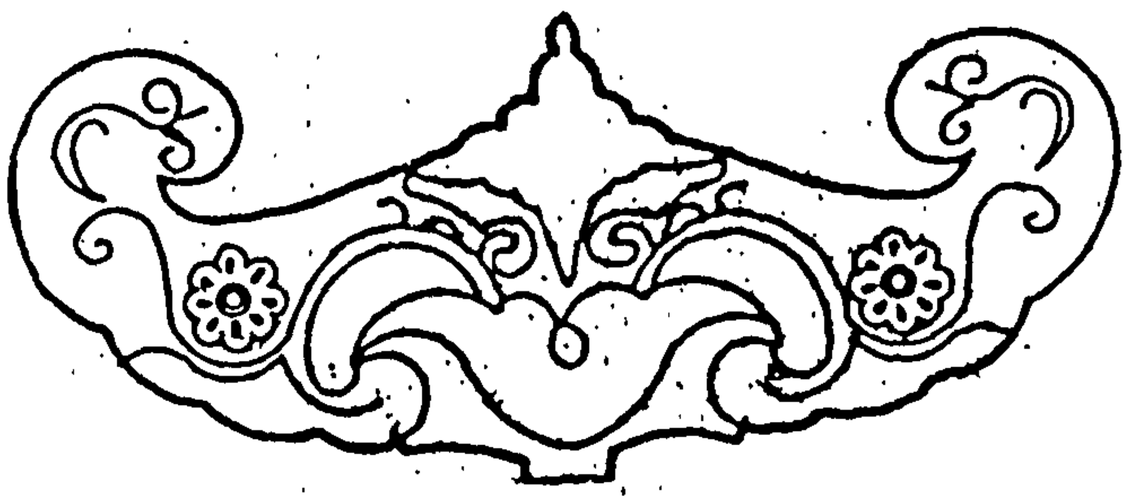

Location of Decorative Motifs on Batu Aceh

Fig. 6

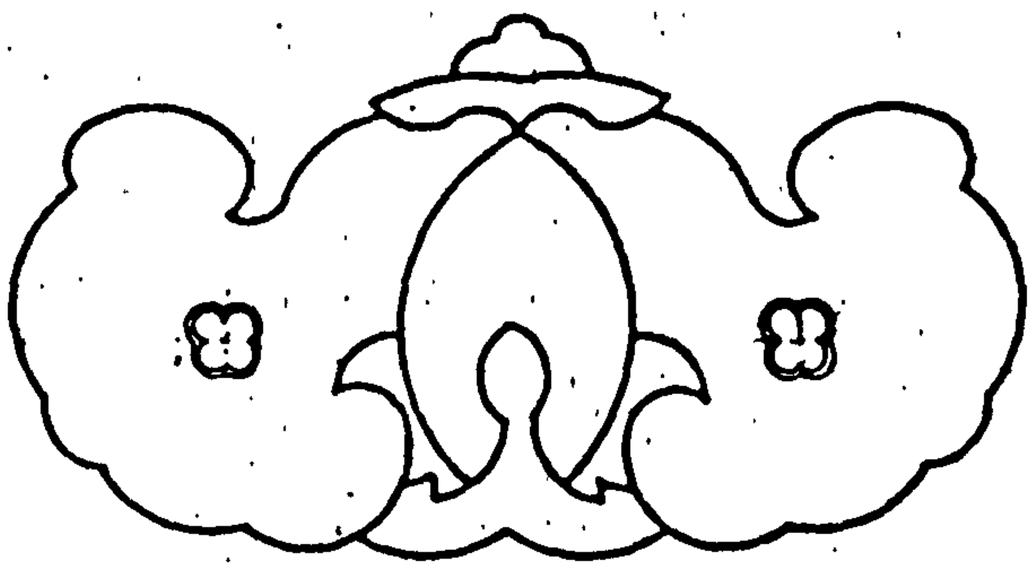



Variations of Shape of the 'Head' and/or 'Top' of Othman Types A - N

Fig. 7



(a)



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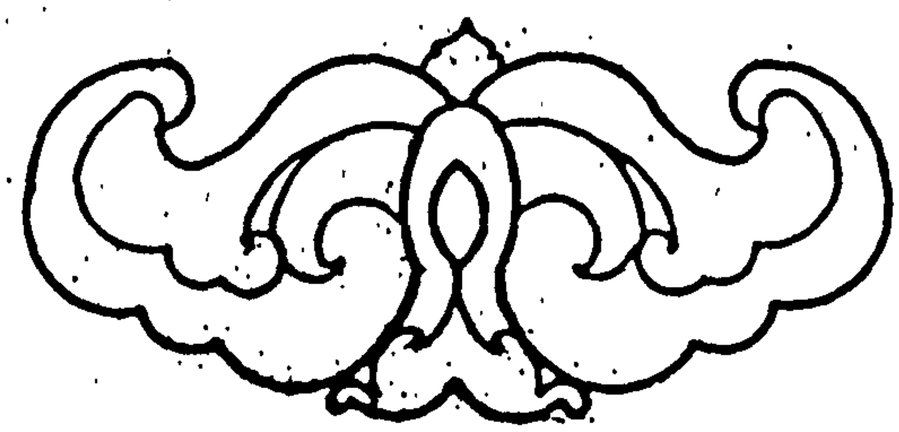
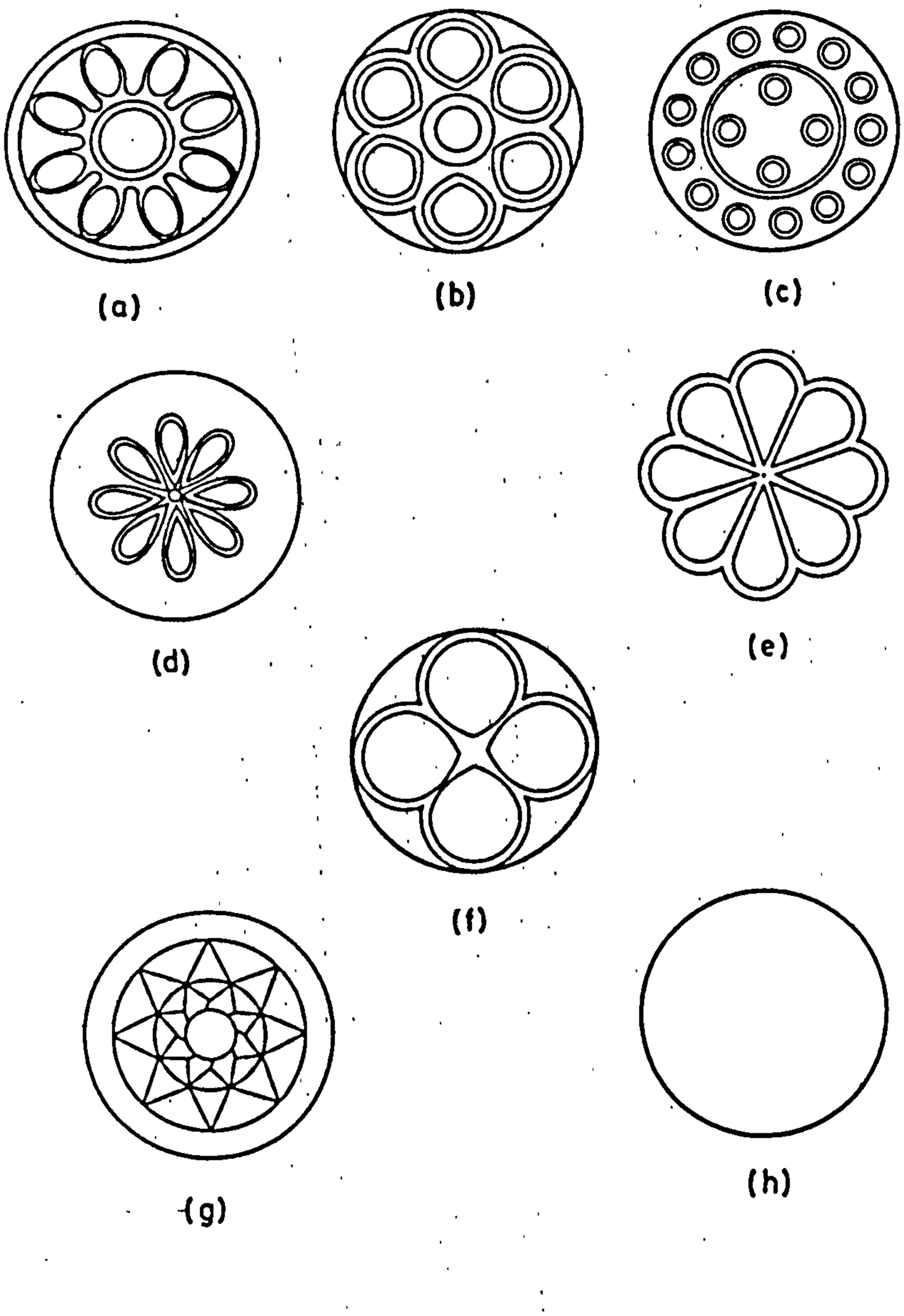


(c)

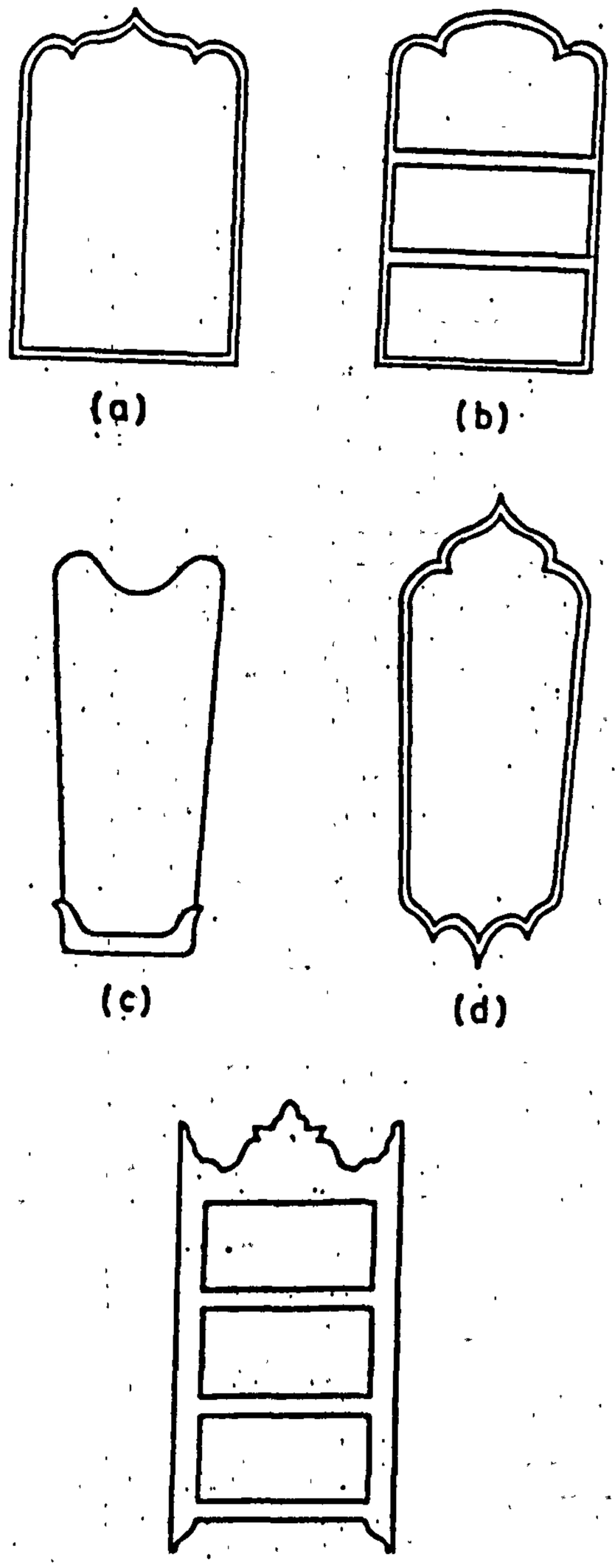
Variations of the shoulders, of Othman Type H, in the form of Acehnese flower - boengong awan si tangke.

Fig. 8



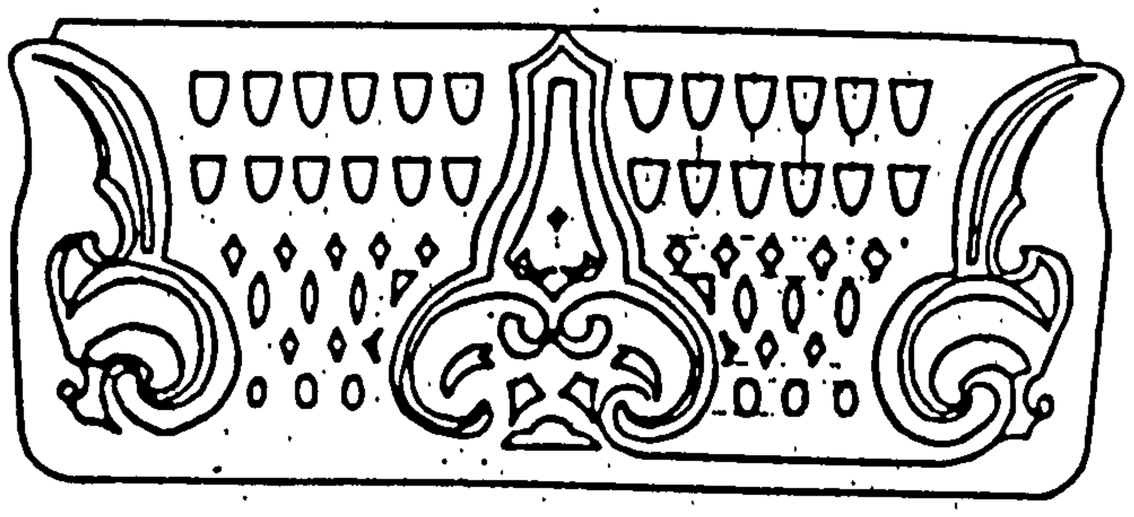

Variations of rosette motifs on Batu Aceh
Types C, H and N

Fig. 9




Various Shapes of the Framed Panels on the body of Batu Aceh

Fig. 10



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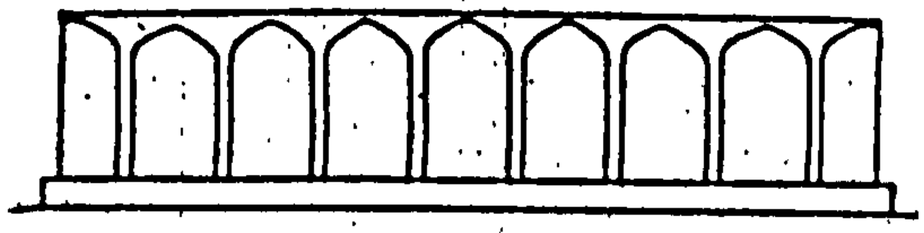

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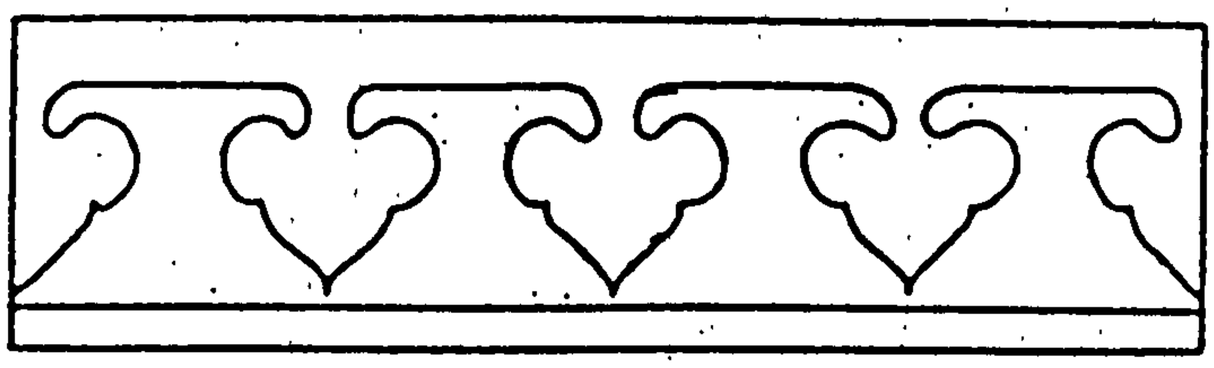

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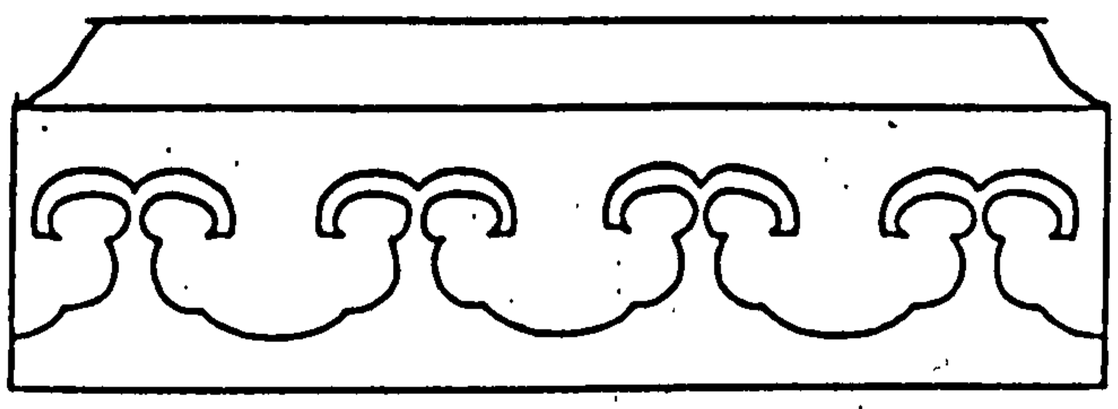

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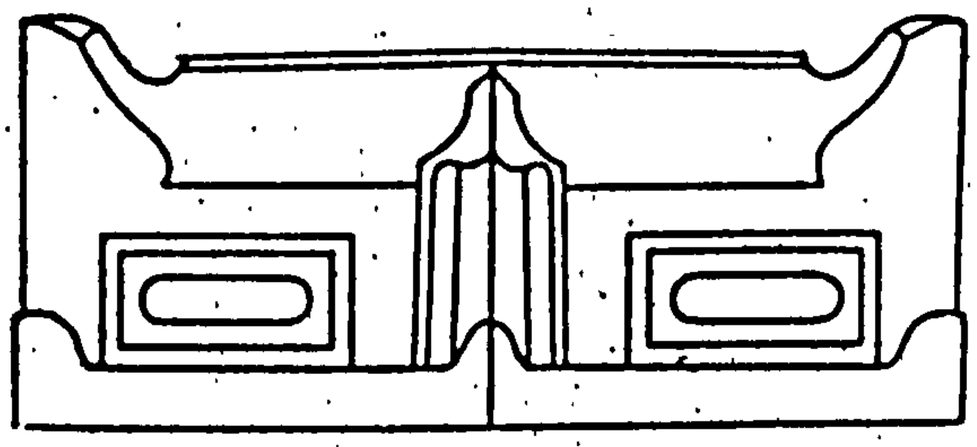
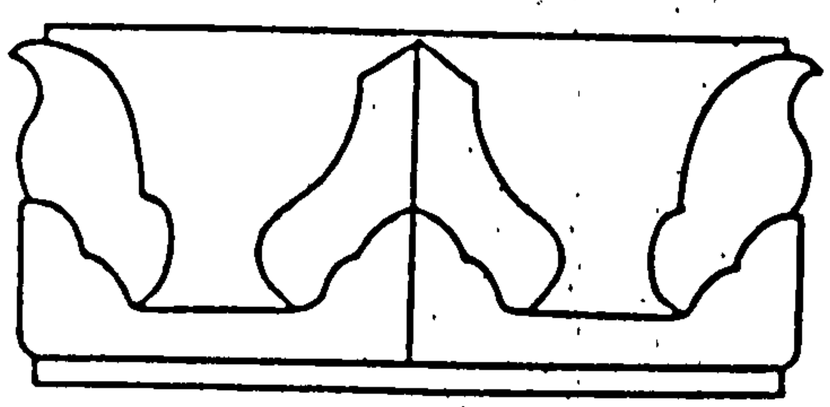


(e)



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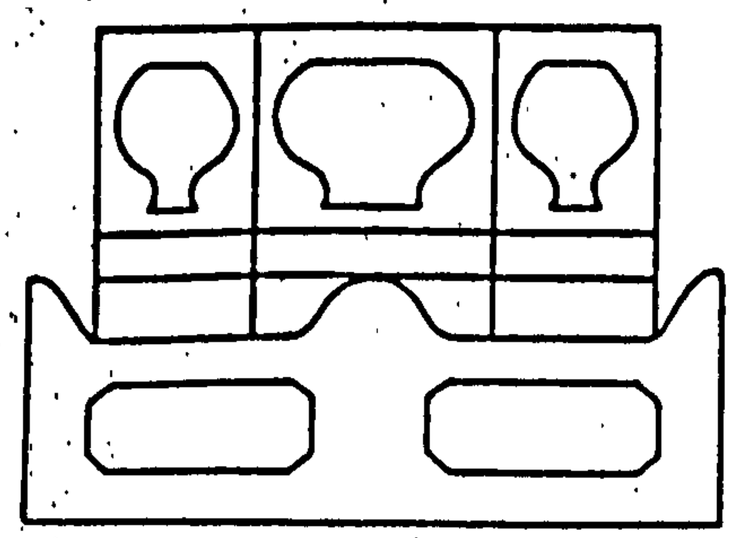
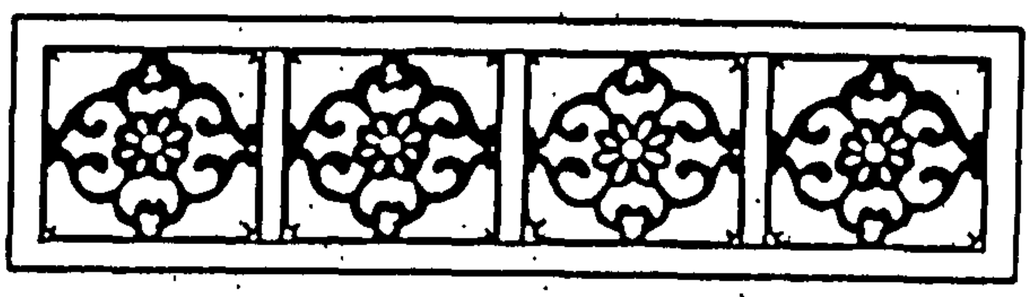


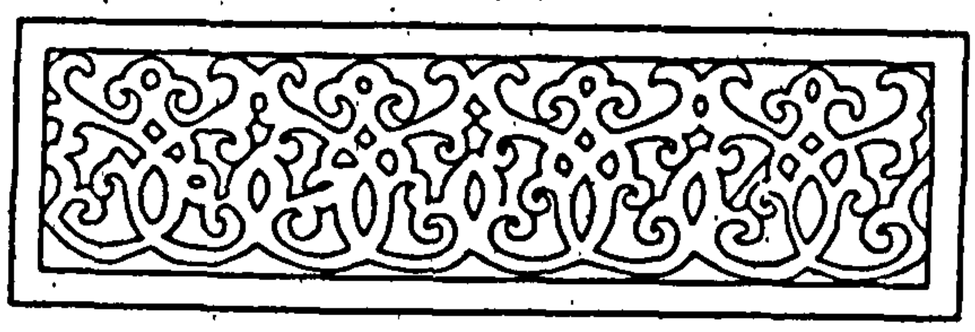
(g)

Variations of Motifs on the base (foot) of some
Batu Aceh

Fig. 11



(a)



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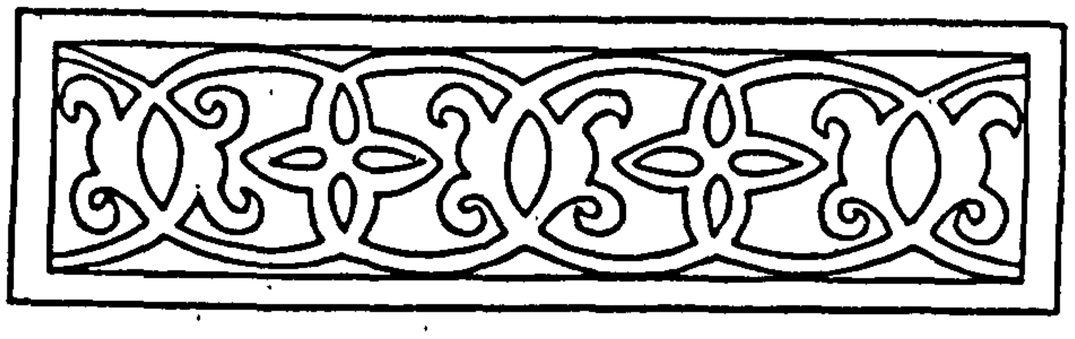

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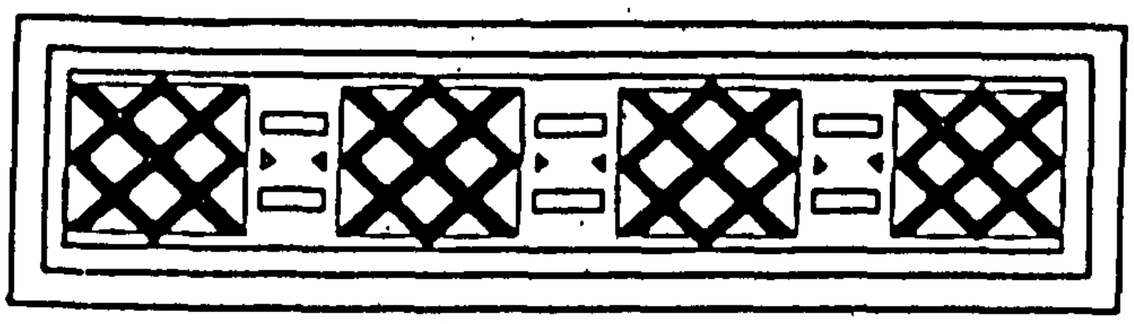
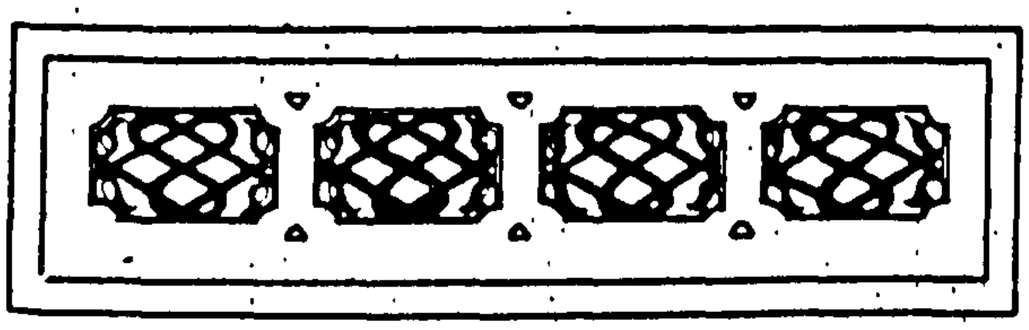


(d)



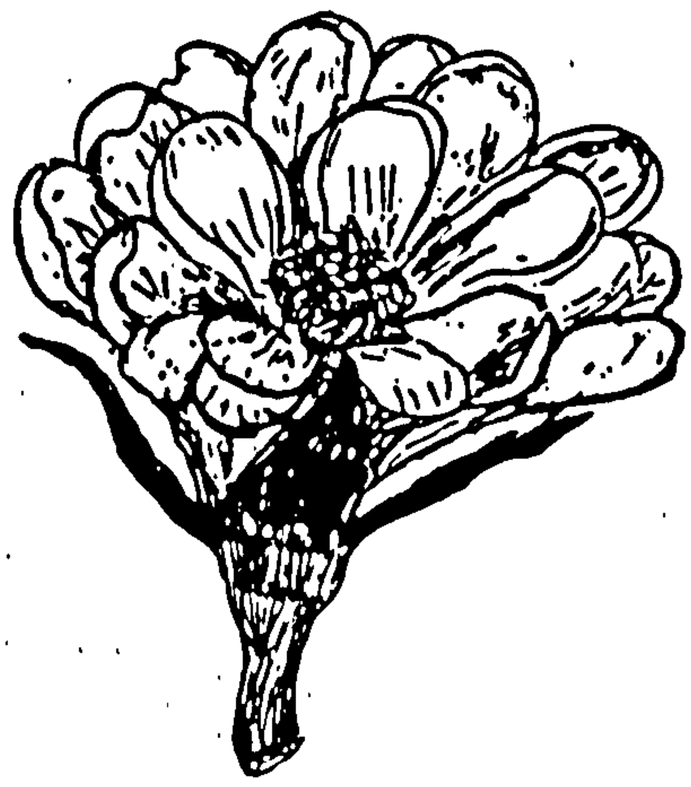
(e)

Floral and Geometric Patterns on the base of some Batu Aceh

Fig. 12

a) Egyptian Blue Lotus
Nymphaea caerulea

b) South and East Asia Sacred Lotus
Nelumbo nucifera



c) Egyptian White Lotus
Lotus Aegyptia

(i)

(ii)

d) Development of Lotus leaf and stipules

(i) front view (ii) back view

Lotus

a stalk or the calyx of the lotus.

The shape of the lotus petals appears to suggest that more than one variety is represented. The rounded petals (Fig. 12 ) suggest the Egyptian lotus (Lotus Aegyptia) of which this is a characteristic. Pointed ended petals (Fig. 12 ) are typical of Egyptian Blue Lotus (Nymphaea caerulea) and the South-east Asian lotus (Nelumbo nucifera) (Conard 1905; Hastings 1908:142).

The trefoil pattern (see Fig.10c,d) on the base and/or lower body of Othman Types A, and variations of Types B, C, D, E, G, H, I(?), J, K, L and N are a feature of the lotus plant - popularly known as the bird's foot trefoil.

The lotus was a conspicuous decorative element in Egyptian religious architecture. The Egyptian considered the flower to be sacred in that it depicted divine purity. It had a similar meaning in pre-Buddhist art. The symbolism of the lotus flower was borrowed by the Buddhists directly from the parent religion Brahmanism, where it symbolised divine birth and mortality. From 200 BC onwards, the lotus appeared on all Buddhist monuments. In its simplest form, the expanded lotus is found frequently as a circular ornament in sculpture. Lotuses growing from stalks, upright or inverted, or the calyx of the lotus flower appear on capitals of Egyptian temples, e.g. Memphis and in architectural monuments of Buddhism, as well as later on those of Jainism and Hinduism, throughout India. With the spread of Buddhism to the countries of the Far East, its use as an ornament in religious art has extended as far as Japan (Hastings 1908:142-144. Coomaraswamy 1927, Bosch 1960).

A careful examination of all the decorated batu Aceh Othman Types A - N (F excepted) will reveal an increase in the use of lotus plant and flower in the chronology of designs. Othman Types A - H (F excepted) use the trefoil on the base and lower body and on one of the pairs of Othman Type B (Pl. 27b) below the framed panel, there is a row of stylised lotus petals (Fig.10b).[2] Lotus petals appear under the shoulders of variations of Type C (see Pl. 55a). Type I has petals and two complete lotus crowns (full blooms) mounted above each other. The head and top of Type J again are of lotus crowns. Types K and M, as mentioned earlier, have inverted stalks ending in a calyx, and possibly on Tyke K one row of petals. Type N is almost completely fashioned from stylised trefoils and lotus petals.

Vines

Vines in various forms can be seen on several Types of batu Aceh. The base of some of Type A have vines of design shown on Fig. 11b and c instead of the trefoil pattern (see Fig.10c and d). On some examples of Type D the base pattern, though geometric in form, resembles vine stems (Fig. 11e).

The shoulders of batu Aceh of Othman Type N have been richly embellished with vine patterns, of which good examples of this pattern can be found on a gravestone in Johore (Pl. 51a,b), in Pahang (Appendix 7), in Perak (Pl. 60) and in another example from Kedah (Pl. 71). The one from Perak shows the vine pattern in the form of an arabesque. Arabesque being defined as intricate and fanciful surface decoration generally based on geometrical patterns and using a combination of flowing lines, tendrils etc.

A continuous vine pattern, where it forms a circle could be taken to symbolise a circle of endless repetitions of the zikir - la ilaha illallah (Cammann 1976:201). Vines as a form of decoration is featured on Persian carpets, mosque walls and dome, e.g. Shaykh Lutf Allah Mosque in Isfahan, Iran.

Acehnese flowers

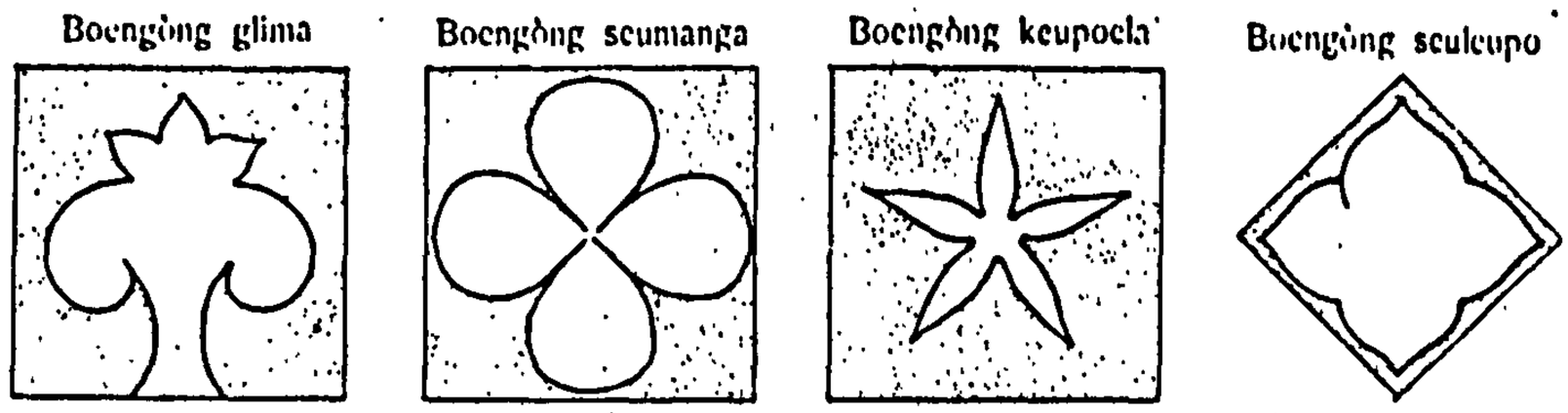
As well as the incidence of lotus, vine and possibly rosettes (taking them to be flower heads), the examples of later batu Aceh, in particular of Othman Type N, shows that the typical Acehnese flowers such as boengong kalimah (Pl. 27a), boengong awan-awan (Fig. 11c), and boengong awan si tangke (Fig. 7a,b and c),[3] were also incorporated into the decoration. The actual botanical specimens are illustrated in Fig. 13.

Floral Combined With Other Decorations

Other decorations are to be found in combination with floral designs on the batu Aceh. Here I was faced with the questions - Did these decorations have symbolic meanings? or Were they intended to be purely decorative? Certainly, these decorations are in the form of objects which are associated with religious symbolism in Islamic Art. The danger is that in the case of certain designs, e.g. interweaving patterns, it is possible to read more into the design than was originally intended.

Lotus and 'Spider's web' or 'Net' Designs

Fig. 13




Acehnese Flowers

(from Kreemer 1922).

On many of the batu Aceh the lotus decoration is interwoven with a design referred to by some Malays as 'spider's web'.[4] Sometimes this 'web' is interpreted as a 'net'. Both are symbolic of the same idea, i.e. to be held or entangled in something from which it is difficult to escape. Cammann (1976:198) refers to the odes of Hafiz and to other Sufi poems which speak of a 'snare' or 'net', and says that "Hafiz generally uses this word to refer to an obstacle or hindrance that prevents the individual from reaching the Beloved (God)". The depicting of the net with the lotus could have a symbolic meaning contrary to this such as holding or drawing together Divine objects, in this case, the lotus flower. Another interpretation of this design could be that it is the meshing in a veil. Veils again have religious symbolism both in Judeo-Christian belief and Islam (Sufi).

Parts of the lotus plant can be seen interwoven with geometric designs and rosettes on the curly shoulders of the specimens of Othman Type C and the projecting upper body of Type H and the projecting shoulders of Type N.

## Other Design Motifs

### Geometrical designs

Simple geometric shapes are always susceptible to more than one interpretation. Critchlow (1983:8) states that "Islam's concentration on geometric patterns draws attention away from the representational world to one of pure forms". Basic geometrical shapes associated with religious symbolism is not confined to the Islamic world. The geometric art of Central Australia is characterised by the circle, line

and arc (Layton 1981:134). The circle and its association with the cosmos is recognised in the Judeo-Christian as well. Christian churches as well as Mosques have rosette motifs composed of inter-related circles in the form of wall decorations and windows. In Islamic symbolism the three basic shapes are used to symbolize: the square - earth or materiality, the triangle - human conscious and the hexagon or circle - Heaven (Critchlow 1983). Therefore, these basic designs and other more complex geometric shapes are a feature of all Islamic art works, in particular the wall of the mosques. For the batu Aceh to qualify as a religious object it must portray Islamic religious symbolism.

The use of geometrical designs on all the Othman Types of batu Aceh is easily discernable. In the decorations use is made of lines, straight, crossed and intersecting diagonally; rectangles, polyhedrons, diamonds, rhomboids; triangles; circles and ovals. Patterns are formed by these shapes used separately or in repetition (see use of circles, segments of arches and star shapes in the rosettes on curly shoulders of Type C). Some batu Aceh use only a few simple shapes, for example, the bases of some variations of Othman Types G, H and K. Others use combinations of the geometric shapes on their bases as do some variations of Type B. Parallel lines and rectangles are used to depict, what I term, a 'ladder shape' with or without inscription between the 'rungs', as in the case of the bodies of Types C, D, E, G and H. The Pillar type, where the shape assumes a cone, where the surface has eight facets, as in Othman types I, J and K, uses a variety of simple and complicated shapes. The latter includes, polygons on the body of Type I; lines of embattlement on frieze of lower body of Type K; a repetition of diamonds on the body and rectangles and

polygons on the base of Type L and Tyne N has circular decorations on its shoulders, some of which enclose star shapes (see Appendix 36, Pl. 66), and loops and twisting lines on the centre body. All the batu Aceh which have geometric designs also have other forms of decoration, which in eight of the fourteen types also includes inscriptions.

Rosettes

In architectural terms a rosette is defined as 'a rose shaped' ornament.[5] There is a difficulty in deciding whether the rosettes on the batu Aceh should be included in the floral or geometrical motifs. However, I have decided that as the rosettes on the batu Aceh are made up of geometric shapes, composed of circles and interrelated circles (see Fig. 8), and form 'roses', they should be considered separately from the 'floral' and 'geometrical' motifs.

On the surfaces of each of the curly shoulders on some of the specimens of Types C, H and N batu Aceh (Fig. 7), one can see one sample of the various types of rosettes (Fig. 8a-h), a discoidal pattern with four (Fig. 8h), six and eight segments (Fig. 8a,b,d,e and g); arranged geometrically like the top view of a flower in full bloom. The rosettes are 5 - 8cms in size and in the same position on each shoulder. Our examples also indicate that another form of rosette can be found which has two eight pointed stars, a larger one encasing a smaller, and both are enclosed by circles (Fig. 8g). In some of the examples of batu Aceh of Othman Type N, the rosettes are not embellished (Fig. 8h), as is the case of the pair in Makam Purba, at Pulau Langkawi, Kedah (Pl. 71).

The rosettes are sculptured at the centre of the extensions which I term 'curly shoulders' (Pl. 22a). However, Snouck Hurgronje (1906, I:431) described these 'shoulders' as "widely projecting spiral ornaments suggesting ears" and went on to say that the Acehnese called them 'subang' (earrings). These two statements are peculiar as it seems that Hurgronje makes no distinction between ears and earrings.

The Acehnese, according to earlier writers, e.g. Snouck Hurgronje and Moehammad Hoesin and reiterated to me by Tuanku Abdul Jalil,[6] regard the Slab nesans, with the rosettes, described above, as being female nesans due to 'subang' being considered by the writers to be female ornaments. This theory or attribution led Linehan (1951b) to suggest that Keramat Seri Benian (see Apeendix 37), at Batu Hampar, Perak, (which has 'subang' motifs) to be the grave of a woman. For reasons mentioned in Chapter 3, I do not consider this to be a convincing argument. My opinion is that the rosette is basically a geometrical design and is used for religious symbolism, for in religious art not confined to Islam, it is frequently used to symbolize heaven or eternity (Bridgwater and Kurtz 1963:421). Critchlow (1983) stated that "the circle is ... the primary cosmological symbol, one of wholeness and unity".

The rosette surrounded by vines or interlacing loops in the same manner as it does on the curly shoulders of some specimens of the Othman Type C can be seen on mosques throughout the Middle East, Asia Minor and Iran. Excellent examples are to be found of this rosette pattern on the walls of the Suleyman Mosque (16th century) in Istanbul, Turkey and the mihrabs and wall alcoves from the Mosque in Mashad, now resited in the Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran (Burckhardt 1976:88, Pl. 62), and the walls of the shrine of the Sufi poet Kwaja Abdullah Ansari at Gazarah

near Herat in Afghanistan (formerly in Persia), dating from the first half of the 15th century (Blunt 1973:188).

The fact that the circle, or rosette, contains petals or segments giving it in some cases the appearance of a flower, in no way alters its symbolic religious meaning. The undecorated discs on the curly shoulders of batu Aceh (Pl. 71 and Fig. 8h) could symbolize the circle in a 'pure' form, which emphasizes my contention that this decoration is not intended as a sexual symbol indicating a woman (see Chapter 3).

'Mihrab' designs

On the body of some of the batu Aceh, in particular the Othman Types A and B, one can see framed panels which in some cases contain inscriptions (Fig. 9). To me these framed panels resemble the shape of a mihrab (a niche in a mosque indicating the direction of kiblat). Fehérvari (1972:241-254) speculates that there must be some special connection between mihrab and gravestones, in particular Middle Eastern Islamic gravestones. He illustrates examples of tombstones from Iraq and Iran where this shape appears and refers to the word mihrab from poems inscribed on tombstones. He stated that, after a careful examination of the etymological origin of the word mihrab and with the help of some literary sources, he had concluded that the meaning of the word mihrab was a 'burial place'. He recalls an article by Horovitz (1927) where the latter cited an example of pre-Islamic poetry where the word mihrab is mentioned frequently. The particular line of the poem reads as follows: "She lowered with ever moving robes of her Udhaynah into the mihrab of Tadmur, where he lies buried".

I have yet to find any example of the word mihrab used on batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia. However, there is a line of poetry inscribed on the tombstone of Raja Fatimah (d. 1495), at Pekan, in Pahang in which appears the Arabic word 'باب' which was translated by Barnes (1911b:38) as 'Gate'.[7] He translated the line of the poem as "Death is a gate and all men go in thereat". Linehan (1936:228 and 230), on the other hand, translated the same Arabic word 'باب' which was inscribed on the tombstone of Sultan Abdul Jalil/Jamil (d. 1512) also at Pekan in Pahang, as 'Door'. I agree with his translation of the poem as "Death is the door which leads to sorrow and the grave is the casket (in which) to endure suffering", and "Death is a door which all men must enter" (see earlier).

In Sufism, mihrab, door and gate, signifies the passageway which every Muslim, after his death, has to take into the next world to face his God, his Creator. Cammann (1976:197) draws our attention to a number of Sufi poets, such as al-Rumi (d. 1273) and al-Hafiz (d. 1389) "who habitually made use of Sufi vocabulary and imagery" and "the odes of Hafiz constantly speak of a door or gate to the realm of God, referring to either the Sky Door or, way beyond that, the Sun Gate at the farthest reaches of Heaven". Therefore, I conclude that the portrayal of a decoration, of what I believe to be a mihrab, on the gravestones, reflects the Muslim concept of the dead man's spirit having to go through the mihrab on its journey to meet God. In Middle Eastern Islam there is a reference to gates in the seven layers of heaven which the soul has to pass through on its way towards God (Smith & Haddad, 1981:39).

Inside these frame-like panels or mihrab on the batu Aceh stone

which was placed above the head of the corpse, is to be found, in some cases, the name of the deceased and quotations from the Koran, the Shahadah or several lines of Sufi poems (see earlier). Sometimes these panels are filled with floral patterns (Pl. 78c).[8] The inscriptions are usually in three, four or five lines and each are separated by raised bands (e.g. Pls. 26, 27 and 32). The floral patterns are normally in relief. The inscriptions are either in late Kufic or more frequently, in Nashki script. In some cases, unfortunately, the decorations and inscriptions are so badly worn as to be difficult to decipher.

'Vase' shapes

On each side of the surface on the head of some of the batu Aceh, there is a deep-cut motif in what appears to be the form of a vase. If this is intended to be symbolic then what does a vase symbolize? (Figs. 6a-d,g,i). A vase can be associated with water; water being symoblic of life-giving properties (Smith and Haddad 1981:191). The significance of water in Malay funeral rituals has been elaborated in Chapter 2, where I pointed out that water has a symbolic meaning when associated with death and life after death. These vases, or to be precise, their outlines, are sometimes void of any decoration (Fig. 6g), but in many examples they are filled with Arabic inscriptions, the most common being one of the names of God, e.g. Al-Jamal, and a three lobed palmette (Pl. 25a). There is one example of a vase which is filled with a Sufi poem (Pl. 27b and p.287, Appendix 2) which reads: "Death is a cup and all men drink thereof" (Barnes 1911b:38). The upturned vase motifs (Fig. 10g), which occur on batu Aceh of Othman Type M; may be interpreted as symbolising the continuous pouring of water on the grave. In Middle

Eastern Islam "the soul of the faithful Mu'min slips quickly and easily from the body" and "the restful soul will come out as a drop in water" (Smith & Haddad 1981:39,207).

## The Sources of Inspiration for the Designers of Batu Aceh

In my opinion, the shape and decorations on batu Aceh show that they were influenced by the religious art forms of other cultures. Therefore I support the contention made by Heine-Geldern (Loeb 1935:327-328) who considered that "the stock of ornamental themes of applied art, as practiced among the Muhammedans of Sumatra, though belonging seemingly to a single style only, is in reality a conglomerate of elements of heterogeneous origin ... Later on, Hindu, Hindu-Javanese, finally Moslem motifs were assimilated, and even Chinese influence may have had its say in the development of Malay ornamentation". However, strong Hindu-Buddhist influence and Sufi elements as well can be detected in the decoration of batu Aceh.

Hindu-Buddhist elements of decoration can be easily detected by the use of the lotus - from a realistic reproduction to a stylised form, on batu Aceh. I believe this motif of decoration was first introduced to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, in particular to Java, by the Indian traders, including the Gujaratis. Later this influence spread to the other parts of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, including Aceh. In a recent study on the state and statecraft in the seventeenth century Aceh, Brakel (1975) traces the Hindu influence on Acehnese kingship and arts. It is interesting to note that during the early Islamization of India, Sufi doctrines of Islam and the Bhakti of Hinduism intermingled 'harmoniously' on Indian soil (Mukerjee 1959:324). Sufism also

incorporated many non-Islamic elements (Johns 1961a:13), which were always subordinated to Koranic principles, or simply given Islamic 'colouring' (Sarangani 1974:62), and coupled with "its moderate spiritual demands are seen as positive factors in its acceptance" (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:53) in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Later, even though the Malays and the Acehnese both Islamized, their culture and symbolism were still being influenced by the Indian culture. In fact, as pointed out by Johns (1961b:152) the people of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago were "consciously or unconsciously ... prepared to preserve a certain measure of continuity with the past, and to use the terms and elements of pre-Islamic culture in an Islamic context".

Therefore we must conclude that the Acehnese cultural artefacts would reflect a long history of civilization which included Pagan, Hindu and Buddhist art forms. So that when a 'new' religion was introduced, the total elimination of earlier religious artefacts was not possible or completely desired. A good example of this is the use of lotus blooms and petals on the nesans of Muslims.[9] Their use on batu Aceh could be for at least three reasons: 1) The continuing use of a pagan symbol; 2) the adaptation of its early symbolic meanings as in the Hinduism and Buddhism to Islamic, in particular Sufi, concepts and 3) this object, beautiful in itself and in archaic meaning, was appealing to the purchasers of the nesans. I consider the first reason is the least likely of all the explanations. Another feature of the use of parts of the lotus plant was its depiction, stylized, on the bases and lower bodies of some of the batu Aceh (Figs.5 and 10c).

The 'spider's web' (net or veil) again cannot be considered purely as decoration but as symbolic of certain Islamic (though not confined

solely to Islam) beliefs - the web associated with an Islamic legend; the veil - used in religious symbolism by the Sufi (comparable with Judeo-Christian belief - veils to be removed before God is revealed), and the same design, interpreted as a net, can be taken as implying that religious objects are caught or held together. The use of panels could be, as discussed above, a convenient means of enclosing a design or as a 'mihrab' (a niche in a mosque). Again religious implications are possible.

Geometric designs and geometric shapes proliferate on the batu Aceh which is understandable as the batu Aceh are gravestones of Muslims and this form of decoration is used on art works throughout the Muslim world as there is a direct association in Islam of geometrical patterns with cosmological laws (Critchlow 1983:8).

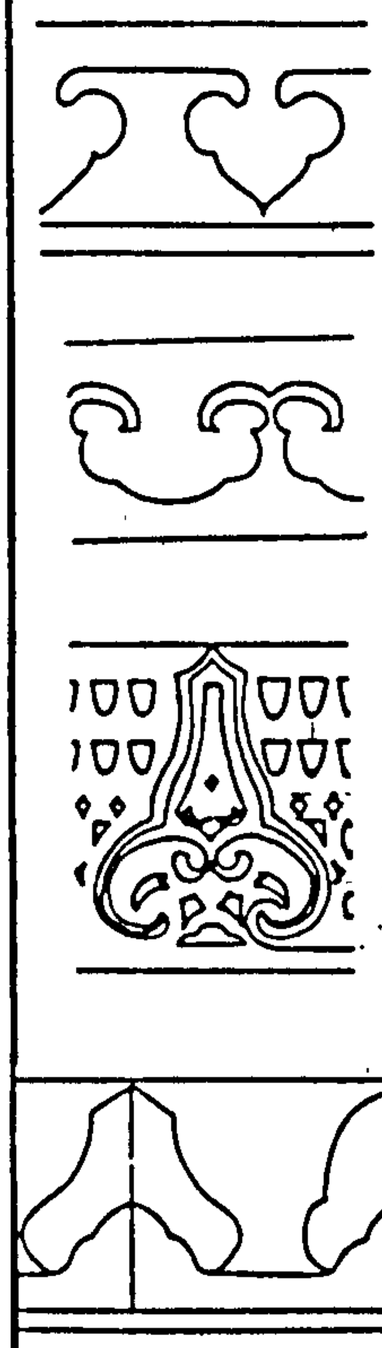
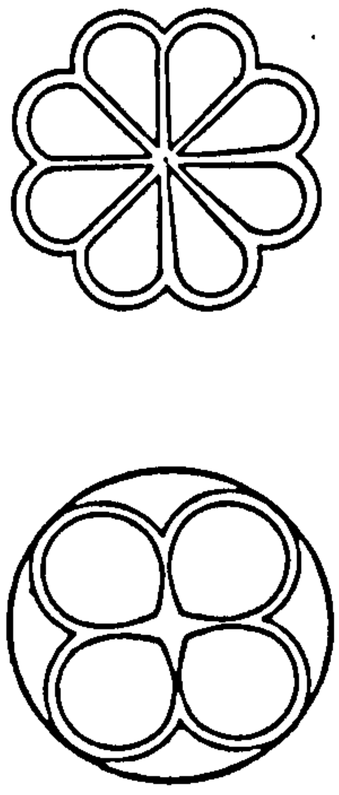
The content of inscriptions, apart from where they give genealogical information, are purely religious; however, the calligraphy used is decorative in form.

## Conclusion

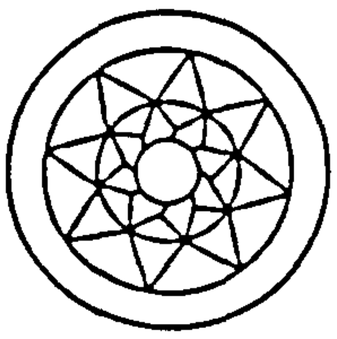
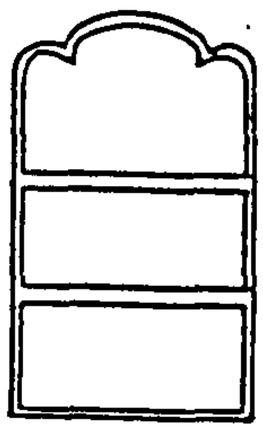
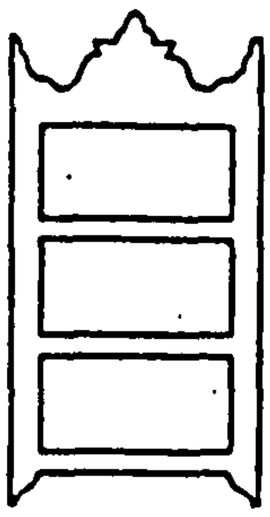
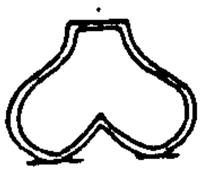
What can we conclude from the designs and decorations on batu Aceh found in Peninsular Malaysia?

There is a continuity in the designs and decorations on these gravestones over a considerable period of time (see Fig. 14). Whether this could be taken to imply that the decorations had retained their original symbolic meaning or whether new symbolic meanings had been attached to them it is not possible for me to ascertain.

Fig. 14

| Types of Batu Aceh / Basic Motifs | OTHMAN TYPES (15th - 19th Century) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
| Lotus  | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| Rosette  | | | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | ✓ | | | | | | |

Vocabulary of Basic Motifs on Batu Aceh

| Types of Batu Aceh / Basic Motifs | OTHMAN TYPES (15th - 19th Century) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
| 'Ladder'  | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | |
| 'Vase'  | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ | |

The batu Aceh decorations and the way in which they are designed and executed, by embossing or engraving into the stone, represent, I consider, a high degree of artistic attainment and expertise. From an analysis of the decorations I reached the conclusion that they were not intended to be purely ornamental but to contain elements of religious significance, which I maintain are not purely Islamic but reflect the earlier religious symbolism of the inhabitants of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. However, I believe that designs and decorations which had symbolic meanings for other religions could through time be accepted as Islamic and have Islamic symbolism attached to them (Johns 1961b:152).

Another question can be asked: In what way can the designs on the batu Aceh be said to reflect the sex of the deceased? This question has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3, and my conclusion is that from the specimens of batu Aceh, which I have recorded in my census, the sex of the deceased cannot be ascertained from their design as some scholars believe.

The absence of the portrayal of human forms on the batu Aceh is in keeping with Islamic belief, however, this is not the case with all other Islamic arts, in particular Persian and Indian miniature paintings, and other Malay art form as that of bangau - a kind of decoration on boats of Kelantan, where the representations of living creatures are widely used (Coatalen 1982:135).

So, in conclusion, it can be said that the batu Aceh used in Peninsular Malaysia show religious artistic symbolism which, only directly, can be associated with orthodox Islamic beliefs.

## NOTES

1. The source of this orthodoxy is a Hadith compiled by Al-Bukhari in his Kitab al-Buyuq, Bab 40). I am indebted to Dr. Austin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham for this information.

2. A good example of this motif can be seen also on the tombstones of Raja Fatimah at Pekan, Pahang (Fig.10b). A lotus petal is one of the common motifs on Chinese ceramics, beginning with the celadon of Sung (960-1280) and continued in Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing blue and white ware, for example, see Pl. 13(f) in Medley (1964:97). Celadon (green-coloured ceramic) were once widely exported to the Muslim world including the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Green is an Islamic colour, traditionally, Muslims believed that if poisonous food is served on a celadon plate and dish, the plate or the dish will change colour. Thus, the user is warned of the danger (Sullivan 1973:176, Othman Mohd. Yatim 1981b).

3. For the illustrations and brief descriptions of various types of flowers available in Aceh, see Kreemer (1922; pp. 553-557, Pl. XVII) which is reproduced here in Fig. 13.

4. There is an Islamic legend associated with the spider's web. There was an incident when Prophet Muhammad was hiding in a cave after being chased away by his enemies who wanted to kill him. Immediately after he entered the cave, a spider came, spontaneously, and wove a thick web, thus concealing the entrance of the cave. Consequently, this had led the enemies into believing that it was

impossible for Prophet Muhammad to have entered the cave, for the spider's web was still intact (Balyuzi 1976:48).

5. See A Dictionary of Architecture by Pevsner, N., Fleming J., and Honour, P.H., (Revised and enlarged edition), 1975, London: Penguin Books Ltd., p. 428.

6. Interviewed with Tuanku Abdul Jalil, a local historian, at Banda Aceh on 3rd September 1983.

7. It can also mean 'book' or 'chapter' or 'stage', the latter again implies steps leading to somewhere.

8. Regarding the surface decoration as comprising a blend of a quotation from the Koran with floral devices and mouldings in a sculptural harmony, a scholar remarks that "the words of God seem to have been revealed to man by clinging creepers and whispering leaves" (Mujeeb 1967:187).

9. Lotus motifs were also used on Malay woodcarving, metalwork and silverware. For a Malay interpretation of the significance of lotus, see Abdullah bin Mohamed (1978) and Aziz Deraman (1979). Abdullah bin Mohamed points out that the Malays not only used lotus in their decoration but knew of the situation where the lotus motif should be applied, for example the motif of withered lotus were inscribed on gravestones to symbolise lifelessness (death).

# CHAPTER SIX

# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

## Introduction

In this chapter I shall examine the distribution of over 200 pairs of batu Aceh gravestones plus single stones or fragments which have been discovered, prior to 1982, throughout Peninsular Malaysia (p.278, Map 11) and relate them to the geographical features of the area and to the human settlements which have grown up due to historical events. In seeking the explanations for the siting and continual preservation of the batu Aceh on certain graves, I shall examine the name and social status of the deceased and the date of death, where these data are inscribed on the gravestones. Where the batu Aceh contains sufficient information to establish that the owner of the grave was associated with a different area, from the place in which he was buried, e.g. where sultans were buried outside their own states, I shall seek historical explanations. In the absence of detailed information, I shall try to assert why certain graves are attributed by the local people to certain personages, both historical and legendary, in particular, where they have come to be venerated as keramats.

Where the graveyards with batu Aceh have fallen into disuse and the gravestones have come to light only when there has been a change in land use, I envisage that it will be difficult to establish ownership of the graves with uninscribed batu Aceh, but their situation on a particular spot will indicate that there was a former settlement within the vicinity which contained people of importance and wealth to justify their erection.

TABLE 4 - DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF BATU ACEH ACCORDING TO STATE IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

| STATES | OTHMAN TYPES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | N | |
| 1. Pahang | 4 | 11 | 5 | - | 3 | 10 | - | 4 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 39 |
| 2. Johore | 23 | 2 | 23 | 2 | 3 | - | 2 | 11 | 1 | 2 | 10 | - | 1 | 3 | 83 |
| 3. Perak | - | - | 8 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 23 |
| 4. Kedah | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 11 | 30 |
| 5. Perlis | - | - | 4 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 8 |
| 6. Melaka | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 7. Trengganu | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| TOTAL | 29 | 14 | 46 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 18 | 188* |

* The other 25 pairs have long been missing or replaced, so, their Types cannot be determined

## Distribution of Batu Aceh in relation to Modern Peninsular Malaysian States

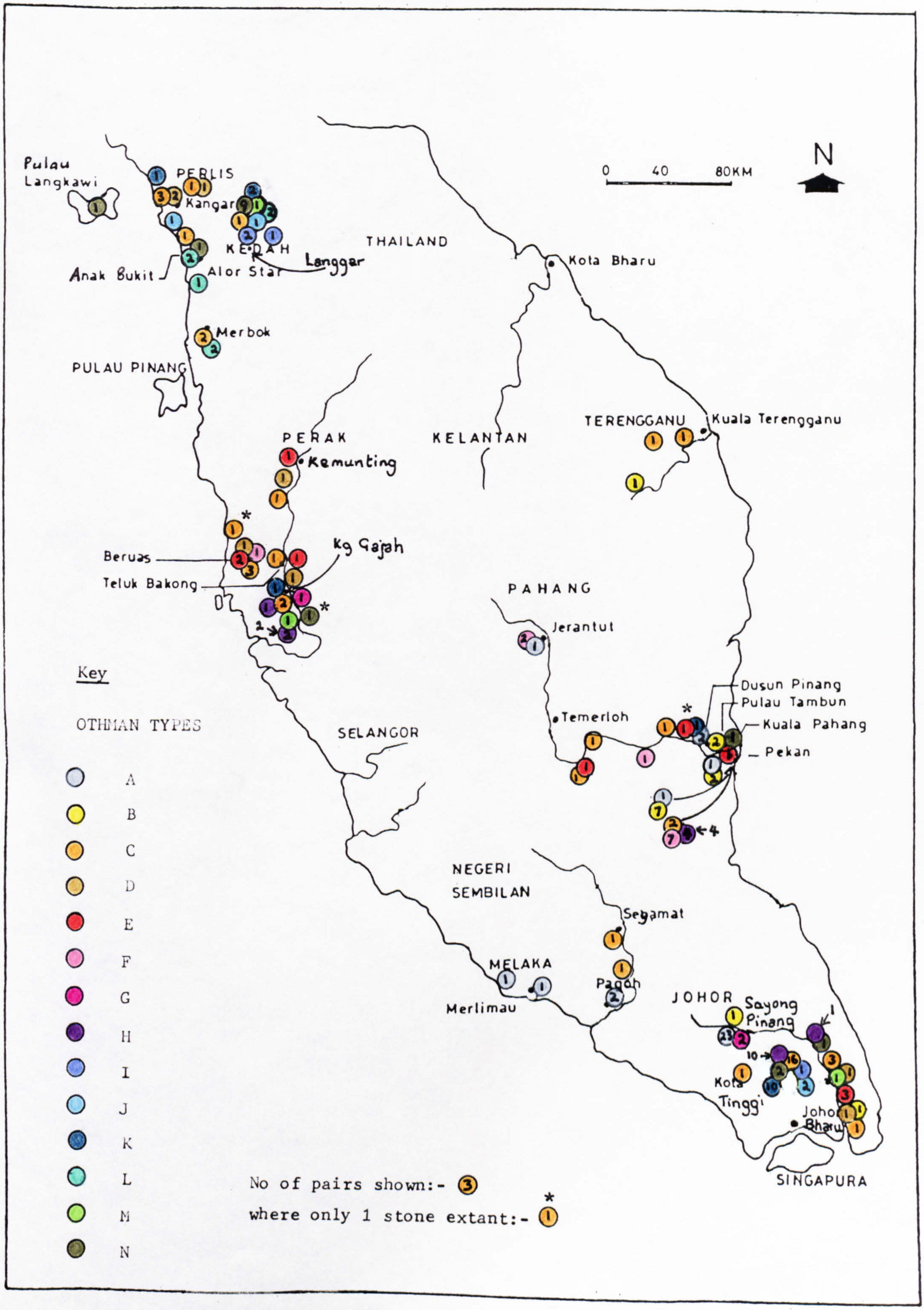
From Table 3 and Maps 4-8, the number of specimens of each Othman Type of batu Aceh and its distribution in Peninsular Malaysia can be determined.

Table 4 shows that Johore has the largest number of known batu Aceh with 83 pairs; followed by Pahang with 39 pairs and Kedah with 30 pairs. Despite its long connection with Aceh only 23 pairs of batu Aceh have been found in Perak. In other states - Perlis, Melaka and Trengganu, the number of batu Aceh discovered so far is small; 8, 2 and 3 pairs respectively. The pairs mentioned above comprise various Othman sub types.

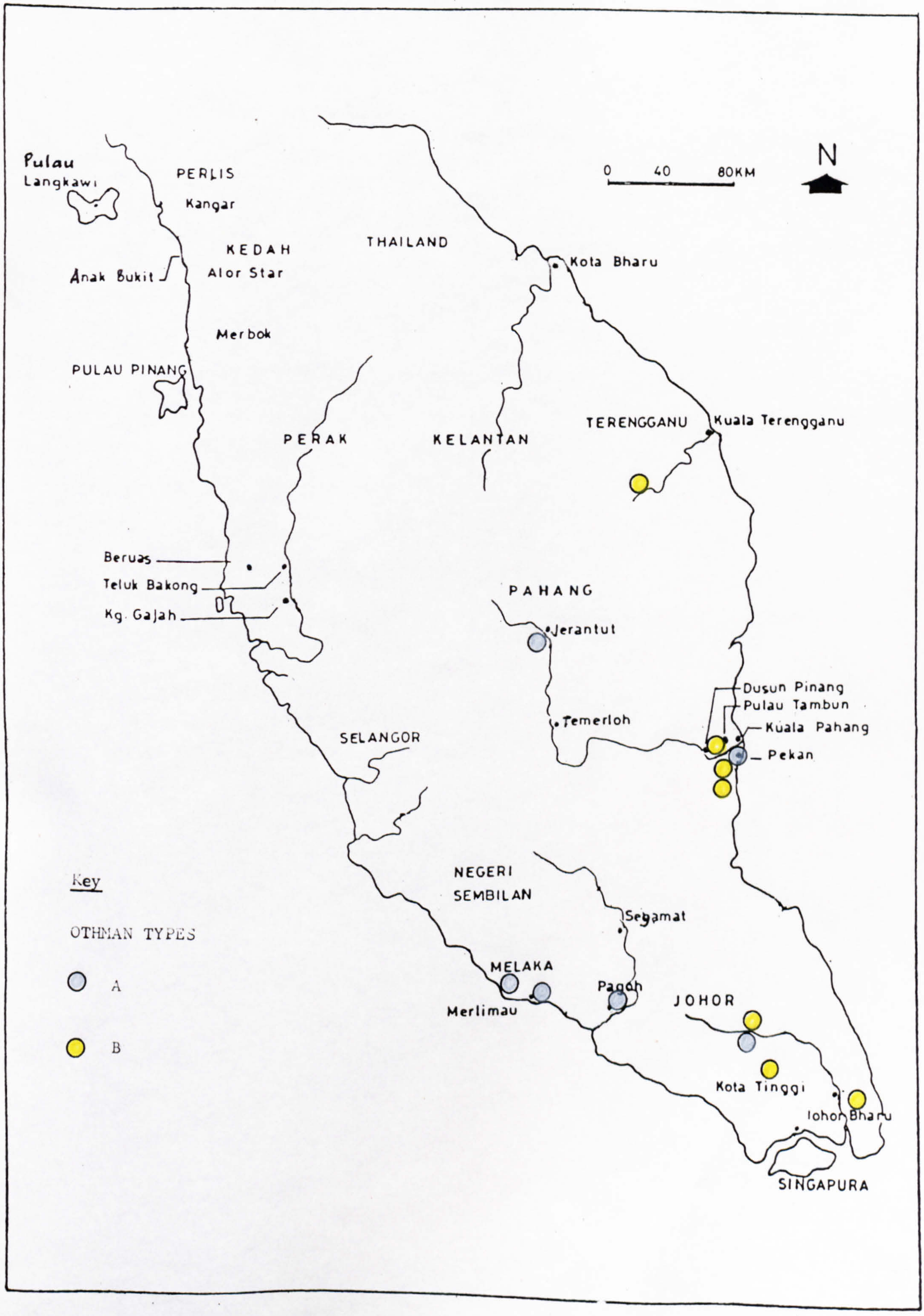
Map 4 shows that specimens of Types A and B (a total of 43 pairs) were exclusively distributed in Melaka, Pahang, Trengganu and Johore. The stones with inscriptions, with one exception, indicate that they were used to mark the graves of royalty and chieftains of the respective states; the exception being the gravestones of a 'foreign trader'. Of all the types, Type C, the commonest with 46 pairs, is seen to be widely distributed in Peninsular Malaysia, with the exception of Melaka (Map 6). Historical reasons may explain why specimens of Type C are not found in Melaka, for with the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, Melaka was no longer a Malay kingdom.

Specimens of Type D (8 pairs) have been discovered only in Johore, Perak and Perlis; while Type E (10 pairs) can only be seen in Pahang, Johore and Perak.

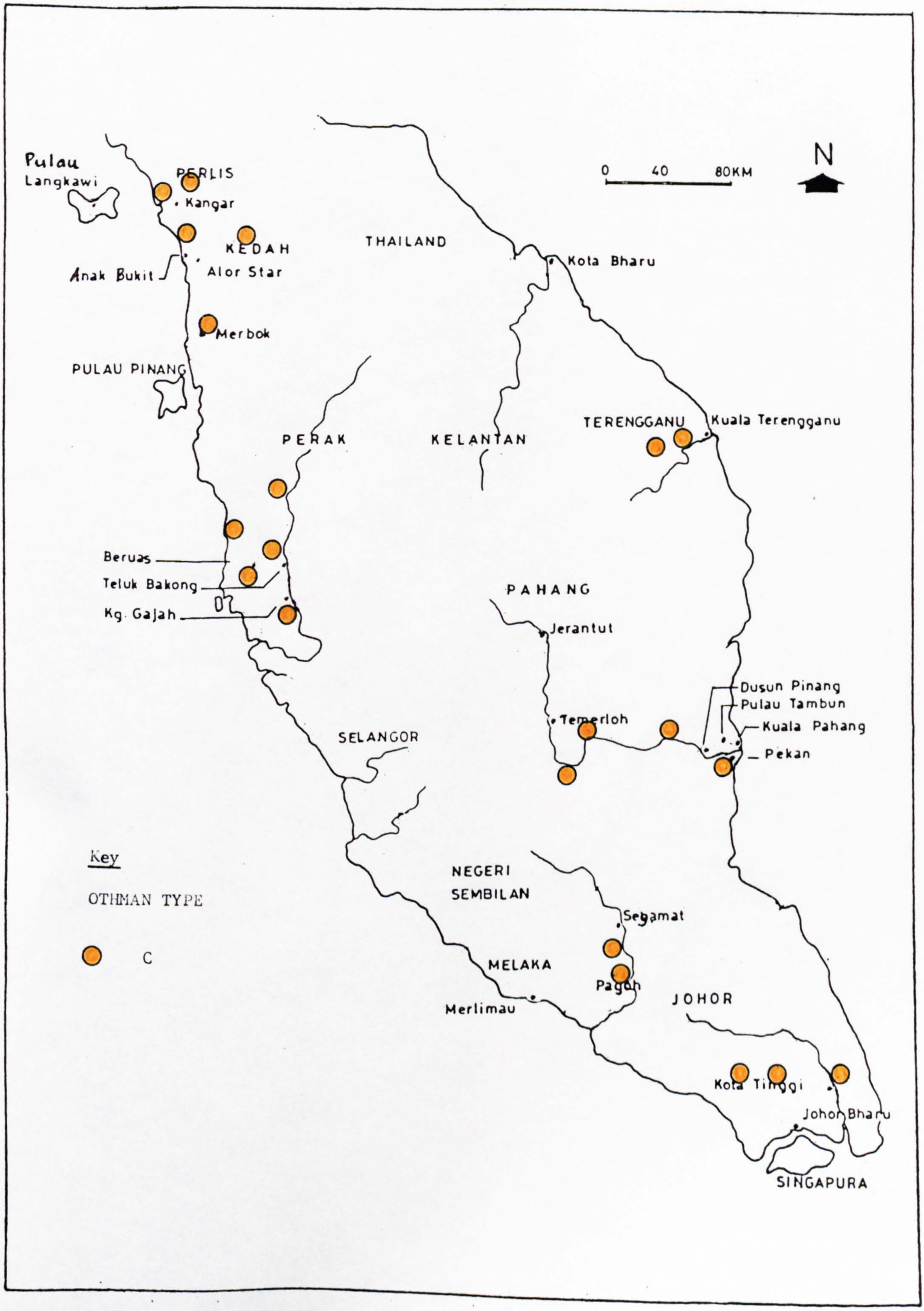
Map 4 DISTRIBUTION OF GRAVES WITH BATU ACEH.



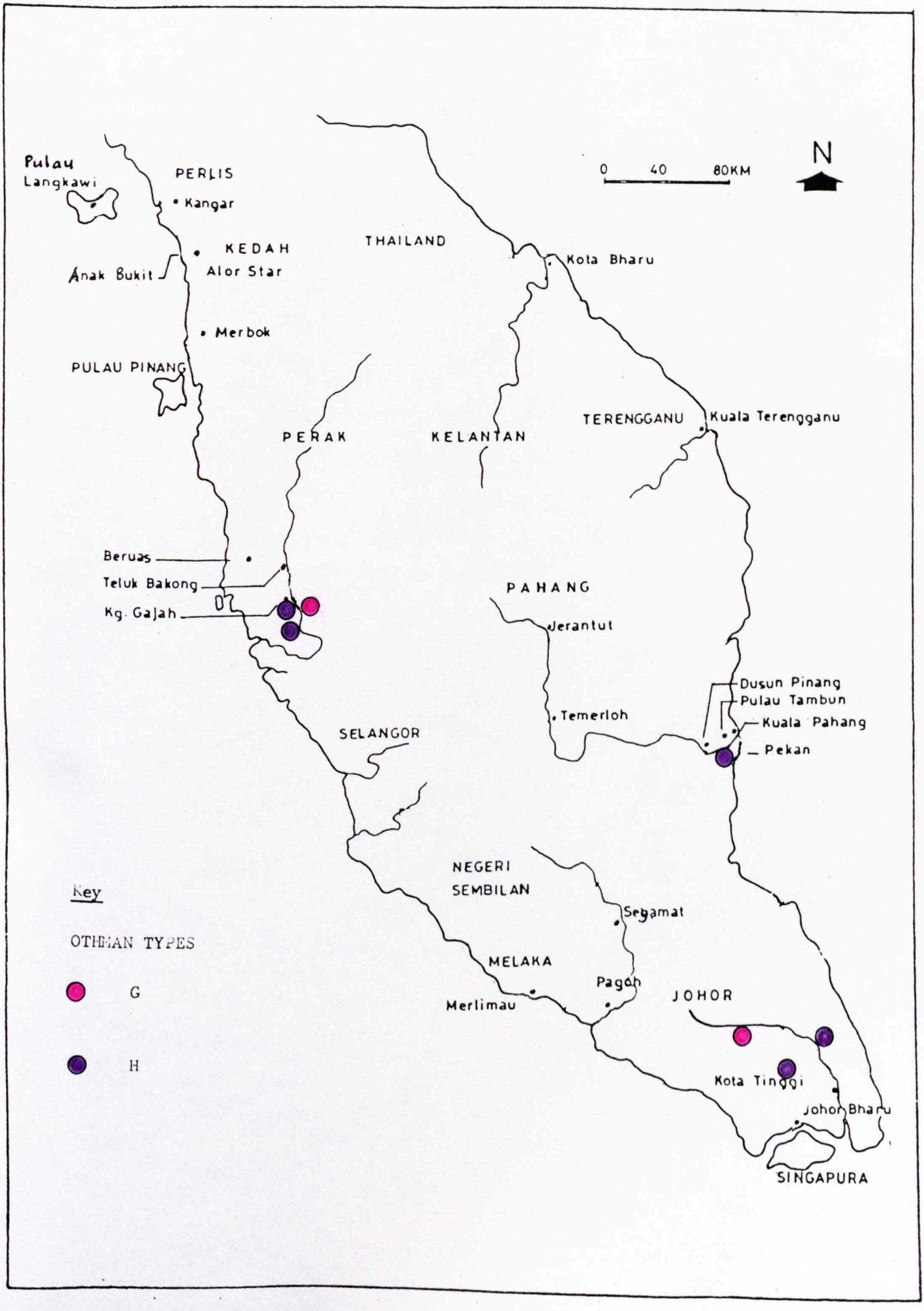
Map 5 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH OF OTHMAN TYPES A AND B.



Map 6 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH OF OTHMAN TYPE C.



Map 7 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH OF OTHMAN TYPES G AND H.

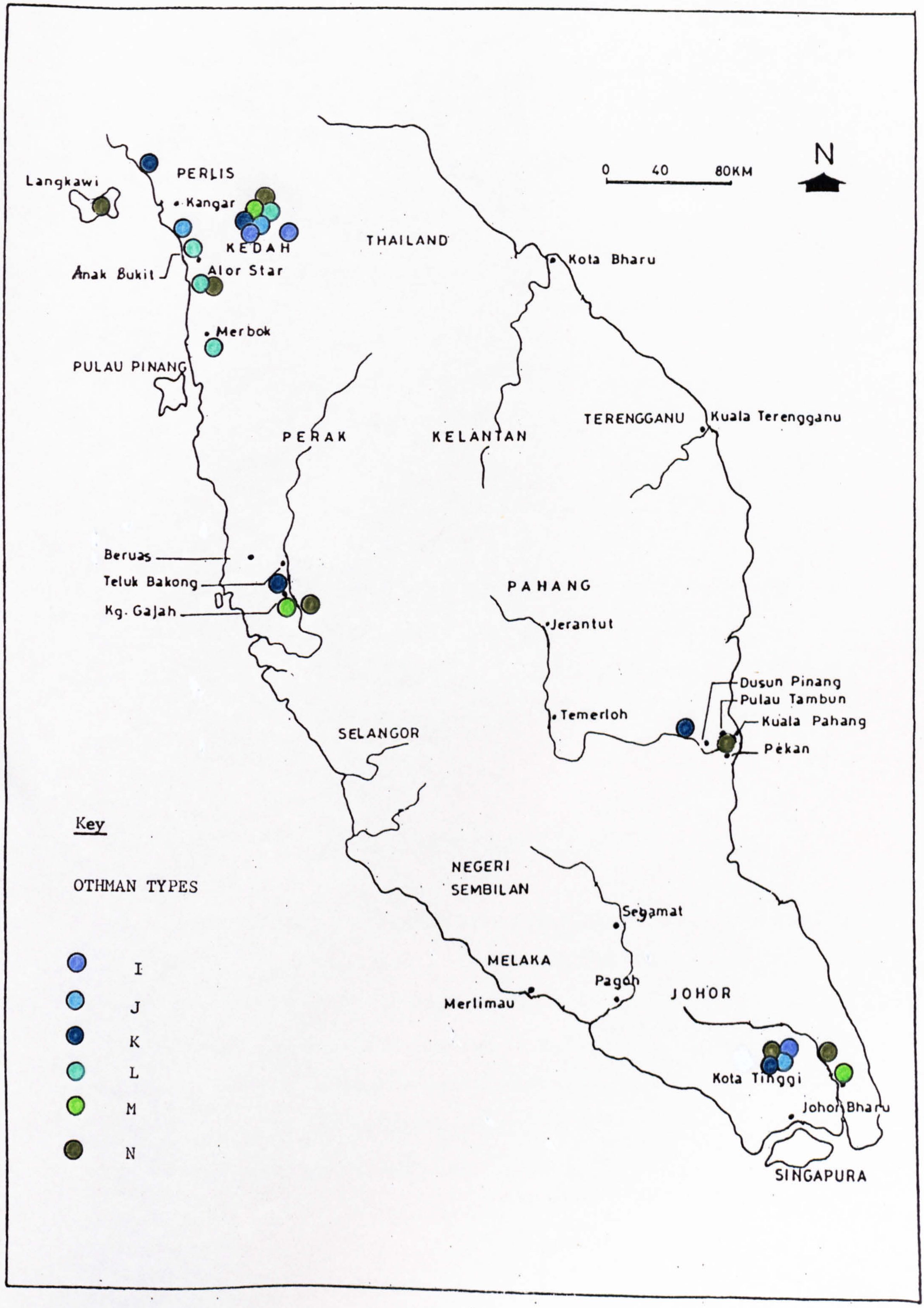


It is intriguing why Type F (a total of 11 pairs) - the plain and undecorated batu Aceh, were used by some people in Pahang and Perak. Of the 11 pairs, 10 pairs which have been discovered, are in Pahang. According to one of Halim's (pers.comm.) informants batu Aceh were in great demand in Pahang but when the Acehnese could not meet this demand the Pahang people made do with unfinished stones. However, I consider this theory unlikely. Two more credible reasons can be put forward; first, economic - in that undecorated stones would be cheaper and second, by far, in my estimation, the most likely (as an undecorated stone Type F is to be found in the Royal Cemeteries at Pahang), the deceased or relatives of the deceased, for reasons unknown, preferred to use them. It was not the case of using a roughly hewn piece of stone as a gravemarker but a dressed and shaped stone.

During my visit to Banda Aceh in 1983 I noticed that batu Aceh of Othman Type G are there in abundance, however, it seems to me that this Type was either not considered attractive by the people of the Peninsular Malaysia or was difficult to obtain, for only 2 pairs have been discovered in Johore and 1 pair in Perak. My impression is that this Type either were manufactured in limited numbers, or they were produced in a relatively short period. The same situation occurs for Type H. A total of 18 pairs of this Type have, so far, been found in three states of the Peninsular Malaysia, i.e. 4 pairs in Pahang, 11 pairs in Johore and 3 pairs in Perak.

The largest concentration of Types I - N are in the northern part of the Peninsular Malaysia (see Map 8). It is not known why these Types, which I consider to be later types, occur in greater numbers in Kedah (26 pairs) and Johore (17 pairs) than in other states, Pahang

Map 8 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH OF OTHMAN TYPES I - N.



with 2 pairs and Perak 3 pairs. In fact, Type L (7 pairs) was found exclusively in Kedah. I can offer no explanation why Types K and N found favour in Johore and Kedah. There are 10 pairs of Type K in Johore and 11 pairs of Type N in Kedah, as compared with other states in the Peninsular Malaysia; Pahang, Perak and Perlis each having only 1 pair of Type K, while Kedah has 3 pairs. Batu Aceh of Type M have been found in Johore, Perak and Kedah, each state having 1 pair.

It is interesting to note that although the batu Aceh of the later types (Types I - N) were widely distributed in the states of Kedah and Johore, people of Acehnese descent in Peninsular Malaysia concentrated in Yan District, Kedah[1] rather than in Johore. The admiration of Kedah royalty for batu Aceh is reflected in the use of such tombstones for Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah, who died in 1879. His tombstones were imported from Italy but are in the Acehnese style based on Othman Type I (see Pl. 23). I consider the period of the 1870s as the end of the production of batu Aceh in Aceh and their importation into Peninsular Malaysia.[2]

## The Role of State Capitals in siting of Batu Aceh

The majority of our examples of batu Aceh, as described above, are located along the river banks, which in some cases, were formerly coastal settlements and capitals of Malay kingdoms, as at Perak, Johore and Kedah. The main reason for this is that until the 1880s the rivers played a vital role in communication (Ryan 1955:118). The state capitals were the hub of communication system, as well as being the religious and political centre and the repository of the wealth of the state.

The early traders and Islam came first to the pesisir or coastal states and later spread to the interior of the country. Hooker (1983:7) says "Islam was characteristically a court phenomenon; it was here that trade took place and it was at this point that the local rulers became involved with the religion. Trade has always been a princely or royal interest in South-east Asia for it was on wealth and control of wealth-producing activities that rulers depended". It seems to me that the above quotation indirectly answers the question as to why batu Aceh and other foreign tombstones, imported later, (e.g. Pl. 23b), can be seen on the graves of the sultans and family and his chieftains. For their wealth due to trade changed their life-style and afforded them a higher standard of living, including the ability to acquire special nesans, which was beyond the economic reach of their ordinary rakyat (commoners). It would also help to differentiate them from their people. The resiting of the state capitals, further up river, accounts, I believe, for the location of batu Aceh up river.

## The Actual Location of the Batu Aceh

From the distribution Maps of the various types of batu Aceh (Othman Types A - H) throughout Peninsular Malaysia, it will be seen that the batu Aceh are to be found principally along the river banks, coastal settlements or old established ports and in former state capitals. These areas contain a variety of sites with cemeteries or isolated grave or graves. The actual sites of the graves with batu Aceh can be placed in three categories:

1. Those found in organized cemeteries (royal and non-royal) with a total of 23 sites.
2. Isolated spots (royal and non-royal) - 40 sites.

3. Where a person is buried outside his own state - 3 sites.

The actual site of batu Aceh has a bearing on the preservation of the stone and the identification, real or assumed, of the deceased. Where batu Aceh occur in organized cemeteries, in particular royal cemeteries, it will be seen that these cover a considerable timescale, e.g. Makam Diraja, Langgar, Kedah (Appendix 48, with Types C, I - N) because the royal cemetery was in continuous use. Of the graves in isolated spots, two kinds can be distinguished. The first, where the site has fallen into disuse and the batu Aceh has only come to light accidentally, when the site was subject to change in land-use, e.g. when the planting of oil palms or road construction was taking place. These stones having been under the soil for a long period may be in a good state of preservation, but subsequently were broken and fragmented by the excavation machinery. The second, where the isolated grave has, for reasons unknown, been kept in a good state of preservation and consequently is revered as a keramat (see later in this Chapter and Chapters 2 and 7). It would have been more satisfactory if one could say that it is preserved because it is a keramat or alternatively, its preservation caused it to be a keramat, but there is no positive proof for either of these statements. Those in category 3, are in relatively good preservation because they belonged to royalty and were under constant maintenance by their descendants.

## The Chronology of Sites

The distribution pattern of batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia can be better understood if we link them with historical factors. I maintain that there were two main periods (see Map 1) in the erection of batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia:

1. The batu Aceh dating from before the fall of Melaka (the earliest dated 1475 AD) to the advent of the Portuguese in 1511 and their conquest of Melaka.

2. The batu Aceh which can be identified stylistically from after the fall of Melaka to the end of the nineteenth century.

The first period (prior 1511) has only Othman Types A and B (a total of 45 pairs) which were found in Melaka and its allied states, i.e. Pahang, Perak, Trengganu and Johore (see Map 5). I consider that the batu Aceh of this period were imported mainly from Pasai. Before Melaka overtook Pasai in importance in the early fifteenth century both places were important sea-ports in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. They were regarded as equal by the Sejarah Melayu (Winstedt 1938:125, Brown 1952:58). In fact, the first Muslim ruler of Melaka, Muhammad Iskandar Shah, died 1423/1424 (de Graaf 1970:125), married the daughter of a Pasai ruler upon his conversion to Islam. There was even a suggestion that the gravestones of Sultan Muhammad Shah I of Pahang (one of the sons of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka) were in the same style as the gravestones of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (d. 1297 AD), the first Muslim ruler of Pasai (D.G.E. Hall 1976:213). The dates inscribed on the batu Aceh (Types A and B) found in Melaka, Pahang and Johore range from 1475 to 1511/1512 and coincides with the period when both Melaka and Pasai were at the height of their supremacy before they were both subjugated by the Portuguese.[3]

The second period (after 1511 to the late 19th century) shows an increase in number and Type of batu Aceh (Types C - N, a total of 143 pairs) because Aceh political influence is now widespread in the

Peninsular Malaysian states (see Maps 6 and 8). Aceh emerged as a powerful state following the fall of Melaka. The expansion of this influence began when Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (d. 1530) managed to consolidate all smaller kingdoms in the east coast of Sumatra and established Greater Aceh with Kuta Raja (now Banda Aceh) as its capital. Pasai was wrested from the Portuguese and became part of Greater Aceh in 1524 (Lombard 1967:36). The first Malay state in the Malay peninsula conquered by Aceh was Johore in 1564. Three more states were conquered during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam (1607-1636), i.e. Pahang in 1618, Kedah in 1619[4] and Perak in 1620 (D.G.E. Hall 1976:346).

## Distribution of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia Before the Fall of Melaka

### Batu Aceh in Melaka

With the decline of the importance of Pasai in the middle of the 15th century, Melaka emerged as the major power in the Malay peninsula and played the dominant role in trade and Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago as is attested in numerous publications (e.g. Johns 1975, K.R. Hall 1981, Sandhu & Wheatley 1983). However, one must be disappointed with the lack of archaeological evidence of the rise of Islam in Melaka. It seems probable that funerary Islamic artefacts, including gravestones, which were known from Pasai (e.g. Pls. 6d & 7c) would have come into use in Melaka. But, so far, only four graves in Melaka were known to have batu Aceh and all are of Othman Type A. One of which is known as Makam Tun Teja (Appendix 60) now located in Kampung Pengkalan Samak, Merlimau (Map 14). The gravestones

from the other three graves were removed and at some time in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries donated to the Raffles Museum in Singapore (see Appendix to this Chapter). Two of these stones are still in the museum; the third one, now known to belong to Sultan Mansor Shah (Appendix 59) is now in the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. But a report by D.G.E. Hall (1976:213) indicates that, originally, there were a vast number of Melakan Muslim graves having nesans (probably of batu Aceh), served as handy material for the Portuguese to build their first fort in Melaka which they conquered in 1511; the same fort being later destroyed by the British in 1807 (Irwin 1983:802) thus completely and permanently wiping out the vital evidence needed to verify this statement.[5]

Prior to 1511 batu Aceh were distributed also among the other Malay states in Peninsular Malaysia such as Pahang, Perak, Trengganu and Johore. These states were the vassal states of Melaka, brought under Melaka's sphere of influence by Sultan Muzaffar Shah (d. 1459) and Sultan Mansor Shah (d. 1477). I consider that batu Aceh were introduced into the above states through their states connection with Melaka.

## Batu Aceh in Pahang - In Organized Royal Cemetery

There are three royal cemeteries near Pekan, Pahang. One of which is called Makam Ziarat Raja Raden (Appendix 2) which can be dated before the fall of Melaka. Although seven graves in this graveyard are marked with batu Aceh (Othman Types B and F), the identity of only two of the occupants has been determined. The first was Raja Fatimah (d. 1495), the daughter of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka (see Chapter 4). She married Sultan Abdul Jamil son of Sultan Muhammad

Shah II of Pahang. The second grave belongs to this Sultan, who died in 1511 or 1512 (Linehan 1936:229). Both the graves used batu Aceh of Othman Type B.

## Pahang Royal Graves with Batu Aceh in Isolated Plots

There are two graveyards of Pahang royalty which are currently located far from the organized royal cemeteries. The first graveyard is called Makam Lubok Pelang (Appendix 12) in Jerantut, and the second is known as Makam Langgar (Appendix 1) located outside Pekan. The real reasons why these graves are located at their present sites are not known. Perhaps due to either the respective Sultans' personal choice of site or because they were re-interred from other sites.

### Makam Lubok Pelang

The reason for the siting of this Makam at Lubok Pelang was due probably to the Sultan Muhammad Shah II being in exile.

### Makam Langgar

The second Pahang royal graveyard in an isolated plot is Makam Langgar, currently located at Dusun Pinang, near Langgar, Pahang Tua. In this makam was buried Sultan Muhammad Shah I. Because historically Dusun Pinang has never been one of the Pahang royal residences Linehan (1926) believed that Dusun Pinang was not the original site of this royal grave. He suggested that it must have been extracted from one of the organized state royal cemeteries at Pekan. Another reason, he suggested, is that it must have been brought from somewhere by an unknown person, perhaps for personal reasons, who re-erected it at its present site. His suggestions seems logical to me, for as he suggests

and our census indicates (e.g. Kedah Royal Cemetery at Langgar, Alor Setar), the practice of extracting nesans and later re-erecting them somehwere else is common in Malay society.

## Batu Aceh in Perak

The earliest example (early 16th century) of batu Aceh of royalty ever discovered in Perak is a group of makam known locally as Makam Raja Bruas (Appendix 29, Pls. 52 & 53), at a village called Kampung Kota (Map 17). Local residents believe that Kampung Kota was the site of the lost ancient kingdom of Bruas (Hussain bin Mahmud 1970:2-4), a kingdom which had its existence contemporary with Melaka.

## The Decline of Bruas

The decline of the importance of the kingdom of Bruas was due primarily to two factors, i.e. the silting up of the river and the rise of Telok Bakong.

## The Silting Up of the River

From the early sixteenth century Portuguese records, the Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, we learn that Bruas was one of the major tin producing centres in the Malay peninsula (Cortesao 1944, I:241). Until the late 1940s the Bruas river was still navigable up to Kampung Kota, but due to silting Kampung Kota is now quite a distance from the Dinding river and the Straits of Melaka, and only traces of the old river are still visible. This is described by B.W. Andaya (1979:21), she writes "apparent changes in the river system ... [when] the Dinding

river estuary silted up and the course of the Perak river shifted southwards. Towards the end of the century kuala Perak has superseded the Dinding and Bruas areas and though the name Manjong can be found on maps dated as late as 1600, it declined and eventually disappeared".

## The Rise of Telok Bakong Under Sultan Muzaffar Shah I

Another possible reason for the decline of Bruas was the installation of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I as the first ruler of Perak, a direct descendant of the Sultan of Melaka, at Telok Bakong (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:59). The installation, writes B.W. Andaya (1979:19) "marked a turning point in Perak's history and heralded the emergence of the neophyte state as a political entity in its own right". She further states that "the presence of a royal prince and the prestige which he brought may have been one reason behind the increasing prosperity which came to Perak during the second half of the sixteenth century. Gradually it gained an economic advantage over its neighbours and began to surpass surrounding settlements as the most notable tin-exporting area in the western part of the peninsula".

When and how the batu Aceh was first introduced or imported to Bruas is not known, but it must have been connected with trade. B.W. Andaya (1979:18, citing Tome Pires, I:243,107) mentions that "economically, Perak formed part of Melaka's trading network, its inhabitants bringing jungle products and tin to exchange for foreign goods. They could also trade in the settlement of Bruas, a principal port of call for Gujarati ships coming from Siam and Kedah".[6] Traders who frequented Pasai and Bruas ports in all probability were acquainted with batu Aceh at Pasai and they later introduced them to the ruler of

Bruas. There is no archaeological evidence and no local legends surviving which could point to the local origin of these tombstones.

Batu Aceh in Trengganu:

Another vassal state of Melaka was Trengganu. In the State of Trengganu there are three graves having batu Aceh (Appendices 61 - 63, Map 23). The identities of those interred in these graves have not been ascertained. But local legend corroborated with Malay historical writing attributes them to local Chiefs when Trengannu was still under Melaka.

Persons Buried Outside Their Own States Before the Fall of Melaka

Melakan Royalty Buried in Johore

In the State of Johore are two graves of the category referred to earlier as of Sultans and their families buried outside their own states. These are of a Sultan of Melaka and his uncle. The reasons for the siting of these graves are a combination of political and personal factors.

Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (d. 1488)

The grave of this Sultan of Melaka is located at Kampung Raja, Pagoh, Muar in Johore (Appendix 16). Why he was buried at Kampung Raja (Map 14) is not a puzzle, for in the past Muar was a vassal 'State' of Melaka. It was brought under Melaka's control by Sultan Muzaffir Shah (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:50). But, it is interesting to discover the cause of his death. As described above, he was poisoned by Sultan

Muhammad Shah II of Pahang, his half-brother, for depriving him of the chance to be the Sultan of Melaka following their father's death. According to local tradition (Shaharom Husain 1981:3), Sultan Alauddin could not be cured even though he was attended by various medicinemen. One day, one of his Orang Besar (Chieftain) advised him to "take a rest and fresh air outside the city", following the advice he and a number of his household went to Muar. Even though he was attended by well-known 'dukun-dukun Orang Asli' (Aboringinal medicinemen), there was no chance of recovery. Finally, he died in 1488 AD, but before he died he whispered to his Chieftains that he wished to be buried near his palace, i.e. at Kampung Raja, Pagoh (Shaharom Husain 1981:3).

An alternative reason for his death is mentioned by Alfonso d'Albuquerque (Winstedt 1932c:7) that "this Sultan was murdered at the instigation of his prisoners, the princes of Kampar and Inderagiri, when he was on the point of going to Mecca". Alfonso d'Albuquerque mentioned also that the grave of this Sultan is at Ulu Pagoh.

Raja Sulaiman Shah

The gravestone of Raja Sulaiman Shah (Pl. 45c), the uncle of the Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka (see Appendix 22), is now located at Sayong Pinang, Kota Tinggi, Johore (Map 16). According to Alfonso d'Albuquerque (Winstedt 1932c:7), Raja Sulaiman was the brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah (the son of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka). When the Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah died at Pagoh in 1488 AD, there were at least three contenders for the position of Sultan of Melaka. The contenders were Sultan Muhammad Shah II of Pahang (the half-brother of the late Sultan), Raja Sulaiman Shah (another of his brothers) and the third was his own son, Raja Muhammad. Finally,

according to the Portuguese source (Winstedt 1932c:7), Raja Muhammad, the son of the late Sultan "usurped the throne and took the title Mahmud Shah, after putting to death his better-born [illegible] half-brother Raja Muda Sulaiman". With the discovery of the gravestone at Sayong Pinang inscribed with the name of "Almarhum Sulaiman Shah Ibni Sultan Mansor Shah Ibni Sultan Muzaffar Shah", Winstedt (1932c:7) believes that Raja Muda Sulaiman mentioned in the Portuguese source was the uncle of Sultan Mahmud Shah, not his brother. Winstedt (1932c:7) speculates why the grave of Raja Sulaiman Shah was situated in Sayong Pinang, he believed that Raja Sulaiman Shah exiled himself to Sayong Pinang after his failure to become a Sultan of Melaka, and probably because he wished to establish his dynasty in Johore. While he was at Sayong Pinang, his nephew, Sultan Mahmud Shah, had him killed. Winstedt's speculation seems possible to me, for [illegible] I have found no later research to prove otherwise.

## Distribution of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia After the Fall of Melaka

After being conquered by the Portuguese Melaka lost control over other Malay states including Perak and Pahang and now the rise of Aceh began. Aceh was to take over the roles formerly played by Melaka in trade and Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. This accounts for an increase in batu Aceh in the Peninsular Malaysia. These batu Aceh were used both by royalty, non-royal chiefs and certain distinguished commoners. The locations of these graves are both in organised royal cemeteries and in isolated plots in the states of the deceased. Here again there is evidence, that of a grave with batu Aceh, of a sultan who was buried outside his own state. The reason being he was driven out from his state.

In Organised Royal Cemeteries

Pekan - Pahang

The relationship between Aceh and Pahang continued despite the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese as attested by the preference of the rulers of Pahang of batu Aceh for their graves. One such grave is Makam Nibong (Appendix 4) in Pekan. There are seven graves in this graveyard. The identities of those interred in these graves are not known, but Linehan (1936:235) was of the opinion that "it is possible that the graves are those of Sultan Zain-al-Abidin (1540-1555) and his relatives".

Next to Makam Nibong is Makam Chondong (Appendix 3). The historical and cultural significance of this graveyard was discussed in Chapter 2, when I discussed graves in relation to the Acehnese funeral custom called Pula Batee.

Telok Bakong - Perak

The Perak sultanate began with the installation of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I as the first ruler of Perak.[7] According to the Raffles 18 version of Sejarah Melayu (Brown 1952:193), Sultan Mahmud of Melaka had two sons, Raja Muzaffar and Raja Alauddin. The former had been designated Raja Muda and named as heir, but after the birth of his brother he fell from favour. When Raja Alauddin was forty days old, he was proclaimed successor to the throne with the title of Sultan Muda. He became Sultan after Mahmud's death. The Bendahara and Chiefs drove Raja Muzaffar away from the palace. He took passage in a merchantmen

to Siak and later to Kelang. While in Kelang he was sighted by a trader from Manjong. The trader took him to Perak and had him installed as Raja with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He established himself at a place called Tanah Abang, now known as Telok Bakong, about fifty miles from the mouth of the Perak river. Here "a microcosm of the Melaka court" developed (B.W. Andaya 1979:20). He died in c. 1549 and his grave and the graves of his wife and daughter are located at Telok Bakong (Appendix 31), but the batu Aceh on his grave ~~have been~~ were replaced during the early part of this century.

## Batu Aceh in Johore

While Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak was establishing himself in Perak, his younger brother, Raja Alauddin was still struggling to establish his own dynasty in Johore.

## Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II

After the fall of Melaka, Raja Alauddin and his father, Sultan Mahmud, escaped to Pahang and later fled to Bentan after being pursued by the Portuguese. While in Bentan they made various attempts to recapture Melaka, but all in vain, and finally they fled to Kampar (Buyong bin Adil 1971:14). Raja Alauddin was appointed to replace Sultan Mahmud as a new sultan of Melaka in exile. Shortly after that, the newly installed sultan, styled Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II, left Kampar for Pahang. In Pahang he married Puteri Kesuma Dewi, the daughter of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the fourth ruler of Pahang.

In 1529 Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II and his royal household left Pahang for Johore (Halim 1982a). He developed a site near Sayong

Pinang to be his seat of government (Appendix 23). Here he revived his interest in recapturing Melaka from the Portuguese. He launched a series of attacks against the Portuguese in Melaka in which the Portuguese retaliated by destroying Malay villages along the Johore River and Sayong Pinang. In 1540 he decided to move his kingdom's capital to Johore Lama (Appendix 25), on the ~~right~~ left bank of the Johore River, near a place called Tanjong Batu. As a protection from his enemies, he built a fort known today as Kota Batu or Stone Fort.

Meanwhile, the 1540s saw the emergence of two powerful Malay powers on both sides of the Straits of Melaka - Johore and Aceh. Both had openly declared their ambitions to recapture Melaka and to be the sole powerful Malay power in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago and to assume the status Melaka once had. In 1540 Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II helped the ruler of Aru in preventing the Acehnese forces from conquering Aru (L.Y. Andaya 1975:24). In 1564, in revenge, Sultan Alauddin Al-Kahar of Aceh sent his forces to invade Johore Lama. The attack devastated the state capital and Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II and all his family were taken prisoner to Aceh. Later he died in Aceh (Buyong bin Adil 1971:15). His son, Raja Muzaffar, was appointed by the ruler of Aceh as the new ruler of Johore. He stayed at Johore Lama for a brief period before moving to Seluyut.

Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Johore

Once again the capital of Johore was moved, from Johore Lama to Seluyut (Seluyut is located further upstream from Johore Lama, on the ~~right~~ left bank of the Johore River (Map 16). Sultan Muzaffar Shah built his palace on the top of a hill called Bukit Seluyut. He died in 1570

and was buried near his palace (Appendix 26). After his death, in compliance with his will, Raja Jalil, his nephew, was appointed as his successor. Raja Jalil, later styled Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah I, was the son of Raja Fatimah, the younger sister of Sultan Muzaffar, who married Raja Umar of Pahang. Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah I was on the throne only for a few months. He died at a relatively young age (probably the tombstones which Winstedt 1932c earlier described as belonging to a child's grave were his gravestones). His father, Raja Umar was appointed to succeed him. In 1573, Raja Umar, styled as Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil II, moved the capital of his kingdom to Johore Lama, to a place formerly occupied by Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II (Buyong bin Adil 1971:16).

Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II

Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II, who was pro-Aceh, assisted Aceh in their attacks on the Portuguese in Melaka. As a revenge the Portuguese invaded Johore Lama in 1576 and 1578, but on both occasions the Portuguese failed to capture Johore. In 1587, Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II launched a bold attempt to capture Melaka, but failed. Consequently, once again the Portuguese attacked Johore Lama. The villages along the Johore river were also ransacked and burned down by the Portuguese forces. Kota Batu and Johore Lama were captured by the Portuguese a few days after the outbreak of the war. The Sultan, together with his household, fled further upstream and finally settled down at a place called Batu Sawar,[8] about two miles upstream from Kota Tinggi. Sultan Ali Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah II died in 1597 and was succeeded by his son, Raja Mansor, later styled as Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah III.

## Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah III

In 1613, in line with his expansionist policy, Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam of Aceh attacked and defeated Johore. Batu Sawar was occupied by the Acehnese soldiers. Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah III, Raja Abdullah, Bendahara Tun Seri Lanang, and a few other Orang Besar or Chieftains, were taken prisoner to Aceh (L.Y. Andaya 1975:24). Two years later Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah III died in Aceh. His brother, Raja Abdullah, was appointed to replace him as a new ruler of Johore. He still used Batu Sawar as his kingdom's capital (Buyong bin Adil 1971:19). In 1618, Sultan Abdullah moved his capital to Pulau Lingga and untiI 1641, rulers of Johore ruled Johore kingdom from outside. In was only in 1641 that Raja Bujang (Sultan Abdul Jalil III) established his capital on the mainland at a place called Makam Tauhid (Appendix 22).

After two years at Makam Tauhid, Sultan Abdul Jalil III opened a new site for his capital, at a place opposite Sungai Damar called Pasir Raja, later re-named Batu Sawar. He resided there until 1673 when Batu Sawar was attacked by Jambi. During the attack Sultan Abdul Jalil III fled to Pahang, where he died in 1677. He was replaced by his son, Sultan Ibrahim.

## Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Mahmud Shah I

In 1678, Sultan Ibrahim moved to Riau and during his absence Johore was under the guardianship of the Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Majid who resided at Kota Tinggi (Appendix 20). In 1685, Sultan Ibrahim died in Riau. His grandson, Raja Mahmud, then ten years old,

was appointed to succeed him (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:73). In 1688, Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Majid went to Riau and invited Raja Mahmud back to Johore. Raja Mahmud, later styled as Sultan Mahmud Shah II, established himself at Kota Tinggi. In 1697, Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Majid died and was buried at Kampung Makam (Pl. 40b, see also Fig. 21) and he was succeeded by his son, Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Jalil.

In 1699, Sultan Mahmud Shah II was killed by Megat Seri Rama, whose wife had been brutally slain by Sultan Mahmud Shah II. The Sultan was stabbed while he was borne on a servant's shoulders on his way to mosque for a Friday prayer (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:74). Due to the manner in which he was assassinated, Sultan Mahmud Shah II is also known as 'Sultan Mahmud Mangkat Dijulang' ~~who~~ he who died while being carried on the shoulders. His body was buried in a royal cemetery at Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, and to this day his cemetery is popularly known as Makam Sultan Mahmud Mangkat Dijulang (Appendix 19, Pl. 38c, see also Fig. 20).

Sultan Mahmud Shah II was replaced by Bendahara Tun Habib Abdul Jalil, ~~later~~ who became Sultan Abdul Jalil IV. Further discussion on this sultan follows later when I discuss the grave of a sultan sited not in his own state (p. 213).

Kedah - Lembah Bujang and Langgar, Alor Setar

Kedah, as in the case of other Malay states, had its former state capital along the river bank, for its prosperity was dependent on maritime trade (Lamb 1961). Kedah's first state capital was

established at Lembah Bujang. Excavations carried out at Lembah Bujang (Lamb 1964:83) indicate that Lembah Bujang was a busy entrepot, a transhipment place for Middle Eastern and Far Eastern goods, such as Islamic glass and Chinese porcelain.

At Kampung Bujang, there is a small and isolated royal cemetery, where Sultan Muzaffar Shah and his family are buried (Appendix 44). Sultan Muzaffar Shah was believed by the local residents to have been the first Muslim ruler of Kedah. The present Kedah State royal cemetery is at Langgar, near Alor Setar (Map 21). Both the graveyard of Sultan Muzaffar Shah at Lembah Bujang and the royal cemetery at Langgar, Alor Setar are known as Makam Langgar. These are the only two royal cemeteries in Kedah. The Makam Langgar at Langgar was opened in 1701 AD by order of the Sultan Abdullah Al-Muazzam Shah. The Sultan also ordered that all the graves of the past rulers of Kedah be 'exhumed' and re-interred at this new site. Why Makam Langgar at Lembah Bujang was not 'exhumed' and brought to Alor Setar is not known. Perhaps they were undiscovered until early this century (Evans 1926).

My observation is that very few, i.e. only 30 pairs, of batu Aceh have so far been discovered in Kedah. Their introduction to Kedah was probably during the brief period when Kedah was under Aceh control following the former's defeat by Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam in 1619. Another reason for the lack of batu Aceh in Kedah is probably due to the fact that politically until 1909 Kedah was a Siamese vassal state. The only link with Aceh was due to trade and propagation of Islam, but this was minimal.[9]

## Batu Aceh on a Grave of a Sultan Buried Outside His State After the Fall of Melaka

The grave of Sultan Abdul Jalil IV of Johore (described earlier) falls into this category. His grave is currently sited at Kampung Marhum, Pahang (Map 15). Before he became the Sultan of Johore, Sultan Abdul Jalil IV was the Bendahara of Johore. He was elected as ruler of Johore because Sultan Mahmud Shah II left no heir. With his installation, the kingdom of Johore now fell into the hands of the Bendahara family (J. Kennedy 1970:52), which ended the Johore dynasty of direct link to Melaka. However, in 1717, a certain Raja Kecil of Siak claimed that he was the posthumously born son of Sultan Mahmud Shah II, and he was the rightful claimant of the Johore kingdom. With the assistance of the orang laut, the Menangkabau forces, and a number of Johore's nobles, Raja Kecil managed to capture Riau in 1718, then the capital of Johore-Riau. Later he declared himself as the new ruler of Johore-Riau and demoted Sultan Abdul Jalil IV to his former position - Bendahara (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:81-82). Humiliated by the situation, he left Johore for Trengganu and later settled down in Pahang. In 1720 Raja Kecil, who still regarded Sultan Abdul Jalil IV as a threat to his stability, sent a team of hired killers from Riau to Pahang to assassinate Sultan Abdul Jalil IV. The team was headed by Nakhoda Sekam, a Menangkabau. They succeeded in their mission, and the body of Sultan Abdul Jalil IV was buried at Kampung Marhum, Kuala Pahang (Buyong bin Adil 1971:23; 1972:78-79).

It it interesting to note how a number of the traditional Malay elite, such as Raja Kecil, justified his claim to be the Sultan of Johore. According to the Siak Chronicles (L.Y. Andaya 1975:258)

which I quote below, that:

> "the father of Raja Kecil was Sultan Mahmud Shah ... On the evening before Sultan Mahmud was murdered in the year 1699, his fairy wife knew that something was amiss and quickly abandoned him. That night he called one of his concubines who was a daughter of a Laksamana called Encik [Cik] Pong to massage his legs. At dawn Sultan Mahmud fell into a fit of passion and spewed semen on a mat. He turned to Encik [Cik] Pong and told her to eat his semen so that she would have his child. He then commanded that she would bear the child secretly, if she were to conceive since this child would be of the seed of King Iskandar Dzul-Kurnain and would continue the lineage. Encik [Cik] Pong hurriedly swallowed the semen and, by the Grace of God, became pregnant".[10]

## Batu Aceh Associated With Legendary Figures

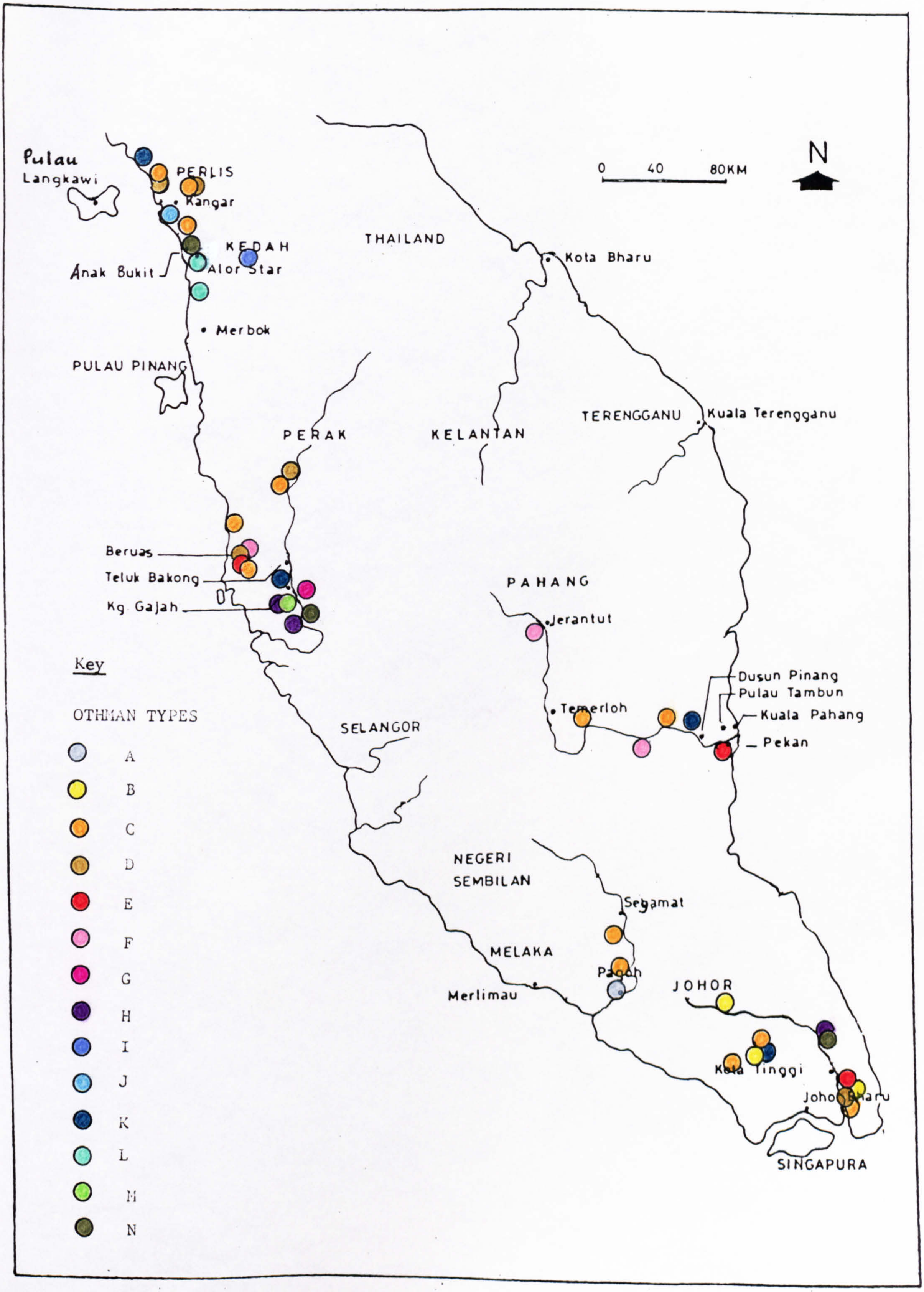
There are certain legends known throughout Peninsular Malaysia and the names of some of their figures, not always heroic, have been attributed by the local people to unnamed graves having nesans of batu Aceh. Out of a total of 63 sites, 35 graves have batu Aceh and are associated with legendary figures (see Table 1).

The legends can be divided into four categories :

1. Those concerning the genealogies of the ancestors of the rulers of Melaka, Perak and Johore,
2. Those relating to royal sanctity and the possession of white blood signifying royalty and innocence.
3. Those designating to Puteri Aceh (Acehnese princess).
4. Those referring to the legendary wars between certain Malay states in Peninsular Malaysia and Aceh.

However, in some cases, (see later), the categories are combined. The reason for the above categorization of the sites and locating them

Map 9 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH ASSOCIATED WITH LEGENDARY FIGURES.



on Map 9 is because they show that these legends and their heroes are not confined to certain areas. In fact, there is a uniformity of legendary themes throughout Peninsular Malaysia which are associated with batu Aceh.

## Legendary Ancestors - Alexander the Great

The first type of legend tells us how the early rulers of Malay states traced their descent. In the case of Perak, B.W. Andaya (1979:272-273) writes "the rulers of Perak traced their descent from Alexander the Great (Sultan Iskandar Zulkurnain), from the demi-god who was the progenitor of all Malay kings, and from the sultans of Melaka". Of Alexander the Great, L.Y. Andaya (1975:258) adds "he was considered to be a great Muslim and one of the illustrious ancestors of the prestigious Malay kingdom which could trace their descent to the princess of Mount Siguntang".

## Royal Sanctity and White Blood

## Johore Legends - Sultan Mahmud Shah II

Legends of the second category tell how the Malays revered their sultans, even though the latter were sometimes cruel and repressive. This is indeed related to the concept of 'daulat', a royal curse which could be cast on subjects who 'durhaka', or opposed the Sultan. L.Y. Andaya (1975:258) illustrates a good example of this phenomenon. In 1699 Sultan Mahmud Shah II of Johore was assassinated by Megat Seri Rama. The Siak Chronicle highlights the events leading to the murder of the Sultan. It states that when the Sultan was stabbed his blood

flowed 'white as coconut milk', but, somehow he managed to survive this blow and inflict a wound on Megat Seri Rama's foot. Grass grew in the foot wound, and for four years it did not heal. The emphasis in this legend is not placed on the brutality of the Sultan but in the 'durhaka' of his subject when he caused the Sultan's blood to be spilt, it was white and this was taken by the people to imply that the Sultan was innocent of any misdeed.

Johore - The Sister (unnamed) of Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah of Melaka

On the same platform with the grave of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka at Kampung Raja, Pagoh, Muar (Appendix 16), is a grave belonging to a lady simply known as Marhum Berdarah Puteh, (Pl. 37b), the sister of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah. Local legend tells that she met her death by accidentally poking a needle into one of her fingers. From the wound flowed an endless stream of white blood. The white blood in this legend implies royal blood.

Perak Legend - Derma Taksiah (Tok Subang)

A similar legend occurs elsewhere in the Malay states. In Perak, our census revealed that Makam Tok Subang (Appendix 30), believed by the villagers to be the grave of Derma Taksiah, one of the wives of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I (1528-1549) of Perak. The local legend says that she was innocently executed for an alleged adultery. When she was stabbed white blood flowed from her wound.

Pahang Legend - The Daughter of Sultan Muhammad Shah II

In Pahang, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Shah II, who was

buried at Lubok Pelang, near Jerantut (Appendix 12), was said to have white blood (Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei 1964; Zakaria Hitam 1966). She met her death when she was stabbed with a keris by her own husband, a legendary prince from Aceh, in order to prevent her from being taken away by his brothers.

Kedah legend - Tengku Zaleha

A similar theme legend occurs in Kedah. It concerns a princess named Tangku Zaleha, later known as Puteri Lindongan Bulan or Puteri Berdarah Puteh. Her white blood was accidentally revealed when she unintentionally cut one of her fingers while peeling a mango (see Appendix 51). However, she survived, unlike the two women mentioned above.

Legends Relating to Puteri Aceh and Wars Between Aceh and Kedah, Pahang and Perak

It is an historical fact that several wars took place between Aceh and Kedah, Pahang and Perak. From these wars sprang legends with their heroes and heroines whose exploits were renowned throughout the Malay peninsula.

The Kedah legend relating to Tengku Zaleha and the Pahang legend concerning the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Shah II of Pahang described above, can be combined with the legends in the fourth category, i.e. those concerning wars between Aceh and certain Malay states in Peninsular Malaysia. The theme in these legends is still the same.

In the case of Kedah, a local legend says that the war between Aceh and Kedah broke out because of the request of the Acehnese sultan, for his son to marry the princess of Kedah, was rejected. A similar legend occurs in Perak and it originates in Telok Bakong (B.W. Andaya 1979:61, note 16). This legend gives the reason for the Acehnese attacking Perak, as the refusal of the Sultan of Perak to give permission for Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam to marry his daughter.[11] But the legend did not tell us the fate of the princess or the colour of her blood.

Aceh-Pahang War According to Orang Asli Legend

It is interesting to note a parallel theme in yet another legend from Pahang. It concerns the war between Aceh and Pahang. What is more interesting is that it comes from one of the Orang Asli (Aborigine) tribes in Pahang. The legend (cited by Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei 1964) attributes the cause of war between Pahang and Aceh to the unwillingness of an Acehnese prince to allow his beloved Pahang-wife, a legendary princess who emerged from a bamboo, to be taken away by his brothers. The legend goes on to say that he would rather kill both his wife and himself than give in to the unreasonable request from his brothers. Subsequent events show that he stabbed his wife with a keris and with the same keris he took his own life. White blood flowed profusely from her wound. It is interesting to note that the same legend says that the graves of this prince and his wife can be found at Lubok Pelang, i.e. the ones known as Makam Lubok Pelang (Appendix 12).

It is interesting to conclude that legends with the same themes

occur throughout Peninsular Malaysia even among Orang Asli tribes in remote areas of Peninsular Malaysia. In fact, as early as the turn of this century, these legends attracted the interest of a number of Western scholars; Skeat (1900:33) for instance, remarked that "royal blood is supposed by many Malays to be white" and he has pointed out, rightly, that "this is the pivot on which the plot of not a few Malay folk-tales is made to turn". The Malay literary tradition was established initially in the royal courts, so it is not surprising to learn that the main themes of the literature were centred around royalty, their possessions and their exploits.

## Legend as Historical Evidence

The value of legend as historical evidence is questionable, but in Malay culture the function of legends can be viewed as a means of providing explanations of the past, usually in terms of heroic events.

The legends associated with batu Aceh are often similar in language and style, and on occasion they have the same themes, such as the genealogies of Malay rulers, where princes or princesses emerge magically from bamboo, 'white blood', Puteri Aceh and wars between certain states in Peninsular Malaysia and Aceh. While there may have been little, if any, historical truth in these legends, nevertheless, they were of symbolic importance. For in reality the legends were used by the Malay aristocracy to legitimise their authority by adopting legendary figures as their kin, thus providing themselves with worthy and famous antecedents.

Of all the legendary heroes of the Malays, Alexander the Great is the best known and revered. His fame is not limited to this area, for his name "appears in the genealogies or histories of kingdoms in Borneo, the Peninsula, and Sumatra" (Milner 1982:5). Wolters (1970:163) indicates that the reference to Alexander the Great in the Melakan ruler's geneaology presenting the ruler as the leader and protector of the Melakan Muslims and all the Muslims in the region. I maintain that by Malay Sultans claiming "worthy" ancestors this was, as well as enhancing their authority, a means of attracting Muslim foreign traders to their ports and courts.

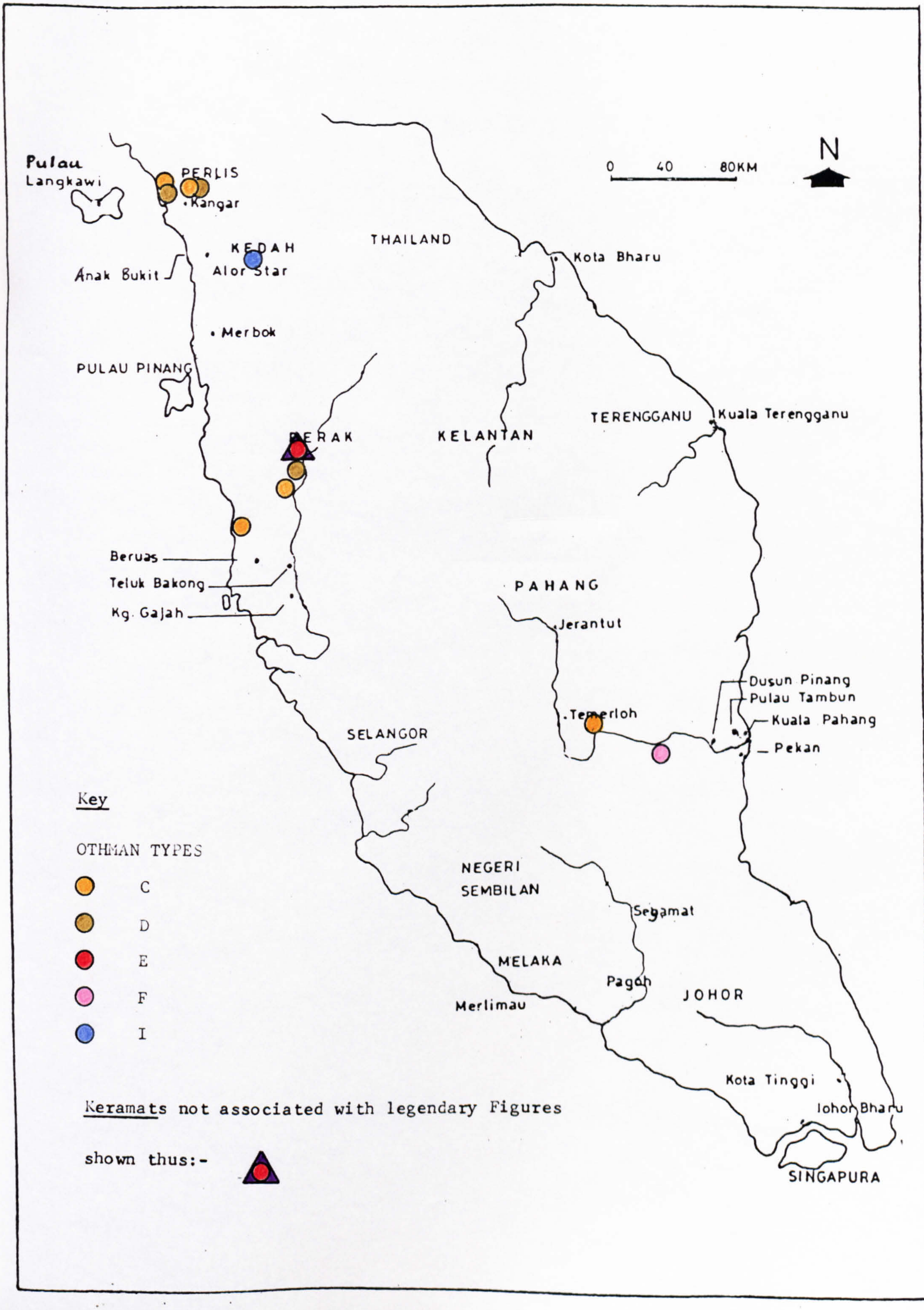
Another purpose of the legends, in particular those connected with the Aborigines, was to link the ruling family to the aboriginal population, "a common Menangkabau legitimating device" (Hooker 1978:58). Thereby giving both peoples a common ancestry and a reason for trade and subsequently the acceptance of certain cultural artefacts, e.g. grave-stones at Makam Tok Temong (Appendix 44) in Perak, where the batu Aceh is believed by the local people to belong to an Aboriginal princess who had 'white blood'.

So, the widespread acceptance of similar legends throughout Peninsular Malaysia and associating them with batu Aceh can be seen as a sign of the unity of beliefs in various aspects of Malay culture. In the same way the Malay hikayats (stories) where these legends are featured, can be regarded as "a further reflection of an underlying cultural unity in the Malay regions" (Milner 1982:5).

Batu Aceh on Commoners' Graves and Some of Which are Regarded as Keramat

The Malays believe that the erection of batu Aceh on graves was not restricted to those of royal birth. Graves with batu Aceh presumed to be ~~those~~ the graves of commoners can be located both in organized cemeteries and isolated sites along river banks. Of a total 63 sites of batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia, 40 sites are of commoners (8 in organized cemeteries and 32 in isolated plots). However, their true identification is not possible, as they lack inscriptions bearing the names and/or rank of the deceased. Out of 40 graves of non-royal with batu Aceh, 10 graves have been attributed by the local people to certain personages and ~~regard them~~ are regarded as keramats, i.e. graves of saints, and consequently ~~treating them~~ treated with veneration (see Map 10). Two of these keramats, i.e. Makam Tok Halus (Appendix 54) and Makam Tok Seri Manis (Appendix 56), are located in Perlis (both are using Type C). As in Perlis, Kedah has also 2 keramats associated with batu Aceh - Makam Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau (Appendix 49) and Makam Tok Jambi (Appendix 50); the earlier used batu Aceh of Type K and the latter used Type J. There are 4 graves with batu Aceh in Perak which are regarded by the people as keramats. They are Makam Tok Subang (Appendix 30), Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut (Appendix 43), Makam Tok Temong (Appendix 44) and Keramat Seri Benian (Appendix 37). All the above keramats are located in the northern part of Peninsular Malaysia. On the east coast, keramats or graves with batu Aceh are to be found in Pahang, i.e. Makam Bintang (Appendix 10) and Keramat Saiyid Abu Bakar (Appendix 13); both used batu Aceh Types F and C respectively. There is no way, as yet, of determining the original ownership of these graves but when we examine the local identification of the deceased we

Map 10 DISTRIBUTION OF BATU ACEH REGARDED AS KERAMATS



realise that they were legendary or mythological figures.

There are graves with batu Aceh which are attributed to pahlawan Aceh or Acehnese warriors killed in Perak (Appendices 34 and 35), in Kedah (Appendix 47), in Perlis (Appendices 53, 54, 55 and 56) and in Johore (Appendix 27). There were wars fought by the Acehnese in these places (Winstedt 1932b) and there must have been casualties, but why these particular graves, if they were of warriors, were singled out to have batu Aceh is not known. Obviously, all fallen warriors were not so honoured. Maybe these were of high rank. One is regarded as being of an Acehnese Admiral (Laksamana Aceh, see Appendix 33). Fallen warriors are regarded as martyrs in Islam, so this gives some credence to the locals treating some of them (e.g. Appendices 53 - 56) as keramats.

There is a grave in Perak attributed to Orang Besar Aceh, or an Acehnese Chieftain, Tok Sego Aceh (Appendix 32), who was believed by the local people to be the Acehnese Chieftain when Perak was under Aceh rule. However, this grave is not regarded as keramat, neither are those attributed to seorang pedagang Aceh, or an Acehnese trader, (Seman Hussain 1983), and to a wealthy Buginese lady (Appendix 5). Why a trader should be so honoured as to have a grave bearing batu Aceh is unknown. In the case of graves of preachers and missionaries being treated as keramats, this veneration seems credible in view of their religious office.

It should be noted that the Malay interpretation or understanding of keramat covers not only wali (Muslim Saints) but other persons as well. In fact, the term keramat in Malay includes high places

(sacred places), sacred animals (tiger and crocodile) and persons (both men and women) who have certain magical qualities or who "able to get whatever he wishes for, who is able to foretell events and whose presence brings good fortune to all his surroundings" (Skeat 1900:61, note 2). The use of the term keramat is not limited to living elect persons, it is also used for certain deceased, who, due to their exploits in life are considered to be worthy of reverence after death.

The designation of certain graves as keramats is a feature of graveyards in Aceh (Snouck Hurgronje 1906:154, Holleman 1981:74). Whether graves with batu Aceh were considered to be keramats from the time of their erection is unknown, nor the total period of recognizing any graves as that of keramats. Maxwell (1878) comments on a newly unearthed grave with batu Aceh (Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut in Kemunting, Perak) being treated as a keramat by the local people. However, there is no indication that this reverence was given solely to rediscovered graves.

The graves with batu Aceh which were observed to be treated as keramats by the Malays in the nineteenth century reflects the state of Malaysian Islam in that period, which was different from the stance now adopted by the late twentieth century of the Malaysian Islamic authorities (see Conclusion).

## Summary

The distribution pattern of the sites with batu Aceh shows that they are associated with river mouths and the rivers themselves. The

reasons for this lie in the fact that the major settlements were ports associated with maritime trade not only throughout the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago but internationally. As time progressed friction occurred among neighbouring states who competed for maritime trade, it became necessary for the major settlements and their trading ports, for strategic reasons, to be moved further up the rivers. Consequently the incidence of batu Aceh occurred deeper into the country.

Before the fall of Melaka, batu Aceh had been limited to Melaka and its allies which were in close contact with Pasai. However, when Melaka, which had been the most powerful state in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, fell to the Portuguese in 1511, a power vacuum was created in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, and Aceh was quick to take advantage and try to assume Melaka's former role. This brought it into conflict with Johore. The outcome was that Aceh triumphed and annexed Johore, Pahang, Perak and Kedah. This enabled Aceh to spread her influence throughout the region, which I maintain accounted for the widespread use of batu Aceh in the above mentioned states.

Another feature which relates to the distribution of certain batu Aceh is where they have been associated with figures which feature in legends known throughout Peninsular Malaysia. These batu Aceh are unnamed and have been adopted by Malaysian aristocracy to give them 'respectable' or glamorous antecedents. The 'adopted' batu Aceh are not confined to one area but, as will be seen from an examination of Map 9 to be scattered throughout the region. They are extant on 35 sites, some of which are in royal cemeteries.

There are three sites of royal graves whose occupants were buried outside their own state, for reasons related earlier in this Chapter.

Another category of batu Aceh which are of considerable interest are those which have been designated 'keramats'. It is a common practice in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago for certain graves to be treated with reverence and given supernatural powers. Until recently (1980s) the Malays ~~used to~~ habitually visited the saint's grave (keramats) to ask the saint to intercede on their behalf, e.g. fertility, good fortune and good health etc. This is at variance with Islamic thought. However, it does show that Islamic ideology has not succeeded in eliminating all practices associated with other religions.

The fact that some batu Aceh, for reasons so far unknown, are acknowledged as keramats, has aided their preservation on certain sites in the past. Now, however, their being keramats endangers their continued existence as will be discussed in the next Chapter.

## NOTES

1. The author was informed by Tuanku Abdul Jalil, a local historian of Banda Aceh, in September 1983, that until before the Second World War the Acehnese were seen to go to Yan to participate in pula batee ceremonies held by their relatives there.

2. By the end of the nineteenth century the production of batu Aceh had ceased in Aceh when they began importing hewn-tombstones from Penang (Snouck Hurgronje 1906, I:431, note 1). The reason for the cessation of batu Aceh is not known. They may have become scarce and too expensive to produce; the war with the Dutch interrupted their production; changing tastes and cheap alternatives are all possible suggestions.

3. While in Banda Aceh in September 1983, the author was informed by Prof. Teuku Ibrahim Alfian that the place where batu Aceh were fabricated can be located at Embangan, about 10 kilometres north of Lhoksuemawe. During his visit in the early 1960s he saw fragments of unfinished stones littered on the ground.

4. During this attack the Sultan of Kedah escaped to Perlis where he was given the protection by the Siamese. Kedah was devastated and about 7,000 of her people were taken as prisoners to Aceh (B.W. & L.Y. Andaya 1982:61). This event was referred to in Kedah history books (e.g. see Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad 1968:53-71) as a visit of Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam, not a war. According to Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, a retired history teacher in Perlis (pers. comm.), perhaps Kedah was too

embarrassed to admit this humiliating defeat and thus decided that this event should not be recorded in their state's history.

5. One of the tombstones discovered near this fort (Appendix to this Chapter) was presented to Raffles Museum in Singapore by the Resident Councillor of Melaka in 1852. For other early Islamic tombstones in the collection of Raffles Museum (now National Museum) of Singapore, see Appendix to this Chapter.

6. Based on this evidence, Winstedt (1920:5-6) believed that Makam Raja Bruas were the graves of Muslim missionaries from Gujarat, India.

7. Before the revision of the official Perak royal genealogy in the early twentieth century, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah was regarded as the first ruler of Perak. After the revision the first ruler of Perak was then decreed to be Sultan Muzaffar Shah (Wilkinson 1923, reprinted in Burns 1971:148:150). For an "orderly chronicle, portrait, and plot" from which Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin is expunged, see B.W. Andaya (1979:18-20).

8. In 1615 AD, Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam despatched a letter to James I of England in which he listed Batu Sawar as one of his dependencies (Winstedt 1932c:128; Zakaria Ahmad, n.d.:147-148). For a brief summary of the rivalry between Johore and Aceh, see L.Y. Andaya (1975:20-24).

9. The earliest epigraphical evidence concerning the Kedah and Pasai relationship is contained on a tombstone discovered in Pasai.

The inscription on this tombstone indicates that in 1380 AD Kedah was part of Pasai (Stutterheim 1936:279). Prior to 1619 Aceh made numerous attempts to annexe Kedah but failed, due to the constant pressure from Siam, to which Kedah was a vassal. In 1619, Kedah was briefly conquered by Aceh under Iskandar Mahkota Alam

However, Kedah wrested itself from Aceh's control after the latter's defeat at Melaka in 1629. After 1641, Kedah was completely out of Acehnese political control but traders from both states still frequented each other's trading ports, e.g. there is a grave of a trader from Pasai at Kuala Kedah (Appendix 46). There is other evidence of an Acehnese ulamak who died in Kedah (Appendix 50).

10. Comments about myth in general by Claude Levi-Strauss (1958: 231-232) seem particularly relevant to Malay legend. He remarked that myth lends itself to a transformation into political ideology and this was used by Malay aristocracy as a foundation of a quest for power. Similarly, myth was also used by the Kachins of the Highland Burma in acquiring power and better position (Leach 1964: 264-278).

11. For the Acehnese legend relating to war between Aceh and Melaka, see Snouck Hurgronje 1906, II:81-88.

## Appendix to Chapter Six

## BATU ACEH IN THE COLLECTION OF NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SINGAPORE

The existence of batu Aceh can be seen not only in situ and in various locations in Peninsular Malaysia, but there are other batu Aceh which were originally found in Peninsular Malaysia and are now in the collection of the National Museum (formerly ~~then~~ Raffles Museum) of Singapore. These batu Aceh were added to the collection of Raffles Museum on two separate occasions. The first was in 1852, when the Resident Councillor of Melaka donated a number of tombstones to the Museum (Winstedt 1932a:7). The second occasion was when a number of tombstones from Sayong Pinang, in Kota Tinggi, Johore were added to the collection (Gardner 1932:121). However, neither Winstedt nor Gardner mentions how many tombstones from Peninsular Malaysia came into the collection of Raffles Museum. Miss Constance Sheares, of the National Museum of Singapore confirmed (in litt. 10.2.1983), that the tombstones mentioned by Winstedt and Gardner are still in their collection, but my request to study them was turned down, instead the Museum sent me a set of photographs of the tombstones in their collection, which I reproduce below as Plates 24 to 25. Whether these are all the gravestones from Peninsular Malaysia in the Museum collection is not known.

The first reference to the existence of batu Aceh in the collection of Raffles Museum was made by Barnes (1911b) when he stated that the material used to make the tombstone of Raja Fatimah (d. 1495) at Pekan, in Pahang (Appendix 2), was similar to the one in the Raffles Museum.

However, he did not mention which tombstone; presumably he was referring to the tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (Appendix 59), one of the items donated to the Museum in 1852. Wilkinson (1920:55) specifically stated that the tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka was in the Raffles Museum, Singapore. In 1918, Winstedt related the history of how and when this tombstone came to be presented to the Raffles Museum. This tombstone was later returned to the Melaka Government when in 1954 they established their own museum (Anonymous 1959). However, with the opening of the National Museum (Muzium Negara) of Malaysia at Kuala Lumpur, this tombstone was later transferred to Kuala Lumpur in 1963.

Winstedt (1932a) stated that as well as the tombstone of Sultan Mansor Shah, there are several other Islamic tombstones in the collection of Raffles Museum. He described and illustrated three of them in his article. He believed, after consulting Moquette, that all three tombstones belonged to the Gujarati traders who died in Melaka in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first gravestone belonged to the grave of Nakhoda Haji Al Kanbaiy (Cambay) who died in 1459 (Pl. 24a).

According to Moquette (cited in Winstedt 1932a), the Arabic inscription on the second tombstone (Pl. 25a) indicates that the stone belonged to the grave of Ismail son of Haji Nasruddin son of Ismail Lai (?), another trader from Gujarat, and dated 884 Hegira which is equivalent to 1480 AD. If the date is accepted, this nesan (Pl. 25a) would be the third oldest batu Aceh so far discovered in Peninsular Malaysia. Moquette was unable to decipher the full inscription on the third tombstone (Pl. 25b) because it was badly weathered, but he

believed the legible parts are quotations from the Koran.

Plate 25c to 3, below, are 3 tombstones from Sayong Pinang. From the inscriptions of the photographed tombstones (Pl. 25d and Pl. 25e) I deciphered the inscription as the Shahadah لا اله الا الله (la ilah illallah), which is the same as the inscriptions on the other gravestones from the same location. While the pillar tombstone (Pl. 25e) is uninscribed.

In May 1984 I was informed by Mr. Abdul Jalil bin Osman, of Melaka State Museum, that following a request by the Chief Minister of Melaka, the National Museum of Singapore has agreed to donate replicas of the tombstones from Melaka (Pl. 25a-c) which are now in their collection, but no date has been agreed on for the delivery of these replicas.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

# ISLAMIZATION AND PRESERVATION

## Introduction

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a period of rapid change in Malaya and Aceh. The direct intervention of the European powers, in particular the Dutch who had a long war with Aceh, brought about changes in the political system of the region and introduction on a large scale of European products. The Second World War caused both the Dutch power in Aceh and the British in Malaya to be temporarily replaced by the Japanese. After the war, in 1945, Indonesia declared Independence. The British returned to Malaya and remained there until 1957 when Malaya achieved her Independence. From 1957 onwards the Government was in the hands of the Alliance (Perikatan), which comprises of UMNO (United Malay National Organisation), MCA (Malayan Chinese Association) and MIC (Malayan Indian Congress). However, in 1981 a change occurred when one of the opposition parties, i.e. PAS (Partai Islam Semalaysia) used the issues of Islamization to gain support. This prompted the ruling party to bring in an Islamization policy in order to counter the opposition.

## Islamization Policy

After winning the 1982 General Election, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir

bin Mohamed became the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia. After accepting his prime ministership, he announced his new policies, among which was Islamization of the country. Generally, Islamization includes a wide range of policies, running from direct conversion of non-Muslims through a variety of forms of social-cultural mobility to the intensification of Islam represented by the operation of Islamic institutions and the possibility of making a pilgrimage to Mecca. This Islamization policy of the government worried many non-Muslims in Malaysia.

The idea of Islamization is not new. In fact, Islam is stated in the Constitution (1957) ~~as~~ to be the official religion of Malaysia; moreover, Islam was recognised as one of the bases of the Malaysian national culture. In his opening speech at the Meeting of Malay World (Pertemuan Dunia Melayu) held in Melaka on 18 December 1982, the Prime Minister stressed that the idea of a national culture founded on the culture of the bumiputeras of the region and containing elements absorbed from other cultures with Islam as the key element, was not something new. He pointed out that when the country was preparing for Independence, the people agreed that National Unity be built through the unifying process of having one language - the National Language, and one culture - the National Culture, which was based on the culture of the bumiputeras (Malays).

The Prime Minister's statement was further echoed by Dato' Musa Hitam, the Deputy Prime Minister, at a gathering in Panti, Muar (Berita Harian, 15 January 1983), he said that UMNO was giving greater emphasis to Islamic aspects in development, to prove to people, especially Muslims, the virtues of Islam in modernization efforts,

and to expose to all Malaysians, Muslims and non-Muslims alike the modern and dynamic concepts and philosophy of Islam. The Deputy Prime Minister also dismissed fears that Malaysia might become an Islamic State similar to certain Islamic countries in West Asia and Asia as a result of this policy (Berita Harian, 11 Februari 1983).

Muslim leaders in Malaysia realised that although the country must progress within the context of a multi-racial country with Islam as its official religion, they recognised also the freedom of religion. According to Anwar Ibrahim, then the Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, the government was trying to incorporate certain Islamic values in the national administration (Berita Harian, 25 Februari 1983). The adoption of Islamic principles by Malaysian government servants was intended to achieve the development objectives and national solidarity. Muslim leaders also realised the fact as pointed out by Coatalen (1982:137) that "if on purely religious (seen as synonymous to scientific or rational) grounds, the Malays throw away animism, feudalism and their Indian heritage as urged by some intellectuals - if such is feasible at all - they will be faced with an acute problem of identity".

The Islamic values which the government was trying to introduce also featured in other religions; thus these values can be used as a common ground, without non-Mulsims being converted to Islam (Khoo Kay Kim 1980:41). The only problem is that information on Islam and its civilization is not well presented among Malaysians, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Therefore, it is considered to be of prime importance to impress on non-Muslims the value to them of accepting the Islamization policies. A project which representes a significant step forward in

educating and informing Malaysians of the total cultural heritage of Islam, and supporting the preservation of the Islamic cultural heritage itself, is deemed to be ideal. For Islamic history, culture and civilization in Malaysia can be convincingly demonstrated and disseminated by its surviving and best preserved heritage, including early Islamic gravestones. Thus, batu Aceh, I consider, can be regarded as a significant Islamic cultural heritage in Peninsular Malaysia and can be said to contribute to the Islamic civilization in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Considering that other Islamic cultural artefacts have long since perished, batu Aceh are of major significance and should be preserved.

## The Role of the Muzium Negara in Preserving Peninsular Malaysian's Cultural Heritage

In 1963 the National Museum (Muzium Negara) was established and entrusted by the Government of Malaysia to be the official custodian of the nation's cultural treasures (Shahrum bin Yub 1982:60). The objective of the Muzium Negara is clearly spelt out by Mohamed Zulkifli bin Haji Abd. Aziz (1977:3); he stated that the objective is "to make the Muzium Negara a repository of Malaysia's rich cultural heritage and also to utilise the collection for imparting visual education".

By the late 1970s and early 1980s there was a sudden arousal of interest, by the states of Malaysia and some of the government agencies such as the Police and Armed Forces as well as the Geology and the Customs Departments, in establishing their own museums. They wished to preserve and to be able to display items which were both of historical value and cultural interest.[1] These museums were established

but were not under the control of the Muzium Negara, being controlled rather by separate entities under the jurisdiction of the various states and government departments.

In the selection of objects the interest of the federal museum and the state museums often clashed, for there was no clear dividing line separating those objects which should be kept in the federal museum and those which could be the properties of other museums. Too many of the objects were of both state and national importance. This has led to 'friction' between the various museums and no clear policy on the preservation of cultural items or property has been formulated.

UNESCO (Daifuku 1968:19) defined cultural property as "almost all kinds of material objects associated with cultural traditions" and classified cultural property into two broad categories, namely, "movable works of art" and "immovable works of art". The first category included "books, manuscripts, other objects of artistic, historic, or archaeological origin, including scientific collections"; while the second category includes "monuments of architecture, art history, archaeological sites, and buildings of historic or artistic interest". However, the above distinction is "a relative one as a building or other monuments which is classified as immovable, can in fact be moved, given sufficient reason". In this case, early Islamic tombstones, including batu Aceh can be regarded as one of either movable or immovable Malaysian cultural property.

Daifuku also pointed out that in many new-developing countries, the preservation of their cultural property is always related to the questions of choice, the size of the budget for their maintenance and

the justification for their preservation. However, the problem of choice is difficult to overcome because it demands both an appreciation of one's own cultural traditions and an understanding of others. The problem in Malaysia is not the vast number of items but the fact that the few items which do exist are therefore all the more precious and their preservation is of utmost importance, if the Malays are to have visible signs of their cultural heritage. The government of Malaysia have given their support by allocating funds and training personnel to work on conservation.

## The Preservation of Immovable Cultural Property in Peninsular Malaysia

The problem faced by many tropical countries, including Malaysia, in preserving their cultural heritage, as I have commented on elsewhere (1979), is not confined solely to the shortage of funds or manpower, but also to the destructive effects of weathering, vegetation growth and insects, coupled with human ignorance. However, nature's threat is not as serious as destruction caused or provoked by man himself. Daifuku (1968:22) pointed out that "war, vandalism, the very growth of human civilization, involving as it does the building of dams, highways, airports, pipelines and the accompanying urban renewal programmes, can and usually do effect cultural property adversely".

Although UNESCO states that "many countries have enacted legislation for the protection of important sites and monuments", from my own experience, in Malaysia at least, legislation alone does not guarantee the safety of historical sites or monuments. To protect her own cultural property, Malaysia, through the Muzium Negara, has

introduced 'The Antiquities Act, 1976'. I have included a copy of this document at the end of this chapter because certain sections of the Antiquities Act are referred to frequently in this chapter and occasionally elsewhere in the thesis. Under this Act, all the historical and cultural objects will be gazetted under Section 15(1) as 'Ancient Monuments' when their historical and cultural importance have been verified. Once this is declared, it will be a serious offence to remove, deface, or destroy them and the wrong-doer will be dealt with accordingly under Section 28(3) of this Act. In theory, the Act is a wise measure, but in practice regrettably it helps to accelerate the disappearance of some of these treasures. For the Act indirectly encourages people to destroy these invaluable cultural properties in order to avoid their land being acquired by the Government for the purpose of gazetting these monuments. This is understandable since land is scarce and the Government's compensation is normally inadequate and simply cannot match the value in economic and social terms of the acquired land. A land owner may object to the infringment of his privacy, for once a site or monument is declared to be 'historical' in the meaning of the Act, it soon attracts visitors who may cause damage to the surrounding land and create a nuisance.

Realising the difficulties to be experienced in the maintenance of monuments which are situated in remote areas throughout the country, when all the personnel responsible for them are based at the Muzium Negara, in Kuala Lumpur, the Director-General has divided Peninsular Malaysia into four zones. Each zone is headed by an Assistant Curator whose main responsibility is to ensure that all the historical sites and monuments in his zone are secure. The four zones are: The East Zone which covers the states of Pahang, Trengganu and Kelantan with

its zone office in Pekan, Pahang; the South Zone which covers the states of Negeri Sembilan, Melaka and Johore with its zone office in Melaka; while the states of Perak, Penang, Kedah and Perlis are in the North Zone with its zone office in Taiping, Perak; and Selangor and the Federal Territory comes under the Central Zone and its responsible officer is based in Kuala Lumpur (at the Muzium Negara).

## The Preservation of Movable Cultural Property in Peninsular Malaysia

Malaysia, in common with many other countries ~~who~~ which were previously under colonial rule, on achieving its Independence, discovered that, during the colonial era, many of its cultural artefacts of lasting national importance were being illegally taken out of the country. Steps are now being taken with the co-operation of the United Nations for the restitution of these priceless examples of cultural heritage to be returned. The demand for the antiquities and the high profits obtainable in the antiquities trades accentuated the flow abroad of many of the items. It is realised now that this practice must be stopped. Accordingly, the Malaysian Government has attempted to do this by the implementation by the Muzium Negara of the Antiquities Act, 1976. Section 23 of the Act requires any Antique Dealers, as well as Exporters of antiquities, to have a Dealer and Export Licence issued by the Muzium Negara. The Act also empowers officers of the Muzium Negara to conduct periodic checks on stocks and transaction records of each antique dealer. This provision was incorporated into the Antiquities Act, 1976 following a Recommendation no. 6 which was passed during the Meeting of Experts on the Protection of Cultural Property in South-east Asia, held in Melaka from 12 to 13 December 1972.[2]

It has been realised that government efforts in the preservation of the nation's cultural heritage would be ineffective without the full co-operation and participation of both the other government agencies related to the same task and the general public. Earlier, I stated that most batu Aceh in the states of Kedah and Perlis are in a state of neglect. Their lack of preservation is due in part to the delay on the part of the states governments concerned in granting the Muzium Negara permission to carry out preservation work in their respective states. Under Sections 15(1) and 16 this permission from the state where the monument is located must be sought first before it can be gazetted and work on its preservation can be carried out.

There are still many members of the general public, especially those in the rural areas, who are still unaware of the importance of the preservation of cultural property and efforts must be made to educate them and to engender a sense of 'love your own cultural heritage' especially among more recent multi-racial peoples of Malaysia. In 1980, the Muzium Negara launched a nationwide campaign to make the Malaysian general public aware of the importance of their cultural heritage. Travelling exhibitions were held in many parts of the country which exhibited historical artefacts of national importance. The enforcement officers of the Muzium Negara gave lectures to the Penghulus and the village headmen throughout the country and it was hoped that they, in turn, would spread the message to their fellow villagers. During these lectures the Penghulus and the village headmen were reminded of the importance of the preservation of cultural heritage and their roles in helping the government in this task. They were also told that for their efforts rewards awaited them as guaranteed by Section 5(3) of the Antiquities Act, 1976.

In Malaysia, one political party and two non-governmental and non-profit making organizations are interested in conservation. The Youth Wing (Dewan Pemuda) of PAS, which was once a component of the Barisan Nasional (National Front), the present ruling government, urged the government to conduct a survey of the neglected graveyards throughout the country and to preserve all the graves of well-known personalities in the country. They said that due recognition should not only be given to those who are still alive, but those who died in the nation's cause must also be given appropriate recognition. Their aim was to let the next generation know who their heroes were and to encourage them to conduct further research (Berita Minggu, 23 Januari 1977). In fact, the call was related to one of the objectives of the formation of the Monument Section in the Muzium Negara in 1973, that is, to conduct a survey on all the historical sites and monuments, including old graves, throughout Peninsular Malaysia and to suggest their preservation and to undertake their preservation work.

The two non-governmental and non-profit making organizations are the Malaysian Historical Society with branches all over the country and the recently formed Malaysian Cultural Trust. But, being voluntary, their capacities are limited and they are always hampered by the lack of funds. Their function is reduced mainly to an advisory capacity and in most cases to urging the government to step up preservation work.

I believe there are many ways in which the public can participate in the government efforts to preserve the nation's cultural heritage. In 1984, the Muzium Negara, with the co-operation of the Berita Harian, a national Malay language newspaper, successfully organised

an exhibition of 'Islamic Civilization'. The project was eagerly supported by the general public and by private sectors, who gave generous donations. These donations enabled the organisers to borrow and to fly the exhibits from the major London musuems, such as the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Science Museum and the Wellcome Museum of History and Medicine. Other exhibits were obtained from Turkey, Pakistan, Mali, Indonesia and Brunei (Berita Harian, 22 May 1984). Following the same practice, funds could be raised for the preservation of Malaysia's cultural heritage. In addition, an 'adoption' scheme could be introduced, such as has been, and is being, practiced successfully by the zoo for its animals. The wealthy individuals and multi-national corporations might be persuaded, with promises of tax relief as an incentive, to adopt historical sites and to be responsible for their preservation.

So much emphasis has been given towards preserving Islamic cultural heritage in Malaysia that one may form the impression that other examples of cultural heritage are neglected. This impression is indeed wrong, for as well as the recently established Islamic art gallery in the Muzium Negara,[3] objects of religious significance to other religions, monuments of architectural value, and objects of historical, cultural and artistic merit are receiving consideration. The Muzium Negara is now preserving ninth century Hindu-Buddhist chandi or temples in Lembah Bujang, Kedah; collecting Chinese and South-East Asian ceramics discovered in Peninsular Malaysia; preserving Portuguese and Dutch forts and buildings in Melaka and Perak, respectively; as well as many buildings built by the British in the nineteenth century. For they are an intrinsic part of Malaysian culture and history. In this context, it is appropriate to conclude this

chapter with an interesting remark by Bayly Winder in a Foreword to Hayes (ed.), The Genius of Arab Civilization - Source of Renaissance (1983:2); he says that:

> "One of the hallmarks of the civilized man is knowledge of the past - whether the past of an individual's own family, tribe, nation, or culture; the past of others with whom one's own culture has had repeated and fruitful contact; or the past of any group that has contributed to the ascent of man."

Bearing this in mind, I consider that my case for the preservation of batu Aceh is justified on the grounds of its historical and cultural value, in addition to its aesthetic quality - a reflection of a high standard of artistic achievement.

## NOTES

1. For the clearly defined objectives of the formation of the state and departmental museums before 1977, see Mohamed Zulkifli bin Haji Abd. Aziz (1977).

2. Recommendation no. 6 says that "all antique and art shops and dealers be licensed by the National Museums or appropriate Government Agencies, so that a strict check may be kept on them to prevent illegal transactions, especially exportation of cultural property", see Protection of Cultural Property in South-east Asia - Report and Recommendation, New Delhi: International Council of Museums (ICOM) Regional Agency, 1973, page 14.

3. In line with the policy of Islamization, in 1980 the Muzium Negara began collecting Islamic art. Among the objects collected are Chinese Islamic wares of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries found in the region (Othman Mohd. Yatim 1981a); Turkish and Persian tiles and carpets of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries; ceramic stool, plates, bowls and dishes of the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries from Syria, Persia and Turkey. Included in the collection are weapons comprising daggers, swords and guns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from India, Persia, Saudi Arabia and Morocco etc., see Othman Mohd. Yatim (1981c and 1982b).

Appendix to Chapter Seven

# LAWS OF MALAYSIA

## Act 168

## ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1976

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Date of Royal Assent ... ... 6th March, 1976

Date of publication in *Gazette* ... 25th March, 1976

# LAWS OF MALAYSIA

## Act 168

# ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1976

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# LAWS OF MALAYSIA

## Act 168

# ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1976

An Act to provide for the control and preservation of, and research into ancient and historical monuments, archaeological sites and remains, antiquities and historical objects and to regulate dealings in and export of antiquities and historical objects and for matters connected therewith.

[ ]

BE IT ENACTED by the Duli Yang Maha Mulia Seri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Agong with the advice and consent of the Dewan Negara and Dewan Rakyat in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

## PART I

## PRELIMINARY

Short title and application.

**1.** This Act may be cited as the Antiquities Act, 1976 and shall apply only to West Malaysia.

Interpretation.

**2.** (1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires—

"ancient monument" means any monument in West Malaysia which is or is reasonably believed to be at least one hundred years old or which is declared in accordance with section 15 to be an ancient monument;

"antiquity" means—

(*a*) any object movable or immovable or any part of the soil or of the bed of a river or lake or of the sea, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated or otherwise produced or modified by human agency and which is or is reasonably believed to be at least one hundred years old;

(*b*) any part of any such object which has at any later date been added thereto or re-constructed or restored;

(*c*) any human, plant or animal remains which is or is reasonably believed to be at least one hundred years old; and

(*d*) any object of any age which the Director-General by notification in the *Gazette* declares to be an antiquity;

"customs airport" and "customs port" have the same meanings assigned to them by the Customs Act, 1967; 62/67.

"Director-General" means the Director-General of Museums, Malaysia;

"District Officer", in relation to any area comprised within any municipality, includes the Secretary to such municipality and the word "District" shall be deemed to include when appropriate a reference to such area;

"export" with its grammatical variations and cognate expressions means to take or cause to be taken out of West Malaysia, by land, sea or air or to place any goods in a vessel, conveyance or aircraft for the purpose of such goods being taken out of West Malaysia by land, sea or air;

"Government" means the Federal Government;

"historical object" means any artefact or other object to which religious, traditional, artistic or historic interest is attached and includes any—

(*a*) ethnographic material such as a household or agricultural implement, decorative article, personal ornament;

(*b*) work of art such as a carving, sculpture, painting, architecture, textile, musical instrument, weapon and any other handicraft;

(*c*) manuscript, coin, currency note, medal, badge, insignia, coat of arm, crest flag, arm and armour;

(*d*) vehicle, ship and boat, in part or in whole, whose production have ceased;

"historical site" means a site which has been declared in accordance with the provisions of section 15 to be a historical site;

"Minister" means the Minister charged with responsibility for museums;

"monument" means any temple, church, building, monument, port, earthwork, standing stone, keramat, cave or other structure, erection or excavation, and any tomb, tumulus or other place of interment or any other immovable property of a like nature or any part or remains

of the same, the preservation of which is a matter of public interest, by reason of the religious, historic, traditional or archaeological interest attaching thereto, and includes the site of any monument and such portion of land adjoining such site as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving any monument and the means of access thereto;

"occupier" includes the cultivator or person in actual possession, management or control of any land, and includes any person having the possession or control of any movable property;

"owner", in relation to any land, means the registered owner or the holder by customary tenure;

"proper officer of customs" has the same meaning assigned to it by the Customs Act, 1967. 62/67.

(2) For the purpose of deciding whether any object is or is not an antiquity or a historical object, the Director-General may examine it and may call upon expert opinion.

(3) A certificate by the Director-General that any object is an antiquity or a historical object, or that he is satisfied that an antiquity or a historical object is or will be of lasting national importance or interest shall be final.

## PART II

## DISCOVERY OF, AND PROPERTY IN, ANTIQUITIES

Property in antiquities.

3. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, every antiquity discovered in West Malaysia on or after the date of the coming into force of this Act shall be the absolute property of the Government.

(2) Every ancient monument which on the date of the coming into force of this Act is not owned by any person or the control of which is not vested in any person as a trustee or manager, shall be deemed to be the absolute property of the Government.

(3) All undiscovered antiquities (other than ancient monuments), whether lying on or hidden beneath the surface of the ground or in any river or lake or in the sea, shall be deemed to be the absolute property of the Government.

(4) In any legal proceedings relating to an antiquity it shall be presumed until the contrary is proved that it was discovered after the date of the coming into force of this Act.

Notice of discovery of antiquities, or ancient monument.

4. (1) Any person who discovers any object or monument which he has reason to believe to be an antiquity or ancient monument shall forthwith give notice of his discovery to the Penghulu or Penggawa of the area or to the District Officer of the District wherein the antiquity was discovered, and if it is practicable so to do, shall deliver the antiquity to the District Officer, who shall give a receipt therefor.

(2) A Penghulu or Penggawa receiving notice as in subsection (1) shall inform the District Officer of the District wherein the antiquity was discovered.

(3) If the District Officer has reason to believe that any object discovered in his District is an antiquity he may by notice in writing require the person having possession thereof, if it is practicable so to do, to deliver the same forthwith to him, and the District Officer on receiving such object shall give a receipt therefor.

(4) A District Officer receiving notice under subsection (1) shall communicate the same to the Director-General.

(5) Where any object has been delivered to a District Officer under subsection (1) or (3) or where the District Officer has reason to believe that any object or monument discovered in his District is an antiquity or ancient monument, he shall give notice thereof to the Director-General.

Compensation for certain antiquities.

5. (1) On the discovery of any antiquity, the Director-General shall be entitled to the custody and possession of the same on behalf of the Government and shall be responsible for its recording, preservative treatment and ultimate disposal.

(2) In any case the Director-General may decide not to retain such antiquity and the same shall then be returned to the person who delivered up possession thereof to the District Officer and thereupon the property in such antiquity shall be deemed to have been transferred to the person to whom such antiquity would have belonged if section 3 had never been enacted.

(3) When any antiquity is retained by the Director-General or where in the opinion of the Director-General the same should be preserved in the place where it was found, there shall be paid by the Director-General reasonable compensations to—

(*a*) the finder thereof; and

(*b*) the owners of the land in or on which the same was discovered, if such land is not a State land or Federal land:

Provided that no such payment as aforesaid shall be made to the finder thereof where the finder has failed to give notice of the discovery of the same in accordance with section 4.

Apportionment of antiquities.

6. (1) Notwithstanding sections 3 and 5 the Director-General on behalf of the Government may enter into an agreement in writing with any person who would under section 5 be entitled a compensation for such antiquity whereby such person shall receive from the Director-General, in place of such compensation, a share of such antiquity to be appointed in such manner as may be provided in the said agreement.

(2) Every agreement under subsection (1) shall have force and effect notwithstanding anything in section 5:

Provided that where the finder of any antiquity does not report the discovery thereof in accordance with the provisions of section 4 he shall not be entitled to receive any share of such antiquity under any such agreement.

Sale or disposal of antiquities and historical objects.

7. (1) The Director-General may by notice in writing require any person in possession of or lawfully entitled to sell or dispose of any antiquity or any historical object which the Director-General is satisfied to be or will be of lasting national importance or interest not to sell or otherwise dispose of such antiquity or historical object without giving notice in writing to him of any such proposed transaction.

(2) No person shall sell or otherwise dispose of any antiquity or historical object in respect of which a notice under subsection (1) has been given until after a lapse of ninety days after the giving of notice by such person of his intention to sell or otherwise dispose of the antiquity

or historical object and in the meanwhile it shall be lawful for the Director-General to purchase such antiquity or historical object at a reasonable price notwithstanding any agreement which the owner may have entered into with another person.

Dispute as to compensation or apportionment.

8. Where there is any dispute between the Director-General and any person as to the reasonable compensation for any antiquity or historical object or as to the apportionment of any antiquity in terms of an agreement under section 6, such dispute shall be submitted to the Minister whose decision shall be final.

## PART III

## EXCAVATIONS

No excavation except upon licence.

9. Subject as hereinafter provided, no person shall excavate for the purpose of discovering antiquities, whether on land of which he is the owner or occupier or otherwise, except under the authority of a licence granted by the Director-General.

Application for licence to excavate.

10. Every application for a licence to excavate shall—

(*a*) be made to the Director-General in the prescribed form; and

(*b*) contain a full and accurate description of the land on which it is proposed to carry out the excavation, the purpose, nature and extent of the proposed excavation, and such other particulars as may be prescribed.

Grant or refusal of licence to excavate.

11. The Director-General may in his discretion approve or refuse any application for a licence to excavate:

Provided that no such licence shall be granted unless the Director-General is satisfied, after such inquiry as he may deem it necessary to make—

(*a*) that the owner of the land where the proposed excavation is to be made has consented to the excavation; and

(*b*) that the proposed excavation will not cause any damage or inconvenience to persons residing in the vicinity of such land, or to any place used for religious purposes, or to any cemetery, school, water source or supply, irrigation or drainage works

or public road, or that if any such damage is likely to be caused adequate provision has been made by the applicant for the payment of compensation therefor; and

(*c*) that the applicant is able to furnish security for the due observance by him of this Act or any rule made thereunder, and of any conditions subject to which the licence may be issued.

Terms and conditions of licence.

**12.** (1) A licence granted under section 11 shall be valid for such period (subject to the provisions of section 13) and subject to such conditions as may be specified therein.

(2) In addition to any other conditions which may be either prescribed generally or specified in any particular case, every licence granted under section 11 shall be subject to the following conditions:

(*a*) the holder of the licence shall take all reasonable measures for the preservation of the antiquities discovered by him;

(*b*) the holder of the licence shall carry out his excavations in a scientific manner and to the satisfaction of the Director-General;

(*c*) the holder of the licence shall keep a record of all antiquities discovered in the course of the excavation;

(*d*) the holder of the licence shall, within a reasonable time, deposit with the Director-General such photographs, casts, squeezes or other reproductions of any antiquity apportioned to him in accordance with section 6 as the Director-General may require;

(*e*) the holder of the licence shall furnish such plans and photographs of his excavations as the Director-General may require.

(3) Such photograph, cast, squeeze, reproduction or plan shall be held by the Director-General and where a museum exists in the State in which the antiquity was found one copy shall be deposited in such museum.

Extension and cancellation of licence.

**13.** (1) Any licence to excavate may, at the expiration of the period for which it was granted, be extended by the Director-General for such further period or periods as he shall deem fit.

(2) Any licence to excavate may, at any time before the expiration of the period for which it was granted, be cancelled by the Director-General and the holder thereof shall not be entitled to claim compensation for any loss or damage suffered or alleged to have been suffered by him by reason of such cancellation.

Saving of private rights and immunity of Government.

**14.** (1) Nothing contained in this Part shall be deemed to authorise the infringement of any private right or the contravention of any written law.

(2) Neither the Director-General, the Government nor the Government of any State shall incur any liability in respect of any loss sustained by any person or of any damage caused to any person in the course of or as a result of any excavation carried on under the authority of a licence granted under this Part, by reason merely of the grant of such licence.

## PART IV

## ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND HISTORICAL SITES

Declaration and schedule of ancient monuments and historical sites.

**15.** (1) The Minister may by order declare any monument to be an ancient monument and any site to be a historical site and may determine the limits of such monument or site:

Provided that if the monument or site is situated in any State, the concurrence of the State Authority is to be first obtained.

(2) The Director-General may, with the approval of the Minister, publish in the *Gazette* a schedule of ancient monuments and historical sites together with the limits thereof and may from time to time, with the like approval, add to or amend such schedules.

Acts prohibited in regard to ancient monuments and historical sites.

**16.** No person shall, without the permission in writing of the Director-General after consultation with the Minister, and except in accordance with such conditions as he may impose in granting such permission—

(*a*) dig, excavate, build, plant trees, quarry, irrigate, burn lime or do similar work or deposit earth or refuse on or in the immediate neighbourhood of an ancient monument or a historical site included in

the schedule published in accordance with section 15, as added to or amended from time to time, or establish or extend a cemetery on a historical site so included; or

(*b*) demolish an ancient monument or disturb, obstruct, modify, mark, pull down or remove any such monuments or any part thereof; or

(*c*) make alteration, additions or repairs to any ancient monument; or

(*d*) erect buildings or walls abutting upon an ancient monument.

Care of ancient monuments and historical sites.

**17.** Where any ancient monument or historical site is on private property the Director-General may after consultation with the Government of the State in which the ancient monument or historical site is situated—

(*a*) make arrangements with the owner or occupier thereof for its preservation, inspection and maintenance and for such purposes make a contribution towards the cost of carrying out any works of repair or conservation which he deems necessary and which the owner or occupier may be willing to undertake:

Provided that where such a contribution towards the cost of carrying out such works is made, such works shall be carried out in accordance with such direction as the Director-General may give;

(*b*) purchase or lease the site by private treaty or acquire the same in accordance with the provisions of any written law relating to the acquisition of land for a public purpose for the time being in force; or

(*c*) in the case of an ancient monument, remove the whole or any part thereof making good any damage done to the site or to buildings thereon by such removal and paying compensation therefor:

Provided that the amount of such compensation shall be fixed by agreement or in the case of dispute shall be submitted to the Minister whose decision shall be final.

Inspection of ancient monuments and historical sites.

**18.** (1) The owner or occupier of an ancient monument or historical site shall at all reasonable times permit the Director-General or any person or officer authorised by him either generally or specially in that behalf to enter upon the

site for inspection or to carry out any study or work necessary for the restoration, repair, alteration, maintenance or conservation thereof as to him may seem expedient or necessary:

Provided that the liability imposed by this section shall arise only if such owner or occupier shall have received not less than seven days' notice in writing of any proposed entry:

Provided further that if any person objects to such entry or to the execution of any such works on conscientious or religious grounds such entry or works shall not be effected or executed except with the permission in writing of the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister of the State in which such monument or historical site is situated.

(2) No such owner or occupier shall be entitled to claim compensation for any loss or damage suffered or alleged to have been suffered by him by reason of the execution of such work or any part of such work in any case in which the owner or occupier has undertaken to do such work under section 17.

## PART V

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESERVES

Declaration of archaeological reserves.

19. The State Authority or, in the case of the Federal Territory, the Minister, on the recommendation of the Director-General may by order declare any specified area to be an archaeological reserve for the purposes of this Act.

Encroachments, etc. on archaeological reserves.

20. No person shall, except under licence issued by the Director-General—

(*a*) clear to break up for cultivation or cultivate any part of an archaeological reserve;

(*b*) erect any building or structure on any such reserve;

(*c*) fell or otherwise destroy any tree standing on any such reserve; or

(*d*) otherwise encroach on any such reserve.

## PART VI

## EXPORT OF ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORICAL OBJECTS

Prohibition of export except on licence.

**21.** (1) No person shall export any antiquity unless—

(*a*) he has obtained a licence to export the same from the Director-General or that the antiquity was originally imported by him; and

(*b*) he has declared the antiquity to a proper officer of customs at a customs airport or customs port.

(2) The Director-General shall not issue a licence if in his opinion the antiquity is or will be of lasting national importance or interest.

(3) An applicant for a licence to export any antiquity shall submit the description of such antiquity, shall declare the value thereof and furnish any other particulars in regard thereto which the Director-General may require and shall, if so required by the Director-General, deposit any such antiquity with the Director-General for the purpose of inspection.

(4) No licence to export an antiquity shall be issued to any person unless he proves to the satisfaction of the Director-General that he is the owner of such antiquity or that he is acting on behalf of and with the authority of the owner.

Production of licence.

**22.** A licence to export shall be produced by the holder to the Director-General or the proper officer of customs on demand.

Prohibition of export of historical object.

**23.** (1) Where a proper officer of customs or an officer authorised in writing by the Director-General has reason to believe that any object which is to be exported is a historical object he may detain such object and forthwith report such detention to the Director-General.

(2) If the Director-General is satisfied that the historical object is or will be of lasting national importance or interest he may prohibit the export thereof.

Appeal.

**24.** Where the issue of a licence to export an antiquity is refused on the grounds set out in section 21 (2) or where a historical object is prohibited from being exported under section 23 (2) any person aggrieved by such refusal or prohibition may appeal to the Minister within one month of receiving notice of such refusal.

Acquisition of antiquity or historical object sought to be exported.

25. (1) Where a licence to export any antiquity has been refused on the ground that such antiquity should be acquired on behalf of the Government or where a historical object is prohibited from being exported, the Director-General shall pay to the owner thereof the reasonable compensation for such antiquity or historical object and thereupon the said owner shall deliver up the same to the Director-General who may dispose or deal with it in such manner as he deems fit..

(2) Where there is any dispute between the Director-General and the owner as to the reasonable compensation for the antiquity or historical object such dispute shall be submitted to the Minister whose decision shall be final.

## PART VII

## POWERS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

Power of Director-General to inspect any antiquities and to request for information.

26. (1) The Director-General or any officer authorised by him in writing for that purpose may at all reasonable times inspect any antiquity, or inspect any historical object which he has reason to believe is or will be of lasting national importance or interest, in the possession of any person; and it shall be the duty of every such person to permit such inspection and further to give to the Director-General or such officer all reasonable facilities to study such antiquity or historical object and to make drawings, photographs, squeezes or reproductions thereof by the making of casts or by any other means:

Provided that no such drawings, photographs, squeezes or reproductions shall be sold without the consent of the person in possession of the antiquity or historical object.

(2) For the purpose of subsection (1), the Director-General may in writing demand any person whom he believes to be in possession of the antiquity or historical object to produce such antiquity or historical object in his office.

(3) The Director-General or any officer authorised by him in writing for that purpose may in writing or orally require any person to supply him any information relating to anything which is or he believes to be an antiquity, historical object or any monument.

27. The Director-General may in writing generally or specially authorise the exercise, performance or discharge of any of his powers, duties or functions under this Act or any regulations or rules made thereunder by any other officer. Delegation of powers.

## PART VIII

## PENALTIES

28. (1) Any person who, being the finder of any antiquity or ancient monument fails to report the same or to deliver up the same or to state the circumstances of the discovery or the origin of the same, or wilfully makes a false report of such circumstances or such origin, commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding two thousand ringgit or to both. Penalties.

(2) Any person who sells or otherwise disposes of any antiquity or historical object, contrary to the provisions of section 7 commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding one thousand ringgit or to both.

(3) Any person, not being the holder of a licence to excavate granted under section 11 who wilfully or negligently digs for antiquities or demolishes or damages any ancient monument, whether above or below the ground, even though the acts are done upon land of which he is the owner, commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit or to both.

(4) Any person who contravenes section 16 commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit or to both.

(5) Any person who contravenes section 20 commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit or to both.

(6) Any person who—

(*a*) not being the holder of a licence to export granted under section 21, exports or attempts to export any antiquity; or

(*b*) fails to declare any antiquity to a proper officer of customs at the customs airport or customs port as required under section 21;

commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding five thousand ringgit or to both.

(7) Any person who exports or attempts to export any antiquity in respect of which a licence to export has been refused or exports or attempts to export any historical object which the Director-General has prohibited from being exported commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding ten thousand ringgit or to both.

(8) Any person who fails to give reasonable facilities to the Director-General to inspect, study, make drawings, photographs, squeezes or other reproductions of any antiquity or historical object or to enter and carry out any necessary work for the restoration, repair, alteration, maintenance or conservation of any ancient monument or historical site, where the duty to give such facilities is imposed by this Act, or fails to comply with any demand to produce made under section 26 (2), commits an offence and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit.

(9) Any person who fails to supply any information required by the Director-General or any officer authorised by him in writing for that purpose in pursuance of the power conferred under section 26 (3) or supplies any information which he knows or has reason to believe to be false commits an offence and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit.

(10) Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys, injures, defaces, displaces, disturbs or disfigures any historical object in respect of which a notice under section 7 (1) has been given or which has been prohibited from being exported under section 23 (2) or any antiquity commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding two thousand ringgit or to both.

(11) Any person who wilfully deceives or attempts to deceive any public officer acting in the course of his duty by any description, statement or other indication as to the genuineness or age of any antiquity or historical object commits an offence and shall be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding two thousand ringgit or to both.

Prosecution.

**29.** The Director-General and any public officer authorised in writing by the Director-General for that purpose shall have the power to prosecute any offence under this Act or any regulations made thereunder.

Forfeiture of claims to and interest in antiquities or historical objects.

**30.** (1) Any person who is convicted of any offence under this Act in respect of any antiquity or historical object shall by virtue of such conviction forfeit all claim to or interest in the same or the value thereof or any reward in connection with the finding thereof, and in any such case the Magistrate shall order the antiquity or historical object to be delivered up to the Director-General; and where the Magistrate makes such order it shall be the duty of any person in whose possession the antiquity may be to deliver it accordingly.

(2) The Minister may, on appeal by any person aggrieved by an order of the Magistrate under subsection (1), order any antiquity or historical object forfeited under this section to be delivered to the owner or other person entitled thereto or to be returned to the finder, as the case may be, upon such terms and conditions as he may deem fit.

(3) The appeal shall be in writing and shall be made not later than one month from the date of the order of the Magistrate.

## PART IX

## MISCELLANEOUS, RULES AND REPEAL

Authority to sell antiquities and historical objects.

**31.** The Director-General may on behalf of the Government and if so requested by the Government of any State may on its behalf sell any antiquity or historical object which is the property of such Government.

Loan of antiquities and historical objects.

**32.** (1) The Director-General may make loans or exchanges of any antiquities or historical objects which are the property of the Government to or with learned societies or museums or with any expert or specialist and may authorise the export of the same for such purposes.

(2) Any agreement for a loan under subsection (1) shall contain adequate provisions for the preservation, insurance and, if the Director-General considers necessary, the return of the antiquities or historical objects.

Dealers.

33. No person shall deal in antiquities unless he is in possession of a dealer's licence granted by the Director-General.

Rules.

34. The Minister may make rules for the purpose of carrying out or giving effect to the provisions of this Act, and, without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, may make rules—

(*a*) prescribing the conditions and restrictions (including the payment and amount of a fee) subject to which any licence or permit under this Act may be granted or issued;

(*b*) prescribing the conditions and restrictions (including the payment and amount of a fee) subject to which members of the public may have access to any ancient monument on Federal or State land; and

(*c*) prescribing a penalty of a fine not exceeding five hundred ringgit for the contravention or failure to comply with any of the provisions of any rules made under this section or with the restrictions or conditions of any licence or permit granted under any such rules.

Repeal and saving. *14/57.*

35. (1) The Antiquities and Treasure Trove Ordinance, 1957 is, except in so far as it applies to treasure troves, hereby repealed.

(2) All subsidiary legislations made under the repealed Ordinance relating to matters other than treasure trove shall continue to remain in force until repealed by rules made under this Act and all licences, permits and authorities granted under the repealed Ordinance shall remain valid until their expiration or unless they are suspended or revoked.

# CONCLUSION

The batu Aceh are gravemarkers or gravestones which were used to mark the graves of the Muslim elite, notably the Sultans of the various autonomous states of Peninsular Malaysia. The stones originated in Aceh and came into Peninsular Malaysia first when artefacts of Aceh, an important state on the northern tip of Sumatra, became appreciated by the hierarchy of Peninsular Malaysia and later came in, in larger numbers, when Aceh influence, both sacred and secular, spread throughout the region. The remarkable feature of these stones was that while they exist in a variety of shapes, nevertheless, when their decorations are taken into consideration, it can be seen that all the types have patterns in common.

Attempts have been made by scholars in the past to associate certain features in the decorations with the supposed sex of the deceased. I maintain they were in error as after extensive research into the use of the rosette, which was identified by scholars including Snouck Hurgronje (1906) basing their information from remarks made by local people, to be that of earring (subang). This explanation was aided by the fact that the projections from the 'body' of the stone (which I term shoulders) was identified with ears. I have discovered that rosettes such as those which appear on the batu Aceh, as centres of designs, are a feature of similar decorations throughout the Muslim world including the Middle East, Persia and Turkey, e.g. it appears on the shrine of the Sufi poet, Khwaja Abdullah Ansari, at Gazarah near Herat, Persia (now in Afghanistan), which dated in the early 15th century, the mihrab from Mashad, and the Suleyman Mosque (1560) in Istanbul, Turkey.

Therefore I conclude that the rosette on the batu Aceh was simply the use of an acceptable design.

Due to the various shapes and sizes of the batu Aceh and the difficulty experienced in describing them accurately I have introduced a simple system of typology backed by illustrations and photographs in the text to enable the reader and future fieldworkers to have a quick reference system. I had hoped to be able to establish a chronology for the 14 types of batu Aceh which I identified in Peninsular Malaysia. In spite of few gravestones bearing dates I endeavoured to widen my search by studying sites with batu Aceh in other parts of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago by establishing dates for deceased known to have been interred in certain cemeteries, the date of opening of these cemeteries and any other related information. In some cases this proved successful, but I had to come to the conclusion that alphabetical progression in my Othman typology could not be substantiated with absolute certainty. Nevertheless, I maintain that it is a possible chronology.

More batu Aceh may come to light, when new government road and housing schemes involving land clearing and excavation are undertaken. A larger number of specimens of batu Aceh could provide more clues to the chronology of the types. Further research involving discovery of specimens of batu Aceh outside Peninsular Malaysia should add to our knowledge of the chronology and the typology.

Only just over half of the 213 pairs (single stones or remnants of the pairs of the original stones) are inscribed and of these only a minority have biographical detail. The other inscriptions are of religious content, by proclamation of the faith, in particular those

which can be associated directly with Sufism. The Arabic calligraphy used in the inscription in Kufi and Nashki scripts, angular and cursive respectively, are used in such a way as to appear as decorations of high artistic merit. It is due to this execution of the calligraphy combined with the natural weathering of the gravestones which have made some inscriptions difficult, if not impossible, to decipher.

The batu Aceh, with the exception of Othman Type F, are richly decorated; the ornaments being in relief or engraved. They use a variety of floral, vegetal and geometrical shapes which are in keeping with orthodox Islamic doctrine which prohibits human representation in art, in particular sacred art.

What the floral and vegetal decorations do portray is a borrowing by Islam of art forms from other cultures, e.g. the extensive use of the lotus (Egyptian, Indian and Chinese), the 'top' of the pillar of Othman Types I, J, K, L, M and N using lotus crown or inverted flower or stalk or calyx being similar to their use on the capitals of columns in ancient Egypt (e.g. Memphis). The proliferation of geometric shapes on the batu Aceh is a feature of Islamic decoration where "the spiritual world was reflected ... through geometry and rhythm, through arabesque and calligraphy" (Seyyed Hossein Nasr, in Critchlow 1983:6).

When Islam came to establish itself in South-east Asia its new adherents came from an area which had a long association of Hindu and Buddhist religious art. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the Islamic art forms would not entirely replace art forms of their former religions. This, I believe, accounts for the appearance on the

batu Aceh of decorations which can be associated with Hinduism and Buddhism, e.g. the stupa (dome) on Othman Types A, B and F, and the chandi on the specimens of Othman Types G and H.

The actual siting of the graves with batu Aceh and their distribution throughout Peninsular Malaysia is related to the history and geography of the area, e.g. the predominance of sites being associated with former state capital and major trade routes not only of the local inhabitants but also of the international traders who introduced Islam into the region.

There are a number of batu Aceh, which though not inscribed with the name of the deceased, are nevertheless associated by local people with personages both real and legendary. I examined the reoccurences of certain themes in legends throughout Peninsular Malaysia and found that the incidence of 'white blood' implying spiritual purity and therefore innocence was a common theme as was the emergence of prince and princesses from bamboo. The heroes and heroines of these legends had their names associated with certain graves with batu Aceh.

Some of these graves have become designated by the local people as keramats (shrines) or graves of saints. They are visited by local people in search of favours such as good health, fertility and material success. It is this very association of some graves with batu Aceh which has endangered their existence.

By the end of the 19th century this practice of erecting batu Aceh ceased in Aceh and shortly afterwards in Pensinular Malaysia. No scholar has attempted to propose a reason for this demise. In this

study I have put forward several theories for the discontinuation of batu Aceh but these cannot be taken singly; they are: fashions changed; objects became too expensive; alternatives were cheaper and more easily come by; war between Aceh and the Dutch prevented their production and export and changes in attitude towards such memorials, by the authorities. Of these reasons, the war between Aceh and the Dutch I consider to be the catalyst.

The cessation of the production of batu Aceh can be regretted on aesthetic grounds but, what is of major concern to the Muzium Negara, which is responsible for the preservation of cultural artefacts in Peninsular Malaysia, is the number of batu Aceh in this country which have been defaced, structurally damaged and even destroyed without trace. From the text and a Table summarised below, this damage can clearly be seen as considerable.

Table 7 Change in Condition of Batu Aceh between 1878-1985

| Total No. of Batu Aceh experiencing change | No. showing deterioration | | | Stone removed | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | slight* | defacement of lettering to ornamentation | broken or pieces missing | whereabouts known | whereabouts unknown |
| 109 | 32 | 35 | 40 | 20 | 54 |

* Slight implies weathering

This damage is continuing and it is possible that it could be accelerated in the future. The reason or reasons for these changes have been explained in the text. Briefly, these are land use and pressures, development of communication, ignorance of cultural value, religious objections and, what is of major concern is that the actual attempts at

preservation can accelerate the removal and disappearance of the batu Aceh. The latter reason at first may seem incredible but further examination reveals that attempts at preservation bring with them unacceptable interference with the desires of the land owners. For example, scheduling a site as an ancient monument causes it to be fenced off, subject to constant maintenance, a stream of unwelcome visitors and inadequate compensation to cover the loss of land and the inconvenience to the former owner.

In 1957, the Constitution of Malaysia (then Malaya) declared Islam to be the State Religion and in 1981 the government began to enforce, strictly, Islamic policies but at the same time inaugurating a system of preservation of historical and cultural heritage which records the cultural history of the nation. Activities which interfered with the actual teachings of orthodox Islam, e.g. visits to keramats, were actively discouraged. The belief in the supernatural attributes of the keramats by some local people made the sacred and secular authorities question the suitability of the continued existence of such monuments in view of the fact that veneration of objects is contrary to orthodox Islamic teaching. That the Islamic Authorities in Peninsular Malaysia have started to implement orthodoxy is borne out by the deliberate destruction on 4th January 1985 of the Keramat Tok Bidan Susu Lanjut (Appendix 43) at Kemunting, in Perak, by the local religious authority, in order to prevent the local people from visiting it and turning the keramat into a place of pilgrimage (Berita Minggu, 6 January 1985). Future governments may find it necessary for the State Religion to be seen to be 'pure' Islam, to remove or destroy objects seeming to them to be out of keeping with Islamic ideals and therefore the existence of all batu Aceh could be endangered.

I contend that the preservation of the batu Aceh gravestones is of prime importance and can be justified on at least five grounds: 1) that the batu Aceh which contain biographical information are historical records; 2) that it was a particular type of gravemarker used by the elite of the region for 400 years, thus showing continuity of a certain cultural artefacts; 3) the fact that it is an antiquity; 4) these gravestones are beautiful objects in themselves and show a high degree of artistic attainment, and 5) that they are an important part of the cultural heritage of the region.

The study which I have made of the batu Aceh is not intended by me to be conclusive, as various aspects of the gravestones are not covered in depth by this thesis, e.g. the derivation of the artistic symbols on the stones in relation to other sacred art. Questions raised in this thesis are subject for further study.

APPENDICES 1 - 63

CENSUS OF BATU ACEH IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

## NOMENCLATURE USED IN THE APPENDICES

SITE : area where grave/graves are located

NAME OF SITE : abbreviated to first and last letter of State's name:

Pahang = PG (1-15)

Johore = JE (1-13)

Perak = PK (1-16)

Kedah = KH (1-8)

Perlis = PS (1-6)

Melaka = MA (1-2)

Trengganu = TU (1-3)

MAKAM : Some of the sites are called Makam. This term is used in this thesis and by the Muzium Negara to denote royal cemetery. It is also used to refer to all the sites that have been restored by the museum.

QUANTITY : i.e. number of pairs known to be/have been extant. Originally all these graves possessed two stones, but now in some cases, only one stone is extant. Unless otherwise stated, the reader should take the term batu Aceh as implying two stones belonging to one grave.

The word 'pair' (in Malay sepasang) is used to denote the two stones forming the gravemarkers for the 'head' and 'foot' of the grave. They are a matching pair of similar design and in most cases indistinguishable from each other.

LOCATION : (1) In organized cemetery where there are graves of other families.

(2) Isolated example/examples - term used to imply that batu Aceh are sited away from organized cemeteries which were known in the past or are in current use.

INSCRIPTIONS : Where the stones have quotations from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy, unless otherwise stated they are in Kufic script. For typical examples see page 491. This is thinner and less cursive than Naskhi.

A late Kufic form exists (see Appendix 2, Pl. 27d) where upright strokes are lengthened and in parallel and terminate in half arrow heads.

The headstone inscriptions are completed on the footstones.

The Shahadah (Creed) - The full Shahadah reads: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (la ila haillallah Muhammad ar-Rasullullah) or 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah', but most of the specimens were inscribed only with لا اله الا الله (la ila haillallah) or 'There is no God but Allah'. Unless otherwise stated the Shahadah here referred to the latter.

DESCRIPTION OF STONES : Unless otherwise stated, the material is sandstone. According to their shapes, batu Aceh can be divided into two main types - which I term 'slab' and 'pillar'.

Slab - slab of stone, placed upright.

Pillar - a detached structure not necessarily cylindrical.

Variations in style - Due to discernible variations in the shape of the stones, I have distinguished 14 types. Therefore, for clarity and easy recognition, I have devised a system of notation for each of these types, which I have called the Othman Titling System (see Fig. 2). For ease of reading in the text, I reduce this terminology to Othman Types A - N.

Terms used for features - 'Head', 'shoulder', 'body' and 'foot' (Fig. 1), are not human representation but for easy identification.

curly - having curls or curves.

rosette - disc shape with or without patterns; associated with curly shoulders.

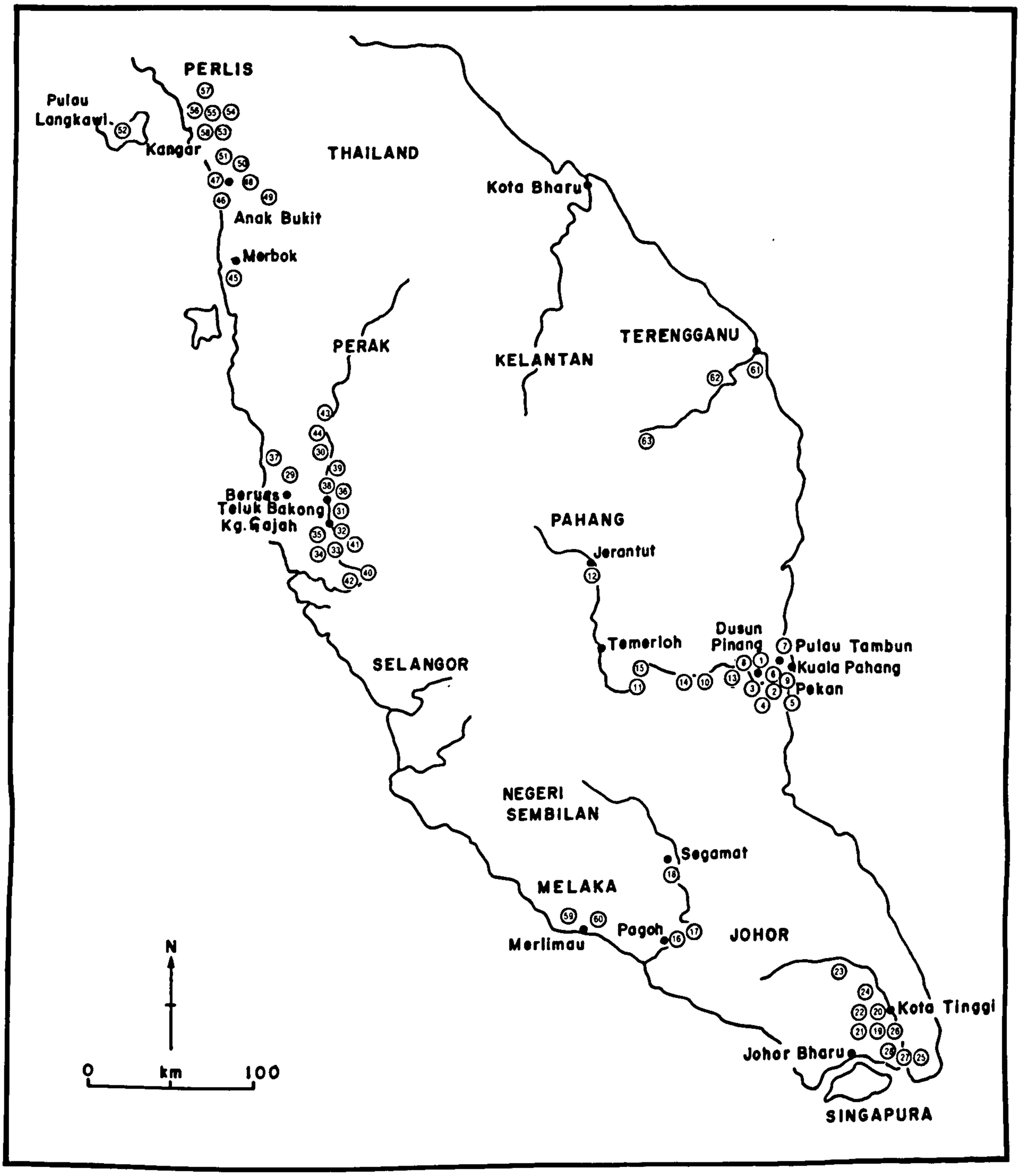
vase shape - resembling an outline of a vase.

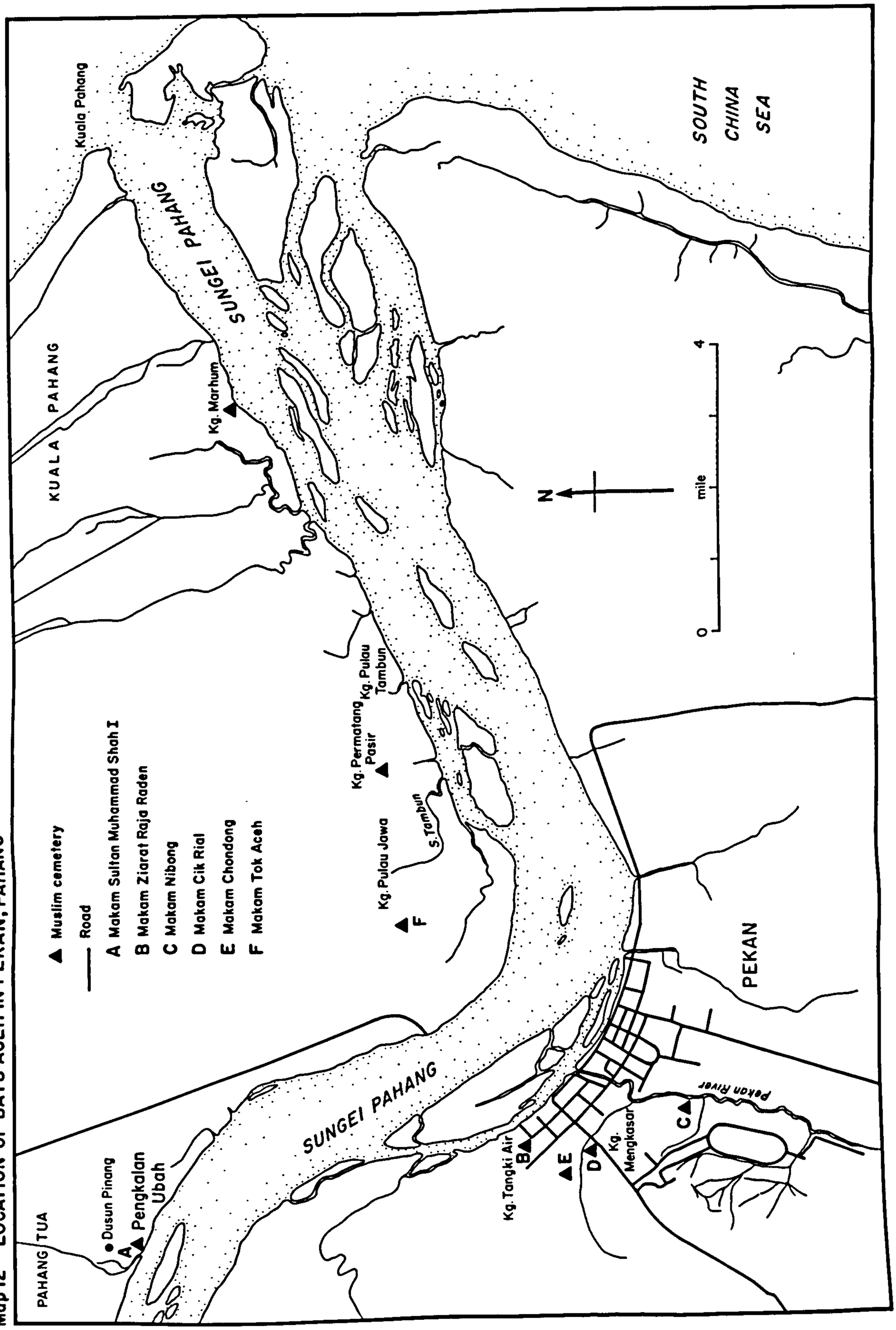
FIG. : Figure - Illustration, Diagram or Sketch Plan.

PLATE OR PL. : Photographic Plates.

Note on photographs: Where grave can be located on site sketch plan, it is stated thus Grave no. ?, Fig. ?.

## Map II LOCATION OF SITES WITH BATU ACEH IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA






Map 12 LOCATION OF BATU ACEH IN PEKAN, PAHANG

# APPENDIX 1

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 1 MAKAM SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH I (MAKAM LANGGAR), Dusun Pinang, Pahang Tua, PAHANG. (Map 12).

Quantity : 2 pairs when first discovered. Now only 1 pair remains. The date of the disappearance of the other pair is unknown.

Description : Othman Type A

Location : Isolated examples located within a Malay kampung (village) near Dusun Pinang, on the eastern side of the Pahang Tua river.

Site history : The site was first reported by Linehan (1926). His study concentrated on only one pair of the tombstones; some of the 1926 information was republished later (1936) under the title 'Makam Langgar' but without illustrations.

When the site was discovered by Linehan (1926), he believed that it was not the original site, for Dusun Pinang had never been a royal residence. Incidences of royal tombstones being removed and re-erected at other places is not uncommon, according to Linehan. He believed that these stones must have been taken from one of the organized royal burial grounds near Pekan.

Halim (1976 & pers.comm) in a June visit found the slab-form nesans endangered by flooding, consequently, the Muzium Negara moved the stones about 200 yards inland and

placed them on a raised platform. They were restored, as shown in Pl. 26c.

Documentation : Illustrations of the front faces of both the head and foot stones in Linehan (1926), Figs. 1-4; Linehan's Figs. 1 & 3 reproduced as Pls. 1 & 26a,b below. The information about the royal epitaph only, without any illustration, appears in Linehan (1936: 226-227) under title 'Makam Langgar'.

Inscriptions : All 4 stones bear inscriptions in Arabic and have a total of 8 panel-texts plus 8 'vase' panels. One of the panels contains information concerning the deceased - name, genealogy, and date of death (Linehan 1926). The inscription (Pl. 1 ) reads:

وفاة السلطان محمد شاه رحمه الله بن السلطان منصور شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمد شاه المرحوم في ليلة الخميس ستة عشر يوما من شهر جمادى الاول سنة ثمانون وثما نمائة من الهجرة النبوية المصطفوية

The transliteration of the Arabic into Roman lettering by Linehan:

Wafatu 'l-Sultani Muhammad Shah Rahimahu 'Hahu 'bni Sultan Mansur Shah 'bni Muzaffar Shah 'bni Muhammad Shah al Marhumi fi lailati 'l-Khamisi Sittata 'ashara yaumin min shahri Jumada 'l-awwali sanatun thmanuna Wa-thamaniyatu mi'atin min hijrati'l nabawiyati 'l-mustafawiyati

The translation by Linehan (1926: 191) is as follows:

"There passed away Sultan Muhammad Shah (on whom God have mercy!), son of Sultan Mansur Shah, the son of the late Mudzaffar Shah, the son of the late Muhammad Shah, (God have pity on them!), on Wednesday night, sixteen days of the month of Jumad'l-Awal, in the year eighty and eight hundred of the era of the Chosen Prophet."

Linehan (1926; 1936) interprets this inscription to imply that the tombstone belongs to Sultan Muhammad Shah I, the first known 'Melakan' ruler of Pahang, the second son of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (according to the Shellabear version of Sejarah Melayu, 1978: 111). Wilkinson (1932), however, has suggested the grave is that of Raja Ahmad, the first son of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka by his Pahang-born wife, Puteri Wanang Sri. Raja Ahmad assumed the same title as that used by his brother 'Sultan Muhammad Shah' on his accession to the Sultanship. If either of these interpretations is accepted, the nesan would date from approximately 1475 AD or soon afterwards. The above inscription is inscribed on the front of the headstone, facing north.

The remaining inscriptions are taken from the Koran (42:18, 3:182 (185) (Pl. 26a), 112:2 Surah al-Ikhlas, 2:256 (255). Surah 2, Ayat 255 is Surah al-Kursi or 'Verse of the Throne'. The south facing panel of the footstone (Pl. 26b below) is inscribed as follows:

" الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا
نوم له ما في السموات وما"

The transliteration of the Arabic into Roman lettering by Linehan (1926: 189-190) is as follows:

Allahu la
ilaha illa huwya 'l-hayyu
'l-Kayyuma la ta' -

Khudhuhu sinatun wa-la
naumun lahu ma fi
'l-samawati wa ma

Translation of the above inscription (A. Yusuf Ali, 1946:102) reads:

"God! There is no God by He - The
living, The Self-subsisting, Eternal.
No slumber can seize Him.
Nor sleep. His are all things
in the heavens and

The above inscription is the beginning of Surah al-Kursi; it ends abruptly, but is continued on the panel facing north (Linehan 1926).

References : Linehan, 1926, 1936.

Wilkinson, 1932.

# APPENDIX 2

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 2 MAKAM ZIARAT RAJA RADEN, Pekan, PAHANG (Map 12).

Quantity : 7 pairs (see Fig. 15 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types B (4 pairs), F (3 pairs).

Location : Located in the Malay village of Kampung Tangki Air, near Pekan, on the right upstream bank of the Pekan river.

Site history : The site was of one of the former cemeteries of the Pahang royal family. It was first reported by Linehan (1936). See Pl. 27 below. Of the seven pairs, three pairs (Othman Type B) have Arabic inscriptions. The remaining four (Othman Type F) are blank. In the same graveyard there are three more graves having the modern style of batu nesan made from a mixture of sand and cement, a type commonly used by ordinary Malays. The graveyard is no longer in use.

Grave no. 2 on the sketch plan is of Raja Fatimah. The existence of the headstone of this grave was first reported by Barnes (1911b). The stone was discovered at Tebing Tinggi, near Lubok Pelang in Jerantut and was presented by the local Penghulu to Tunku Besar of Pahang during the latter's visit to Kuala Lipis in May 1910. This stone was then placed in the Istana (palace) of Tunku Besar. Barnes was able to have the stone re-erected at

Makam Chondong as its original site was not known at that time (1911). It was only in 1925 (Linehan 1936:22) after the companion stone was discovered at Makam Ziarat Raja Raden, on the site of Raja Fatimah's grave, that the batu nesan was re-erected at its present site. The grave no. 3 on the sketch plan is of Raja Jamil or Jalil.

In 1979, the Muzium Negara put a fence to this graveyard. Maintenance of this site is now the joint responsibility of the Muzium Negara and the Muzium Sultan Abu Bakar (Pahang State Museum).

Documentation : Illustrations of batu nesan of Raja Fatimah appear in Barnes (1911b), see Figs. A - D between pages 38 and 39. Fig. C of Barnes work is illustrated below in Pl. 27c. Another illustration can be found in Linehan (1936), Pls. VII, A (I - VI). An illustration of the front of this headstone also appears in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d). Figure on page 85 (top right).

Illustrations of batu nesan of Raja Jamil appear in Linehan (1936), Pls. IX, B (I - IV); X, B (V - VIII). Illustrations of the north facing panel of the headstone of Raja Jamil appear in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d), Figure on page 85 (bottom right). Illustrations of the tombstones of the grave no. 4 on the sketch plan (Fig. 15) appear in Linehan (1936), Pls. XI, C (I - IV), XII, C (V - VIII).

Inscriptions : The Othman Type B specimens (3 pairs) bear inscriptions in

Arabic. The language used on the tombstones of Raja Fatimah is a mixture of Malay and Arabic (see below). The front side of the facing north headstone contains information of the deceased - name and date of death; this inscription is continued on the front facing south. It is in 4 lines (Pl. 27c) and as follows:

بولن شوال ما لم اثنين را
فاطمة(ج)كمبا ل كرحمت الله

Transliteration into Roman script by Barnes (1911b:38) as follows:

"Bulan Shawal Malam Isnin Raja Fatimah
Kembali Ka-rahmat Allah".

Barnes translated the inscription as:

"On the eve of Monday the fifteenth day of the moon of Shawal Raja Fatimah Returned to God's mercy".

Linehan's translation reads:

"Of the month Shawal Sunday night Raja Fatimah Returned to the Mercy of God".

The inscription on the front facing south of the headstone, according to Linehan (1936:227) reads:

الهجرة النبي صلى سمبيلن راتس تا
الله عليه وسلم هن ليم بلس هاري

According to Barnes (1911b:38), transliteration into Roman script:

"Al-hejrat al-Nabi salla Allahu alaihi wa' s-salam
sembilan ratus sa tahun lima belas hari".

Barnes translation:

"in the year of 901 of the Hejira of the Prophet, to whom may God give peace, the fifteenth day".

Linehan translation:

"the year of the Prophet May God bestow peace on him Nine hundred years The fifteenth day".

Barnes (1911b:37) attributes the date on this tombstone as 901 Hegira equivalent to 1496 AD. In Linehan's opinion, with which I agree, the year is 900 Hegira which is equivalent to 1495 AD. The error made by Barnes was due, I believe, to him assuming the letter 'س' in the word 'راتس' before the word 'تاهن' (tahun) representing the digit '1' ('sa' means 'satu' (one) in Malay).

The inscription on the left and right side panels of the headstone contains a Sufi poem:

الموت باب وكل الناس داخله

الموت كاس وكل الناس شاربه

Barnes translation:

"Death is a gate and all men go thereat", and

"Death is a cup all men drink thereof".

Each of the four 'heart' panels on the upper part of the headstone contained one of the names of Allah, i.e. 'Al-Ghafur' (most forgiving), 'Al-Jalil' (most great), 'Al-Alla' (most high) and 'Al-Aziz' (most powerful), see Barnes (1911b:38).

The footstone of Raja Fatimah is also inscribed, a total

of 4 panel-texts and 4 'heart' panels. The front and back panels are inscribed with quotations from the Koran, while on the left and right side panels with another Sufi poem. The 'heart' panels inscribed with the words 'Al-Jamal' (most beautiful) and 'Al-Jalal' (most glorious)

The head and footstones of Raja Jamil or Jalil (Pl. 27d) bear inscriptions in late Kufic script on all 8 sides. One of the panels of the headstone - the side facing north contains information on the deceased - name and the date of death (Linehan 1936). The inscription:

هذا القبر الجميل الجليل للمسمى المورخ عبد الجليل
المنتقل من دار الدنيا الى دار الاخرة السابع عشر وتسعمات
من انتقال خير البريه عليه افضل الصلوات وازكى التحيت

Linehan (1936:229) translation reads:

"This is the grave of the excellent and illustrious Abdul Jalil,[Jamil]. Departed from this world to the everlasting world on the date nine hundred and seventeen. After the most excellent of men had departed to him befits prayer and virtuous salutations".

The remaining inscriptions are a combination of Sufi's poems and quotations from the Koran (2:255 Surah al-Kursi and 59: 22-24).

The nesans on the grave no. 4 on sketch plan also bear inscriptions in late Kufic on all 8 sides and 'vase' panels. Not all the inscriptions have been deciphered. The panels which Linehan was able to decipher are on the

front and back of the headstone and the north facing panel of the footstone. According to Linehan (and I have verified this by personal examination) the inscriptions are all taken from the Koran (3:17 and the 1st portion of 18 and 25, and the 1st portion of 26).

Ibrahim Alfian (1973) studied the inscriptions on the gravestones (Pl. 27e) and compared them with the inscriptions on the tombstones of Sultan Mansor Shah of Melaka (Appendix 59), and Malik al-Salleh of Pasai (Pl. 4). He argues that there is a close resemblance between the Pahang, Melaka and Pasai inscriptions, except for the word 'illa' which does not appear on the Pasai tombstone. The word 'illa' in Arabic means 'except'. In other words, the word 'illa' (ila) 'except' appears on the tombstones discovered in Melaka and Pahang but not in Pasai.

The date 900 Hegira/1495 AD inscribed on the batu nesan of Raja Fatimah and 917 Hegira/1511 AD on the batu nesan of Raja Jamil led Linehan (1936:227) to believe that the site was a cemetery belonging to the Melaka-Pahang princes in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

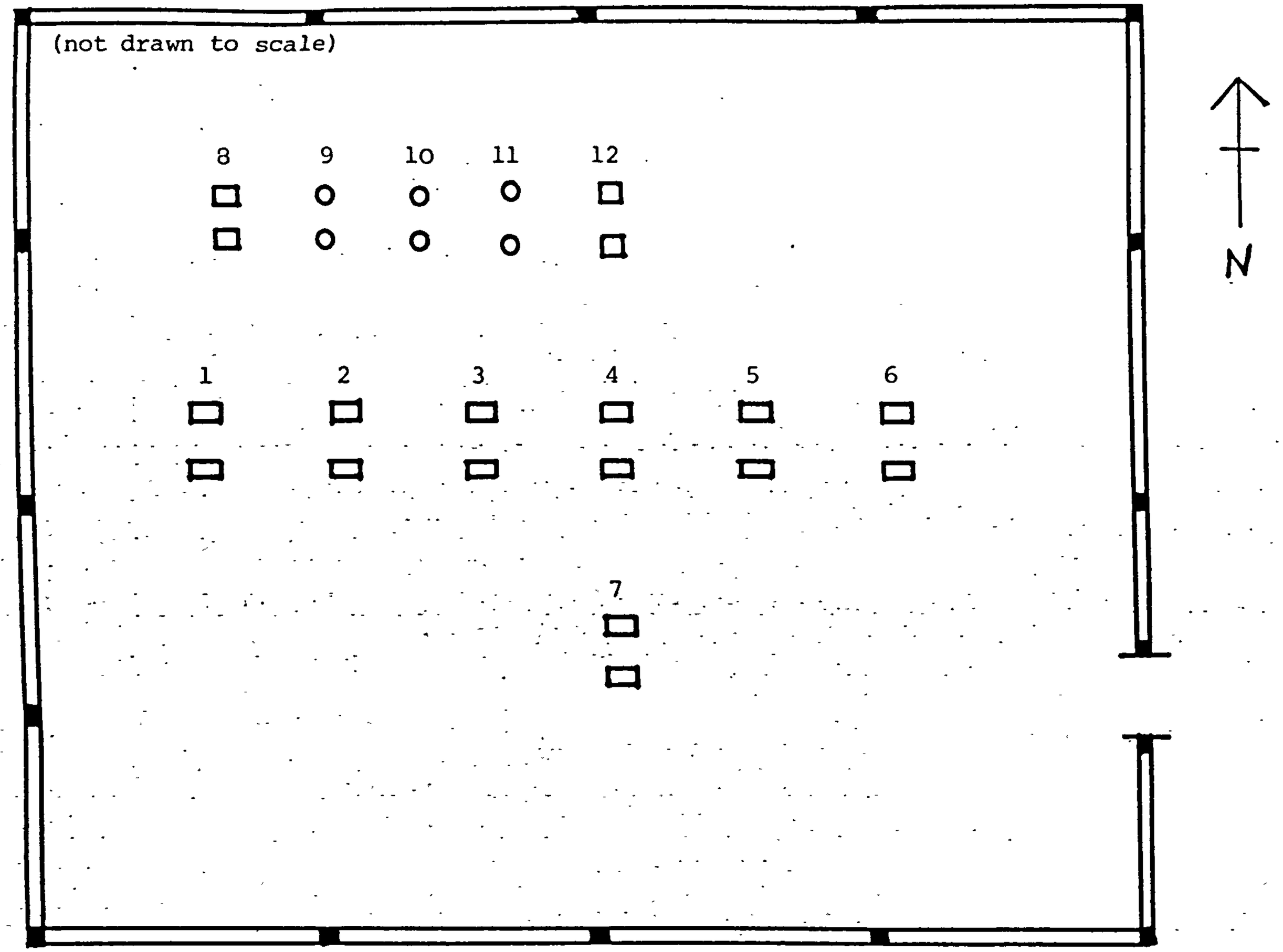
References : Barnes, 1911b

Linehan, 1936

Ibrahim Alfian, Teuku, 1973

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

Fig. 15 Makam Ziarat Raja Raden, Pekan, Pahang.




Othman, July 1983

Legend

Slab nesan — 2 Grave of Raja Fatimah

Pillar nesan — 3 Grave of Raja Jamil/Jalil

8 - 12 not batu Aceh

# APPENDIX 3

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 3 MAKAM CHONDONG, Pekan, PAHANG, (Map 12).

Quantity : 7 pairs (see Fig. 16 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (1 pair), F (2 pairs), H (4 pairs).

Location : Located within a Malay village, near Pekan, on the left downstream bank of the Pekan river.

Site history : The site was first reported by Barnes (1911a) following a visit in 1910. He sighted seven pairs of batu nesans; these included two pairs of large pillar form nesans (Othman Type H) and one pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type C), and to the west of them a grave with two blank stones (Othman Type F). In the centre of the platform are the fragments of two pairs of large pillar nesans (Othman Type H). Alongside them is another pair of nesans. The site was later visited by Linehan in 1936 when only five graves could be distinguished.

The sandstones of these gravestones is fine grained. The name Makam Chondong, translates 'leaning grave'; Barnes termed it 'leaning shrine'. Local people consider the term to be derived from the fact that the surrounding trees are all 'condong' (leaning) towards the makam (Barnes 1911a). The ancient name of this cemetery, according to Linehan (1936:235) was Makam Tujuh Beradek

(The Sepulchre of the Seven Brothers).

Most of the tombstones were damaged by wild elephants before the turn of this century (Barnes 1911a:36). In 1976, the site was fenced by the Muzium Negara.

Documentation : Illustrations of the general view of the site - Barnes (1911a), Figs 1-3 and Othman Mohd Yatim (1982d), Figure on page 82 (top), see Pl. 28b below. The batu nesan of Marhum Muda Abdullah is shown by Linehan (1934), Pls. XXXVI and XXXVII.

Inscriptions : Most of the inscriptions were vandalised long before the site was visited by Barnes in 1910, who said that the reason for this, according to the local residents, was that the inscriptions were originally inlaid with gold (Barnes, 1911a:35).

At the time of Linehan's visit in 1936 the inscriptions were decipherable on only one pair of the tombstones, (Pl. 28a). With the help of Abdul Hamid of Johore, Linehan was able to decipher part of the inscriptions on one of the panels. The inscription indicates that the stone belongs to the grave of Marhum Muda Abdullah, the first cousin of Sultan Iskandar Thani (d. 1641), an Acehnese ruler born in Pahang. Another stone, slab nesan, bears inscriptions in Arabic which are now illegible. Linehan (1936) believed that this stone was one of a pair marking the grave of Puteri Bongsu Chandera Dewi, Sultan Iskandar Thani's mother.

References : Barnes, 1911a

Linehan, 1934, 1936

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1970, 1974

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

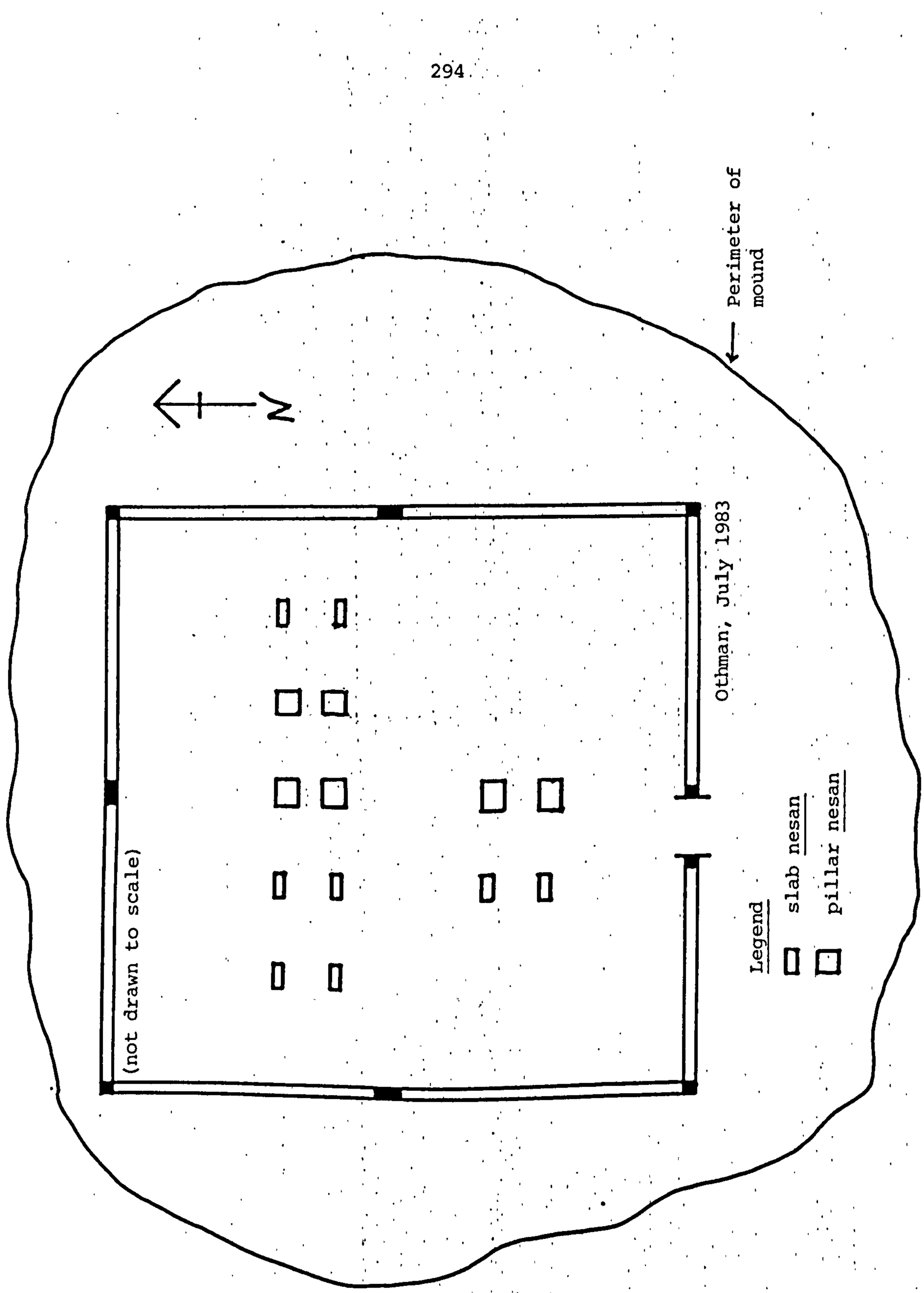



Fig. 16 Makam Chondong, Pekan, Pahang.

# Appendix 4

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 4 MAKAM NIBONG, Pekan, PAHANG. (Map 12).

Quantity : 8 pairs (see Fig. 17 for site plan).

Descriptions : Othman Types A (1 pair), B (5 pairs), F (2 pairs).

Location : In the same village as Makam Chondong (see Appendix 3).

Site history : First reported by Barnes (1911a) and contained a number of graves, all having slab form nesans, one pair is of Othman Type A (Pl. 29d), five pairs of Othman Type B (Pl. 29b) and the last two pairs are of Othman Type F, (see Pl. 29c).

Documentation : In Barnes (1911a), not illustrated. Illustrations of all the 8 sides of panel-texts of one of the inscribed pair are shown in Linehan (1936), Pls. XIII, D (I - IV) and XIV, D (V - VIII). An illustration similar to Pl. XIV, D (VII) of Linehan (1936), also given in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d), Figure on page 85 (top left).

Inscriptions : The two inscribed pairs bear inscriptions in Arabic, on a total of 8 panels and eight 'vase' panels. These inscriptions, according to Linehan (1936:234-235), are taken from the Koran (59: 24, 3: 17 and 18). He refers to one of them being Chapter 3, verses 17 and 18, however,

this is an error. The inscription is simply a religious statement (Sufi poem) and is not found in verses 17 and 18 of the Koran as stated by Linehan.

Inscriptions on Pl. 29b below is of Linehan's (1936), Pl. XIII, D (III).

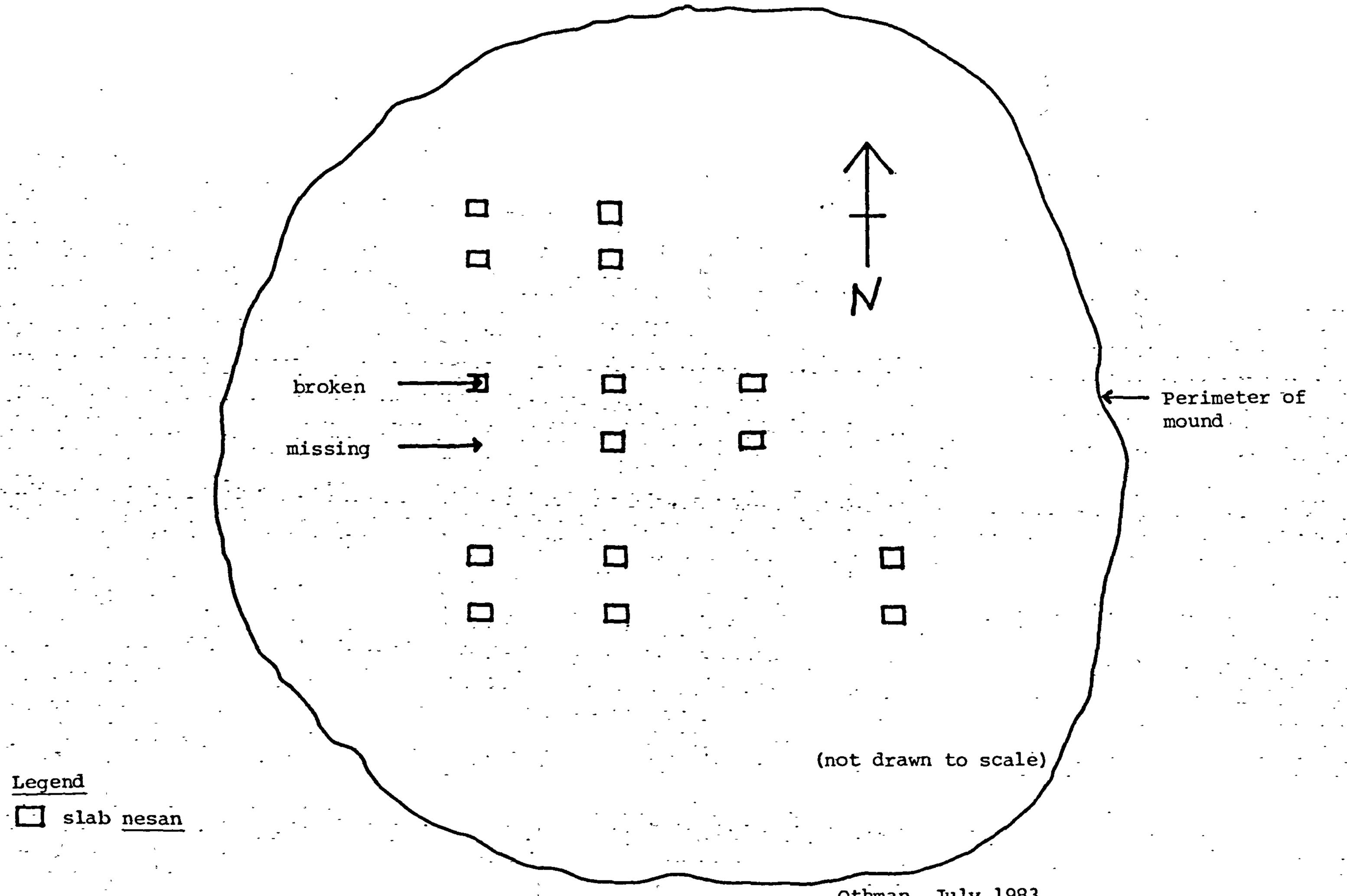
Linehan (1936:235) believed that the graves are of Sultan Zain-al-Abidin (1540-1555) and his relatives.

References : Barnes, 1911a

Linehan, 1936

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

Fig. 17 Makam Nibong, Pekan, Pahang.



# Appendix 5

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 5 MAKAM CHE RIAL, Pekan, PAHANG. (Map 12).

Quantity : 1 pair

Description : Othman Type E

Location : In the backyard of the house belonging to Haji Omar bin Nayan, in the same village as Makam Chondong (Appendix 3).

Site history : First reported by Linehan (1936), not illustrated. Halim and Othman visited it in July 1977. Their last visit in July 1983.

On the site there is a pair of identical batu Aceh, they measure 75cm high, 29cm wide, and 19cm thick. The stones are about 150cm apart and in east-west orientation, (Pl. 30a).

Documentation : The existence of the site was mentioned by Linehan (1936) but not illustrated.

Inscriptions : When sighted by Linehan in 1936, he did not realise that all the 4 sides of both the stones bear inscriptions in Arabic. The border of front and back of both stones also have Arabic inscriptions written vertically (see Pl. 30b & c).

The inscription is a repetition of the Shahadah (Creed). This grave is believed by local people to belong to Che Rial, who according to local tradition (Linehan 1936), was a wealthy Bugis woman, who died in Pahang in the eighteenth century.

References : Linehan, 1936

Halim and Othman, 1977, unpublished

# Appendix 6

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 6 MAKAM TOK ACEH, Kg. Pulau Jawa, Pahang Tua, Pekan PAHANG. (Map 12).

Quantity : 1 pair

Description : Othman Type K

Location : Isolated example in a Malay village, near Pulau Jawa, on the right upstream bank of the Pahang river.

Site history : The site was first visited by N.A. Halim of the Muzium Negara in June 1976. He reports (unpublished) that the grave contains a pair of pillar form nesan. The nesans are identical. Both the head and footstones were broken but have been restored by the Muzium Negara.

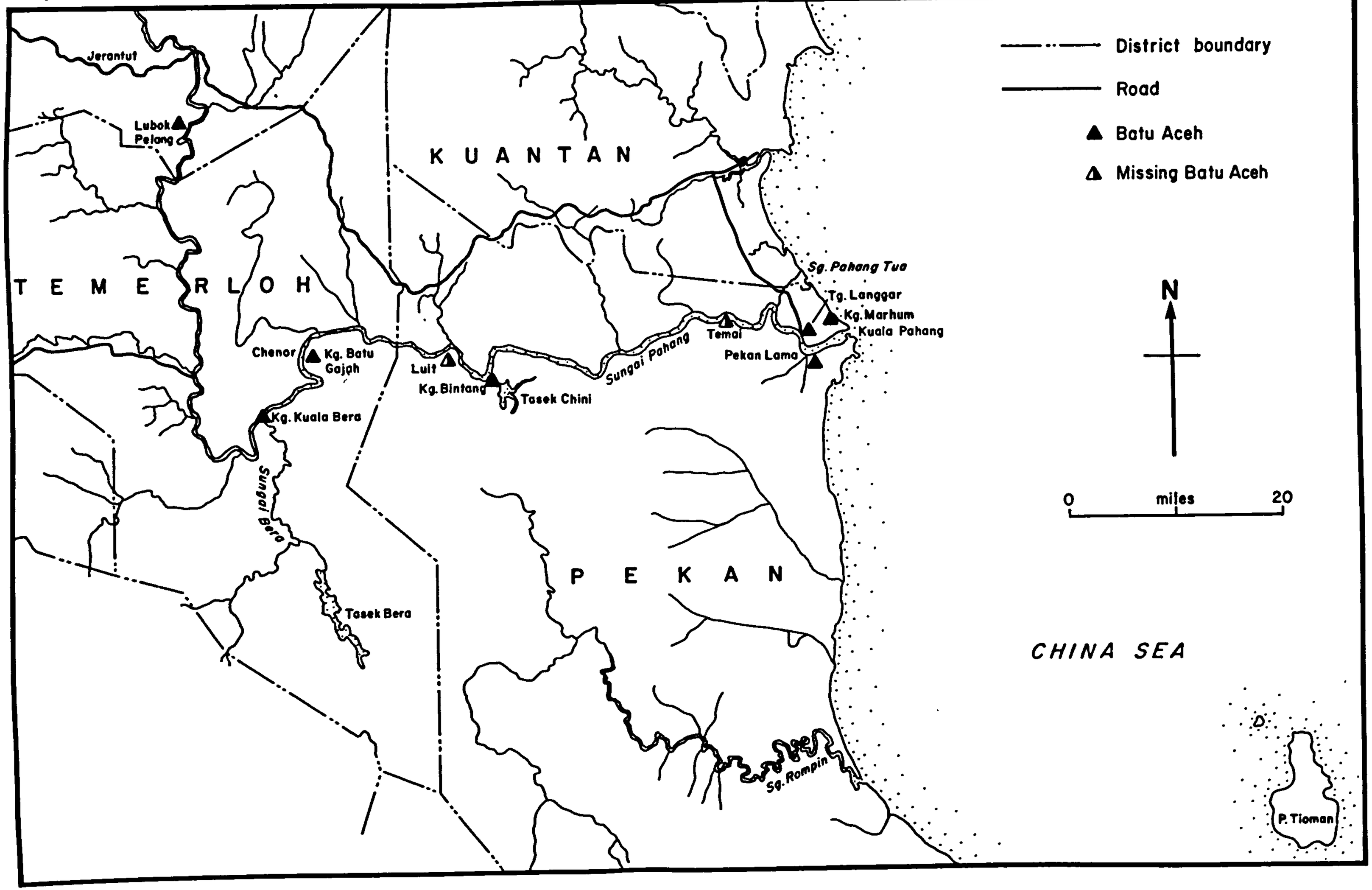
The site has been fenced by the Muzium Negara in 1979 and is now declared to be an Ancient Monument.

Inscriptions : There are traces of inscriptions on all the panel-texts on both stones (Halim 1976, unpublished).

References : Halim, 1976, unpublished

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1983, Fieldwork note-book, unpublished

## Map 13 LOCATION OF BATU ACEH IN THE STATE OF PAHANG



# Appendix 7

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 7 MAKAM KUALA PAHANG, Kampung Marhum, Kuala Pahang, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 1 pair

Description : Othman Type H

Location : Within the graveyard of the present Pahang royal family, near Kampung Marhum, Kuala Pahang, on the left downstream bank (northern bank) of the Pahang river, between Kampung Marhum and the estuary. Kampung Marhum was formerly known as Pasir Kandang (Shellabear 1978:221).

Site history : The site was first reported by Linehan (1936). Othman and Halim visited the site in July 1977.

Documentation : Mentioned in Linehan (1936), not illustrated. Illustrations, unpublished are kept in the Photo Library of the Muzium Negara.

Both Linehan (1936) and Haji Buyong bin Adil (1971, 1972) believe these nesans belong to the grave of Sultan Abdul Jalil IV of Johore, who was killed at Pasir Kandang in 1720 AD, later styled as Marhum Kuala Pahang (Linehan 1936).

References : Linehan, 1936

Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971, 1972

Othman and Halim, 1977, unpublished

## Appendix 8

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 8 BATU NESAN FROM PENGKALAN UBAH, Pahang Tua, PAHANG. (Map 12).

Quantity : 1 stone

Description : Othman Type E

Location : This single specimen was discovered at Pengkalan Ubah, on the left downstream bank of the Pahang river.

Site history : Discovered by the workers of the Public Works Department in 1963 during the process of road construction. First there was a pair, but one stone was completely destroyed by the road making machinery (Zakaria Hitam, pers. comm). The present stone was sighted by Zakaria Hitam under the village's old mosque in 1964. He brought it with him back to Kuantan for further examination.

The stone is now in the collection of the Pahang State Museum in Pekan.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the stone (Pl. 31) bear inscriptions in Arabic, plus 2 'vase' panels which also contain Arabic inscriptions. The inscriptions are a repetition of the Shahadah (Creed).

References : Zakaria Hitam (pers. comm)

Undated and unpublished manuscript, and interview on 26 May 1984.

# Appendix 9

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 9 BATU NESANS, Kampung Permatang Pasir, Pekan, PAHANG. (Map 12)

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Type B,

Location : Located in a cemetery of a Malay village named Kampung Permatang Pasir, on the right upstream bank (northern bank) of the Pahang river, about a kilometre inland from the river bank. The location of this village is between Pulau Jawa and Pulau Tambun.

Site history : In 1953 the villagers discovered the present stone and placed it next to another stone orientated north/south already in the graveyard. The discovery of the stone was first reported by Dato' Sir Mahmud bin Mat in 1955.

In a June 1976 visit, Halim (1976 & pers. comm) discovered that the stones were arranged in the east-west orientation. Subsequently he re-arranged the stone in north-south alignment to correspond with other batu nesans in the same cemetery.

Documentation : Illustrations in Dato' Sir Mahmud bin Mat(1955); 2 Plates of 5 illustrations between pages 138 and 139, in Mohd. Mokhtar bin Shafii; 9 illustrations from page 16 to 24, in Zakaria bin Hitam (1982) 9 illustrations, from page 13 to 21; the illustration on page 17 of Mohd. Mokhtar

bin Shafii also appears on page 13 of Zakaria bin Hatim and in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d), Fig. on page 85 (bottom left).

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the two stones bear inscriptions in Arabic (8 panel-texts plus 8 'vase' panels). The panels contain quotations from the Koran (3: 185 and 10: 62). One of the side panels of the footstone facing north (Pl. 34c) contains a date.

Haji Sulaiman bin Hussain of Kuantan deciphered the date in 1980 as 914 Hegira (Mohd. Mokhtar bin Shafii, 1980:14). However, on 19 August 1980, Ustaz Haji Abdul Wahab bin Haji Abdullah of Pekan gave his opinion after visiting and deciphering the inscriptions that the date inscribed on this stone is 419 Hegira (Zakaria bin Hitam, 1982:10).

The date 419 Hegira is equivalent to 1028 AD while 914 Hegira corresponds to 1508 AD. I believe the nesan could date from the early sixteenth century but not earlier, for the reason that Nashki script was at its height and its excellence in the fifteenth century and replaced Kufic script beginning from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Safadi, 1978:11 and Fatimi, 1963:41). If the correct date was 419 AH (1028 AD), then the calligraphy would be Kufic (not Nashki).

References :

Mahmud bin Mat, Dato'Sir, 1955
Halim, 1976, unpublished
Pahang State Museum, 1980, Press statement, unpublished
Mohd. Mokhtar bin Shafii, 1980
Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d
Zakaria bin Hitam, 1982

# Appendix 10

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 10 MAKAM BINTANG; Kuala Chini, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type F.

Location : In the village cemetery in a Malay village named Kampung Bintang, near Kampung Kuala Chini, on the left upstream bank (south side) of the Pahang river.

Site history : First reported by Linehan (1936:236). Seen by Halim in June 1976 and Othman and Halim in July 1983.

These blank stones are of soft sandstone, identical, measuring 42cm high, 23cm wide and 12cm thick, separated about 120cm from each other, and in north-south alignment.

Documentation : Linehan (1936:236), not illustrated. According to one informant, the local residents regard this grave as a keramat and call it Keramat Bintang (Ahmad bin Hassan, interviewed at the site on 22 July 1983).

References : Linehan, 1936

Halim, 1976, unpublished

Halim and Othman, 1983, Fieldwork Note-book, unpublished

# Appendix 11

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 11 MAKAM KUALA BERA, Kampung Kuala Bera, Temerloh, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 2 pairs (see Fig. 18 for site plan).

Description : Othman Type C and E.

Location : These isolated specimens are located on land belonging to the present Penghulu, on the southern bank (or, south side) of the Pahang river.

Site history : The present site was restored in 1979 by the Muzium Negara. The restored site has one pair of slab-form nesans, Othman Type E. The site was first reported by Wilder (1978) who located it during fieldwork in 1976, following information received in 1966 during a previous visit to Kampung Kuala Bera. At that time (1976), one each of the stones of Othman Types C and E were visible and were placed, as a pair, in north-south alignment. They were apparently in situ. There is indication that this site was seen by Zakaria bin Hitam of Kuantan in 1958 (reported in Wilder 1978).

In 1979, two further stones (one of Othman Type C and E respectively), the twins of the stones reported by Wilder in 1978 were discovered by Muzium Negara construction workers while they were digging in the area surrounding the site prior to constructing an artificial mound for a

platform to take the two already-visible nesans (Halim, pers. comm., 1979). The discovery makes it clear that there are two graves. Halim re-arranged the stones according to their shapes and consequently altered the orientation of the stones so that they now lie in an east-west direction (Fig. 18). The site was later fenced by the Muzium Negara.

Documentation : Illustrations Wilder 1978:40 labelled 'A' and 'B' (Fig. 19). See Pl. 35, unpublished (Photo: Muzium Negara).

Inscriptions : In 1976, Wilder was uncertain whether the stones bore inscriptions. Dr. Wilder informs me that the man who conducted him to the site in 1976 stated that he himself did not know anything about the stones, except that he and the other villagers called them batu nesan 'gravestones' and while this same man acknowledged that they displayed writing (and he himself was fully literate in Malay) he could not identify the script much less read what it said.

After having visited the site in July 1983 and inspected the stones, I take the view (argued in Chapter 4) of this thesis) that all four sides of each of the pairs contain Arabic inscriptions, namely a conventionalized form of the well-known Shahadah (Creed).

References : Wilder, 1978

Halim, 1979, unpublished

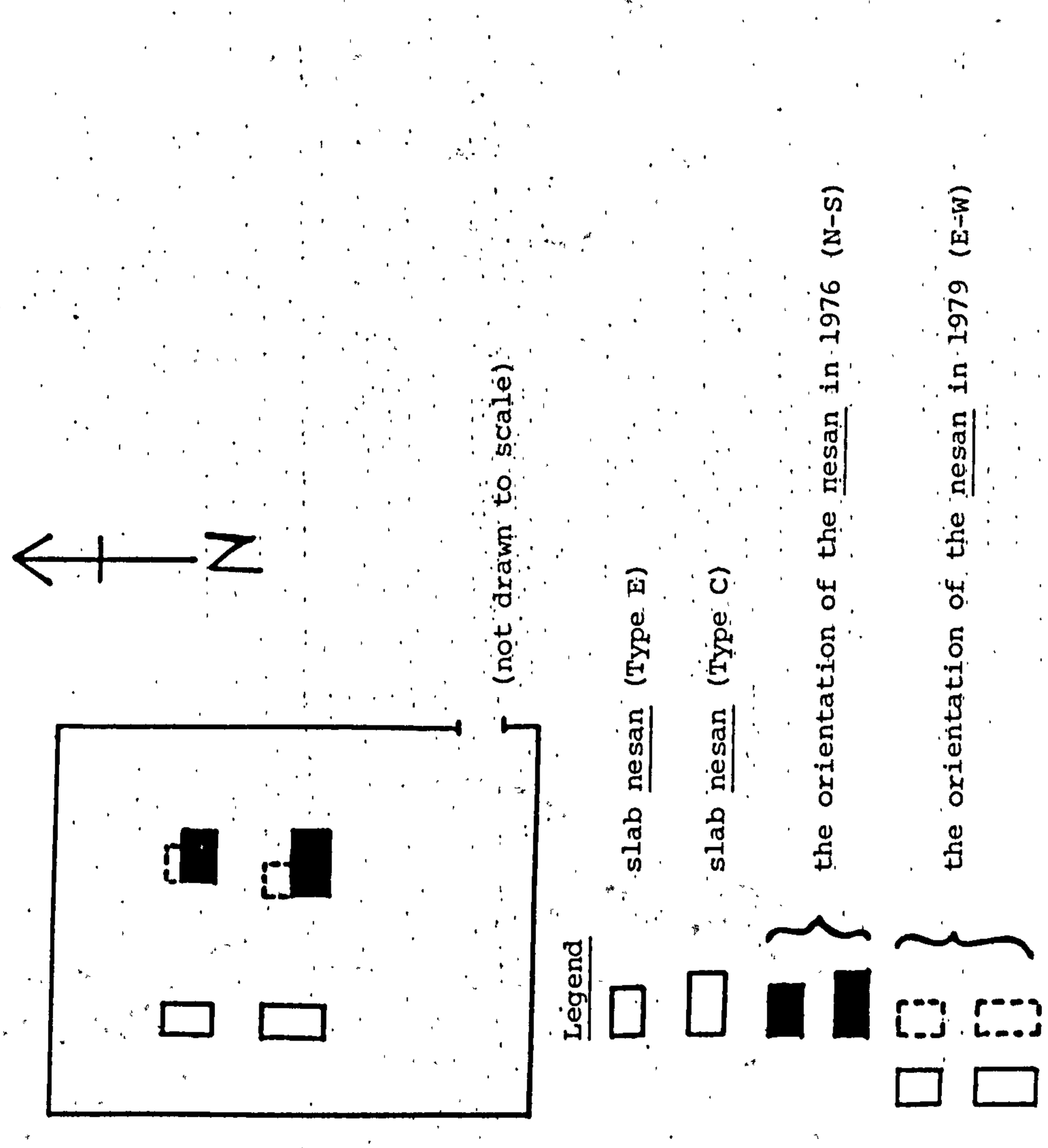
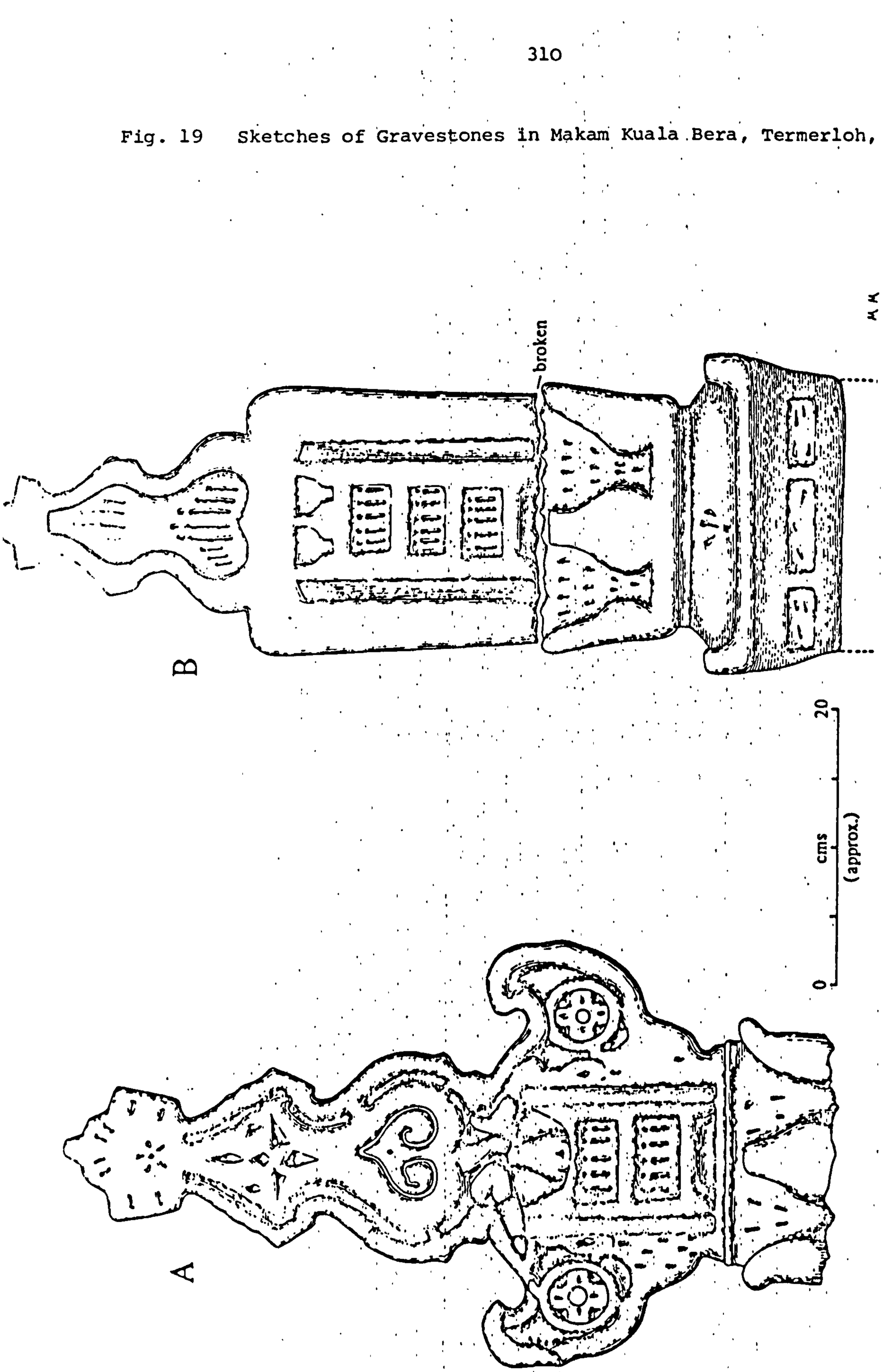



Fig. 18 Makam Kuala Bera, Kampung Kuala Bera, Temerloh, Pahang.

Fig. 19 Sketches of Gravestones in Makam Kuala Bera, Termerloh, Pahang




A: Sketch of a gravestone, Kampung Kuala Bera, Pahang, August 1976. Maximum breadth 30.5cm, thickness approximately 15cm. Worked identically both sides.

B: Sketch of a smaller gravestone, placed in line with A. Maximum breadth 19.5cm, thickness approximately 15cm. Worked identically both sides.

*A and B were kindly redrawn by Ms Moira Mackenzie from Wilder's field sketches and photographs.*

( from Wilder 1978:40)

## Appendix 12

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 12 MAKAM LUBOK PELANG, Lubok Pelang, Jerantut, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 3 pairs (see Fig. 20 below for site plan).

Description : Othman Types A (1 pair), F (2 pairs).

Location : On top of the hill named Bukit Ketupat, near a Malay village, Kampung Bukit Ketupat, formerly known as Lubok Pelang (mentioned in the Shellabear's version of Sejarah Melayu 1978:1975). The site is on the left upstream bank (north side) of the Pahang river.

Site history : First reported by Linehan (1936:233). Visited by Zakaria bin Hitam of Kuantan in 1965 (pers. comm.). Halim, following visit in December 1977, recommended to the Muzium Negara that it should be fenced. This was done in January 1978. All the stones are in situ.

The stones are arranged in 2 rows, the first row contains 2 pairs of slab nesans (Othman Type F). All in the north-south orientation. The first pair on the left of the first row (Pl. 36a, left) are of a coarse sandstone, measuring 50cm high; 24cm wide and 18cm thick. The pair next to it are of dark-green marble (Pl. 36c), measuring 60cm high, 25cm wide and 18cm thick. This is the only known example of batu Aceh made from Aceh marble. The third pair which make up a second row are slightly smaller

than the first two pairs, and of light grey sandstone, 43cm high, 20cm wide and 13cm thick (Pl. 36e). The head and footstones of all the three pairs are separated from each other by about 120cm.

Documentation : Linehan (1936:233) no illustration. Illustration of the general view of the site in Halim 1978. Linehan (1936) stated that one of the graves was of Sultan Ahmad (Marhum Sheikh), the second ruler of Pahang, the Sultan who abdicated and exiled himself to Lubok Pelang and later died there, which was mentioned in Sejarah Melayu (Shellabear, 1978:175).

According to Zakaria bin Hitam (1966) local residents believe that the graves belong to Marhum Sheikh, his wife and his daughter, Puteri Berdarah Puteh and that Marhum Sheikh was Sultan Abdul Jamil, not Sultan Ahmad as believed by Linehan. In support of their theory is the local legend related to Lubok Pelang as recorded by Zakaria bin Hitam. This legend (Zakaria Hitam 1966) concerns the founding of Lubok Pelang by Sultan Abdul Jamil. Citing Sejarah Melayu (no detail given), he says that "Sultan Abdul Jamil, who succeeded Sultan Muhammad, the first ruler of Pahang, abdicated and went upstream by boat for so long as the royal drum (nobat) could be heard. He finally stopped at Lubok Pelang on the right bank of the Pahang river ... They climbed the bank, and went up a flattish low hill overlooking the Pahang river. The Sultan selected a site and built his palace there. After the Sultan settled there, many people from far and wide came and

opened up land. They founded new villages, such as Kampung Tanjong Bedara and Kampung Bukit Ketupat to the east of Lubok Pelang, Kampung Tanjong Balek Angin, Kampung Batu Burong and Kampung Burau on the opposite bank of the Pahang river" (see Shellabear 1978:175). The same legend, according to Zakaria Hitam, mentions Lubok Pelang was once attacked by the Acehnese "in order to secure the hand of the beautiful princess, Puteri Berdarah Puteh, the spouse of Sultan Abdul Jamil".

There is another legend, told by the Orang Asli (Aborigines), which relates to Lubok Pelang, recorded by Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei (1964). This legend concerns a princess called 'Puteri Buloh Betong', so-called because she emerged form a 'buloh' (bamboo). She was adopted by a Batin Perempuan (female chief, who became chief because her husband, the actual chief, was invalid). The Puteri blossomed into a beautiful woman. Many came from near and far to try to win her hand but no one succeeded because she refused to marry anyone except the son of her adopted parents.

The parents forbade the marriage because they were considered to be brother and sister. She was broken-hearted. One day while bathing in the stream, she plucked a piece of her hair and placed it in an ivory container and let it sail to the open sea.

This container was discovered by a young Acehnese prince Excited and overjoyed, this young prince made a decision to search for the owner of this hair. He sailed up to

Pahang and finally to Brau - a village where the Puteri lived. That night the young prince was an honoured guest in the Batin's house where by chance he caught a glimpse of the Puteri and immediately fell in love with her. The young prince revealed that he was the youngest son of the Sultan of Aceh and asked permission to marry the Puteri. Initially the Puteri's parents objected because they were of different class. But the prince persisted and finally the Puteri's parents agreed. Later the young prince and the Puteri were married. The young prince later became the Raja and ruled Pahang. His achievements and the fame of his beautiful wife soon reached the ears of his elder brothers in Aceh. They too wanted the Puteri and they sailed to Pahang to capture the Puteri. A war broke out. In desperation, since his forces had foresaken him, the young prince (Raja) stabbed his wife with a keris, white blood, it was said, flowed, and he also took his own life with the same keris. The Jah Hut, the people from whom this legend comes (Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei 1964:44), believe that the grave of the Acehnese prince is to be found at Lubok Pelang.

Both legends were used by the local people to give an identity to the grave.

References :

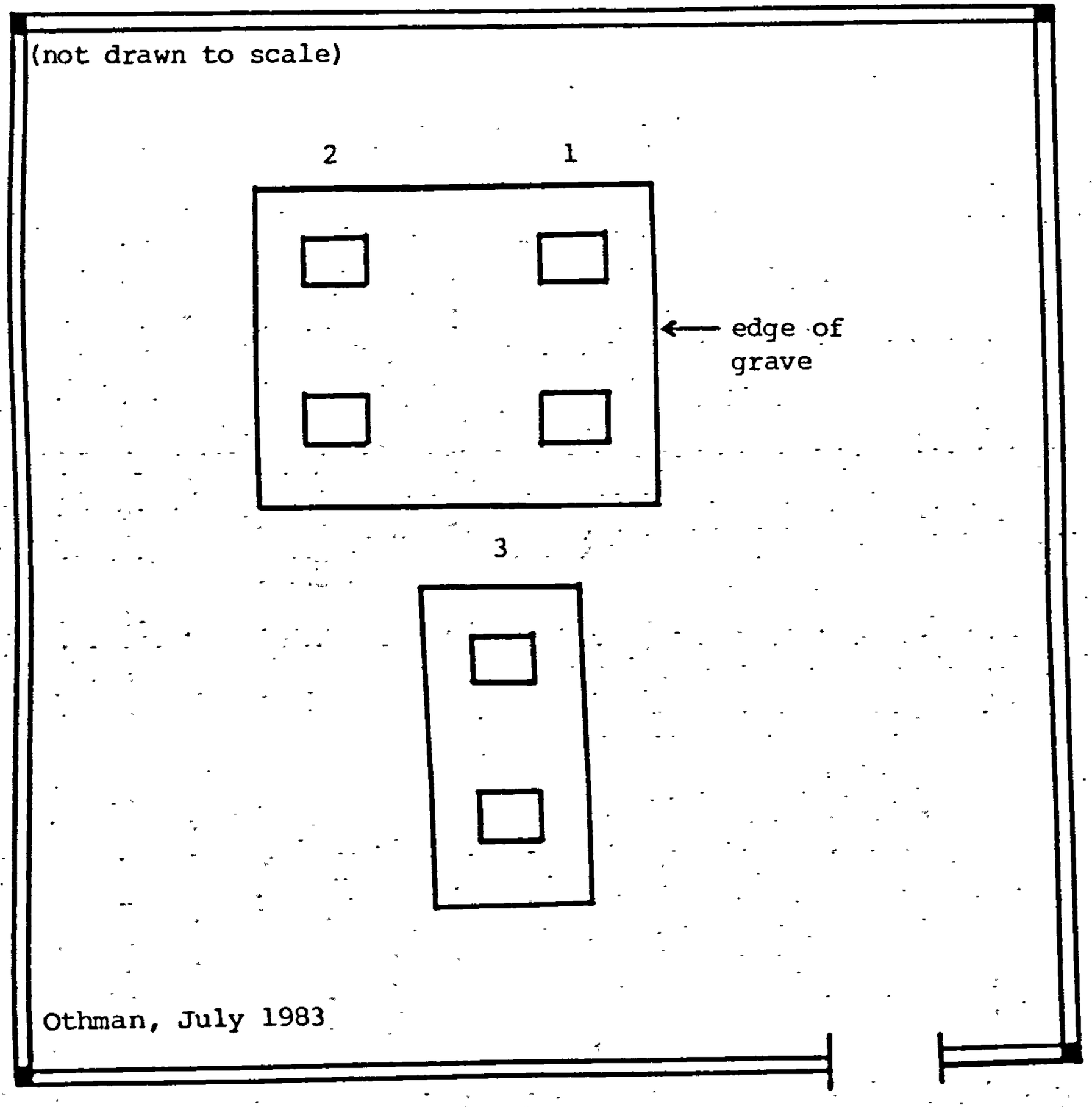
Linehan, 1936

Baharon Azhar bin Raffiei, 1964

Zakaria bin Hitam, 1966

Halim, 1978

Fig. 20 Makam Lubok Pelang, Lubok Pelang, Jerantut, Pahang.

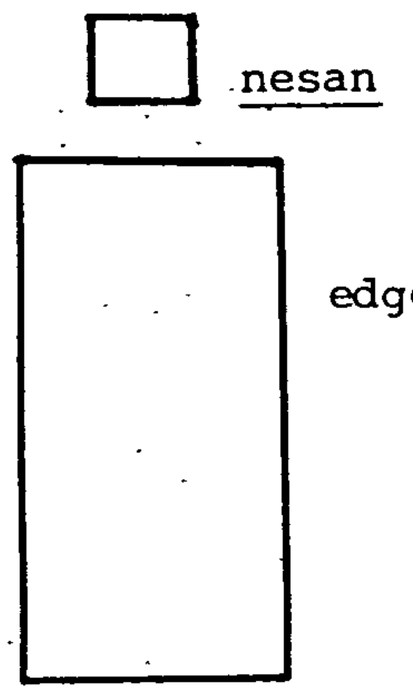


Legend

1 Marhum Sheikh

2 His wife

3 His daughter
(Puteri Berdarah Puteh)



## Appendix 13

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 13 KERAMAT SAIYID ABU BAKAR, Temai, Pahang Tua, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 1 stone.

Description : Unknown - stone no longer extant.

Location : Formerly at Temai, on the right upstream bank (southern bank) of the Pahang river.

Site history : First reported by Sircom (1920). Linehan visited it in 1936, but in June 1976 Halim (Pers. comm., and 1976 unpublished) was told by the villagers that the stone disappeared into the Pahang river during the 1971 flood.

Documentation : In Sircom (1920) and in Linehan (1936), both not illustrated.

Inscriptions : According to Sircom's informant, (Haji Sam), the stone was once inscribed with the name of Sayid Bakar, but Sircom noticed that "no trace of the inscription now remains" (Sircom, 1920:153). Haji Sam told Sircom that the "tomb is older than the kampung of Temai". Linehan (1936:235) adds that the grave could date "from a period prior to the establishment of a settlement at Temai", i.e., "from about 1550 AD". Linehan stated that, according to local tradition, the locality "was colonised by Menangkabaus who came to Pahang in large numbers towards the latter part of the sixteenth century".

Linehan further stated that Sayid Abu Bakar "may have been one of the original apostles [ulamaks ?] of Islam in that part of the country [Pahang]".

References : Sircom, 1920

Linehan, 1936

Halim, 1976, unpublished

# Appendix 14

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site PG 14 MAKAM KUALA TEMELONG, Luit, Pahang Tua PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 1 pair

Description : Unknown.

Location : Isolated example, formerly in a Malay village, near Temelong stream, a branch of the Pahang river, in the sub-district (Mukim) of Luit.

Site history : First reported by Linehan (1936). In June 1976 Halim (pers. comm. & 1976) was told by the villagers that both the nesans had fallen into the Temelong stream and disappeared during the 1971 flood.

Documentation : Linehan (1936), no illustrations.

Inscriptions : Linehan (1936) remarked that on the site is a pair of elaborately carved, uninscribed 'Acehnese' tombstones. According to local tradition the grave belonged to a princess who died while her betrothed lover was in Aceh. On her death he sent the nesans to mark her grave. Linehan notes that the above legend refers to the "Pula Batee", when in 1638 Sultan Iskandar Thani, a Pahang-born Aceh ruler sent tombstones to Pahang to commemorate his deceased relatives, (see thesis, Chapter 2).

References : Linehan, 1936
Halim, 1976, unpublished

# Appendix 15

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PG 15 MAKAM PUTERI ACEH, Kampung Batu Gajah, Chenor, PAHANG. (Map 13).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C

Location : This isolated example is in a village called Kampung Batu Gajah, near Tanjong Batu, about three kilometres downstream of Chenor..

Site history : Zakaria Hitam of Kuantan visited the site (1960s). The first published report of the existence of the site was by Wilder (1978:41) based on information from Zakaria Hitam. Halim saw the stone in May 1979.

Documentation : Wilder (1978), no illustration.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the frame-like panels of both stones contain Arabic inscriptions.

Local legend recorded by Zakaria Hitam (see Wilder 1978:41), attributes the site to a grave of a legendary princess who was stabbed to death by seorang suruhan anak raja (a prince's henchman) from Aceh. The reason for her execution was because of objections to her engagement to a local prince. This legend is a version of the Puteri Berdarah Puteh (see Appendices 12, 14 etc.).

References : Wilder, 1978

Halim, 1979, unpublished

Zakaria Hitam, pers. comm. and in litt. 27.1.1985

Map 14 LOCATIONS OF MERLIMAU IN MELAKA, PAGOH, MUAR AND SEGAMAT, JOHORE

To Seremban and Kuala Lumpur

MALACCA

N

▲ Muslim cemetery

A Batu nesan of Tun Tejaa

B Makam Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah and Marhum Berdarah Puteh

C Makam Panglima Md. Berani

D Makam Bendahara Tepok

0 miles 20

△ Bt. Bruang

MALACCA

Kg. Pengkalan Rama

Merlimau

A

△ Bt. Tebong

MUAR

To Batu Pahat and Johore Baharu

S. Muar

△ Bt. Pengkalan Kalong

Kuala Pagoh

C

Kg. Raja

B

Pagoh

S. Pagoh

D

Lubok Batu

SEGAMAT

# Appendix 16

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 1 MAKAM SULTAN ALAUDDIN RIAYAT SHAH OF MELAKA AND MARHUM BERDARAH PUTEH, Kampung Raja, Pagoh, Muar, JOHORE. (Map 14).

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Type A.

Location : In the grounds of a mosque in the village called Kampung Raja at Pagoh, on the left downstream bank of a stream, a tributary of the Muar river, about 27 kilometres by road from Muar town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c). The present site is not the original one because when the graves were reported by Winstedt their location was "above the river" but they are now approximately 1 kilometre from the river, which seems to imply a greater distance than "above". All four nesans were taken to the present site when the villagers built the mosque and were re-erected on a raised platform in the 1950s (source: Caretaker of the Royal Graves, Muar). In 1971 the broken parts of the nesans were repaired by the Muzium Negara. They also declared the site as an Ancient Monument and Historical Site under The Antiquities Act, 1976.

Documentation : Illustrations of all fronts and backs of all 4 stones in Winstedt, 1932c, Pls. II, X, XV, XVI, XII - XX.

Reported in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia 1971, not illustrated; in their 1974 edition, the illustration of the general view of the site is illustrated.

An illustration of one of the nesans, i.e., the footstone of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, is the same as Pl. II of Winstedt 1932 and in Shaharom Husain 1981, Pl. 2, page 4. The same stone is illustrated below in Pl. 37a.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides, plus 2 'vase' panels of each nesan bear inscriptions in Arabic. The south facing panel of the headstone of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah contains information of the deceased - name, genealogy and date of death. According to Abdul Hamid (1932:159) the inscriptions read:

هذا القبر المنور المرحوم المطهر السلطان

السلطان علاو الدين ابن السلطان منصور شاه

ابن السلطان المظفر شاه (سلام الله يا مرحوم وليا صفها؟)

His translation reads:

"This is the grave of the brilliant the blessed, the pure Sultan Ala'au'd-din, son of Sultan Mansor Shah, son of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (? the pure friend of the Holy)".

The inscriptions indicate that one of the graves belongs to Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, the third Muslim ruler of Melaka (1477-1488). Winstedt (1932c) cites a village tradition that the graves belong to Raja Berdarah Puteh and his wife, who both died from "the prick of a needle".

The back of the facing north headstone of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah is also inscribed but only two lines of it are

decipherable by Abdul Hamid, for most of it is badly damaged. The inscription reads:

الناس نيام

اذا ماتو انتبهوا

Its translation:

"All human beings are asleep; when they have died, they awake."

On the side facing east, the inscription reads:

والموت باب وكل الناس داخله

Its translation:

"Death is a door and every human being shall enter it."

The inscription on the side facing west reads:

الموت كأس وكل الناس شاربه

Its translation:

"Death is a cup and every human being shall drink of it."

The lines contain Sufi elements as confirmed by John Bousfield of the University of Kent (pers. comm.).

The remaining inscriptions on the footstone of Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah, the south facing panel is taken from the Koran (2:255 - Surah al-Kursi); the north facing panel is taken from the Koran (3:255), while the east facing panel is inscribed with a line of inscription which reads:

لو كانت الدنيا تدوم لاهلها لكان رسول الله

Its translation by Abdul Hamid (1932:160) reads:

"If the earth were eternal for its inhabitants,
then the Prophet of God."

The inscription continues on the west facing panel and

reads:

حيا وباقيا خرجت الى التراب فعدت الى التراب الذي خرجت منه

Its translation:

"Would still remain alive. Come forth from the
earth and return to the earth whence ye came."

The nesans next to the grave of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah are also inscribed (Pl. 376). All 4 sides, plus 2 'vase' panels on each stone bear inscriptions in Arabic. The inscriptions on the headstone, facing north and south panels are still decipherable and Abdul Hamid in 1932 stated that the inscriptions on the north facing panel were taken from the Koran (29: 35, 57) and a quatrain from the Alf Laila wa-laila or One Thousand and One Arabian Nights, the story of Ali Sher and the Slave Girl Zamrud.

The inscriptions read:

خلقت من التراب فصرت حيا وعلمت الفصاحة في الخطاب
وعدت الى التراب فصرت ميتا كأنك ما برحت من التراب

Its translation:

"Thou was created of dust and cam'st to life,
And learned'st in eloquence to place thy trust;
Anon, to dust returning, thou becamest
A corpse, as though ne'er taken from the dust."

Abdul Hamid (1932:161) has pointed out some of the engraver's error in inscribing some of the words from

the quatrain on the nesan, for example, the word عملت was wrongly inscribed as علمت. The alphabet "ت" is not inscribed at the end of the word "فصر"; while in line five the word "التراب" is wrongly spelt as الترابي

As with the headstone, only the front and back panels of the footstone contain decipherable inscriptions, which, according to Abudl Hamid (1932), and I have verified these by personal examination, are all taken from the Koran (55:26; 28:88, and 20:55) and line of praises to God.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Abdul Hamid, Engku, 1932

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1971, 1974

Shaharom Husain, 1981

## Appendix 17

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 2 MAKAM PANGLIMA MD. BERANI, Kuala Pagoh, Muar, JOHORE. (Map 14).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C

Location : Isolated example within a Malay village, on the left downstream bank (eastern bank) of the Pagoh river, a tributary of the Muar river, about 28 kilometres by road from Muar town.

Site history : Known to the Muzium Negara in August 1979 when Halim (1979, unpublished) visited the site. The site was visited again by Halim and Othman in August 1983.

On the site is a pair of slab form nesan (slight variation of Othman Type C), about 1 metre apart, in north-south orientation. The footstone was broken into two, the right curly shoulder of the headstone was missing.

The site is now declared to be an Ancient Monument and Historical Site under the Antiquities Act, 1976 by the Muzium Negara.

Documentation : Unpublished.

Inscriptions : There are traces of inscriptions but they are now illegible. The local tradition (recorded by Halim 1979) regards the grave as belonging to one of the warriors of Sultan

Alauddin Riayat Shah of Melaka simply named Md. Berani. No details given.

References : Halim, 1979, unpublished.

# Appendix 18

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 3 MAKAM BENDAHARA TEPOK OF MELAKA, Lubok Batu, Segamat, JOHORE. (Map 14).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C

Location : Isolated example in the abandoned settlement, Lubok Batu, about 1 kilometre south of Segamat town.

Site history : In so far as is known the first visitor to the site was Halim of the Muzium Negara. He visited the site in August 1979 (unpublished). On the site is a pair of slab form nesans (slight variation of Othman Type C). The nesans are about 1 metre apart and in north-south orientation. Halim reports that the headstone is broken at the base and the upper part is missing.

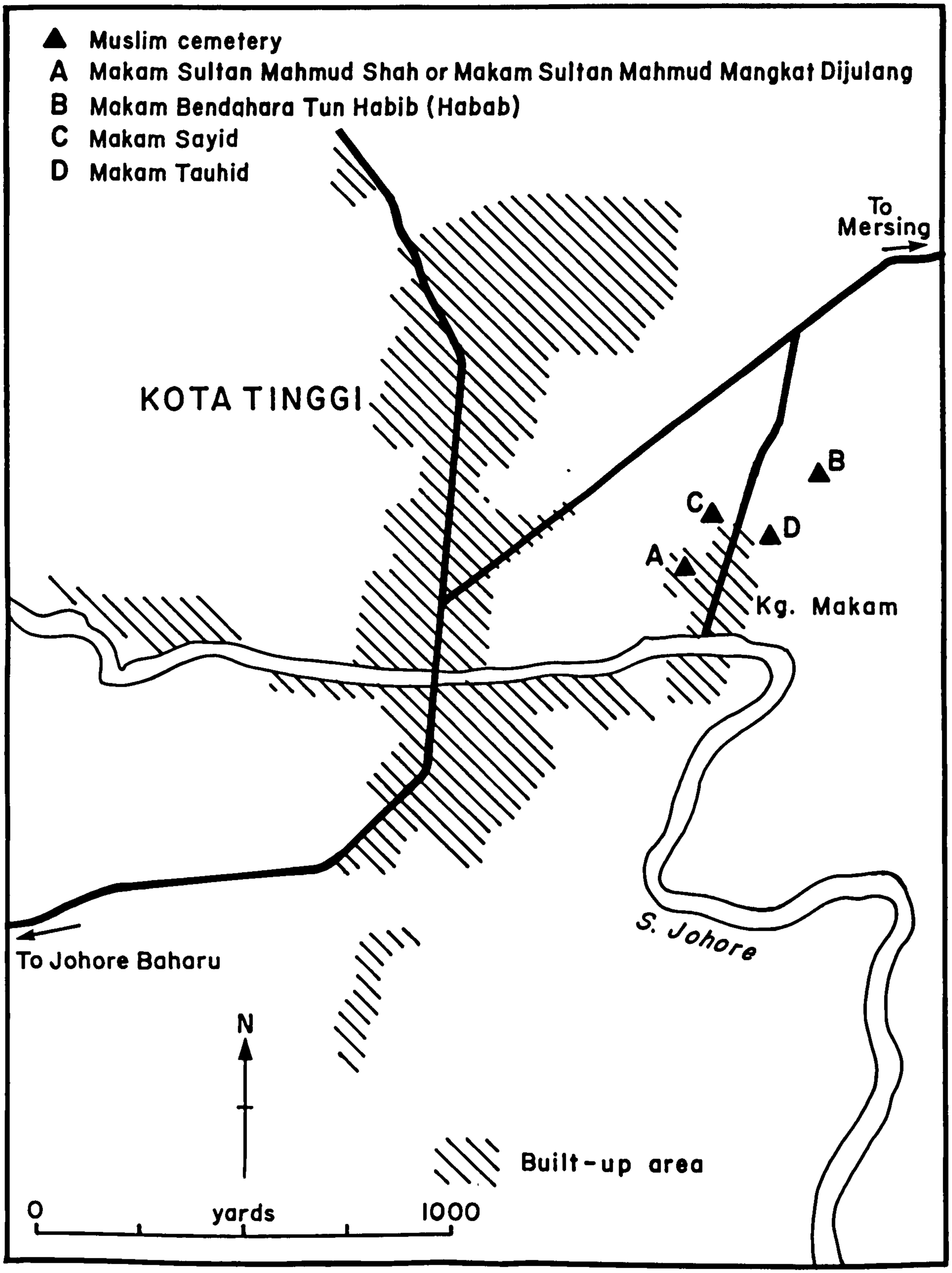
Documentation : None.

Inscriptions : There are traces of inscriptions on the panel-texts but they are illegible.

According to one of Halim's informants (Halim 1979, unpublished) the local residents believe that the grave belongs to one of the Bendaharas of Melaka, who retreated to Muar and Segamat when Melaka fell to the Portugese in 1511.

References : Halim, 1979, unpublished

# Map15 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH IN KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE



## Appendix 19

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 4 MAKAM SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 15).

Quantity : 20 pairs (see Fig. 21 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (5 pairs), H (6 pairs), I (1 pair), J (2 pairs), K (2 pairs).

Location : Royal cemetery, within a village cemetery of Kampung Makam, on the right upstream bank of the Johore river, about 4 kilometres from Kota Tinggi town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c). Other visitors are the members of the Malaysian Historical Society from Kuala Lumpur, 1971, Othman and Halim in 1977, Halim in 1979, and Halim and Othman, once again, in August 1983.

In the north west of the village cemetery there is a small, raised and roofed graveyard (Pl. 38a). Under this roof were 15 graves having batu Aceh of Othman Types C, H, I, J and K. Outside the roofed graveyard there were 5 more graves, 2 of which had nesans of Othman Type H, 1 pair of slab form nesan (Othman Type C), and 2 pairs of small pillar form nesans (Othman Type H) as reported by Winstedt (1932c:127).

During Halim and Othman visits in 1977 and 1983 only 13 graves were still extant but their condition had deteriorated and many parts, especially the curly and

sharp-edged parts were broken off and missing.

Outside the roofed graveyard only one pair of pillar form nesans still remains (Pl. 39e).

Documentation : Illustration of the site in Winstedt (1932c), Pl. VI, on page 51. Another illustration in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1974:36.

Inscriptions : Only 4 pairs of the nesans in the roofed graveyard bear inscriptions in Arabic; 2 pairs of pillar form nesans (Othman Type H), and the other two of slab form nesans (Othman Type C); on the former the inscriptions are on all four sides of the square body, while on the latter the inscriptions are only on the front and back of the body. The inscription is a repetition of the word الله (Allah), which is a zikir.

In the roofed graveyard are buried Sultan Mahmud Shah (Pl. 38c), Sultan Abdul Jalil (Pl. 38b), Sultan Alauddin and Sultan Abdullah. According to Winstedt (1932c:127) the identification of these graves was revealed in a dream of the Mufti of Johore.

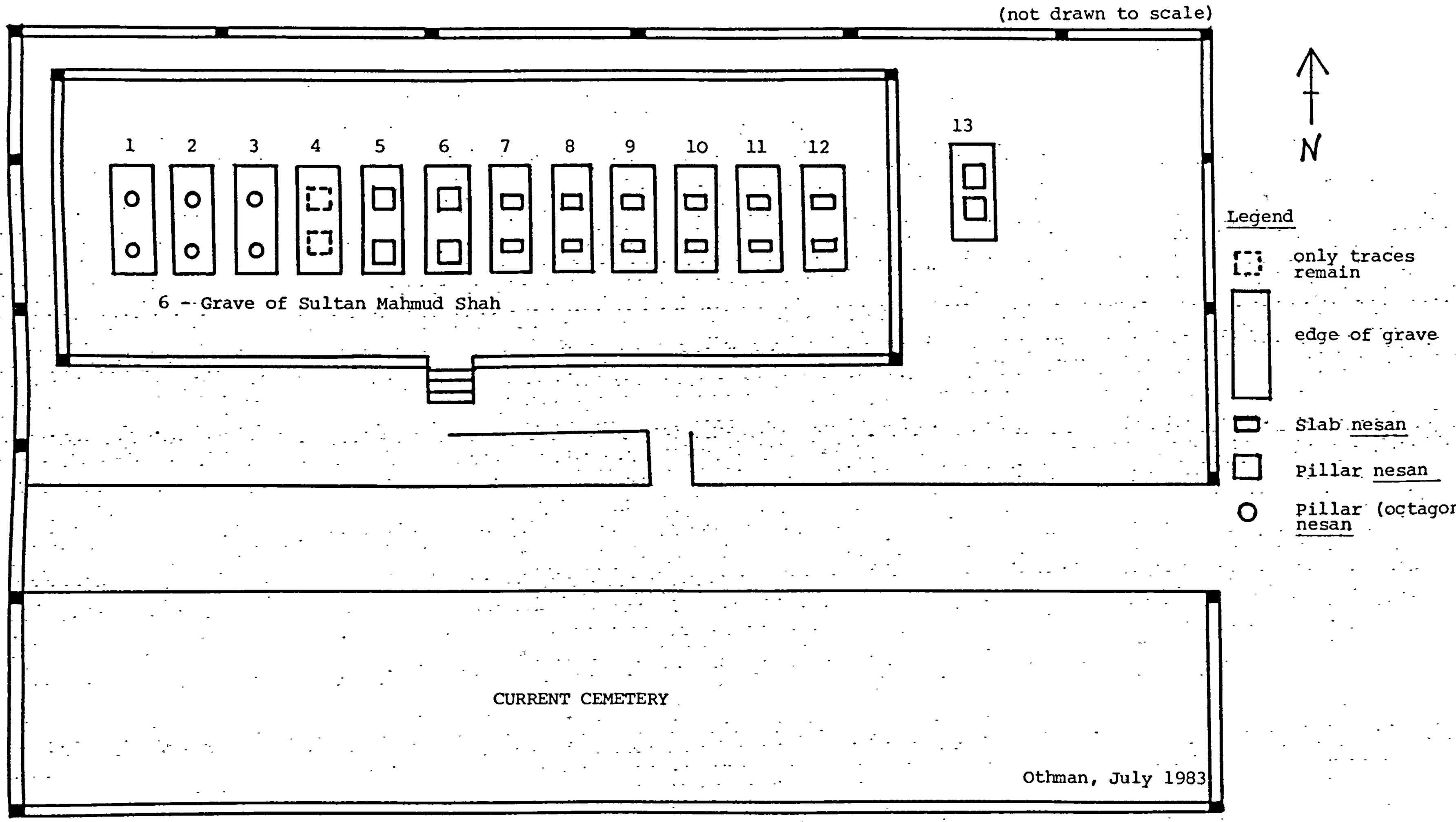
Sultan Mahmud Shah, whose name is associated with this graveyard, was killed in 1699 AD.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1974

Othman and Halim, 1977, unpublished

Fig. 21 Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, Johore.



## Appendix 20

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 5 MAKAM BENDAHARA TUN HABIB (HABAB) ABDUL MAJID, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 15).

Quantity : 23 pairs (see Fig. 2.2 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (5 pairs), H (4 pairs), K (4 pairs), N (2 pairs).

Location : In a village cemetery, approximately ½ kilometre north of Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah, about 3.5 kilometres from Kota Tinggi town.

Site history : The earliest known report on this site by Winstedt (1932c) after a visit in the same year. He noted that there were 12 graves in the roofed graveyard and 11 others outside it.

In 1971, the State Government of Johore with the co-operation of the Malaysian Historical Society erected a memorial plaque outside the roofed graveyard. The plaque records the genealogy of Bendahara Tun Habib (Habab) Abdul Majid, one of the persons believed by the local residents and historians to have been buried there. Othman and Halim visited the site in 1977; Halim revisited it in 1979; Halim and Othman visited it in August 1983. Since they were erected in 1697 the unroofed nesans, due to them being unprotected, were damaged by the weather and possibly by vandalism.

In the roofed graveyard there are 4 pairs of pillar form

nesans (Othman type H), 3 pairs of slab form nesans (slight variation of Othman Type C) and the remaining three pairs are of pillar form nesans, 2 pairs each of Othman Types K and N respectively. All are in north-south alignment. Most of the nesans were restored by the Muzium Negara.

Documentation : Illustration of the roofed site is in Winstedt (1932c), Pl. VI, above, page 51. Another illustration of the site is in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (1971:40-41).

Inscriptions : All the pillar nesans are uninscribed, but the slab forms appear to have Arabic inscriptions on both the front and back panels of their bodies, but so deteriorated as to be illegible.

Bendahara Tun Habib (Habab) Abdul Majid (his nesan on Pl. 406 below) was the Bendahara of Johore from 1688 until he died in 1697. Buried beside him are members of his family (Pl. 41).

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1971

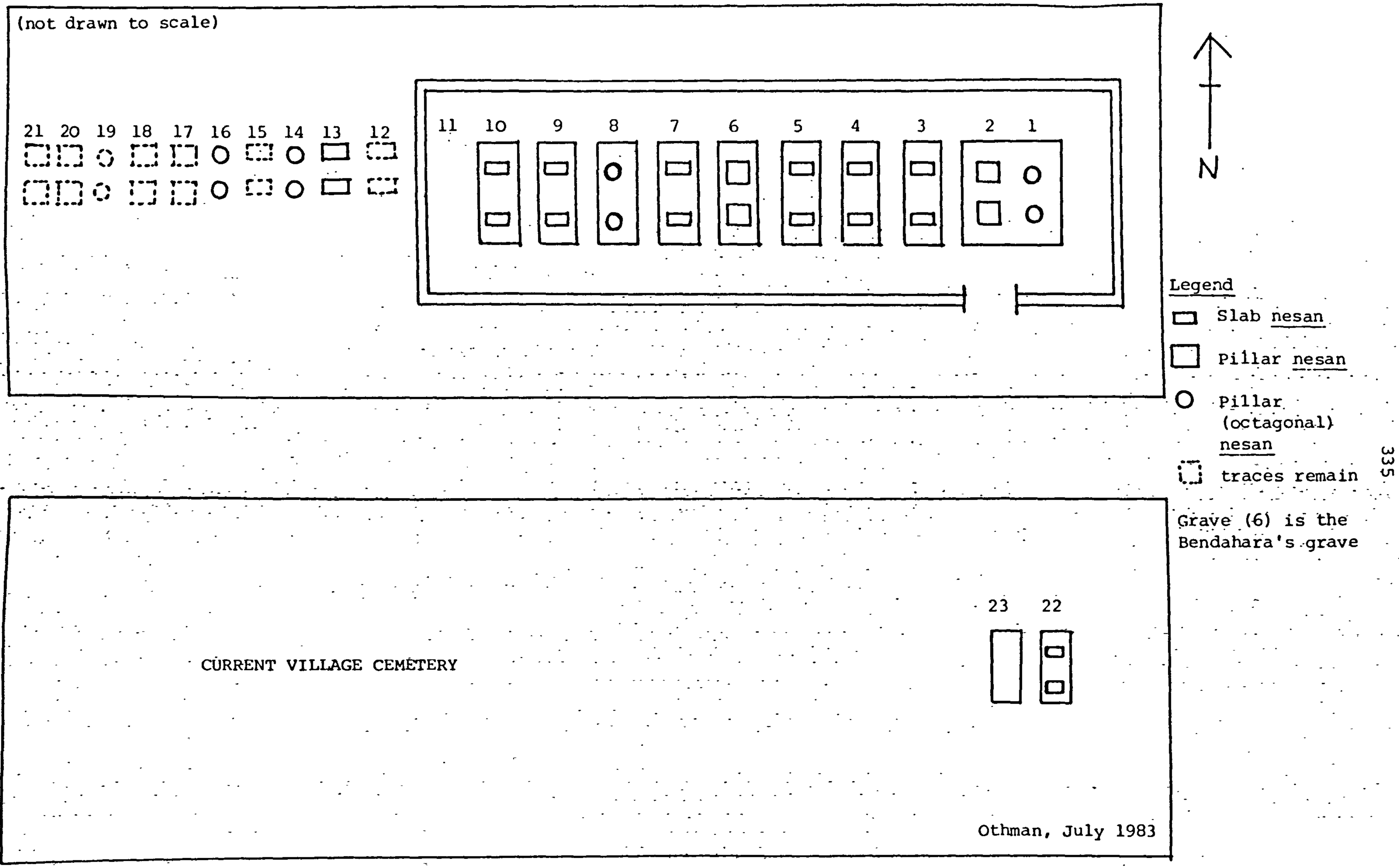





Fig. 22 Makam Bendahara Tun Habib (Hababb) Abdul Majid, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, Johore

## Appendix 21

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 6 MAKAM SAYID, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE, (Map 15).

Quantity : 9 pairs (see Fig. 23 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (5 pairs), E (1 pair), K (3 pairs).

Location : Within a Malay village, Kampung Makam, between Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah and Makam Bendahara Tun Habib (Habab) Abdul Majid, about 3.5 kilometres by road from Kota Tinggi town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c). It is on a mound surrounded by a well-built brick wall which has a bevelled top. There are steps and a gate. It contains 5 graves; 2 graves having a pair each of slab form nesans (Othman Type C), 2 graves having a pair each of pillar form nesans (Othman Type K, and slight variation of Othman Type E), and a grave (a child's grave according to Winstedt 1932c) having a pair of small pillar form nesans (Othman Type K). See Pl. 43c. Outside the walled and roofed graveyard there are 4 more graves, each having a pair of pillar form nesans. See Pls. 42a and 43.

After Winstedt, visitors to the site included the Executive Members of the Malaysian Historical Society, Kuala Lumpur in 1971, Halim and Othman in 1977, Halim in 1979, and Halim and Othman in August 1983.

Documentation : Winstedt (1932c), not illustrated.

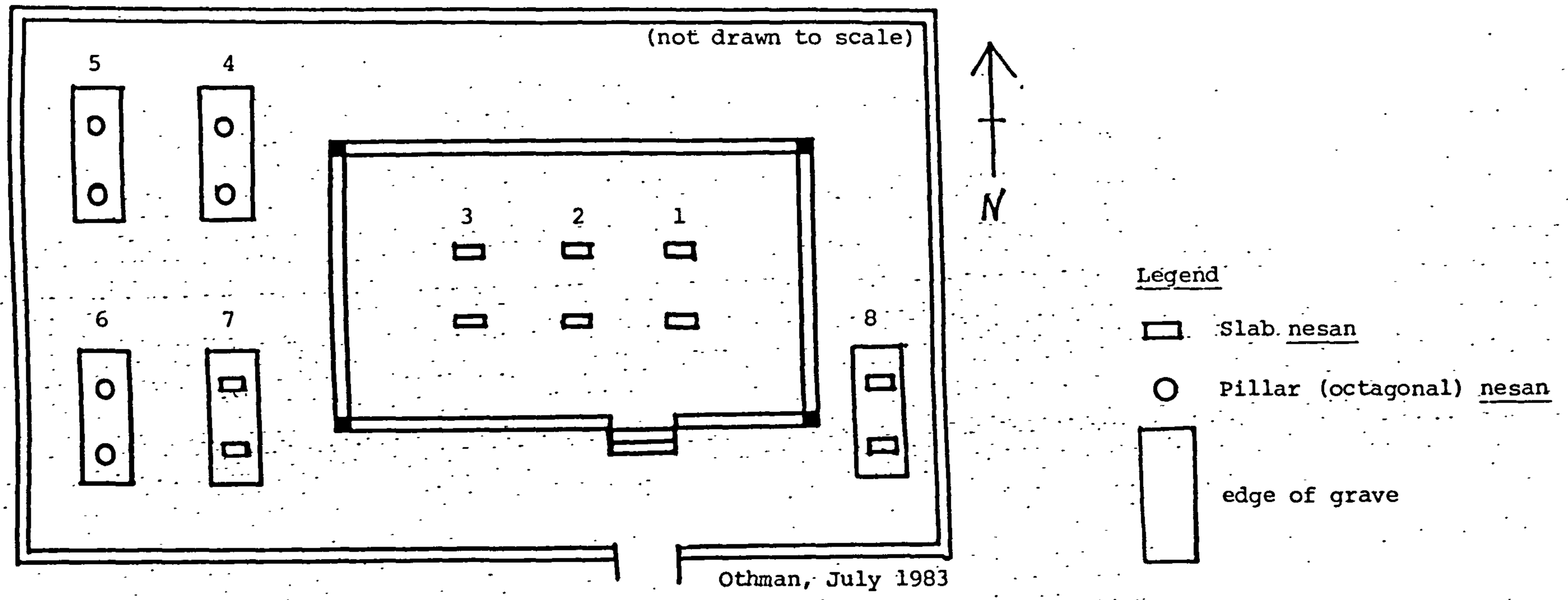
Inscriptions : There are traces of Arabic inscriptions on the front and back panels on the bodies of six nesans of the 3 graves in the walled and roofed graveyard, but deterioration is too advanced for them to be deciphered.

The village tradition (recorded by Halim, 1979, unpublished), attributes the graves as belonging to a Sayid (name unknown) and members of his family.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Halim, 1979, unpublished

Fig. 23 Makam Sayid, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, Johore.



# Appendix 22

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 7 MAKAM TAUHID, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 15).

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Types C and K.

Location : Between Makam Sayid and Makam Bendahara Tun Habib (Habab) Abdul Majid, in the backyard of the house belonging to Cikgu Osman bin Abdullah, in a Malay village called Kampung Makam, about 3.5 kilometres from Kota Tinggi town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c). It consists of 2 graves. One with slab form nesans of Othman Type C (Pl. 44c,d) and the other with a pair of pillar form nesans of Othman Type K (Pl. 44a,b). They are about 100 metres apart.

The site was made known to Halim in 1979 while he was working on Makam Sayid (App. 21), (Halim 1979 & pers. comm.). In August 1983 Halim revisited the site with Othman and found the stones still extant.

Documentation : In Winstedt (1932c), not illustrated. Halim (1979 unpublished).

Inscriptions : The nesans Othman Type C (Pl. 44d) have inscriptions in Arabic on 4 sides, the front and back of the curly shoulders, 2 'vase' panels and the uppermost parts of each

stone. The inscriptions are a repetition of the Shahadah.

Both the head and footstones of the grave Othman Type K are uninscribed, though they have panels on all 4 sides of their bodies which (in other examples of Type K, see App. 3), are filled with inscriptions.

The name Tauhid, I believe, is probably derived from the inscriptions on both the slab nesans, the expression لا اله الا الله (la ila haillallah) or "There is no God but Allah" is the Muslim attestation of the oneness of God, referred to in Arabic as Tauhid.

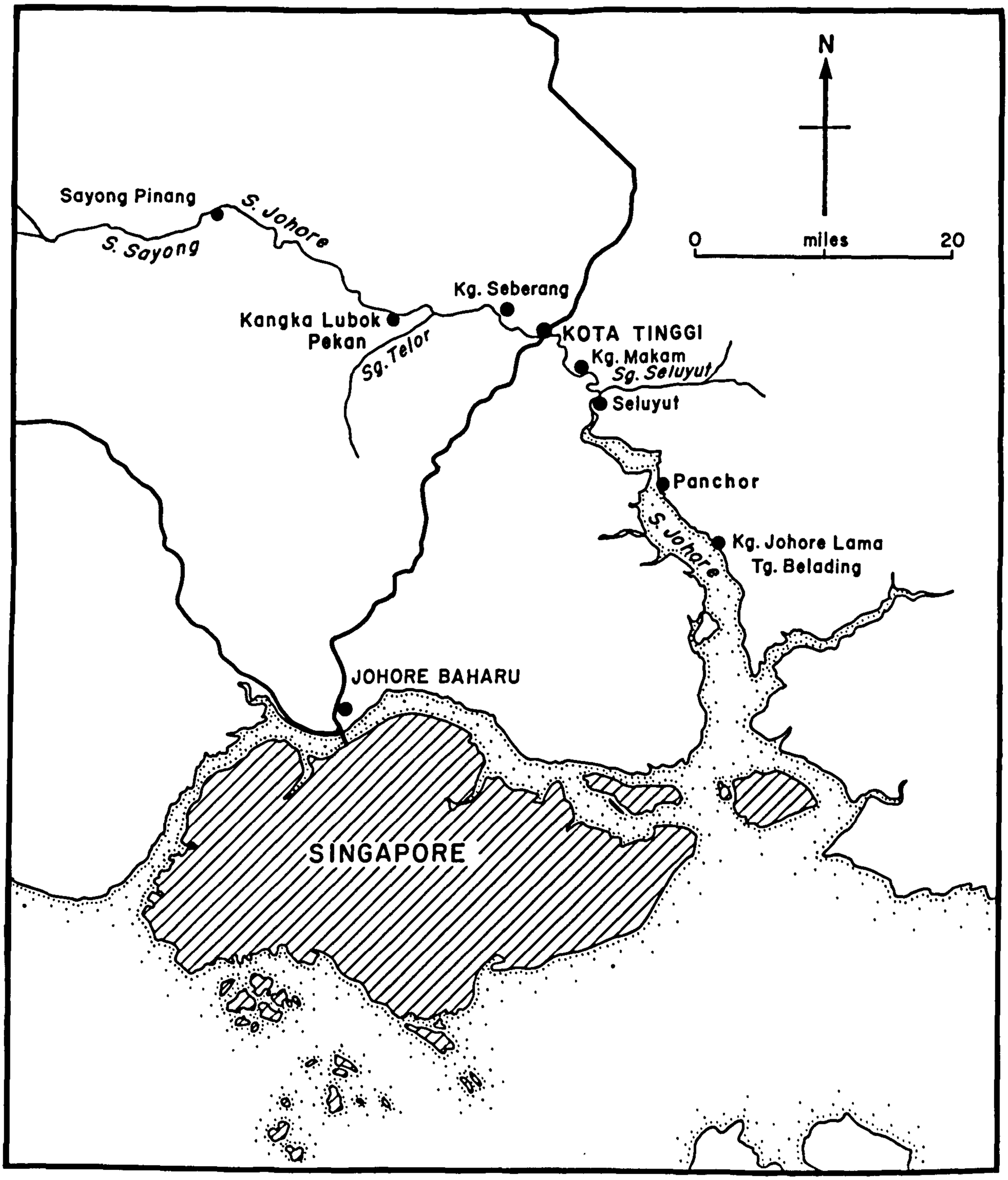
While researching at the site in August 1983 Cikgu Osman bin Abdullah told me that isolated graves were not considered by the local people to be graves, rather places where the Acehnese hid their war treasures after they ransacked Johore in one of the Aceh-Johore wars. They believe that the Acehnese used batu nesans to mark the spot to confuse the local residents and protect the treasure, which they hoped to retrieve later.

References : Winstedt, 1932

Halim, 1979 unpublished

Osman bin Abdullah, a teacher, aged 48, inverviewed at the site in August 1983

Map 16 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH IN THE STATE OF JOHORE



## Appendix 23

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 8 MAKAM SAYONG PINANG, Sayong Pinang, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 16).

Quantity : 25 pairs originally, now 8 pairs, see Fig. 24 for site plan, a modification of an earlier sketch by Winstedt (1932c:19).

Description : Othman Types A (21 pairs), B (2 pairs), G (2 pairs).

Location : In a Land Scheme named Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Bukit Besar; on the right upstream bank of the Sayong river, a tributary of the Johore river, about 78 kilometres north of Kota Tinggi.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c) after a visit in 1930. On 14 December 1931, a party from the Raffles Museum in Singapore, including Gardner, visited the site and made casts of some of the gravestones (Gardner in Winstedt 1932:121).

The site, when it was first visited by Winstedt (1932c), consisted of 4 main graveyards. One graveyard (Fig. 24,A, had 10, but only 9 graves were shown on his diagram), while the other (Fig. 24,B) had 11 graves, all with slab form nesans, Othman Type A. About 200 metres east of these graveyards there are 2 more small graveyards (Fig. 24, C and D) each containing 2 graves with slab form nesans, Type B. In the 1970s the site and its surrounding

area were cleared for a new oil palm plantation and in the process many of the stones were destroyed. During a visit in August 1979 Halim managed to record the location of four nesans. When I visited the site in August 1983, I discovered that only one pair (Pl. 45a) in Graveyard B survived. In Graveyard A, only 5 pairs remain (Pl. 45b), one was completely wiped out, the remaining one is still intact (Pl. 45c).

Documentation : Illustrations in Winstedt (1932c), Pls. III, IV, V, XIII, XIV, XXI-XXIV. Buyong bin Adil 1971 (not illustrated), Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia 1971 (not illustrated), but the 1974 edition had a map showing the direction of the site. Illustration of footstone of Sultan Sulaiman Shah in Shaharom Husain(1981:3. Another illustration in Halim (1982a).

Inscriptions : Most were deciphered and translated by Abdul Hamid of Johore Baharu. One of the panels on the stone (Pl. III of Winstedt 1932e (now missing) contains information on the deceased - name, geneaology, and date of death. Abdul Hamid (1932) interprets this inscription (and I have verified it by personal examination) as belonging to the tombstone of Sulaiman Shah, son of Sultan Mansor Shah and grandson of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Melaka (see Abdul Hamid 1932:162).

The remaining stones bear inscriptions in Arabic but none contains information on the deceased. The inscriptions are all taken (according to Abdul Hamid 1932) from various Surahs and Ayats of the Koran, notably

Koran (2:255), the famous Surah al-Kursi or 'Verse of the Throne', others are from the Koran (28:88; 28:35/37; 21:35; 3:25/26; 9:128/130 and 55:26/27).

The inscriptions on the tombstones in Plate XIV of Winstedt 1932c, are a repetition (8 times) of the Shahadah, (see Abdul Hamid 1932:163). (Pl. 46b).

Winstedt (1932c:125) believes that this secluded site may well have been the first capital of Johore. He mentions (citing Sejarah Melayu Blagden's version in JMBRAS, 1925:38) that after the Portugese had driven Sultan Mahmud from Bentan, he and his family went down to Sayong. Later Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah, the founder of Johore (ca, 1530) fled from Pekan Tua by boat up the river to Sayong. His Bendahara, named Bendahara Seri Nara Diraja (Pl. 46), was buried also at Sayong.

References :

Winstedt, R.O., 1932c

G.B. Gardner in Winstedt, R.O., 1932c

Abdul Hamid, Engku in R.O. Winstedt, 1932c

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1971, 1974

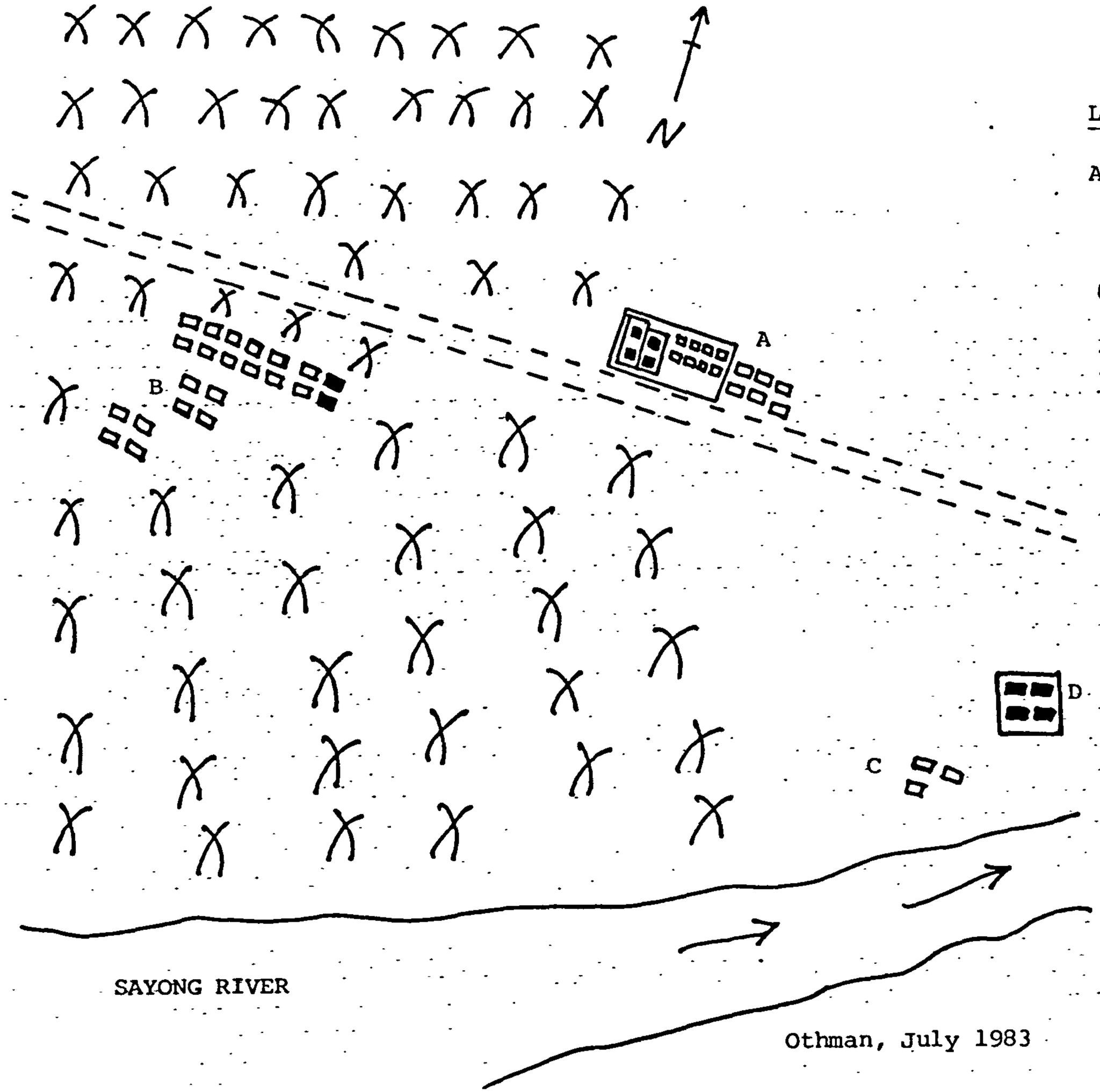
Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971

Shaharom Husain, 1981

Halim, N.A., 1982a

Fig. 24 Makam Sayong Pinang, Kota Tinggi, Johore.

(not drawn to scale)




Legend

A - D graveyards mentioned by Winstedt (1932c)

Graves still extant

Graves now missing

Path

Oil Palm trees

Othman, July 1983

# Appendix 24

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 9 MAKAM MASSHOR, Kampung Seberang, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 16).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C

Location : This isolated example is on the right upstream bank of the Johore river, about 3 kilometres from Kota Tinggi town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c). Small graveyard (tanah kubor) having a pair of slab form nesans. Halim visited the site in 1979 and later revisited it with Othman in August 1983.

On the grave are a pair of identical batu nesans, in north-south alignment, and the head and the footstones are separated by about 1 metre from each other. The headstone measures 95cm in height, 43 cm wide (from one end of the curly shoulder to the other), and 18 cm in thickness.

Documentation : Winstedt (1932c), not illustrated.

Inscriptions : Uninscribed.

Following local information Winstedt (1932c:128) called the grave 'Makam Masshor'.

Reference : Winstedt, R.O., 1932c

# Appendix 25

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site JE 10 MAKAM JOHORE LAMA, Kampung Johore Lama, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 16).

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Types D and M.

Location : These isolated examples are on the right upstream bank of the Johore river, near a village called Kampung Johore Lama.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c), still extant, 2 graves situated near the fort called 'Kota Batu', the first having a pair of pillar form nesans (Othman Type M) and the second having a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type D). They are about 500 metres apart. The headstone of the first grave measures 50cm high, while the headstone of the second grave measures 68cm high, 30cm wide, and 18cm thick. Both graves are in the north-south orientation.

Documentation : Winstedt (1932c:130), not illustrated. Illustration of nesans (Type M) in Halim (1982a).

Inscription : Tombstones on the first grave are uninscribed, but tombstones on the second grave have Arabic inscriptions (see Pl. 47). All 4 panels on the body of both nesans, plus 2 'heart' panels and the rectangular base of each of the stones are inscribed in Arabic. The stones,

which I deciphered, have a repetition of the Shahadah. (Pl. 47b).

Shaharom Husain (1981:1) believes the second grave belongs to Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah II(citing Sejarah Melayu, Jawi version, 1896:364, see Shellabear 1978:232), which related that when Sultan Alauddin Riyat Shah II passed away his body was buried at Johore Lama and he was styled as "Marhum Di Johor Lama".

Other sources (cited in Buyong bin Adil 1971:15) mention that after Aceh defeated Johore in the 1564 war, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah II was taken prisoner, later died and was buried in Aceh.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971

Shaharom Husain, 1981

## Appendix 26

### Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site JE 11 MAKAM SELUYUT, Seluyut, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE.

(Map 16).

Quantity : 5 pairs, only 3 pairs remain.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Seluyut was one of the former capitals of the Johore kingdom, located upstream from Kampung Johore Lama, on the right bank of the Johore river, at the junction between the Seluyut and Johore river.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c).

During his visit in 1930, Winstedt reported that at a landing-spot, about 5½ chains inland at the foot of the hill are 2 graves; one having small 'Chinese-lantern stones' (no detailed description given), the other having plain undecorated stones. On the hill-top are 3 graves, 2 having slab form and inscribed nesans, while the other one also has similar nesans but smaller in size, (see Winstedt 1932c:129).

The site, which can only be reached by boat, was visited by Halim and Othman in early September 1977. They found that the 2 graves sighted earlier by Winstedt (1932c) were missing without trace. Of the 3 graves, on top of the hill, they found that the stones (the ones mentioned by Winstedt as possibly from a child's grave) were broken

and their upper parts missing. The stones on the middle grave were also broken, the footstone broken into 2 parts, and the headstone severely damaged. Only the headstone of the grave on the left of the centre grave is still intact and in almost perfect condition; the footstone was broken into two parts.

All the stones are of fine-grained sandstone. The broken stones were repaired and re-erected on their original places by the Muzium Negara in 1979. At the same time, the site was fenced. The restoration did not alter the orientation of all the 3 graves, i.e., north-south alignment.

Documentation : Winstedt (1932c), no illustration. Illustration of the 3 graves on top of the hill in Buyong bin Adil (1971:17). Also in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia 1971, not illustrated. Illustrated in Halim (1982a).

Inscriptions : Only 1 pair of the stones, the left of the centre grave, on top of the hill, bear inscriptions in Arabic on all 4 sides of the body and in 2 'heart' panels of each stone. The inscription, as I deciphered it, is a repetition of the Shahadah, (see Pl. 48b below).

Sultan Muzaffar Shah (c. 1564-1580) left Johore Lama and settled at Sayong Pinang. Both the Sultan and his sister, Raja Fatimah, wife of Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah (1580-1597), died and were buried there. Also buried there (according to Buyong bin Adil 1971:16) is Bendahara Seri Maharaja Tun Isap Misai. Haji Buyong bin Adil further believes

that the graves on top of the hill are of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Raja Fatimah, and Bendahara Seri Maharaja Tun Isap Misai. The inscribed ones are of Sultan Muzaffar Shah (Buyong bin Adil 1971:16 and Plate on page 17).

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971

Halim, 1982a

# APPENDIX 27

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site JE 12 ANCIENT GRAVES, Tanjong Belading, Johore Lama, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 16).

Quantity : 9 pairs (see Fig. 25 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (1 pair), D (1 pair), E (2 pairs).

Location : On a cape, about 4 kilometres downstream of Kampung Johore Lama, on the right bank of the Johore river.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c) after a visit in 1930, during which he discovered 'a burial ground with four ancient graves with no inscriptions' (see Winstedt, 1932c: 130).

The site and its surrounding were planted with oil palm trees in the 1970s, and, in the process of clearing the land for a plantation, a few more graves were uncovered. Halim visited the site in 1979 (unpublished) and discovered that it contained 3 groups of graves. See Fig. 25. Group 1 (Pl. 49a) consisting of 3 graves, each having a relatively small nesans, all are of slab form (Othman Types C, D and E). The centre grave has only one nesan (Pl. 49b). It measures 36cm high.

The grave on the left of centre has a pair of identical stones, about 120cm apart. The headstone measures 48cm high, the curly shoulders 28cm wide, and 14cm thick. The grave on the right of centre also has a pair of identical

stones, slightly bigger than the headstone of the middle graves.

Group 2, situated north of Group 1, also has 3 graves (see Pl. 49c). However, only 1 stone, on one of the graves, is still intact (see Pl. 49d). The other 5 stones from this site are missing, only traces of their bases remain. The surviving stone on the site, presumed to be the headstone, has its right curly shoulder broken off and missing (Pl. 50c). The stone measures 48cm high.

Group 3 graves (see Pl. 50 below) are located north of Group 2 and consists also of 3 graves. The head and footstones of the middle grave are missing. Both the head and the footstones on the right hand grave are still intact and in almost perfect condition. Both are identical and measure 70cm high and the stone narrows towards the base (see Pl. 50b below). The grave on the left also has a pair of tombstones; the headstone has been broken into several parts; the right curly shoulders of the footstone has been broken off and is now missing.

All the stones are of fine-grained sandstone, all in the north-south orientation as they were first known to the Muzium Negara. All the broken stones were restored and the site was fenced and roofed by the Muzium Negara in 1979.

Documentation : Windstedt (1932c:130) and Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia

(1971:40), not illustrated.

Inscriptions : All the 5 stones of the graves in the Group 1 are inscribed on all 4 sides; 3 lines on each side, of the Arabic inscriptions, i.e., the Shahadah. Two lines of the same inscription are inscribed on all 4 sides of the single stone on the graves in Group 2. The inscriptions on both stones on the right grave of the third group are still very clearly visible; with the same inscriptions as on the stones of the graves in Group 2. The stones on the left grave in Group 3 also bear inscriptions in Arabic, on all 4 sides, plus 2 'vase' panels, the words " الله " is repeated in three lines on the side and 'vase' panels.

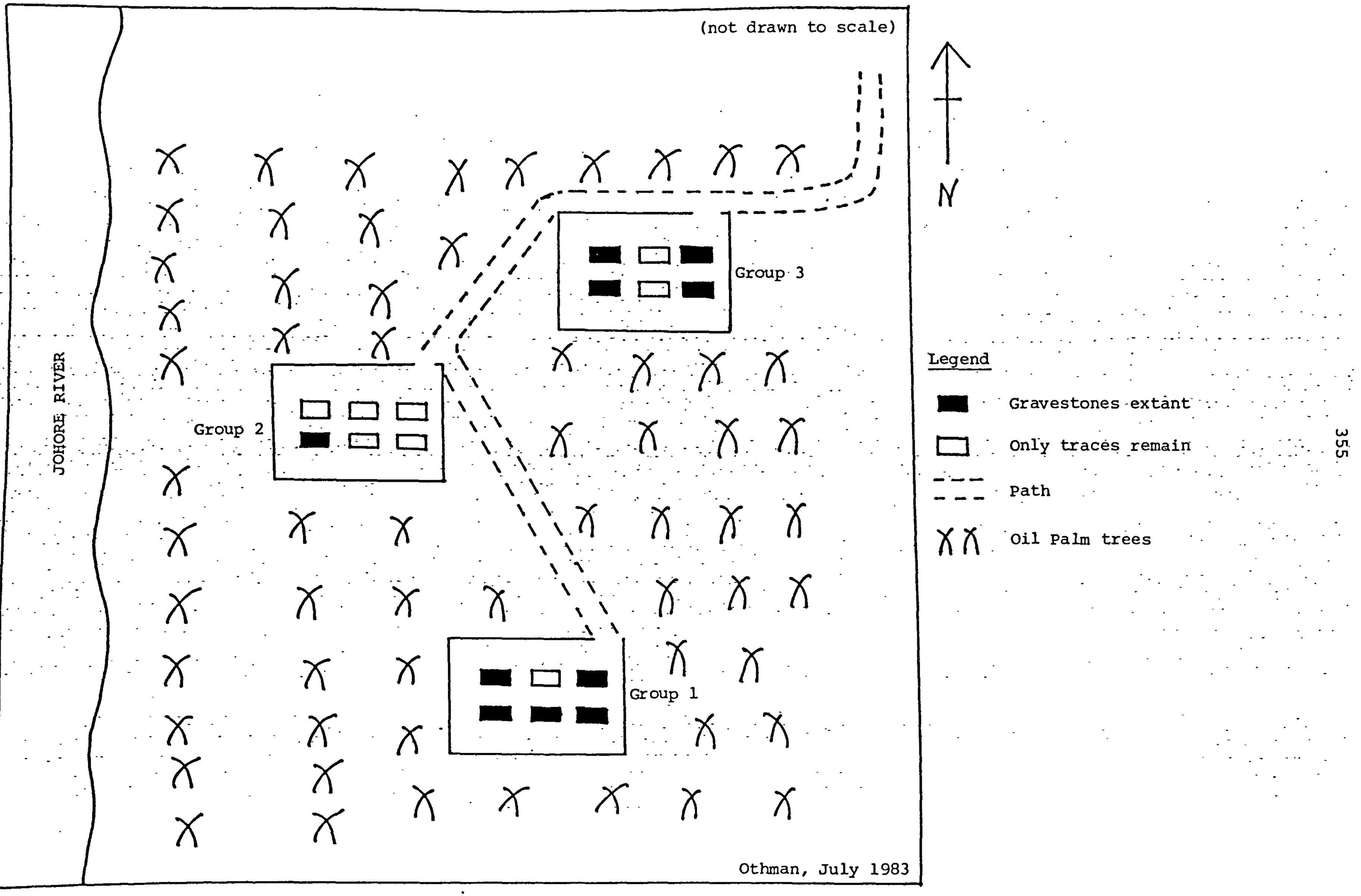
Tanjong Belading which is only about 2 kilometres by boat downstream of Kampung Johore Lama, in the past it was probably regarded as part of Johore Lama; the 2 places are separated by a fort known as "Kota Batu", which protects Kampung Johore Lama, then the royal capital of the kingdom of Johore, first chosen by Sultan Alauddin Shah II in 1540 as his capital.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1971

Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971

Fig. 25 Ancient Graves - Tanjong Belading, Kota Tinggi, Johore.



# APPENDIX 28

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site JE 13 ANCIENT GRAVES, Panchor, Kota Tinggi, JOHORE. (Map 16).

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Types H and N.

Location : These isolated examples are located further downstream from Kampung Johore Lama, on the right upstream bank of the Johore river.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1932c) after a visit in 1930. This raised site, formerly of a Malay fort, there is a grave with a pair of slab form nesans, Othman Type N. Below, on the flat ground, there is another grave with a pair of pillar form nesans, Othman Type H.

Both the stones on the raised site (Type N) are identical, and in the north-south orientation. They measure 105cm high, 40cm wide at the curly shoulders, and 18cm thick. Both are in almost perfect condition (see Pl. 51a,b below). The stones on the grave on the flat ground (Type H) about 100 metres away from the higher sited grave, the headstone has been broken into two parts, the lower part is missing. The footstone is still intact but certain parts of the curly shoulders have been chipped away (Pl. 51c).

Halim visited the site in 1979 and shortly afterwards

the Muzium Negara restored the broken stones, fenced both sites, and put a roof on each grave.

Documentation : Illustration of the grave on the raised site in Winstedt (1932c), Plate VII (below) on page 53. Also illustrated in Buyong bin Adil (1971:20). Illustration of the lower sited grave is in Buyong bin Adil (1971:20). Illustration of the same site - Halim, N.A., 1982b.

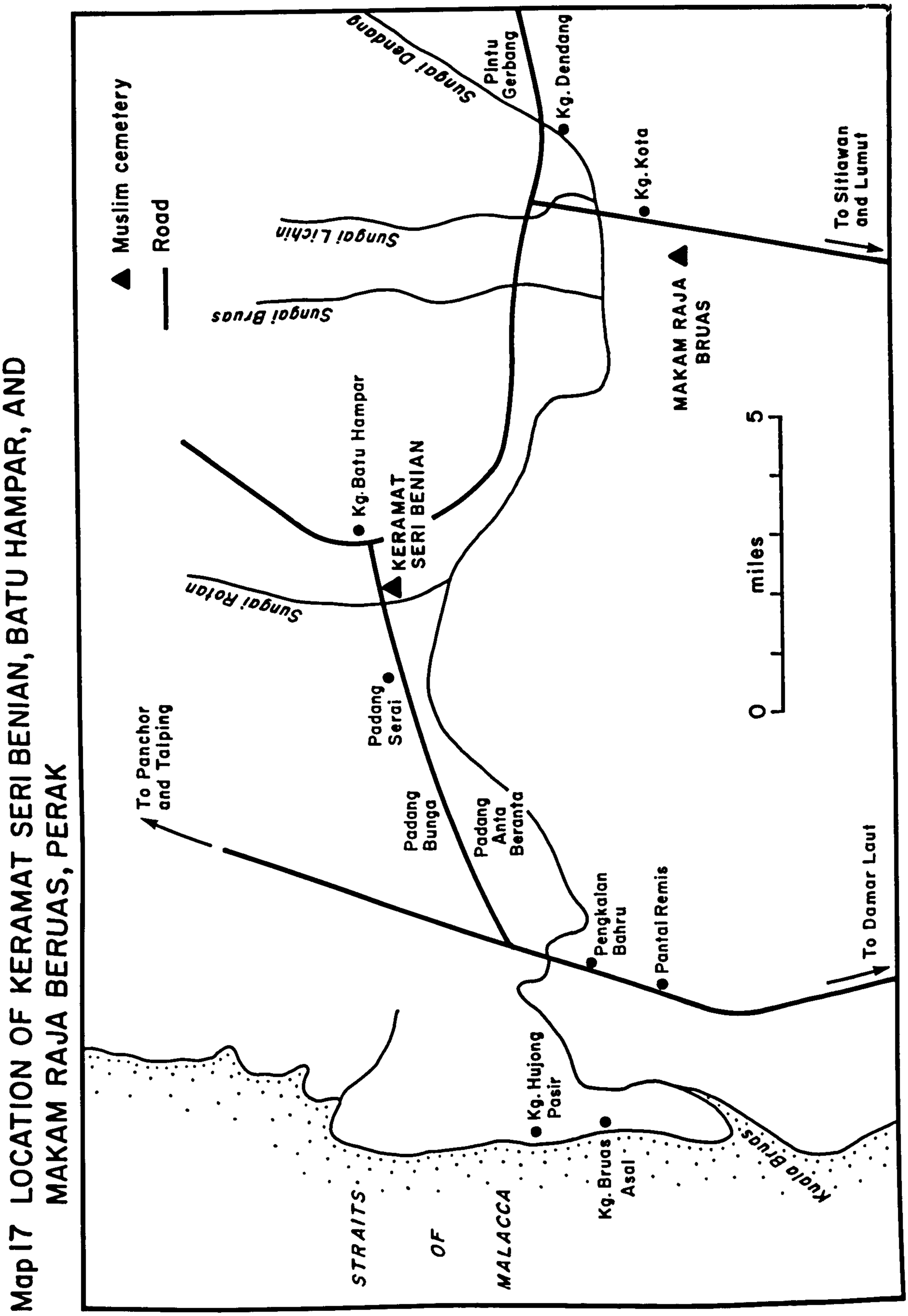
According to local tradition (Winstedt, 1932c:129) the grave on the raised site belongs to Raja Puteh. But according to one of Halim's informants the grave belongs to a princess named Puteri Berdarah Puteh. The lower sited grave is of Sultan Abdul Jalil (Winstedt 1932c). But the exact identity of this Sultan Abdul Jalil is uncertain, for in the history of Johore there were four sultans who were styled as Sultan Adbul Jalil.

References : Winstedt, 1932c

Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1971

Buyong bin Adil, Haji, 1971

Halim, 1982b and pers. comm.




Map 17 LOCATION OF KERAMAT SERI BENIAN, BATU HAMPAR, AND MAKAM RAJA BERUAS, PERAK

# APPENDIX 29

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 1 MAKAM RAJA BRUAS, Kampung Kota, Bruas, PERAK (Map 17).

Quantity : 7 pairs.

Description : Othman Types C (3 pairs), D (1 pair), E (2 pairs), F (1 pair).

Location : The gravestones were discovered scattered in various parts of a Malay village called Kampung Kota, on the south bank of the Dendang River, a tributary of the Bruas, about 1 kilometre south of Bruas town.

Site history : First reported by Winstedt (1920). Linehan visited it in 1950 (1951b). Othman made his first visit to the site in 1965 together with other members of the Historical Society of the Anglo-Chinese School, Sitiawan, Perak. He made another visit in 1974 immediately after he joined the Muzium Negara. Halim (pers. comm.), in a September 1977 visit, discovered that many of the nesans were damaged and scattered by the villagers during the planting of new rubber trees. The Muzium Negara sent a rescue team to salvage the site. All the broken stones were collected, restored and re-erected on their original sites. In 1978, all the restored sites were fenced and declared as Ancient Monuments and Historical Sites by the Muzium Negara.

Documentation : Wilkinson (1920), Winstedt (1920), Linehan (1951b), Husain bin Mahmud (1970) (no illustration). A section of the site illustrated in Othman (1976:19; 1982d:81). Illustration of one nesan, Othman Type D in Halim 1981.

Inscriptions : Of the 7 pairs, 5 pairs bear inscriptions in Arabic on all 4 sides. On the nesans (Pl. 52), the borders of the 4 sides are inscribed vertically and horizontally. The inscriptions consist entirely of repetitions of the Shahadah (Creed).

The panels of one pair of the nesans, Othman Type C (Pl. 53a) are uninscribed. The pairs shown in Pl. 53 below (2 pairs) belong to Othman Types E (Pl. 53d) and F (Pl. 53e), the latter specimen pair being blank slab-form nesan.

Winstedt (1920) speculated that all the nesans at Kampung Kota belonged to graves of Muslim missionaries from Cambay, in Gujarat.Husain bin Mahmud (1970) suggests that these nesans pertain to the Raja of Bruas and members of his family; Halim (1981) thinks likewise. In my view, the evidence does not support any definite identification.

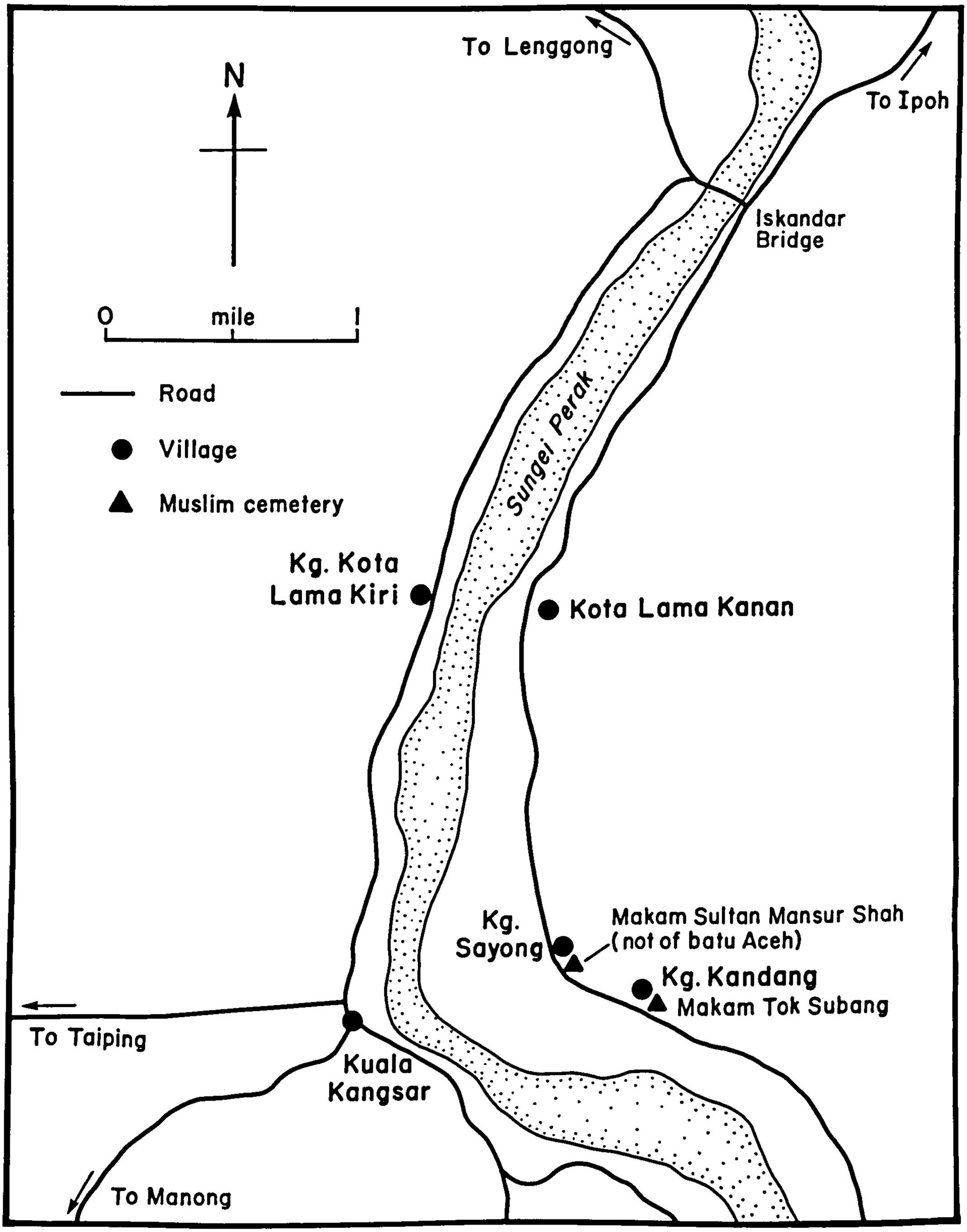
References : Winstedt, 1920

Husain bin Mahmud, 1970

Halim, 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1976; 1982d

Map18 LOCATIONS OF MAKAM SULTAN MANSUR SHAH AND MAKAM TOK SUBANG, SAYONG, KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK



# APPENDIX 30

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK2 MAKAM TOK SUBANG, Kampung Kandang, Kota Lama Kanan, Kuala Kangsar, PERAK. (Map 18).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Isolated example in a Malay village, to the right of the village mosque, near Kampung Sayong, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river, about 8 kilometres east of Kuala Kangsar.

Site history : Known to the Muzium Negara in 1977. Halim and Othman went to investigate the site in August/September 1977. In 1979, the Muzium Negara fenced the site and declared it as an Ancient Monument and Historical Site under the Antiquities Act, 1976.

Documentation : Illustration in Halim (1981), and in Othman (1982d). Reproduced here, Pl. 54.

Inscriptions : Both elaborate slab form nesans are exquisitely carved and bear inscriptions in Arabic. The inscriptions can be found on all 4 sides of their bodies; on the curly shoulders; inside the 'heart' panels, and on top of the heads. The inscription is a repetition of the Shahadah.

According to local legend (recorded from Jamaluddin bin Abu Bakar, aged 63, in 1977) the stones belong to the

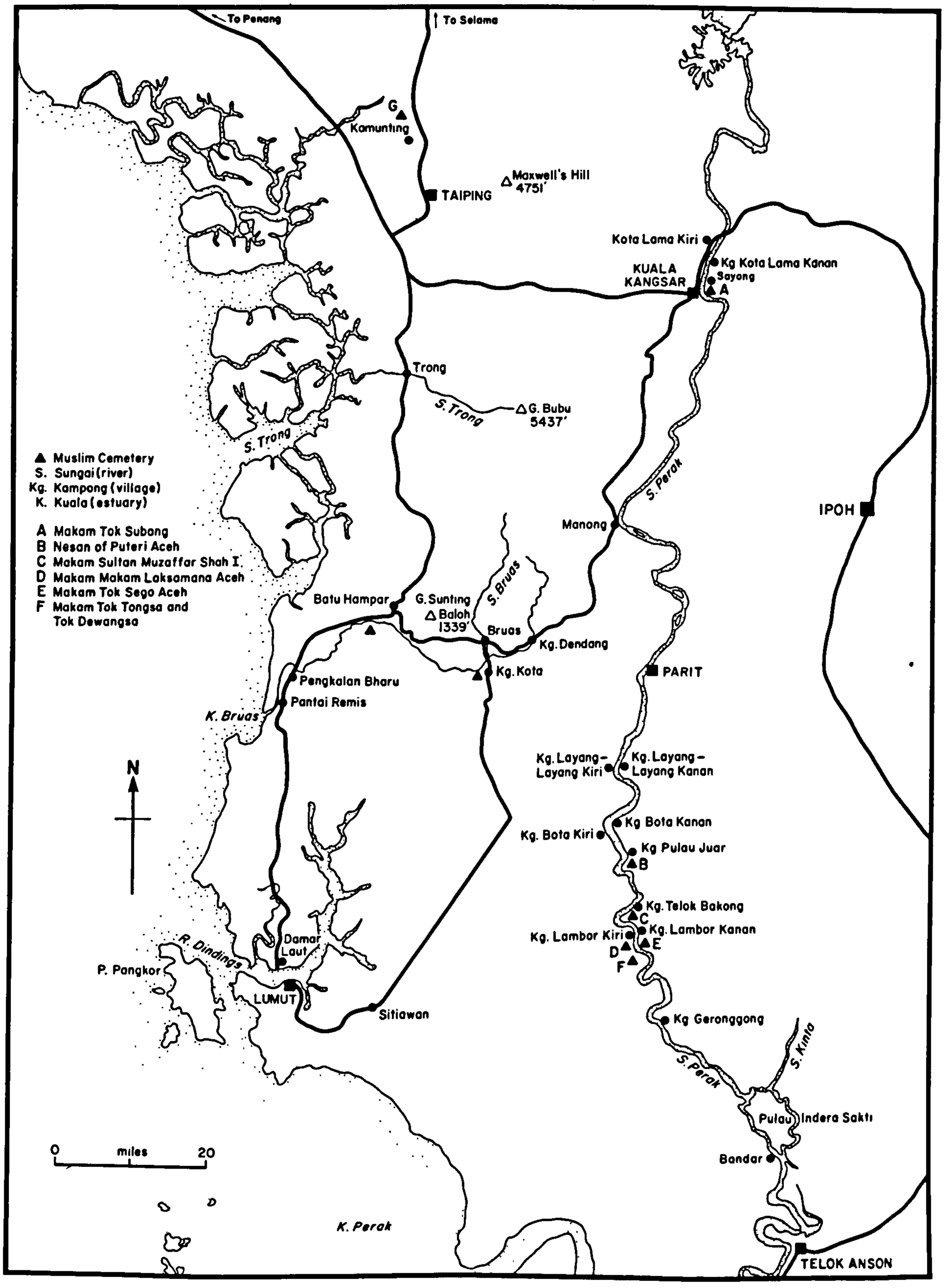
grave of Derma Taksiah, a commoner wife of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I (1528-1549) of Perak. She was executed for adultery, of which she was innocent, at the order of the sultan. When she was stabbed white blood flowed from the wounds. The sultan interprets this as a sign of her innocence. Regretting his harsh action, he ordered her body to be properly buried and marked the grave with a pair of nesans specially ordered from Aceh, similar to those on the graves of the sultan's family. The same, orally conveyed, legend is reproduced in Halim (1981:83).

The local residents regard this grave as a keramat which they call Keramat Tok Subang. Subang (earrings) is associated with a Malay custom called bertindek (ear piercing). However, there are no signs of rosettes on the shoulders of these batu Aceh.

References : Halim, 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

**Map19 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH ALONG THE PERAK RIVER, PERAK**



# APPENDIX 31

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 3 MAKAM SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH I, Telok Bakong, Lambor Kanan, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 4 pairs (see Fig. 26 for site plan).

Description : Othman Type C, D and E, (1 pair of each)

Location : In one of the Perak royal cemeteries, in a Malay village, formerly known as Telok Bakong, which is on the right upstream bank of the Perak river.

Site history : First mentioned by Jeragan Abdul Shukor in 1907, after a survey in 1906 of the graves of all the former sultans of Perak.

Othman's first visit was in 1965 with members of the Historical Society of the Anglo-Chinese School, Sitiawan, Perak. The second, in September 1977, and the last in July 1983. During the last two visits he was accompanied by Halim and the Muzium Negara's photographer.

In 1969, the Muzium Negara fenced the site. In the same year, the Malaysian Historical Society, of which the Director of the Muzium Negara was one of the ex-officio members, decided to erect a memorial board, near the site, to record the site's history for the benefit of the visitors. The Sultan Idris Shah, the 33rd ruler of Perak, performed the unveiling ceremony on Saturday November 1st 1969 (Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1970).

Documentation : Abdul Shukor (1907:97) described the condition of the nesans (no illustration) and recommended future work to be carried out on the site (restoration). Ryan (1955) mentioned the location of the site and provided a map. Illustrations of the memorial unveiling ceremony in 1970 and a general view of the site plus a nesan captioned as the nesan of the consort of the first Sultan of Perak (Pl. 55a) are in Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (1970). The same illustration reproduced in 1974 edition, but was captioned as 'the tomb of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I' (see Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1974:13).

Halim (1981;28) also illustrated a nesan from this site. The same illustration was reproduced in Othman (1982d:79) and is now Pl. 53a below.

Inscriptions : Of the 4 graves on this site (see site sketch plan No. 1-4. Grave no. 3, on the sketch plan, which does not have batu Aceh, is of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I; the nesans on the no. 4 Grave are of Othman Type C (Pl. 53a), i.e., belonging to the wife of the sultan). Grave no. 2 on the sketch plan, belongs to the daughter of the sultan and has slab form nesans (Othman Type E). While the Grave No. 1, near the entrance, is of the sultan's religious teacher, and has a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type D). The above identification of the occupants is based on Abdul Shukor (1907). All the nesans are inscribed in Arabic. A total of 4 panels and 2 'vase' panels each. The inscriptions on the nesans (Pl. 55b & c) are still legible and are the repetition of the Shahadah. The inscription

on the nesans (Pl. 55a) are different from those on Pl. 53b & c, but they are no longer legible. Probably the inscriptions gave the name and date of death.

The stones on the grave of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I are new ones, erected early this century, to replace the original ones which were already broken at the time of Abdul Shukor's visit in 1906. Abdul Shukor suggests that the originals contained inscriptions.

References :

Abdul Shukor, 1907

Ryan, 1955

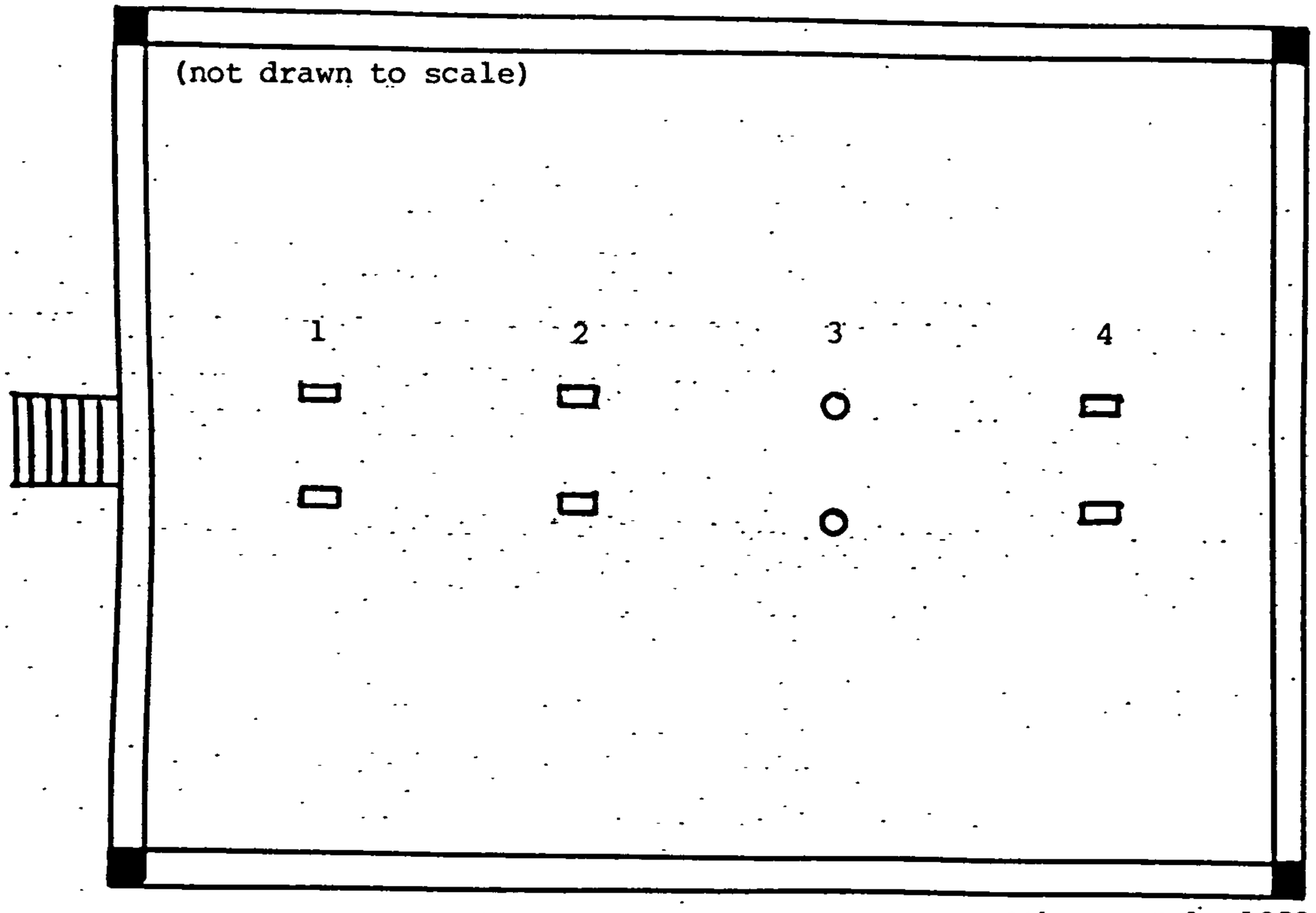
Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1970, 1974

Winstedt and Wilkinson, 1974

Halim, 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

Fig. 26 Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah I, Telok Bakong, Lambor Kanan, Parit, Perak.




Legend

- Slab nesan
- not batu Aceh
- 1 Grave of Syed Hussein, religious teacher
- 2 Grave of the daughter of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I
- 3 Grave of the Sultan
- 4 Grave of his wife

Othman, July 1983

# APPENDIX 32

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 4 MAKAM TOK SEGO ACEH, Kampung Pasir Sena, Lambor Kanan, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : This isolated example on the government reserve land, in a village called Kampung Pasir Sena, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river, about 29 kilometres south of Parit town.

Site history : First brought to the attention of the Muzium Negara in 1976. Halim (1981) went to investigate in 1977 and recommended that the site be fenced. The Muzium Negara did this in 1978 and at the same time declared it as an Ancient Monument and Historical Site under the Antiquities Act, 1976.

Othman visited the site in July 1983 and measured the stones, both being 125cm high, the square body is 30 x 30cm wide, and the square base is 44 x 44cm wide (Pl. 56). The stones are of a fine-grained sandstone and in north-south orientation.

Documentation : Illustration of one of the stones (believed to be the footstone) in Halim (1981:87). Also in Othman Mohd. Yatim 1982d, Fig. top (right) on page 79.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the bodies of the pillar form nesans (Othman Type G) bear the same inscriptions, inscribed in three lines each. The inscription is a repetition of the Shahadah.

The local tradition (Halim, pers. comm. & 1981) attributes the stones as belonging to the grave of one Tok Sego, and Acehnese Chieftain (Orang Besar Aceh) during the Acehnese period in Perak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

References : Halim, N.A., 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

# APPENDIX 33

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 5 MAKAM LAKSAMANA ACEH, Kampung Pulau, Kampung Lambor Kiri, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 4 pairs (see Fig. 27 for site plan).

Description : Othman Type C (2 pairs), H (2 pairs).

Location : The site, containing only these isolated examples at Kampung Pulau, near Kampung Lambor Kiri, on the left upstream bank of the Perak river.

Site history : Brought to the attention of the Muzium Negara in 1976. Halim visited the site in 1977. It is now preserved by the Muzium Negara by fencing it and declaring it an Ancient Monument and Historical Site under the Antiquities Act, 1976.

The site is on the land belonging to Malek bin Dolek. It contains 2 pairs of pillar form nesans (Othman Type H) and 2 pairs of slab form nesans (slight variations of Othman Type C). Some are in poor condition. Of the first pair (Pl. 57b), only the footstone is still intact, the headstone has been severely damaged, (Pl. 57c). The footstone measures 130cm high, the overhanged 'square shoulders' (Fig. 56), 52 x 52cm, and the square base is 48 x 48cm. On the left of this stone - no. 2 on the sketch plan, is another pair of pillar form nesans, but slightly smaller than the ones on the grave no. 1, but

both are badly damaged.

The 2 graves (no. 3 and 4 on the sketch plan) on the extreme left of the site, are of slab form nesans (slight variation of Othman Type C). The pair on the grave no. 3 are identical and in almost perfect condition, both the nesans measure 60cm high, 40cm wide from each end of the curly shoulders, and 18cm thick. The other pair, on the grave no. 4 (Pl. 58c) are also identical but the upper part of the footstone has been broken and is now missing. All of them are of fine-grained sandstone and in north-south orientation.

Documentation : Illustration in Halim (1981:85).

Inscriptions : All 4 pairs appear to have inscriptions on all 4 sides of their bodies, plus 4 'oval' panels. Of the inscriptions on both stones on grave no. 1 (Pl. 58b,c), only the word الله (Allah) is visible, the remaining inscriptions are illegible, so too with the nesans on the grave no. 2. The inscriptions on the nesans of both graves nos. 3 and 4 appear to be a repetition of the Shahadah, which are still clearly visible.

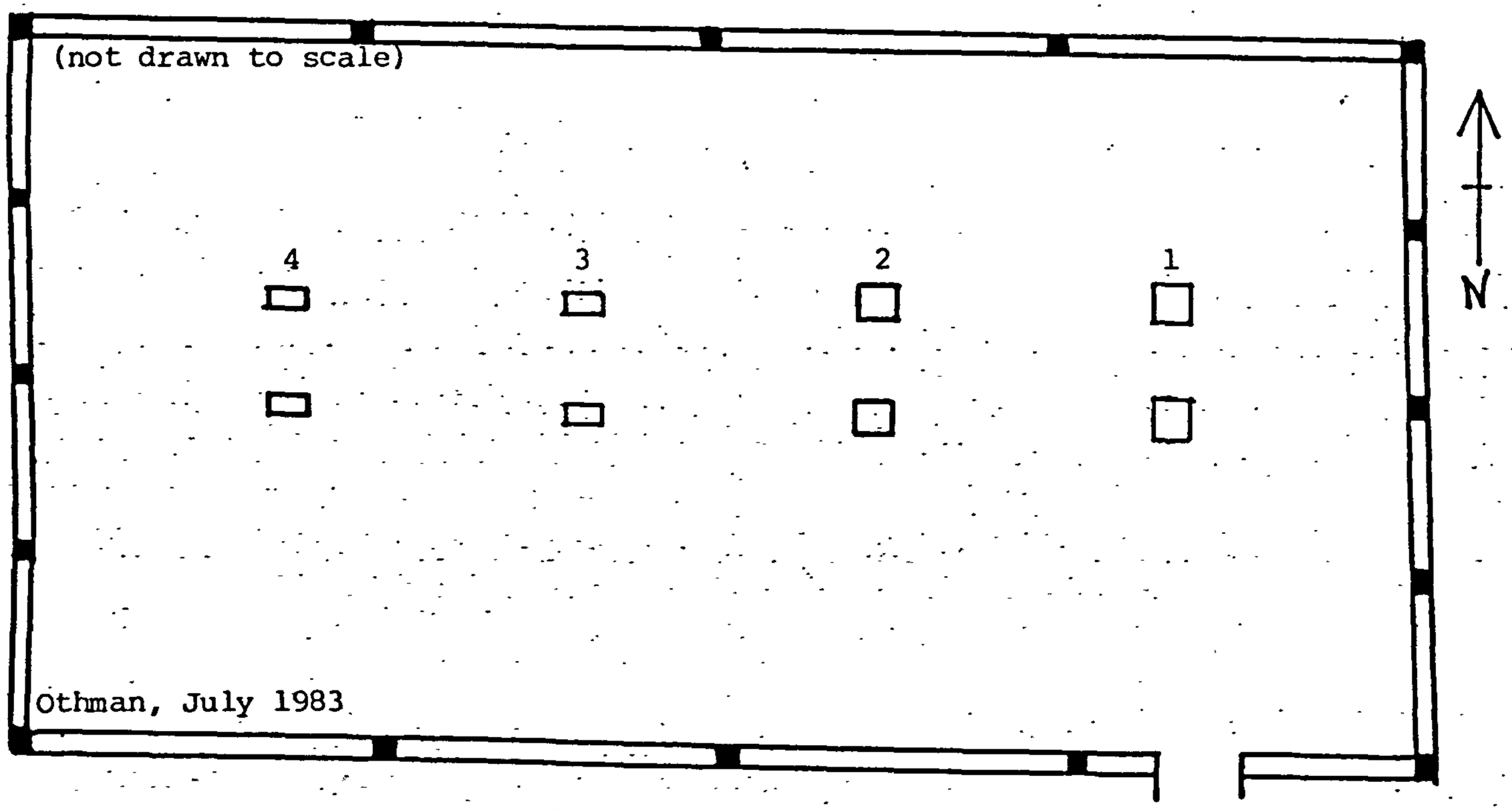
The local tradition (recorded by Halim 1981 from Malek bin Dolek, aged 54) attributes the site as having the graves of a Laksamana of Aceh, his wife, his son and his daughter. This Laksamana was one of the Acehnese Chieftains during their occupation in Perak in the seventeenth century. Halim (1981), however, believes that this Laksamana of Aceh was one of the Acehnese warriors

killed while attacking Perak in 1619 AD, but he did not give his source.

References : Halim, 1981

Malek bin Dolek, interviewed at the site in July 1983

Fig. 27 Makam Laksamana Aceh, Kampung Pulau, Kampung Lambor Kiri, Parit, Perak



# APPENDIX 34

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 6 MAKAM TOK TONGSA, Kampung Lambor Kiri, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 2 pairs (see Fig. 28 for site plan).

Description : Othman Type H and M.

Location : These isolated examples are near a Malay village, away from the present village graveyard (tanah perkuburan), about half a kilometre south of Kampung Pulau, on the left upstream bank of the Perak river.

Site history : The site which contains two pairs of pillar form nesans (Pl. 59a), was brought to the attention of the Muzium Negara by the Ketua Kampung (the village headman) himself (in. litt. 3.6.76) in 1976. Halim and Othman investigated the site (1977, unpublished). In 1979 the Muzium Negara fenced the site.

The first pair, on the left of the site, is of pillar form nesans (Othman Type M), see Pl. 59b, both are identical and measure 58cm high. The upper part is in the shape of what the local people call "tampok manggis" (mangoesteen calyx), and between the lower part of the body and the base are 8 'vase' panels. Of the second pair only the headstone of Othman Type H remains (Pl. 59c).

The local tradition (Malek bin Dolek, aged 56, interview

in July 1983) indicates that the stones belong to the graves of Tok Tongsa and his assistant (name unknown). Both of them were the followers of Laksamana Aceh (described above in Appendix 33).

References : Malek bin Dolek, interviewed at the site in July 1983.

Halim, 1981

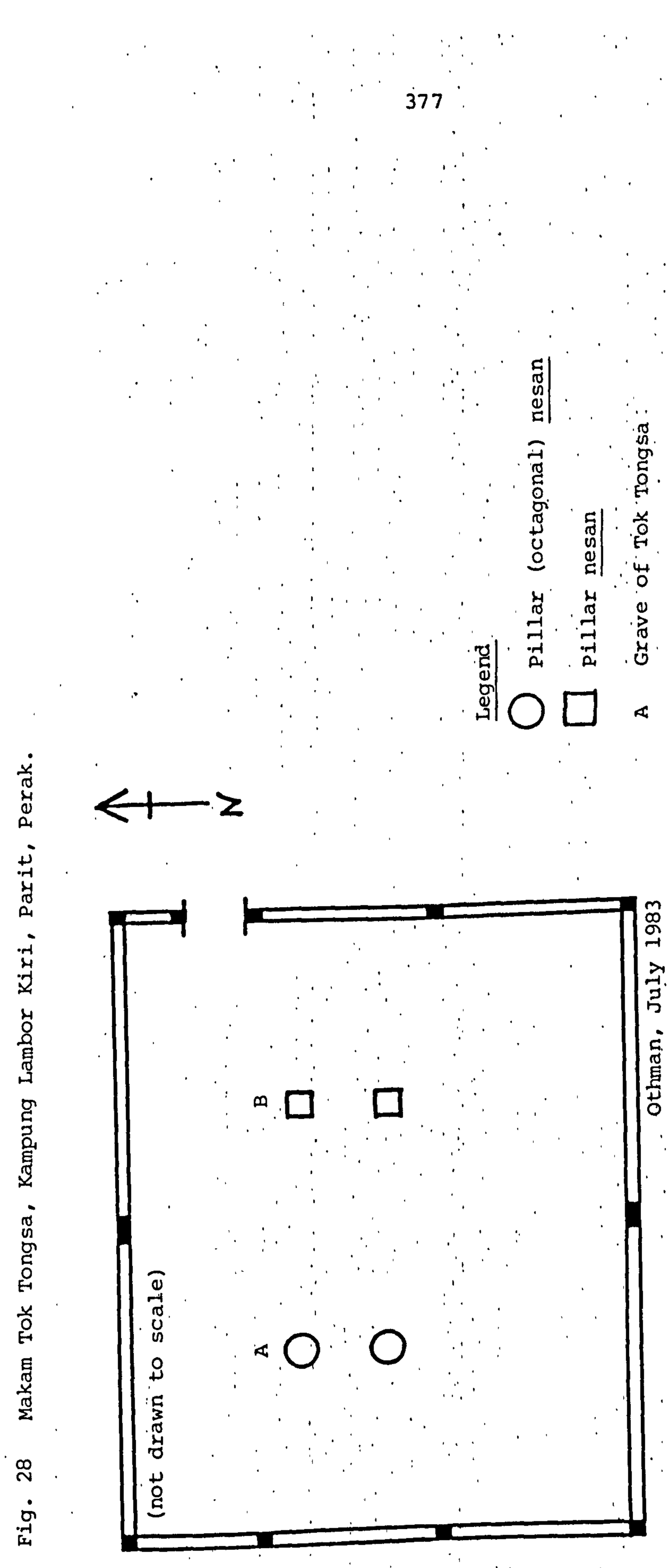



Fig. 28 Makam Tok Tongsa, Kampung Lambor Kiri, Parit, Perak.

# APPENDIX 35

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 7 MAKAM TOK DEWANGSA, Kampung Lambor Kiri, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type K, see Pl. 59d.

Location : Isolated example located away from the present village graveyard (tanah perkuburan), near the abandoned Malay school, in a village called Kampung Lambor Kiri, on the left upstream bank of the Perak river, about 500 metres from the Makam Tok Tongsa.

Site history : The site contains a pair of pillar form nesans (Othman Type K). Both are identical, of sandstone, and measure 51cm high. The site was brought to Othman's and Halim's attention while they were investigating Makam Tok Tongsa in September 1977. The Muzium Negara fenced the site in 1979.

According to the local tradition (Malek bin Dolek, aged 56), the grave belongs to Tok Dewangsa, the younger brother of Tok Tongsa (Appendix 34).

References : Halim and Othman, 1977, unpublished

Malek bin Dolek, interviewed in July 1983.

# APPENDIX 36

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 8 BATU NESAN OF PUTERI ACEH, Kampung Pulau Juar, Bota Kanan, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 stone.

Description : Othman Type N.

Location : This single specimen is behind the house belonging to Adam bin Kadir, at Kampung Pulau Juar, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river.

Site history : This site is not the original site of the nesan, for it was discovered (year unknown) accidently by the villagers beside the Perak river during the dry season. Later it was re-erected at its present site, about 100 metres from the place where it was re-discovered (source: Adam bin Kadir, interviewed in July 1983).

Halim (1981) first visited the site in 1977 and recommended that the site be fenced. The Muzium Negara fenced the site in 1979.

On the site is one stone (Othman Type N), of fine-grained sandstone (Pl. 60). It measures 85cm high, the width of its curly shoulders is 38cm, and 20cm in thickness.

Documentation : Illustration in Halim (1981:89), also in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d) Fig. on page 79 (bottom left).

The local name of this 'grave' is Makam Puteri Aceh.

According to local tradition (Halim 1981 as told by Adam bin Kadir to him earlier, and reported to Othman in July 1983) Puteri Aceh (Acehnese Princess) was of a legendary figure who stabbed herself to death on learning of a rumour that her husband who went to Aceh to trade had married an Acehnese girl. The news of her tragic death reached her husband and, before returning to Perak, he bought a pair of batu Aceh and erected them on her grave.

References : Halim, 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1976, 1982d

Adam bin Kadir, interviewed at the site in July 1983

# APPENDIX 37

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 9 KERAMAT SERI BENIAN, Batu Hampar, Lumut, PERAK. (Map 17).

Quantity : 1 stone.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : This isolated example is on top of a low hill, near the junction of the Rotan stream and the Bruas river; at Kilometres 26 on the left side of the trunk road from Batu Hampar to Pengkalan Baru.

Site history : First reported by Linehan (1951b) following a visit in 1950. The slab form nesan (Othman Type C), is of sandstone and lay half-embedded in the ground. The face of the stone was orientated north (Linehan 1951b). The stone measures 52cm high and the width of its curly shoulders 25cm. Halim visited the site in 1976. Between Linehan's visit in 1950 and Halim's visit in 1976, the villagers had fenced the site, for they regard the grave as a keramat. Some Chinese (names unknown) who after winning the State Lottery in 1972, and honouring an earlier vow, paid for the fencing and reroofing the keramat (Halim, pers. comm).

During Othman's visit in July 1983, he discovered that the left curly shoulder of the nesan had been broken off.

Documentation : Sketch of the stone in Linehan (1951b) (see Fig. 29) and in Wilder (1978). Illustration

in Othman (1976) and in Halim (1981:75).

Inscriptions : When it was first discovered by Linehan in 1950, it appeared to bear inscriptions in Arabic. It did not contain the name of deceased or date of death but a repetition of the Shahadah. Linehan (1951b). When Othman visited in July 1983 the inscriptions were no longer legible.

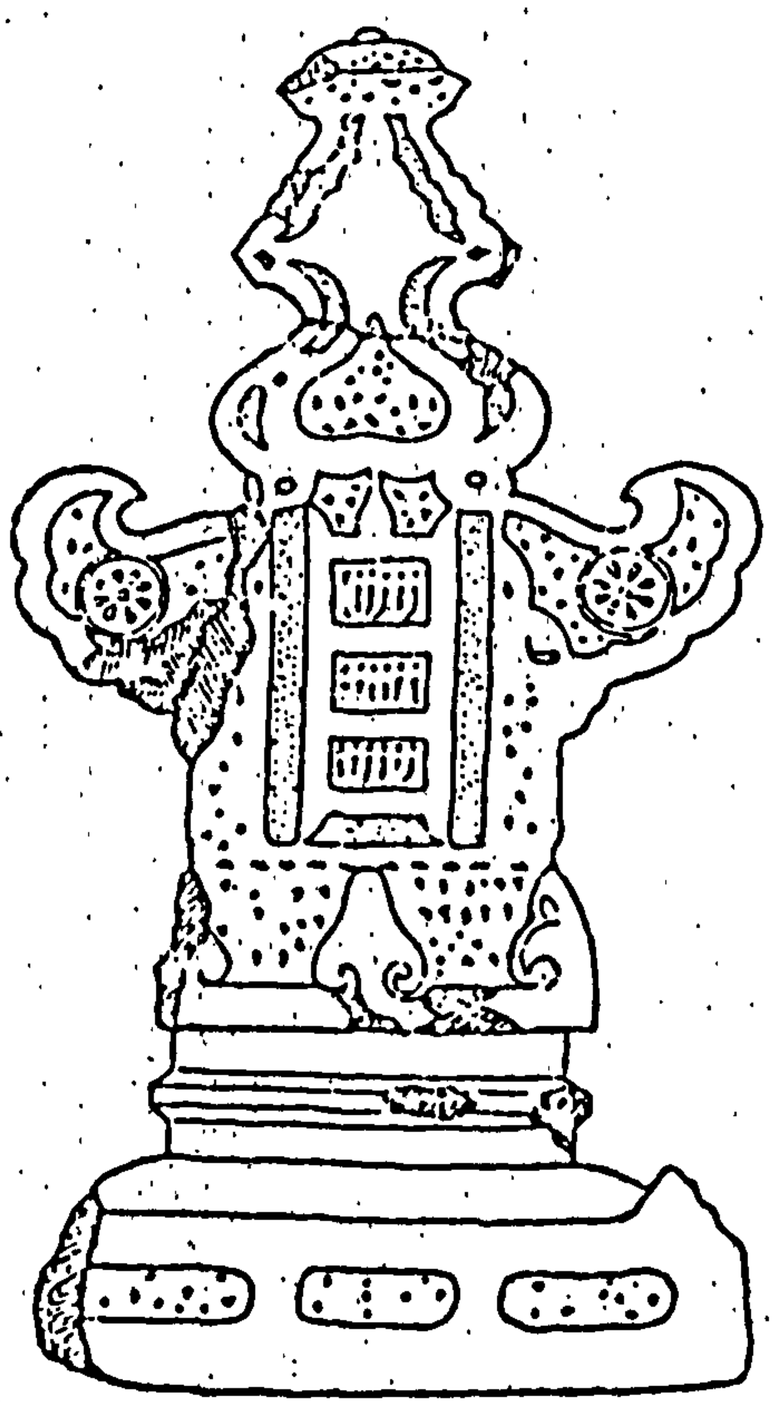
Seri Benian was a legendary Queen of Bentan mentioned in the Sejarah Melayu, Raffles 18 version (see Winstedt, 1938:22). However, the local residents, according to Halim (1981) simply regard the nesan as belonging to the grave of a woman named Seri Banim.

References : Linehan, 1951b

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1976

Halim, 1981

Fig. 29 Sketch of Keramat Seri Benian, Batu Hampar, Perak



Keramat Seri Benian, gravestone found near Batu Hampar, Perak, 1950. Sketch published by W Linehan (1951). Maximum breadth 10in. (25.5cm).

(from Wilder 1978).

# APPENDIX 38

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 10 MAKAM SULTAN AHAMAD TAJUDDIN SHAH (1577-1584), Kampung Geronggong, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Type unknown - stones no longer extant.

Location : This isolated example was located in a Malay village, on land belonging to the family of Haji Mohd. Salleh, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river, about 3 kilometres north of Kg. Gajah.

Site history : First reported by Abdul Shukor (1907). The site is the grave of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah, the 3rd Sultan of Perak (d. 1584). The original nesans on this grave, according to Abdul Shukor "were beautifully engraved by Acheen [Acehnese] people".

The present nesans were erected early this century because the original ones were broken and could not be restored (Abdul Shukor, 1907:93).

Documentation : Illustration of the present nesans in Halim (1981:29).

Inscription : Unknown.

References : Abdul Shukor, Jeragan, 1907

Halim, 1981

# APPENDIX 39

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 11 MAKAM SULTAN MUHAMMAD ISKANDAR SHAH, Kampung Geronggong, Parit, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Unknown - stones no longer extant.

Location : This isolated example was located in a Malay village, on the land belonging to the late Haji Mohd. Salleh, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river, about 3 kilometres north of Kampung Gajah, situated about 30 metres from the grave of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah (Appendix 38).

Site history : First reported by Abdul Shukor (1907:100). The nesans on this grave are not the original ones, they replaced the originals which were already broken at the time of Abdul Shukor's visit in 1906. He indicated that the original stones were beautifully engraved.

Documentation : Illustration of the site with the new nesans in Halim (1981:38).

Inscriptions : The original nesans would be been inscribed ones as indicated by Abdul Shukor (1907).

References : Abdul Shukor, Jeragan, 1907

Wilkinson, 1920

Halim, 1981

# APPENDIX 40

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 12 MAKAM SULTAN ISKANDAR ZULKARNAIN, Pulau Indera Sakti, Bandar, Telok Anson, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Unknown - stones no longer extant.

Location : This isolated example was located at Pulau Indera Sakti, now an abandoned Malay village on the land still belonging to the family of the late Haji Muhammad Taib, about 9 kilometres north of Telok Anson (now Telok Intan) town.

Site history : First reported by Abdul Shukor (1907). According to him the site is the grave of Sultan Iskandar Zulkurnain (1754-1764), the 15th Sultan of Perak.

The nesans on this grave were probably of batu Aceh as indicated by Abdul Shukor, but they are no longer there having been replaced with new ones during early this century because the original ones were broken (Abdul Shukor, 1907:101).

Documentation : Illustration of the site after it had been fenced and restored by the Muzium Negara in Halim (1981:43).

Inscriptions : Unknown.

References : Abdul Shukor, Jeragan, 1907

Halim, 1981

# APPENDIX 41

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 13 MAKAM SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH (1764-1773), Pulau Besar, Kampung Gajah, Telok Anson, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Unknown - stones no longer extant.

Location : This isolated example was located in the reserve land at Pulau Besar, about 8 kilometres south of Kampung Gajah, on the right upstream bank of the Perak river.

Site history : First reported by Abdul Shukor (1907) following a survey carried out in 1906.

Abdul Shukor indicated that the original nesans on this grave belonging to Sultan Mahmud Shah, the 16th Sultan of Perak, were of batu Aceh. However, since they were broken into many parts, he recommended that they should be replaced with new ones.

Documentation : Illustration of the site in Halim (1981:45).

Inscriptions : No details given.

References : Abdul Shukor, Jeragan, 1907

Halim, 1981

# APPENDIX 42

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 14 MAKAM SULTAN ALAUDDIN MANSOR ISKANDAR MUDA SHAH, Telok Memali, Bandar, Telok Anson, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Unknown - stones no longer extant.

Location : This isolated example was located at Telok Memali, an abandoned Malay village, near Bandar, about 9 kilometres south of Telok Anson (now Telok Intan).

Site history : First reported by Abdul Shukor (1907), following his survey of the graveyards of the former Sultans of Perak. According to him the site is the grave of Sultan Alauddin Mansor Iskandar Muda Shah (1773-1786), the 17th Sultan of Perak.

The former nesans on this grave, as indicated by Abdul Shukor, were of batu Aceh, but they were already badly damaged at the time of his visit and, following his recommendation, they were replaced by the present ones.

Documentation : Illustration of the site in Halim (1981:46).

Inscriptions : Unknown, Abdul Shukor did not give detailed information.

References : Abdul Shukor, Jeragan, 1907

Halim, 1981

APPENDIX 43

Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 15 KERAMAT TOK BIDAN SUSU LANJUT, Kemunting, Taiping, PERAK. (Map 19).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type E.

Location : This isolated example is near a Malay village, in Kemunting - a former tin mine area, about 8 kilometres south of Taiping town.

Site history : First reported by Maxwell (1878), following its discovery by the workers of the Menteri of Perak (one of the traditional and territorial Chiefs of Perak) during road construction in Kemunting (Maxwell 1878:237).

The site contains a grave with a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type E). At the time of discovery in 1878, the stones of sandstone, were in north-south orientation, both are identical and measure 63cm high, 23cm wide and 18cm in thickness. The grave which had been fenced off and cared for by the owner of the local tin mine was regarded by the local people as a keramat. The nesans were demolished by the local religious authority, who considered a visit to a keramat as idolatry, in early January 1985 (Berita Minggu, 6 January 1985).

Documentation : Maxwell (1878) stated that a tracing of the

decoration on the nésans is in the Raffles Library in Singapore. This site is listed as keramat no. 21 in Winstedt (1924:271) but gave no illustrations.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of both stones bear inscriptions in Arabic. The local residents told Maxwell that the inscriptions are the Shahadah (Maxwell 1878).

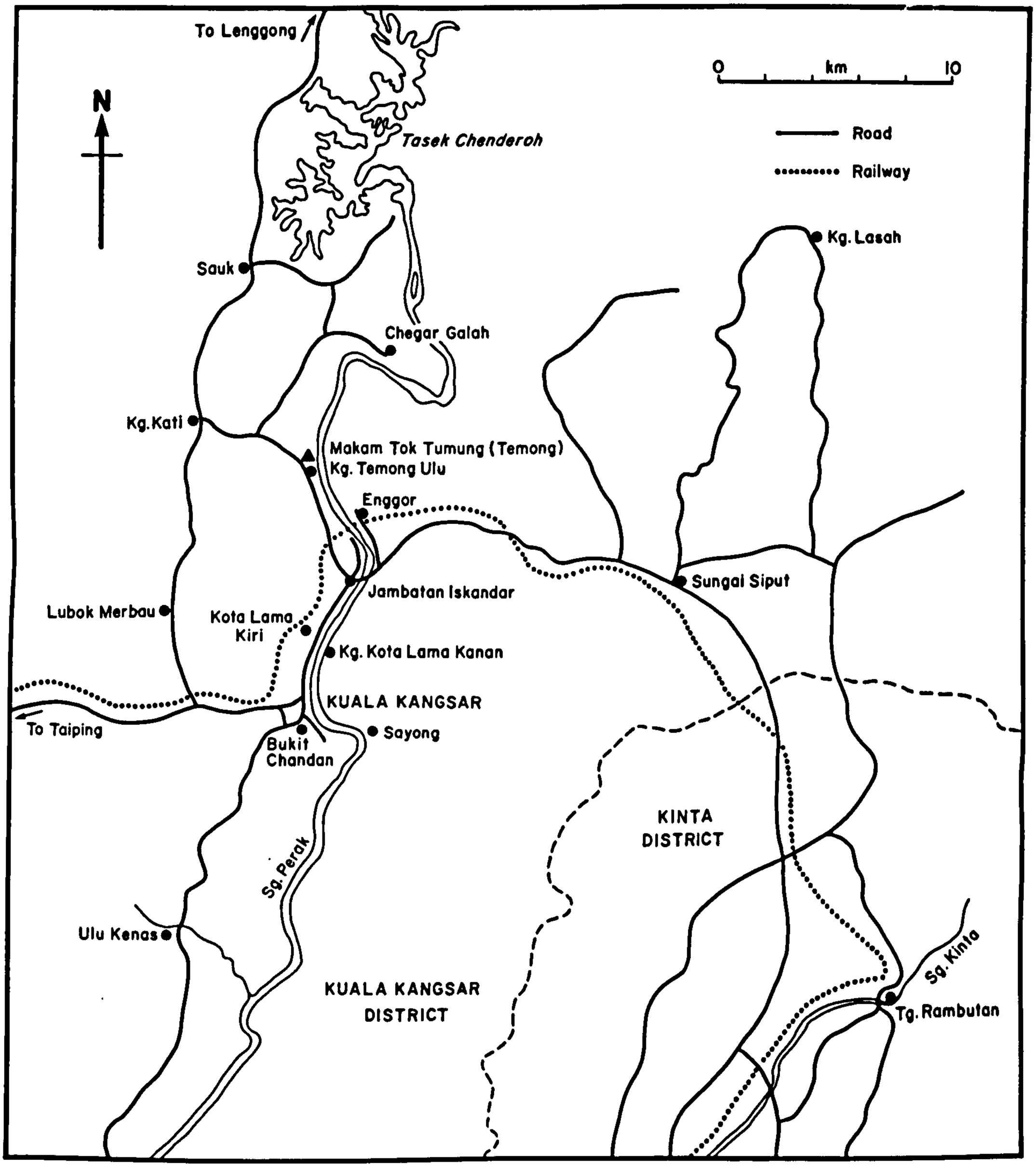
The local tradition (recorded in Maxwell 1878) attributed the grave as that of a respected Acehnese lady, a midwife and medicine-woman. Winstedt (1924:271) mentioned that the keramat (Pl. 61) was famous among childless couples seeking offspring.

References : Maxwell, 1878

Winstedt, 1924

Berita Minggu, 6 January 1985

Map 20 LOCATION OF MAKAM TOK TUMUNG(TEMONG),KAMPONG TEMONG ULU, KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK



# APPENDIX 44

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PK 16 MAKAM TOK TUMUNG (TEMONG), Kampung Temong Ulu, Kuala Kangsar, PERAK. (Map 20).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type D.

Location : This isolated example is near a Malay village - Kampung Temong Ulu, about 11 kilometres north of Kuala Kangsar town. Located on the western bank of the Perak river.

Site history : Reported in Sir Hugh Low's diary of 1877. Low and Maxwell visited Temong on 30 April 1877 where they saw this grave. Low gave the following accounts of the grave, he said "at Tumung visited the grave of the Datu, who is said to have been the originator of the royalty of Perak. She is said to have been a woman who sprang from the froth of the river. The grave is simple enough, having a headstone of lightish coloured rock which looks like some form of basalt and it is not the rock of this country" (Sadka, 1954:46).

Halim (pers. comm:, 1981) visited the site in June 1980 and discovered that only the headstone remains but the 'head' was missing; however, traces of the footstone are still visible (see Pl. 62).

Documentation : Illustration in Halim (1981:79).

Inscriptions : Of the headstone, Low remarked that "there are carved panels upon it, apparently intended to imitate verse of the Koran in the florid character, but they represent nothing" (Sadka, 1954:46). But from the photograph I was able to recognise the inscription; it is a repetition of the Shahadah, (see thesis, Chapter 4).

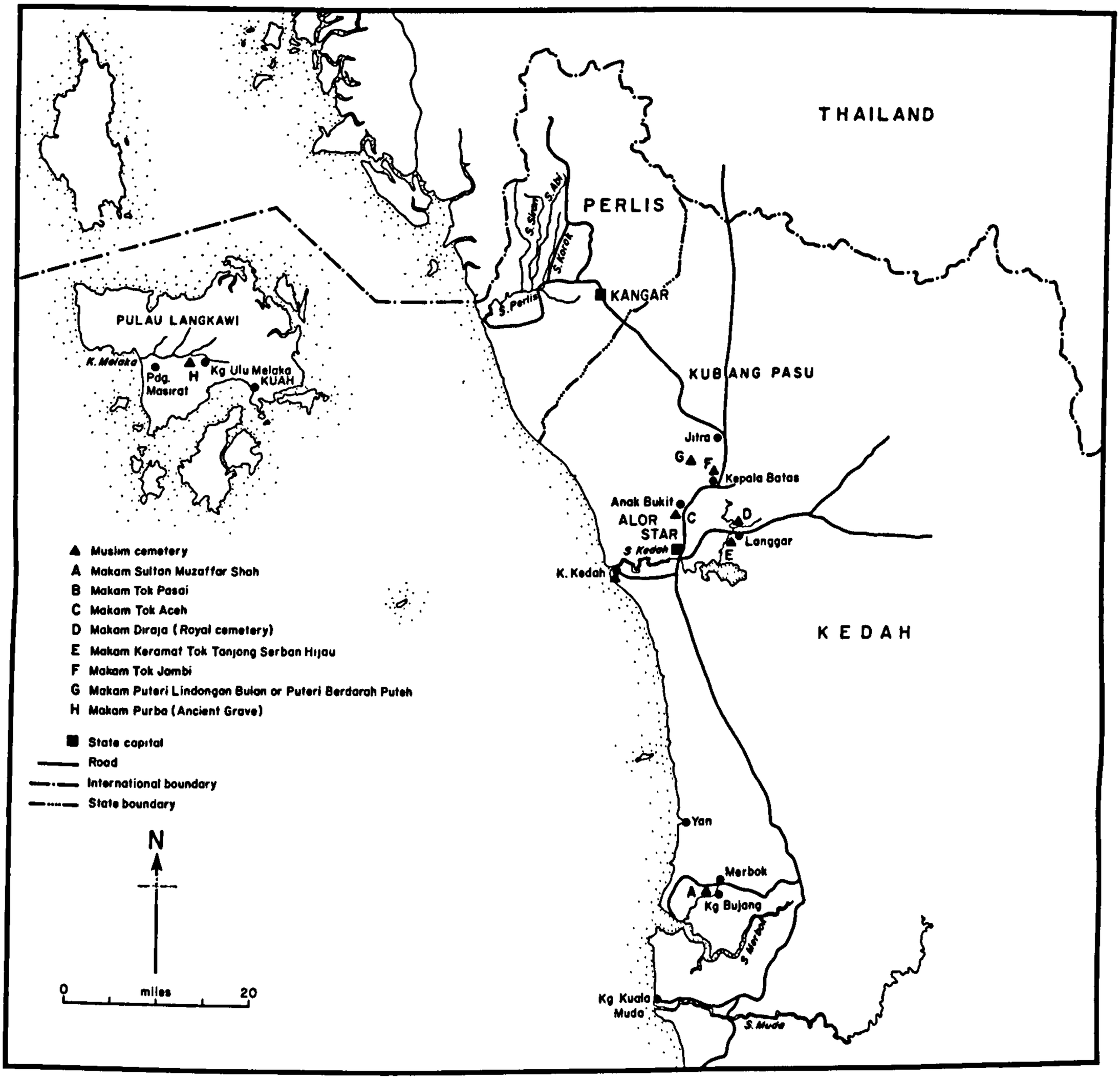
The local tradition (recorded in Maxwell 1882, reprinted in Winstedt & Wilkinson 1974) attributes the site as having the grave of Tok Temong, a Semang (aborigine) lady in whose veins white blood flowed. She married Nakhoda Kasim, a trader, who was despatched from Johore Lama to look for new lands for the Melaka people in exile. The couple had no children of their own but adopted a girl, discovered in a mound of foam by the river bank, and a boy who sprang from the stem of a bamboo. These adopted children later married. The adopted daughter, Tan Puteh, assumed the government of Perak until Nakhoda Kasim, on his deathbed, persuaded her to invite a Raja from Johore to come and rule Perak. This Raja, afterwards known as Sultan Ahmad Taj-Uddin Shah, traced his descent from the god-kings of Menangkabau. It was his successor who fixed the boundaries of Perak and gave the state its name.

References : Maxwell (1882, reprinted in Winstedt and Wilkinson 1974)

Sadka, 1954

Halim, 1981

Map 21 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH IN THE STATE OF KEDAH



# APPENDIX 45

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 1 MAKAM SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH, Kampung Bujang, Merbok, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 4 pairs (see Fig. 30 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (2 pairs), L (2 pairs).

Location : This site is adjacent to the rubber estate, near a Malay village called Kampung Bujang, on the right upstream bank of the Bujang river, a tributary of the Merbok river, about 4 kilometres east of Merbok town.

Site history : First reported by Evans (1926) following an archaeological expedition to Kedah in the same year.

On a now raised platform are 4 graves, 2 having a pair each of pillar form nesans (Othman Type L), one of which is slightly larger than the other, while the other 2 graves have on them a pair of slab form nesans (slight variation of Othman Type C) or termed by Evans as "Chinese lantern" type. One is slightly bigger than the other.

Other known visitors to the site were members of the Malaysian Historical Society, Kedah Branch in 1962, when they erected a memorial plaque outside the fenced site.

Halim and Othman visited the site twice, first in 1975 and the last was in July 1983. During their last visit they discovered that all the 8 stones were badly damaged.

Many of their broken parts were scattered and littered on the ground.

Documentation : Illustrations of one of the pillar nesans and one of the slab form nesans in Evans (1926), Pl. XIX. Illustrations of the general view of the site and the headstone of Sultan Muzaffar Shah in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1976), Pl. 5 on p. 21. The same illustration is reproduced below as Pl. 63.

The local residents at the time of Evans' visit in 1926 called the site Makam Langgar and they believed the graves belonged to the Raja Bersiong and of Raja of Setul (Evans 1926).

The Malays in Kampung Bujang, Evan's informants believed that the graves were of a Raja, his wife, his son and daughter, based on the shapes and the sizes of the nesans (Evans 1926:79).

The memorial plaque erected by the Malaysian Historical Society, Kedah Branch, records that the graves are of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and his family. Sultan Muzaffar Shah was the first known Muslim ruler of Kedah.

References : Evans, 1926

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1976

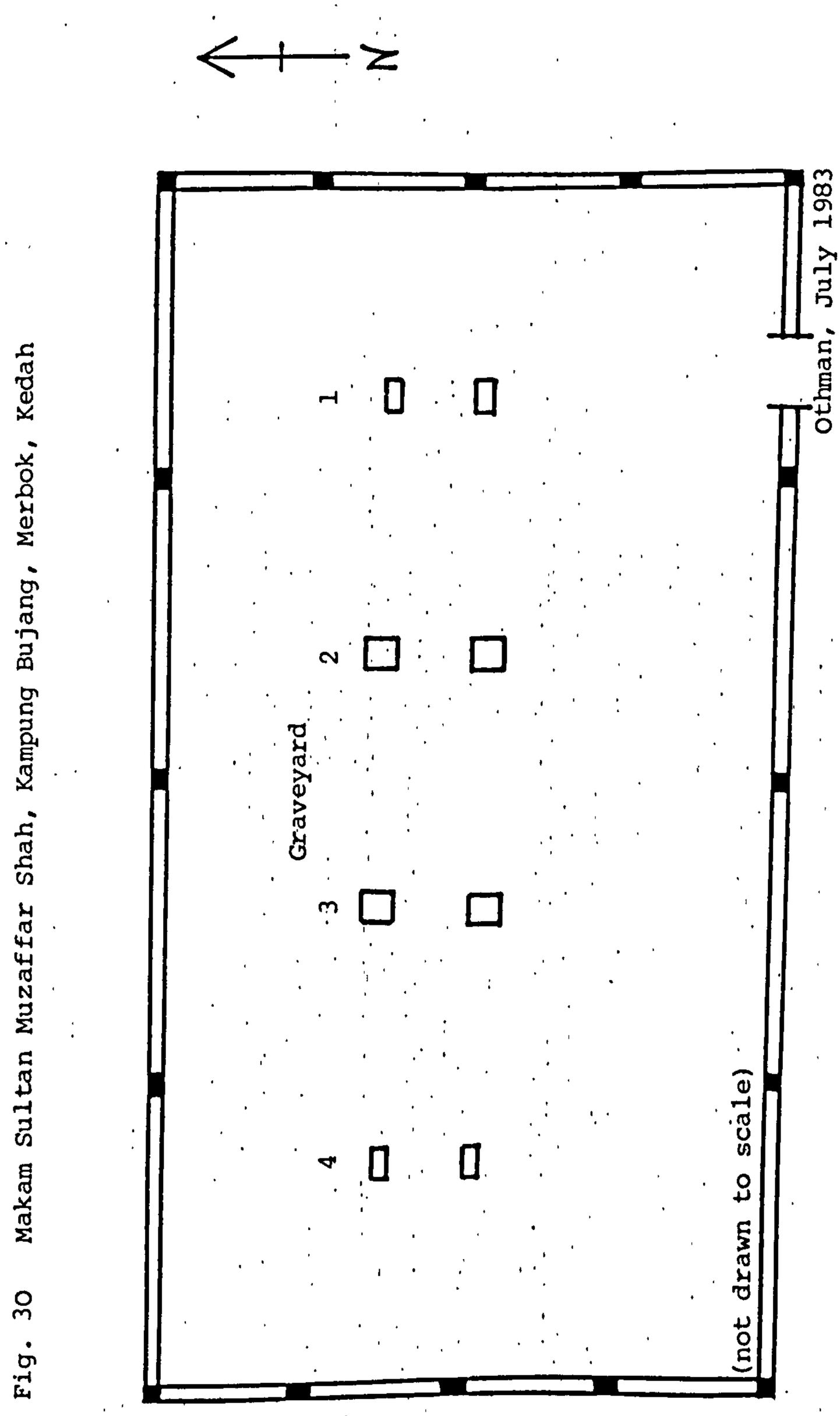



Fig. 30 Makam Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Kampung Bujang, Merbok, Kedah

# APPENDIX 46

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site KH 2 MAKAM TOK PASAI, Kuala Kedah, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type L.

Location : This isolated example is a few metres from the river bank, on the right upstream bank of the Kedah river, about 500 metres north of Kuala Kedah town.

Site history. The site was brought to Halim's attention in 1979 (unpublished), while surveying historical sites in the Kuala Kedah area. Halim revisited the site with Othman in July 1983. In the small graveyard is a pair of pillar form nesans (Othman Type L), in north-south orientation. Only the headstone is still intact. It measures 65cm high, (see Pl. 64).

In September 1983, a journalist named Seman Hussain visited the site and in his report he urged the authorities to take immediate action to preserve the grave. He also gave more information about Tok Pasai which he recorded from an interview with the people there.

Documentation : Illustration of the site in Seman Hussain (1983).

The site is believed by the locals to be the grave of a trader from Pasai named simply Tok Pasai (name derived from his birth place), who traded regularly at Kuala Kedah

(formerly known as Kuala Bahang), he was found dead in his perahu (sailing boat) and the villagers brought his body ashore and buried it at the present site (Seman Hussain, Ku, 1983).

References : Halim, 1979, unpublished

Seman Hussain, Ku, 1983

# APPENDIX 47

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 3 MAKAM TOK ACEH, Anak Bukit, Alor Setar, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 3 pairs (see Fig. 31 for site plan).

Description : Othman Type L (2 pairs), N (1 pair).

Location : Within a village present cemetery, near the house of Haji Mahmud bin Haji Rahman, on the left side of the Alor Setar-Anak Bukit road, approximately 6 kilometres north of Alor Setar town.

Site history : The existence of the site was brought to Halim and Othman's attention in 1977 by a member of staff of the Kedah State Museum when they visited the museum in 1977.

The site is at the right hand corner of the village cemetery, on a small mound under a large banyan tree (Pl. 65a). It consists of 2 graves, one of which has a pair of pillar form nesans (Othman Type L) and the other also in pair but with slab form nesans (Othman Type N). The other pair of pillar form nesans, identical to the ones on the mound, is located below the mound, apparently they fell from their original site when the mound gave way.

In the July 1983 visit Othman observed that the pillar form nesans on the mound had been disturbed, the headstone was no longer in an upright position (Pl. 65a). The footstone is still in good condition and it measures

102cm high. Both the stones were heavily covered with lichen (Pl. 66). Both the head and footstones of the grave below the mound are connected by a flat and oblong carved stone, known to the Acehnese as 'batee badan' or body stone.

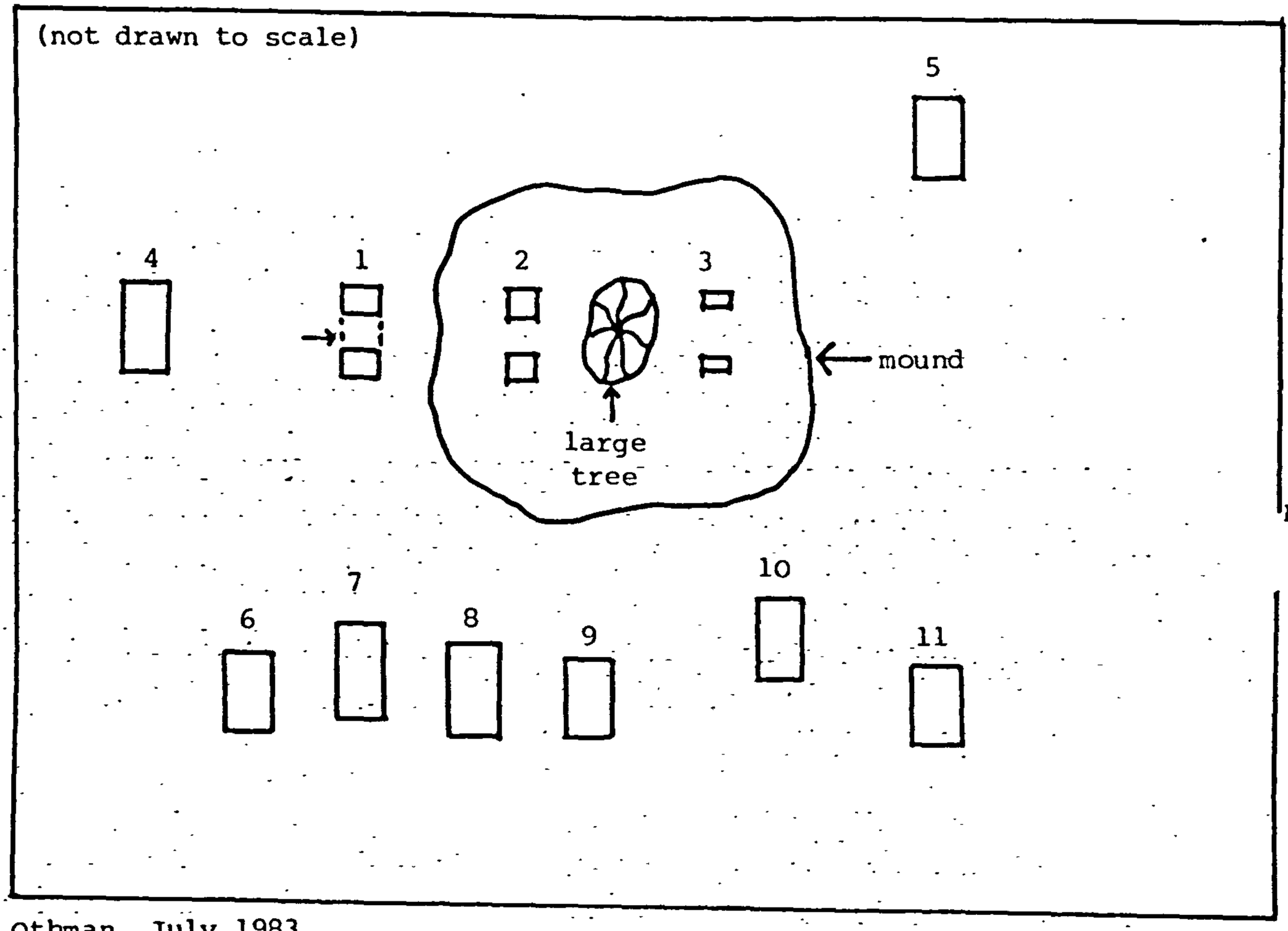
Documentation : Illustrations of the site, plus the nesans in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d Fig. on page 80 and Fig.(top, left). on page 83.

The villagers believe that the graves are of the Acehnese warriors killed in Kedah during one of the Aceh-Kedah wars (Haji Mahmud bin Haji Rahman 1983).

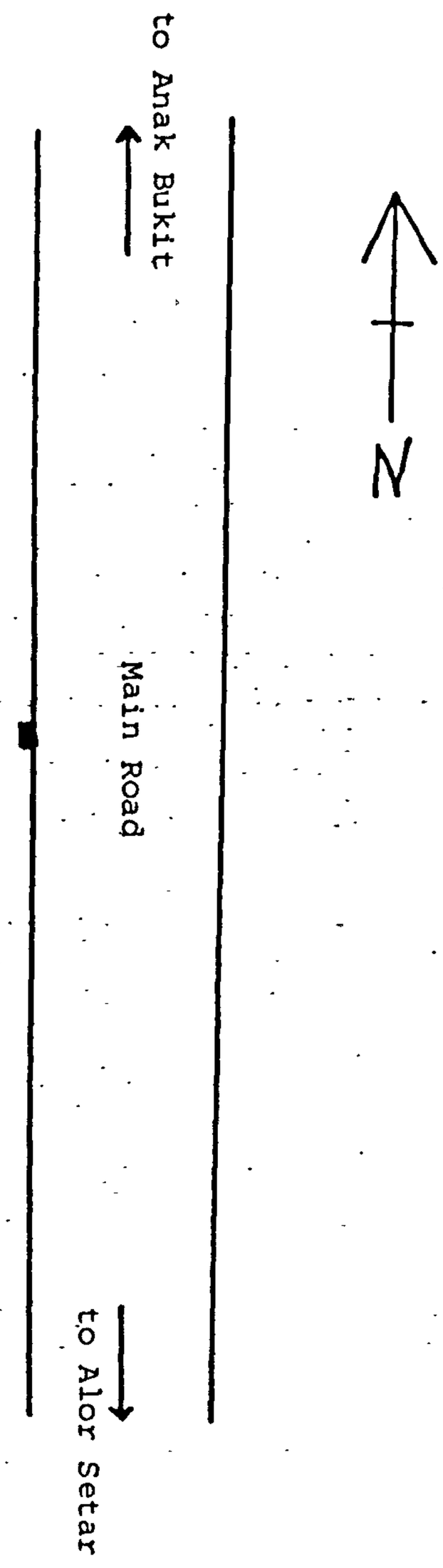
References : Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

Haji Mahmud bin Haji Rahman, interviewed in July 1983

Fig. 31 Makam Tok Aceh, Anak Bukit, Alor Setar, Kedah.




Othman, July 1983




Legend

Slab nesan

Pillar nesan

Graves 1 - 3 Makam Tok Aceh

Graves 4 - 11 are recent

# APPENDIX 48

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 4 MAKAM DIRAJA (ROYAL CEMETERY), Langgar, Alor Setar, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 18 pairs (see Fig. 32 for site plan).

Description : Othman Types C (1 pair), I (2 pairs), J (1 pair), K (2 pairs), L (2 pairs), M (1 pair); N (9 pairs).

Location : On the right upstream bank of Langgar stream, a tributary of the Kedah river, about 8 kilometres east of Alor Setar, on the left hand side of the Alor Setar-Langgar road, about 500 metres west of Langgar town.

Site history : The site is the present burial ground of the Kedah royal family, it was first opened in 1701 AD, on the instructions of Sultan Abdullah Al-Muazzam Shah (Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad 1968:94).

The site is fenced, locked and guarded by 2 Caretakers employed by the State's Religious Department. Permission to visit may be obtained from the Private Secretary to H.H. Sultan of Kedah. Othman and Halim visited the site twice, first in 1975 and the last was in July 1983. Another known visitor to the site was Ahmad Jamal (1981) of the Muzium Seni Asia, University of Malaya.

The site is divided into two halves (see sketch plan), the southernmost half is further sub-divided into 2 parts; the right consisting of 18 graves, each having a pair of

batu Aceh of various shapes and sizes, plus 5 more graves not using batu Aceh as their markers. The other part on the left, contains graves of the late sultans and other Kedah nobility but their graves were not marked with batu Aceh. The other half of the site, near the entrance, consists of the royal graves of the late sultans of Kedah and members of their families, including the present dynasty. The site, where all the batu Aceh are now located, is probably a restored site (see Pl. 67a). There is a reference in Al-Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah by Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad (1968:94) which records the instruction from Sultan Al-Muazzam Shah in 1701 AD that the graves of all the former sultans of Kedah and their families, which were then presumably scattered all over Kedah, be assembled in this cemetery. Each of the graves is mounted on a raised brick platform; the platforms are probably of the eighteenth century, although most of the nesans, I believe, are of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from their shapes and the type of bricks used for the platforms.

Documentation : Mentioned by Ahmad Jamal (1981) but he did not give any illustrations.

Inscriptions : The headstones of two pillar form nesans (Pl. 69b) bear inscriptions in Arabic. The one in Pl. 69a are inscribed on all the 8 panel-texts in 4 horizontal lines, while the other (not illustrated) is also inscribed on all the 8 panels, but the inscriptions are inscribed vertically (Pl. 19b). The inscriptions in Pl. 69b are in a

'flowering' pattern and were taken from the Koran (2:255 - Surah al-Kursi or 'Verse of the Throne'.

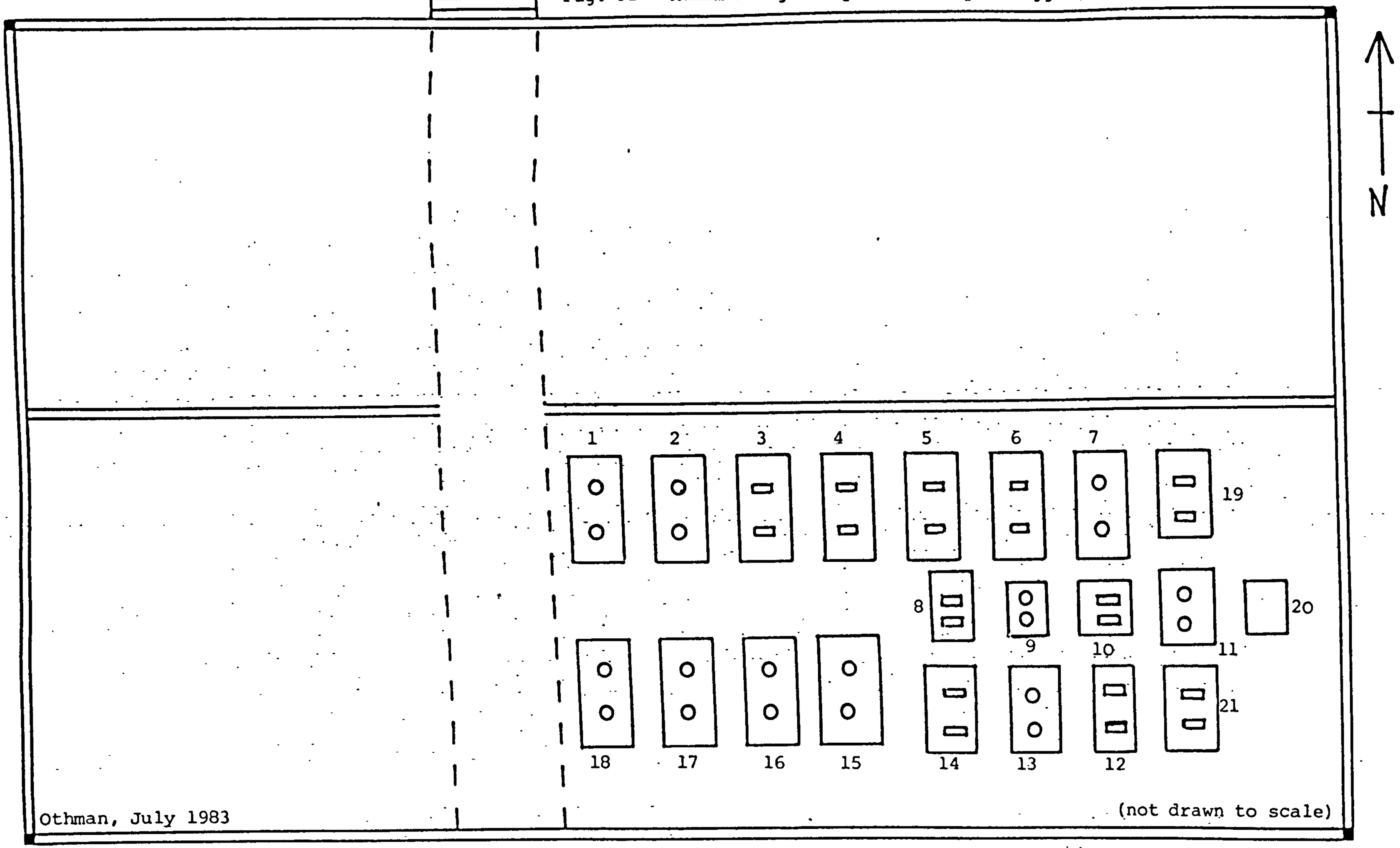
Of the 10 pairs of slab form nesans, only one pair is inscribed with Arabic inscription (Pl. 67b). The inscription is on 4 sides of the body and on both sides of the curly shoulders, and it is a repetition of the Shahadah.

References : Muhammad Hassan bin Dato' Kerani Muhammad Arshad, 1968

Ahmad Jamal, Syed, 1981

Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1982d

Fig. 32 Makam Diraja (Royal Cemetery) Langgar, Alor Setar, Kedah.




Legend

Slab nesan

Pillar nesan

19 - 21 not batu Aceh

# APPENDIX 49

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 5 MAKAM KERAMAT TOK TANJONG SERBAN HIJAU (SHEIKH ABDUL KADIR), Tanjong Inggeris, Langgar KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type I.

Location : Within a cemetery which is currently in use, near a Malay village, on the right upstream bank of Langgar stream, a tributary of the Kedah river, about 1 kilometre south of the Royal Cemetery.

Site history : The site was discovered by the villagers in the early 1960s while digging into the mound on the edge of the north side of the cemetery with the intention of flattening the ground. In the mound they discovered a pair of pillar form nesans (Othman Type I) still intact (Mansor Tobeng 1965).

First reported by Mansor Tobeng (1965) following an interview with Cikgu Ismail bin Salleh, then a Senior History Teacher of the Sultan Abdul Halim School in Jitra, Kedah, who had earlier visited the site together with members of the School's Historical Society.

Halim visited the site in 1979 and the last visit was with Othman in July 1983.

Documentation : Illustrations of the site and the footstone of the grave in Mansor Tobeng (1965:33).

Inscriptions : All the 8 sides of the footstone have Arabic inscriptions, i.e., the Shahadah. On one of the panels of the head-stone are 2 lines of Arabic inscriptions, deciphered by Cikgu Ismail bin Salleh as شيخ عبد القادر ابن حسين شاه اليرح which he translates as "Sheikh Abdul Kadir Ibn Hussain Shah Al-Yarah". On the other panel he deciphered the date "291 Hegira", which is equivalent to 904 AD, (Mansor Tobeng 1965).

During the visit of Othman and Halim in July 1983, they discovered that the inscriptions already had badly deteriorated and were no longer legible. But the inscriptions on the nesan in a photograph accompanying Mansor Tobeng's article, appears to me to be as follows:

شيخ عبد الله ابن له علم..(؟)

or "Sheikh Abdullah Ibn Lah Alam ...(?)"

I notice, again from the photograph, that there are three small dots before the figures "٢٩١" (291). It could be part of any figures. The year 904 AD, in my opinion, is too early for batu Aceh, for they only appeared in the late 13th century (e.g., Gravestone of Sultan Malik al-Salleh (d. 1297) of Pasai).

I think the stone may be of an 18th century date for reasons that, firstly, about 1 kilometre north of this site there is a Royal Cemetery which was opened in 1701 AD

and the cemetery contains a number of graves erected with the same type of nesans as the present ones. Secondly, the present nesan is of the type which was found in great quantities in Aceh, dating from the 18th century, of which I have seen examples in Aceh (September 1983).

The villagers called this site Keramat Tok Tanjong Serban Hijau or 'The Shrine of the Green-Turbaned Saint', so-called because a number of villagers dreamed that they saw a green-turbaned man loitering near the site (Local tradition recorded by Halim in 1979).

References : Mansor Tobeng, 1965

Halim, 1979 unpublished

# APPENDIX 50

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 6 MAKAM TOK JAMBI, Kepala Batas, Alor Setar, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type J.

Location : Isolated example on the road side, at approximately 11 kilometres north of Alor Setar, about 1 kilometre south of Kepala Batas town.

Site history : First brought to Othman's attention by Haji Nasution of Kepala Batas in 1976 when both of them attended a history seminar in Melaka. In 1977, Othman and Halim made a visit to the site and were guided by Haji Nasution.

On the site is a pair of relatively small pillar form nesans (Othman Type J), both were made of sandstone and in north-south alignment. The upper parts of both nesans were already broken at the time of Othman and Halim's visit. But they have been restored by the Muzium Negara. The headstone measures 46 cm high.

According to Haji Nasution (1977), the local residents believe that the grave belongs to a religious teacher from Jambi (name unknown), who came to Kedah in the 18th century, married a local woman and settled down in Kepala Batas. During his life-time he travelled all over the country to propagate the teaching of Islam and was consequently

regarded as a keramat hidup (living saint).

Reference : Haji Nasution, inverviewed in Melaka in December 1976 and in 1977

## APPENDIX 51

### Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site KH 7 MAKAM PUTERI LINDONGAN BULAN or PUTERI BERDARAH PUTEH, Kampung Siputeh, Kubang Pasu, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Isolated example located in secondary jungle, near a Malay village called Kampung Siputeh, approximately 1 kilometre south of Kepala Batas town.

Site history : First reported to Othman in 1975 by the Kedah State Museum, but it was only in 1977 that Othman and Halim were able to visit the site. On this isolated site is a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type C), the headstone is now in the stump of a large tree (Pl. 70b), while the footstone is partly damaged (Pl. 70a) and the right curly shoulder is missing.

Another known visitor to the site was Ishak Mohamad (1984), a journalist from Kuala Lumpur.

Documentation : Illustrations of the site and the nesans in Ishak Mohamad (1984:34).

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the body, plus 2 'heart' panels above the curly shoulders of both stones, bear inscriptions in Arabic, the common inscriptions as on other similar types of tombstones, i.e. a repetition of the Shahadah,

inscribed in 3 horizontal rows.

There are 2 local traditions related to the site, the first collected by Halim and Othman in 1977 and the second collected by Ishak Mohamad. The traditions are almost the same except that the first regards the grave as belonging to a Kedah princess named Puteri Lindongan Bulan, while the second also of a Kedah princess but called Puteri Berdarah Puteh (White-blooded princess).

Both legends mention that the real name of the princess was Tengku Zaleha. She was one of the twin daughters of Sultan Sulaiman. One day while she was peeling off the skin of a mango she cut her finger and white blood issued from the cut. The incident astonished everybody in the palace including the Sultan of Aceh, who was at that time paying the Sultan of Kedah a visit. Considering that she must be an extraordinary princess, the Sultan of Aceh proposed that his son marry her. The proposal was rejected by the princess herself, which angered the Sultan of Aceh, and as a result war broke out between Aceh and Kedah. During the war the Sultan hid the princess in a specially built and covered tunnel (thus depriving her of the moon-light, so she was called Puteri Lindongan Bulan or the princess who was deprived of the moonlight). After a few days of war the Sultan was killed, the princess met a tragic death for no one came to her rescue. Not long after that a pair of tombstones emerged from the tunnel. Since then the place was called Kampung Siputeh or a 'village of a white-blooded princess' (Othman and Halim

1977 unpublished; Ishak Mohamad 1984: 32-35, 113-116).

References : Halim, N.A., & Othman Mohd. Yatim, 1977 unpublished

Ishak Mohamad, 1984

# APPENDIX 52

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site KH 5 MAKAM PURBA (ANCIENT GRAVE), Kampung Ulu Melaka, Pulau Langkawi, KEDAH. (Map 21).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type N.

Location : Isolated example in the backyard of the house belonging to Ahmad bin Nayan, about 500 metres west of the village mosque, about 5 kilometres by road from Kuah town.

Site history : The site was discovered accidentally by a villager while he was digging in a mound on the left side of his house in order to make more room for an extension. He found a pair of nesans (Pl. 71) concealed in the mound. This discovery was reported to the Langkawi District Officer, who in turn reported it to the Muzium Negara. This is in compliance with the legal requirements as stated in Part 2, Clause 4(4) of the Antiquities Act, 1976. In his official capacity, Othman went down to Pulau Langkawi in April 1976 to investigate the site.

Both the nesans are of Othman Type N, in almost perfect condition, of standstone and in north-south orientation. The headstone measures 98cm high.

Halim visited the site in 1979 and the last visit was with Othman in July 1983.

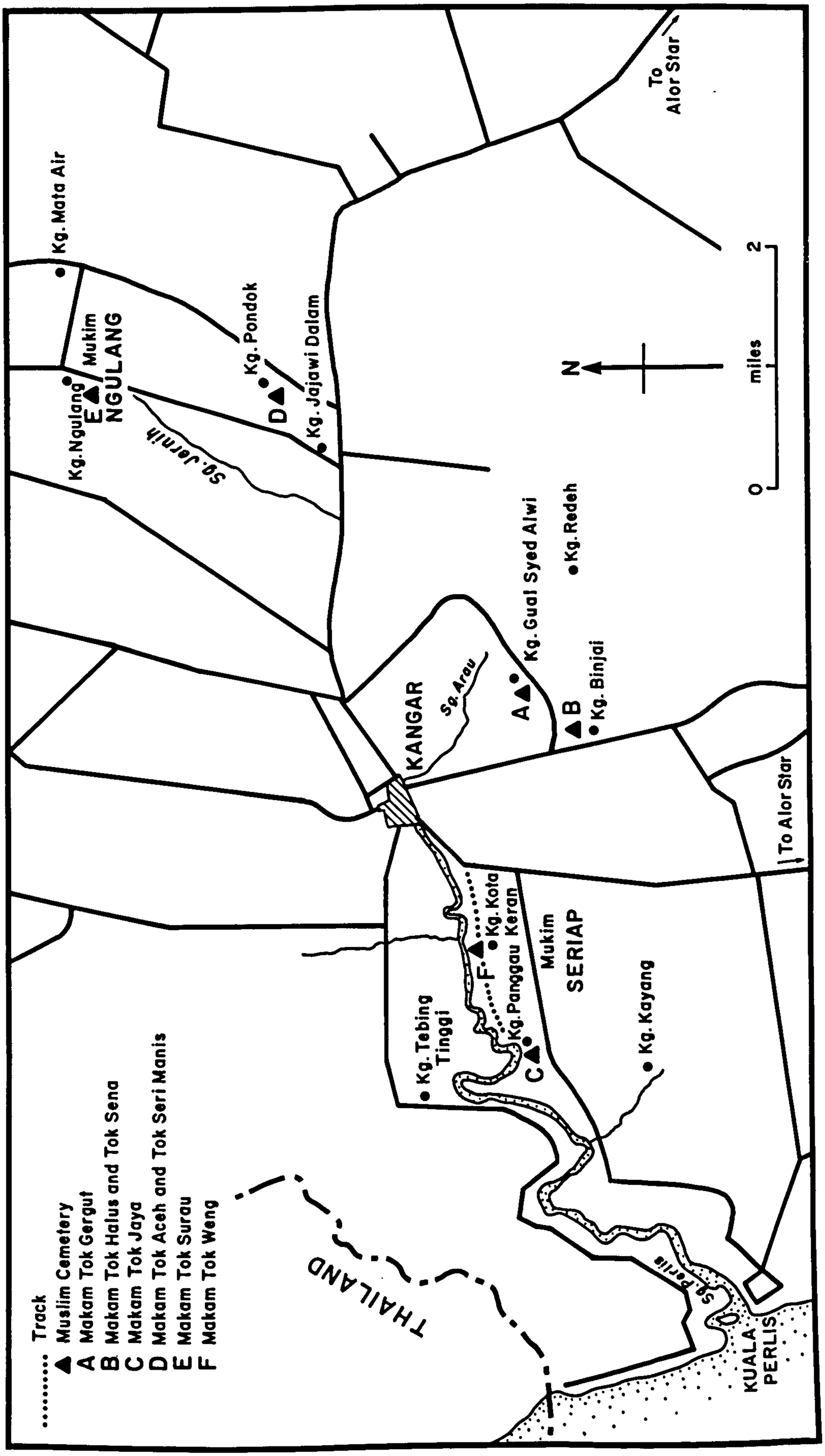
Documentation : Othman Mohd. Yatim (1976:20, Pl. 4) for the illustration of the site.

Inscriptions : Both the nesans are uninscribed.

According to the local tradition (recorded by Halim 1979, unpublished), the grave belongs to Hang Tuah, one of the five legendary heroes of Melaka. In the Hikayat Hang Tuah, they argue that there was mentioned that Hang Tuah was ghaib or mysteriously vanished from Melaka and re-appeared at a place called Kampung Ulu Melaka (which is incidentally the name of the village where these nesans are currently sited) and later he died there.

References : Othman, 1976

Halim, 1979, unpublished




Map 22 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH IN THE STATE OF PERLIS

# APPENDIX 53

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 1 MAKAM TOK GERGUT, Kampung Gual Syed Alwi, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 1 pair originally, but now only one remains.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Within the village graveyard, on the right upstream bank of the Perlis river, about 2 kilometres north of Kangar.

Site history : The existence of the site was first brought to the attention of the Muzium Negara in 1976 by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail (locally known as Cikgu Mat Tawarikh), a retired history teacher in Perlis.

In 1977, Azim bin Mahmud of the Muzium Seni Asia, University of Malaya, visited the site and took one of the nesans back to Kuala Lumpur for a temporary exhibition and it is still in their collection (Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, pers. comm.). The other nesan (Othman Type C), of fine-grained sandstone, is half-embedded in the root of a large banyan tree (Pl. 72a,b).

Documentation : Illustration of the site and the nesan in Othman Mohd. Yatim (1982d).

According to local legend (Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, pers. comm.), the site is a grave of the Acehnese warrior, Tok Gergut, who was killed in Perlis during one of the

wars involving Aceh, Kedah, Perak, Pahang and Johore. Winstedt (1932b:37) mentioned such a war.

References : Winstedt, 1932b

Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983

# APPENDIX 54

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 2 MAKAM TOK HALUS and MAKAM TOK SENA, Kampung Binjai, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 2 pairs

Description : Othman Types C and D.

Location : Isolated examples in secondary jungle, near a Malay village called Kampung Binjai, a few metres downstream of the Perlis river, about 500 metres from Makam Tok Gergut, about 2 kilometres south of Kangar.

Site history : The site was first reported to the Muzium Negara in 1976 by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis.

Halim (pers. comm.) visited the site in 1978. His last visit was in July 1983 with Othman.

On the site are 2 graves locally known as Makam Tok Halus and Makam Tok Sena, about 200 metres apart. The nesans of the Tok Halus are of Othman Type D, soft sandstone and in north-south alignment. The distance between the head and the footstones is about 5 metres, thus it is also known as Kubor Panjang (Long Grave). The headstone measures 75cm high, 28cm wide and 20cm thick. The other grave known as Makam Tok Sena contains a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type C), of soft sandstone and in north-south orientation. Both the head and the footstones are separated by about 150cm. The headstone

measures 75cm high, 28cm wide and 19cm thick.

Inscription : All 4 sides of the body of both stones on Makam Tok Halus bear inscriptions in Arabic, in 3 horizontal rows (Pls. 73 and 18b).

The stones on Makam Tok Sena are also inscribed with Arabic inscriptions on all 4 sides of the body and on their curly shoulders. The inscriptions on all the nesans are of the same words, i.e. the Shahadah.

According to local tradition (Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, pers. comm.), the nesans are belonging to the graves of Acehnese warriors killed during the war in Perlis between Kedah and Aceh (Perlis then was part of Kedah).

The local residents believe also that Tok Halus and Tok Sena were husband and wife (Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, pers. comm.).

Reference : Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983

# APPENDIX 55

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 3 MAKAM TOK JAYA, Kampung Panggu, Mukim Seriap, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type D.

Location : Isolated example (Pl. 74a) in the backyard of the house belonging to Salleh bin Mat, about 3 kilometres upstream of the Serian river, a tributary of the Perlis river, about 4 kilometres west of Kangar town.

Site history : The site was first reported to the Muzium Negara in 1976 by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis.

Halim (pers. comm.) visited the site in 1978. His last visit was in July 1983 with Othman.

On the site is a pair of slab form nesans, of soft sandstone, in north-south orientation and about 1 metre apart. The headstone (Pl. 75b) measures 75cm high, 28cm wide and 20cm in thickness.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of both nesans bear inscriptions in Arabic, i.e., a repetition of the Shahadah.

Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail believes that the grave belongs to one of the Acehnese warriors killed near the site while on their way to attack Patani in 1547 AD. He adds that in the past the Perlis and the Serian rivers were used as river routes to Patani.

Reference : Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983.

# APPENDIX 56

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 4 MAKAM TOK ACEH and MAKAM TOK SERI MANIS, Kampung Pondok, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 2 pairs.

Description : Othman Types C and D.

Location : Isolated examples in the backyard of the house belonging to Haji Ali bin Ishak, near the house of the present Chief Minister of Perlis, about 7 kilometres south of Kangar, on the left side of the Kangar-Mata Air trunk road.

Site history : First reported to the Muzium Negara in 1976 by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis.

Halim (pers. comm.) visited the site in 1978. His last visit was in July 1983 with Othman.

On the site are 2 graves having a pair each of slab form nesans of Othman Types C and D respectively. The first grave is known locally as Makam Tok Aceh, while the other is simply known as Makam Tok Seri Manis. The graves are separated by about 10 metres.

During Othman and Halim's visit they discovered that the nesans on the grave of Tok Aceh were broken into many parts and lying on the ground. However, both the nesans (Othman Type C) on the grave of Tok Seri Manis (Pl. 75c) were still intact. All the nesans are of soft sandstone.

The head and footstones on Makam Tok Seri Manis measure 70cm high, 25cm wide and 18cm in thickness.

Inscriptions : Almost obliterated, however, the traces indicate that all the 4 sides of the 4 stones bear inscriptions in Arabic, i.e. the Shahadah.

Before the 1960s (Hajjah Thalasiah binti Haji Hamzah) the graves were treated as keramat and visited by not only the Malays from Perlis but also from other neighbouring states.

In the late 1960s, the State Religious Department declared that a visit to keramat was syirik (one of the unpardonable sins) and consequently the number of visitors dropped and they fell into dereliction. They are now visited largely by non-Muslims.

According to both Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail and Hajjah Thalasiah binti Haji Hamzah, the local residents believe that these nesans belong to Tok Aceh and Tok Seri Manis, who were husband and wife. However, Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail (pers. comm.) personally believed that the graves belong to unknown Acehnese warriors killed in Perlis.

References : Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983

Hajjah Thalasiah binti Haji Hamzah, also interviewed in July 1983

# APPENDIX 57

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 5 MAKAM TOK SURAU, Kampung Ngulang, Mukim Ngulang, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Isolated example, in a small mound within the compound of the house belonging to Bakar bin Hamid, an ex-soldier, near the village surau, on the left downstream bank of the Jernih river which is a tributary of the Perlis river. This site is almost 9 kilometres east of Kangar, on the left side of the trunk road running through Kangar to Bukit Keteri via the newly constructed Kampung Jejawi Dalam road (see Map 22).

Site history : The discovery of the site was first made known to the Muzium Negara in 1976 by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis. Halim (pers. comm.) visited the site in 1978. Another visitor to the site was Prof. Mohammad Haji Salleh of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in 1980 (Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, pers. comm.). Together with Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail, Halim and Othman visited it in July 1983.

The site contains a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type C) in north-south orientation and the nesans are separated by about 100cm. The footstone measures 70cm high, 45 cm wide and 20cm in thickness. Both are of soft sandstone (Pl. 75a).

Inscription : All 4 sides including 2 'heart' panels and the surface of their curly shoulders of both nesans bear inscriptions in Arabic which are clearly visible and legible (Pl. 75b). Othman deciphered the inscriptions as a repetition of the Shahadah.

References : Halim, 1978 unpublished

Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983

# APPENDIX 58

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site PS 6 MAKAM TOK WENG, Kampung Kota Keran, Kangar, PERLIS. (Map 22).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type K.

Location : Isolated in secondary jungle, on the left downstream bank of the Serian river, a tributary of the Perlis river, about 2 kilometres north of Kangar.

Site history : First made known to the Muzium Negara by Cikgu Ahmad bin Ismail of Kangar, Perlis in 1976. Halim (pers. comm.) visited the site in 1978 and it was visited again by Halim and Othman in July 1983.

This site contained a grave with a pair of relatively small pillar form nesans (Othman Type K), made of soft sandstone and in north-south orientation. When Halim and Othman visited it they found both the nesans to have been broken into two halves (Pl. 76).

Reference : Halim, 1978 unpublished

Ahmad bin Ismail, interviewed in July 1983

# APPENDIX 59

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site MA 1 MAKAM SULTAN MANSOR SHAH (1459-1477), MELAKA.

Quantity : 1 nesan (the headstone)

Description : Othman Type A.

Location : The exact site in Melaka, when it was first erected, is unknown.

Site history : First reported by Tome Pires in 1512 (Cortesao 1944). The existence of the nesan in modern times was reported by Winstedt in 1918. Winstedt found the stone was placed against the wall of the Residency. When it was sighted by Winstedt, the stone, evidently, had been broken off at the base, damaging the bottom line of the inscription, due to either it had been taken off the tomb (Moquette, 1922:1) or probably by being desecrated by the Portuguese when they conquered Melaka in 1511 AD (Anonymous publication 1959:37). At some much later date it was returned to the original hill site and had been standing against the outer wall of the Melaka Residency for unrecorded period, until it was spotted by Winstedt in 1918. It was later donated to the Raffles Museum in Singapore but it was returned to Melaka in 1954, when Melaka established its own museum. It is now on display at the History Gallery of the Muzium Negara in Kuala Lumpur.

Documentation : Illustrations of the stone are in Winstedt (1918),

Pls. I & II; in Moquette (1922), Pls. I - III, and in an Anonymous publication (1959:36).

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the nesan (Othman Type A) bear inscriptions in Arabic. One of the panels contains information about the deceased - name, geanology, and date of death. The inscription, according to Hervey (Winstedt 1918) reads :

هذا روضة المقدسة والدولة الطاميه ؟ المطهرة السلطان المنور العادل الملك الباذل السلطان المرحوم منصور شاه، قد انتقل من دار المحال الى الوراد؟ يوم الاربعاء سنة دوا رجب وثمانين وثمانمائة ٠

His translation is :

"This is the tomb of the illustrious high and righteous glorious and just Sultan, the beneficient prince, the ruler loved of God, Mansor Shah. He departed this mortal abode for the abode of bliss on Wednesday, the second day of the month of Rejab in the year of the Hegira 880'.

The 2nd of Rejab 880 Hegira is equivalent to 1 November 1475 AD. But, in 1921, Moquette (1922) reads the inscription as follows:

هذه الروضة المقدسة المطهرة الزاوية الصافية المنورة السلطان العادل الملك الباذل السلطا (ن) منوصو(ر) شاه بن مظفر شاه المرحوم قد انتقل من دار المحال الى دار امال يوم الاربعا من رجب سنة ثنتين وثمانين وثمانمائة من ال (هجرة) النبو(ية) ال(مصطفوية)

His translation reads :

"This is the consecrated the holy grave the brilliant illuminated tomb of the just Sultan, the magnanimous ruler Sultan Mansor Shah son of the deceased Muzaffar Shah. He removed from this mortal abode to the abode of hope on Wednesday of Rajab in the year 882 after the Hijrah of the Prophet, the Chosen One".

In the year 882 Hegira, the month of Rajab began on a Thursday and this was equivalent to 9th October 1477 AD.

The date of the Sultan's death could therefore be one of four Wednesdays, the 7th, 14th, 21st or 28th of Rajab, which were equivalent to the 15th, 22nd or 29th October or 5th November 1477 AD (Moquette 1922:3).

The reverse side of the nesan (Pl. 77b) also contains Arabic inscriptions which Hervey interprets as glorifying the sultan, but Moquette is of the opinion that the inscriptions were not meant to glorify the sultan but the grave (Moquette 1922:2). However, both Hervey (Winstedt 1918) and Moquette agree that on both of the narrow sides of the stone are part of a famous 'Sufi poem (confirmed by John Bousfield of the University of Kent, pers. comm.), and they believe that the other part of the poem must have been inscribed on the missing footstone. The poem reads :

انما الدنيا فناء  ليس الدنيا ثبوت
انما الدنيا كبيت  نسجته العنكبوت

"Listen. Verily the world is perishable, the world is not everlasting.
Verily the world is like Web weaved by a spider".

The same poem was inscribed on the tombstones of Sultan

Malik al-Salleh of Pasai and Raja Jamil of Pahang

(Ibrahim Alfian, Teuku, 1973).

If the date 1477 AD is accepted, the nesan would be the second oldest batu Aceh to be discovered in Peninsular Malaysia.

References :

Winstedt, 1918
Moquette, 1922
Zainul-Abidin bin Ahmad, 1922
Anonymous, 1959
Ibrahim Alfian, Teuku, 1973

# APPENDIX 60

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

### Site MA 2 MAKAM TUN TEJA, Pengkalan Samak, Merlimau, MELAKA. (Map 14).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type A

Location : On the right upstream bank near the estuary of the Merlimau stream, adjacent to the current village graveyard, behind the Merlimau mosque, about 23 kilometres south of Melaka, on the Melaka-Muar trunk road.

Site history : First reported by Baharam Azit in 1977 when he was a teacher in the nearby secondary school. Halim visited the site in 1979 (unpublished). Othman and Halim visited it in August 1983.

On the site is a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type A), made of sandstone and in north-south orientation. Both the nesans are in almost perfect condition, the headstone measures 48cm high.

Documentation : Illustration of the headstone in Baharam Azit (1977).

Inscriptions : Only the headstone has Arabic inscriptions on all 4 sides, plus 2 'kalimah' panels directly above the 'frame-like' panels on the front and back of the stone (Pl. 78b). The inscriptions are in three horizontal rows and read :

" لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله .....
ربنا و رب الخلق اجمعين لااله الا الملك الحق المبين
ربنا ورب ابائنا الاولين لااله الاالله الملك الحق "

The first row is the common Muslim attestation of faith, i.e. the full Shahadah

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

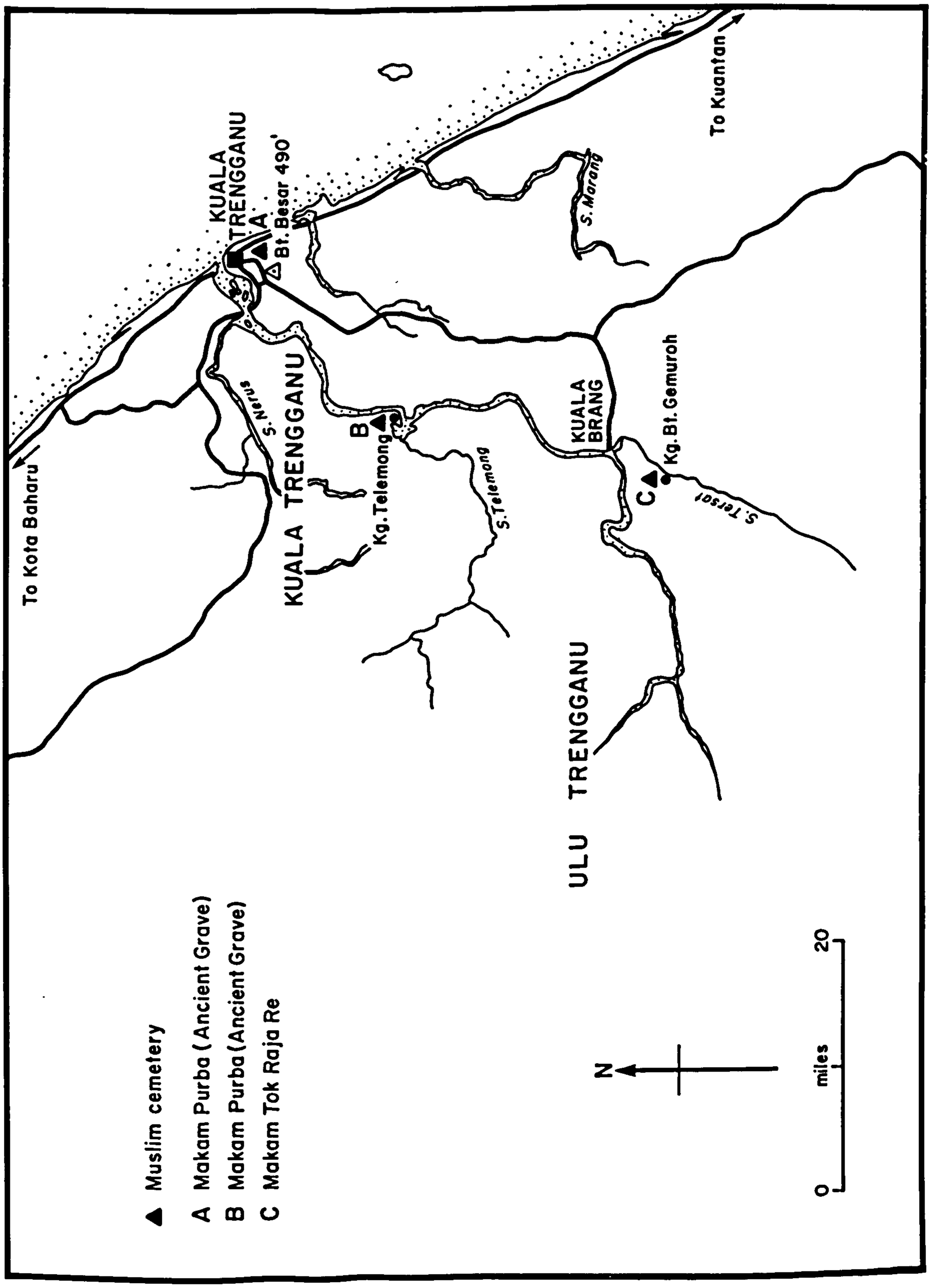
(la ila haillallah Muhammad ar-rasullullah) meaning "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah".

The inscriptions in the last two rows is the doa (prayer) which praises God.

On the text-panels and the 2 'kalimah' panels of the footstone, instead of the usual inscription, the panels are decorated with a branch of a flowering tree with 2 flowers in full bloom. The 'kalimah' panels are each filled with young shoots (Pl. 78c).

Baharam Azit (1977) believes that the nesans belong to the grave of Tun Teja, one of the wives of the last and deposed Sultan of Melaka. When Melaka was conquered by the Portuguese in 1511, the Sultan and all his royal household retreated to Bentayan (upper Muar). At Pengkalan Samak, Tun Teja fell ill and died there. Before continuing their journey to Bentayan, the Sultan and his Chieftains buried her body there. The place was later called Menteja, derived from Tun Teja's name.

Reference : Baharam Azit, 1977




Map 23 LOCATIONS OF BATU ACEH IN THE STATE OF TRENGGANU

▲ Muslim cemetery

A Makam Purba (Ancient Grave)

B Makam Purba (Ancient Grave)

C Makam Tok Raja Re

# APPENDIX 61

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site TU 1 ANCIENT GRAVE, Bukit Keledang, Kuala Trengganu, TRENGGANU. (Map 23).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C (slight variation).

Location : In the same graveyard as the Makam Sultan Zainal Abidin I of Trengganu, about 1 kilometre west of Kuala Trengganu Town.

Site history : First known to the Muzium Negara in 1979 when Halim made a visit in October 1979. Another frequent visitor was Dao' Haji Mohd. Salleh Awang (pers. comm.), the Chairman of the Trengganu Branch of the Malaysian Historical Society. Whenever he had visitors from outside who are interested in Trengganu history, he used to take them to the site.

On the site is a small grave containing a pair of slab form nesans (slight variation of Othman Type C). Both show signs of considerable deterioration (Pl. 79a).

Halim (1979 unpublished) believes that the grave belongs to one of the Orang Besar Trengganu (Trengganu Chieftain) names Tun Talani. Sultan Muhammad of Pahang had him killed because he went to pay homage to the Sultan of Melaka without his permission, for Trengganu was Pahang's vassal state, (see also Wilkinson 1932:48).

References : Halim, 1979 unpublished

Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang, interviewed in August 1983

# APPENDIX 62

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site TU 2 ANCIENT GRAVE, Kampung Kuala Telemong, Ulu Trengganu, TRENGANNU. (Map 23).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type C.

Location : Isolated, located in secondary jungle, on the left upstream bank of the Telemong stream, a tributary of the Trengganu river, near a village called Kampung Kuala Telemong.

Site history : The only known outside visitor to the site before Halim's visit in October 1979, was Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang, a Trengganu historian. Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh (pers. comm.) visited the site in the 1960s, but he cannot recall the exact year of his visit.

The site has a small grave containing only a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type C). Halim (1979 unpublished) reports that at the time of his visit, the nesans were in a state of advanced deterioration.

Both Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang and Halim believe that the nesans belong to the grave of an Ulu Trengganu Chieftain, when Trengganu was one of the vassal states of Melaka, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

References : Halim, 1979 unpublished

Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang, interviewed in August 1983

# APPENDIX 63

## Census of Batu Aceh in Peninsular Malaysia

Site TU 3 MAKAM TOK RAJA RE, Kuala Berang, Ulu Trengganu, TRENGGANU. (Map 23).

Quantity : 1 pair.

Description : Othman Type B.

Location : Isolated example on top of the hill, adjacent to ancient and abandoned graveyard, on the left upstream bank of the Berang river, about 3 kilometres west of Kampung Kuala Berang by the newly constructed road.

Site history : Probably the first outsider to visit the site was Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang of Kuala Trengganu (pers. comm.). He made the visit in the 1960s. Another known visitor from outside the area was Halim of the Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur. His visit was in October 1979, (pers. comm. & 1979 unpublished).

The site has a small grave with a pair of slab form nesans (Othman Type B). It was fenced by the Muzium Negara immediately following Halim's visit.

Halim's last visit was in August 1983 with Othman.

Inscriptions : All 4 sides of the nesans bear inscriptions in Arabic, inscribed in 3 horizontal lines. Unfortunately, at the time of Othman and Halim's visit the inscriptions were so deteriorated as to be illegible (Pl. 79b).

Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang (pers. comm.) believes that Tok Raja Re was one pre-1722 Sultans of Trengganu. The Trengganu Stone was discovered near this site.

References : Halim, 1979 unpublished and (pers. comm.)

Dato' Haji Mohd. Salleh bin Awang, interviewed in August 1983

# GLOSSARY

# GLOSSARY

Ajal - fixed term of individual life.

Akhirat - next world, hereafter.

Alam - world, universe.

Alim - learned.

Arwah - plural of ruh, spirit.

Ayat - God's signs, clause, verse of the Koran.

Badan - physical body.

Baqa' - eternal, eternity.

Bendahara - the principal official in the kingdom, often likened to a Prime Minister.

Bidan - midwife.

Cik - Miss

Cikgu - teacher.

Datok - Tok in short, a title often associated with a great non-royal chief; in modern Malaysia the title 'Datok' is conferred in recognition of outstanding service to the state.

Daulat - often translated as sovereignty but which in the royal context refers to the special spiritual forces surrounding Malay kingship; royal sanctity.

Doa - prayer; supplication.

Dunia - existence in this world.

Durhaka - treason to the lawful authority, thus most often equated with treason to the ruler.

Encik - Mister.

Fana - extinction or annihilation of all save God; transitory; fleeting.

Ghaib - disappearance; occult; mysterious; unknown to all except God.

Haji - one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, Hajjah for lady.

Hajj - pilgrimage to Mecca.

Haram - unlawful; prohibited.

Imam - religious leader; man who leads the prayer.

Iman - faith.

Jasad - body.

Jawi - Malay language written in Perso-Arabic script; a term used in Mecca to refer generally to those from the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

Jihad - struggle for Islam; the holy war, but used commonly in the Muslim areas of South-east Asia in the earlier centuries as a cry for unity among fellow Muslims to destroy the Christian Europeans in the area.

Jisim - physical body.

Kaabah - (meaning cube), the hub of Islam; the goal of the hajj, and the focus of the prayers of the faithful.

Kafan - shroud.

Kain kafan - a piece of unsewn white cloth used to wrap the corpse.

Kampung - a village; a compound of houses usually under the authority of an important individual.

Keramat - graves of Saints.

Keranda - wooden coffin.

Kerantong - mosque drum, sometimes called bedok or beduq in Acehnese.

Keris - Malay wavy blade dagger.

Khutbah - sermon or pronouncement given by an Imam at Friday prayers.

Kiblat - the wall of the prayer hall orientated towards Kaabah of Mecca and therefore varying in direction according to geographical region.

Kuala - estuary.

Kubor - grave.

Kufur - rejection of the message brought by the Prophet Muhammad from Allah, ingratitude.

Laksamana - an important official whose principal duty was to be in charge of the ruler's fleet.

Madrassah - a small mosque; or not used for Friday prayers; a Modernist Islamic school.

Makam - grave, graveyard.

Marhum - term used to the deceased royal family.

Mayat - corpse.

Mihrab - the niche placed in the mosque in the direction of prayer.

Minbar - high pulpit-like structure in the prayer hall of a mosque; from which the Imam reads the khutbah.

Menurun batu - to replace the temporary gravemarkers with the permanent ones; usually followed by a ceremony and feast.

Mukmin - person of faith.

Nafas - soul.

Nesan - gravemarker.

Niat - intention; vow.

Orang Asli - indigenous groups living on the Malay peninsula, excluding ethnic Malays.

Orang Laut - sea and riverine people in the western half of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

Padi - rice, cooked rice is called nasi.

Perahu - Malay boat without deck.

Peribumi - 'sons of the soil'; a term employed by the Malaysian government to refer to Malays and all other indigenous groups in the country.

Pesisir - coastal.

Rakyat - subject; people.

Rakyat biasa - ordinary subject, refers to person of non-royalty, and not holding any title.

Rantau Barat - the western areas, used in the Melaka period to refer to outlying dependencies.

Rezeki - livelihood, sustenance, food.

Ruh - spirit.

Salat - ritual prayer.

Salihin - pious persons; good deeds doer.

Serambi - verandah.

Shahid - martyr.

Sharif - noble (by birth).

Sayid - noble (by birth), who claimed to be the direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.

Surah - Chapter of the Koran.

Syirik - association of any other thing with Allah.

Tahalil - a chant, to recite verses of the Koran.

Takdir - predestination; decree.

Tanah perkuboran - graveyard; Muslim cemetery.

Talkin - grave tutorial.

Tariqat - Islamic mystical brotherhood.

Tok - (see Datok').

Ulamak - religious teacher; learned doctors of Islam; Muslim preachers.

Ustaz - title given to religious teacher.

Wakaf - an inalienable endowment to the community whose capital or revenue is devoted to specific religious institution or other pious purpose, tanah wakaf (graveyard) is one of the purposes.

Wali - A Muslim saint; also means legal guardian.

Zikir - chanting of God's name and attributes; remembrance.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LIST OF REFERENCES

BEFEO = Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient

BKI = Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde

FMJ = Federation Museums Journal

JFMSM = Journal of the Federated Malay States Museum

JMBRAS = Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JSBRAS = Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JSEAH = Journal of the South-east Asian History

MHJ = Malayan Historical Journal

MIH = Malaysia in History

O.V. = Oudheidkundig Verslag

ROC = Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch - Indie voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera

TBG = Tijdscrift van het Bataviaasche Genootschap

VKI = Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde

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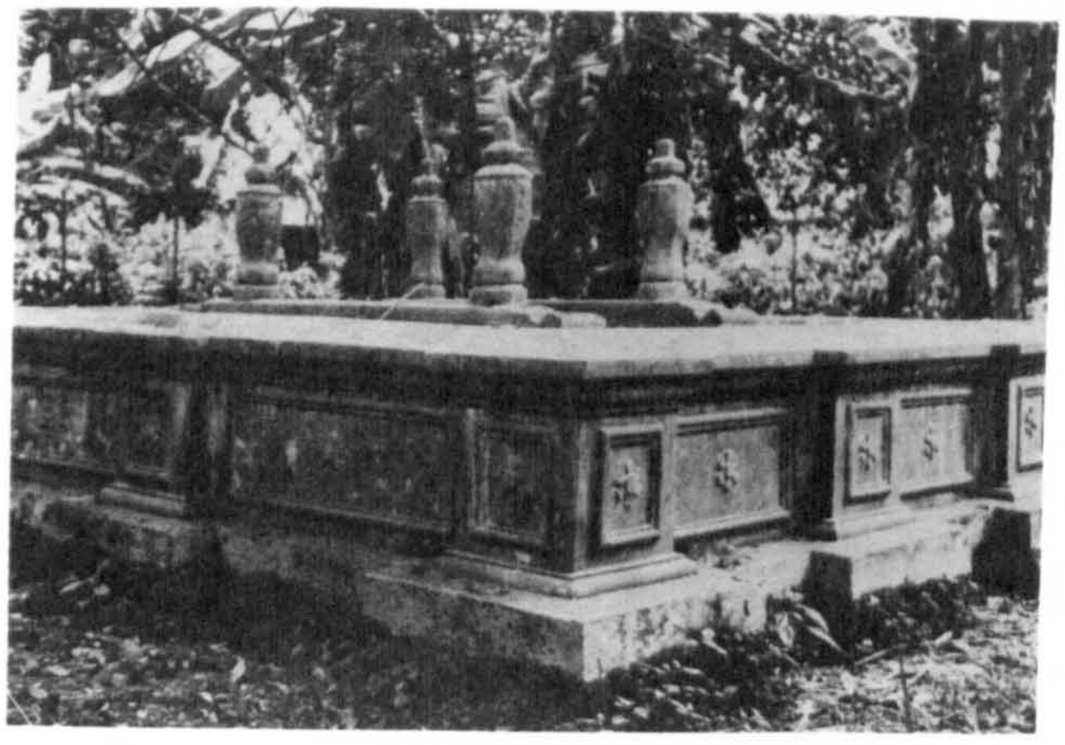
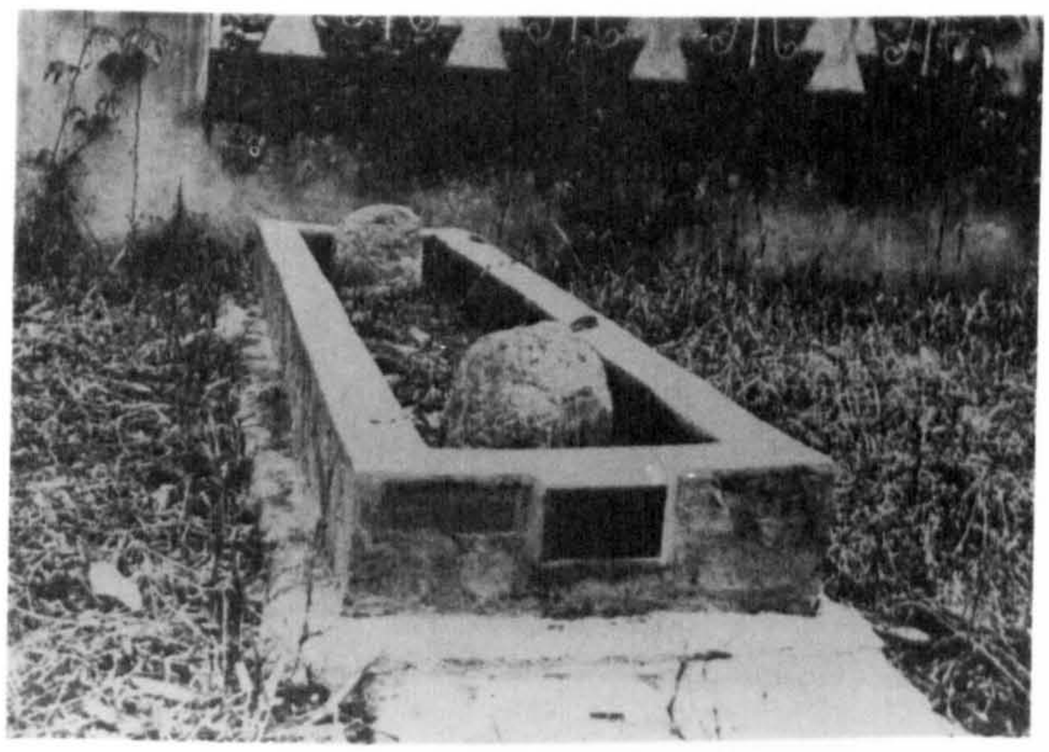
# PLATES

Plate 2



Makam Sultan Mahmud Shah and Makam Sultan Muhammad Shah, Kampong Melayu, Pulau Tiga, Parit, Perak.



Makam Daeng Selili, Padang Changkat, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.

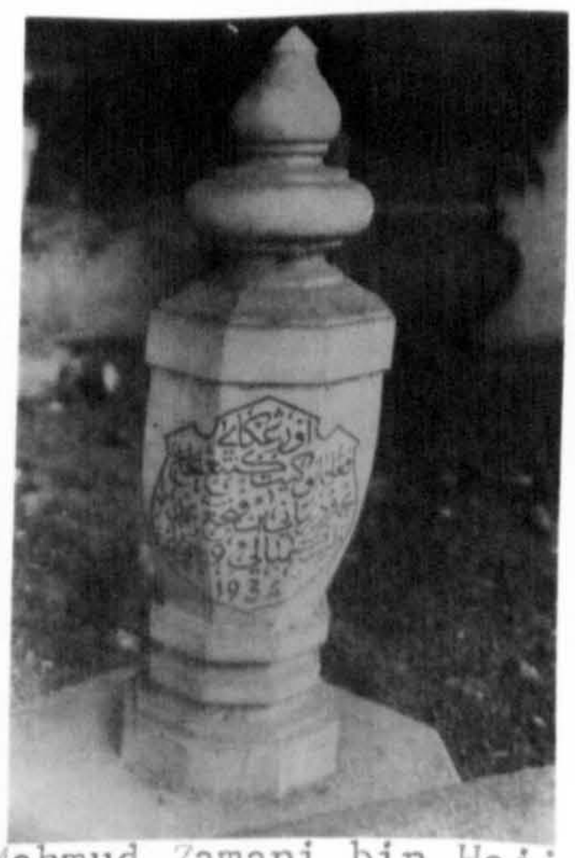
Makam Tok Tiang, Kampung Air Ganda, Gerik, Perak.

SOME OF THE EXAMPLES OF MALAY GRAVES (NOT USING BATU ACEH).

Plate 3

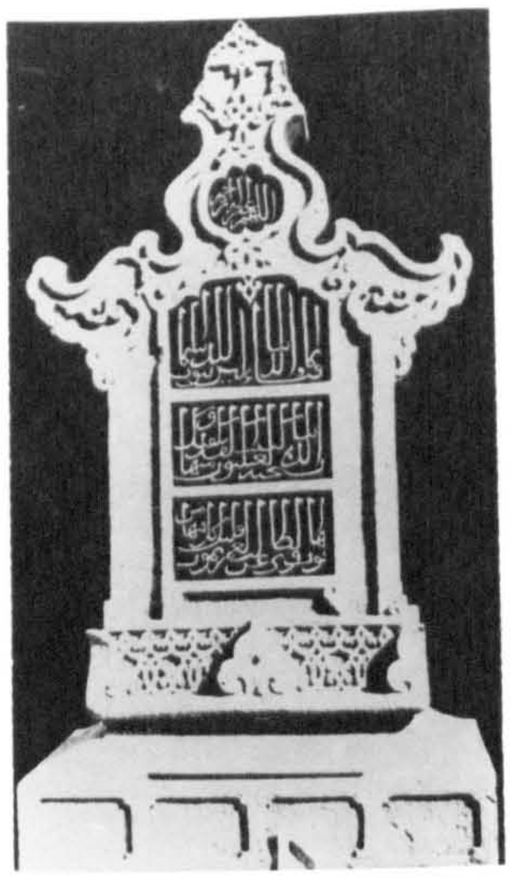
Gravestone of Cik Long Jaafar, Taiping,
Perak.

Makam Tok Busu Sega, Kampung Chain, Lenggong,
Perak.

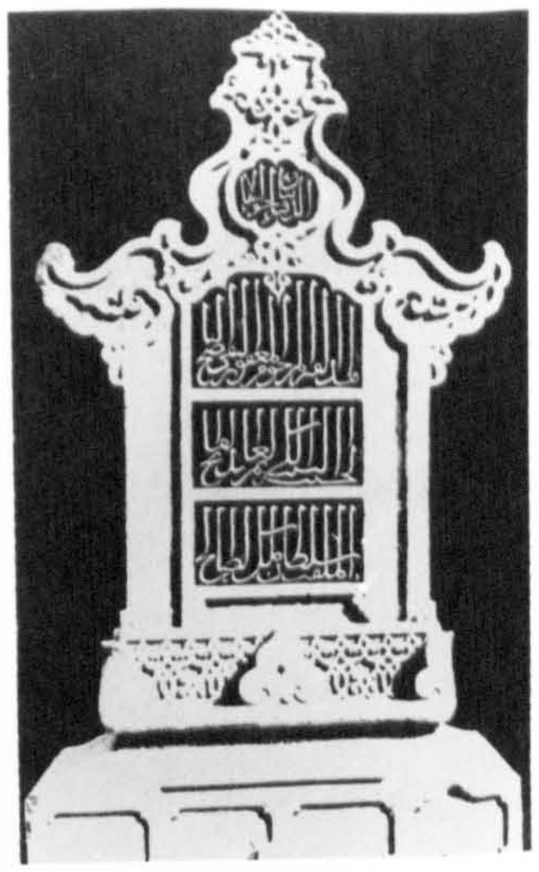


Gravestone of Haji Mahmud Zamani bin Haji Panjang Muhammad
(Tok Muda Panglima Gantang, d. 1934), Perak.

SOME OF THE EXAMPLES OF MALAY GRAVESTONES (NOT BATU ACEH).

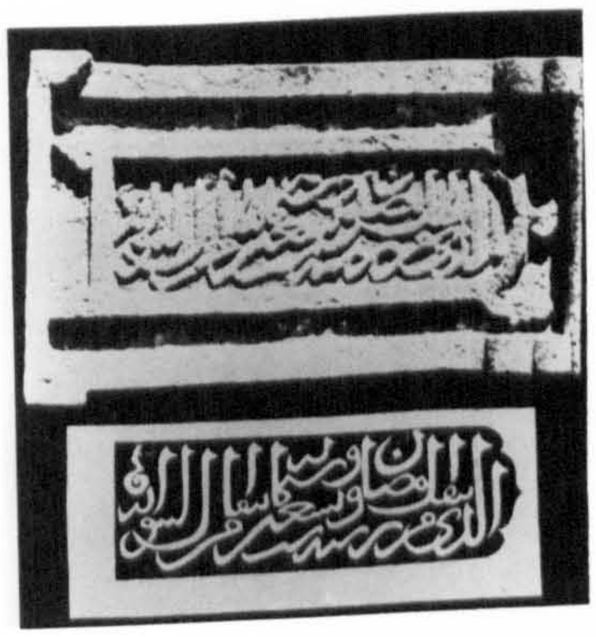


a) Front of the headstone of Malik al-Salleh

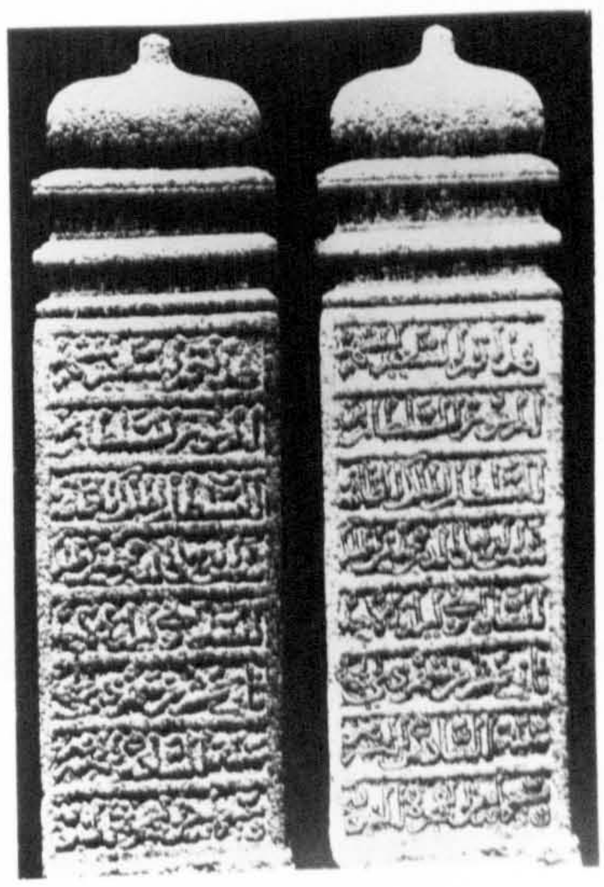


b) Back of the headstone

(from Fatimi, 1963:between pages 30 and 31)

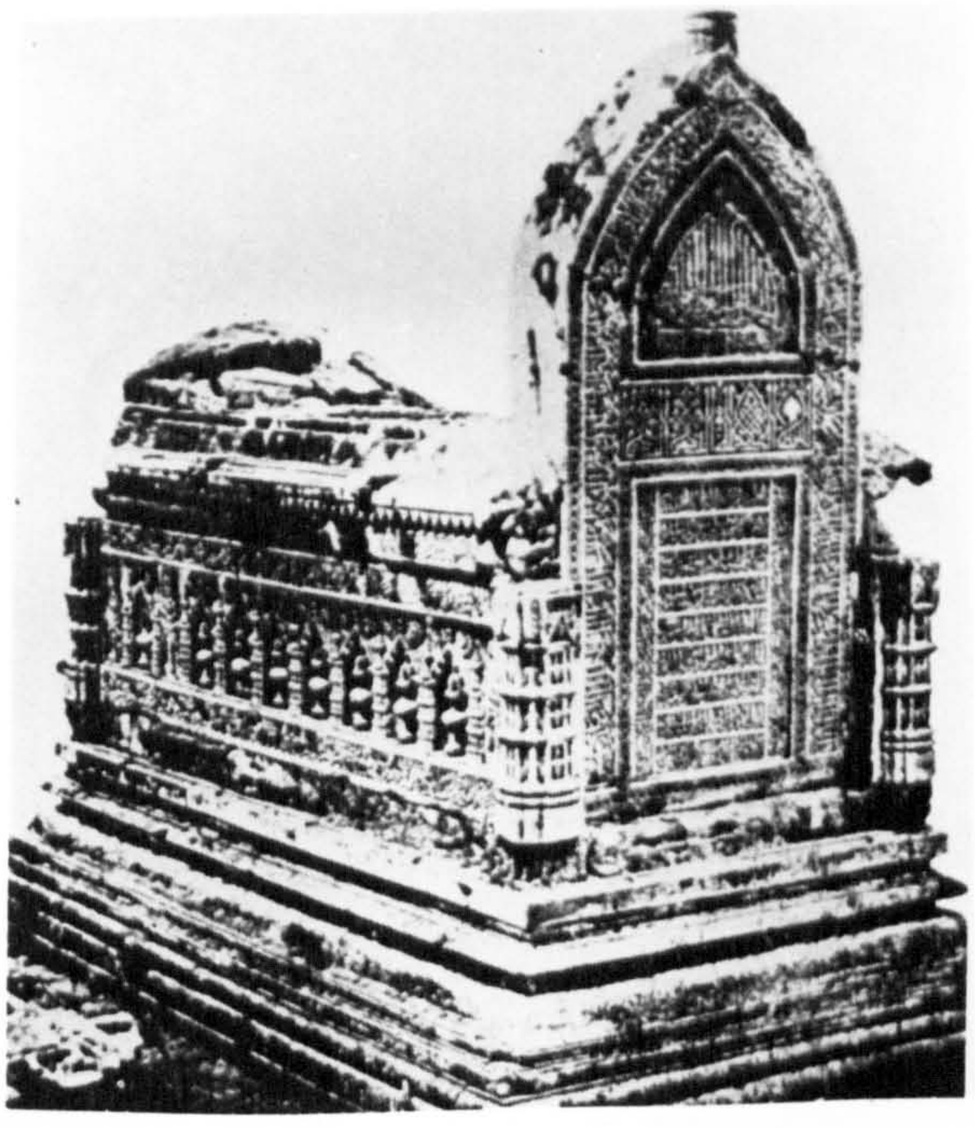


c) Lateral of the headstone

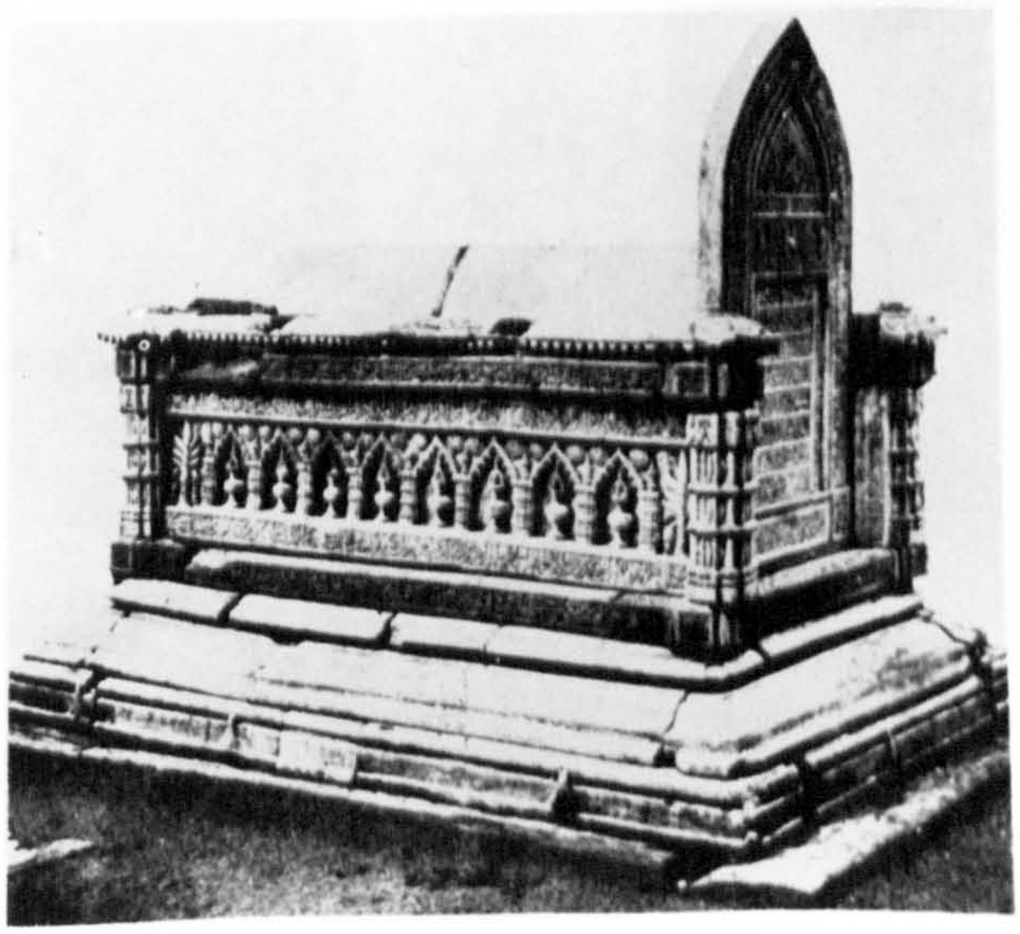


d) Gravestones of Malik al-Zahir (not batu Aceh).

GRAVESTONES OF MALIK AL-SALLEH AND MALIK AL-ZAHIR OF SAMUDERA-PASAI



A TOMB FOUND AT CAMBAY,
GUJARAT
(from Fatimi 1963,
facing page 31)



A TOMB AT PASAI
( from Fatimi 1963, facing
page 31).

Plate 6

a) Batu Aceh at Kampung Pande, Banda Aceh.

b) Batu Aceh at Kuta Alam, Banda Aceh.

c) Batu Aceh at Kampung Meurassa, Banda Aceh.

d) Batu Aceh at Meunasah Beringin, Samudera-Pasai.

CEMETERIES WITH BATU ACEH IN ACEH

Plate 7

a) Headstone of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (d. 1530) at Kandang XII, Banda Aceh.

b) The 'tomb' (?) of Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam, Banda Aceh.

c) A group of batu Aceh at Tengku Peut-plot-peut, Meunasah Beringin, Pasai.

a) Pillar batu Aceh at Kampung Lambada Klieng, Banda Aceh.

b) Slab batu Aceh at Kampung Lambada Klieng, Banda Aceh.

GRAVE BELIEVED BY THE LOCAL PEOPLE TO BE THAT OF RAJA ALI HAJI (d. 1784) AT PENYENGAT ISLAND, RIAU.

a) Gravestone at Bilui, Darul Kamal, Banda Aceh.

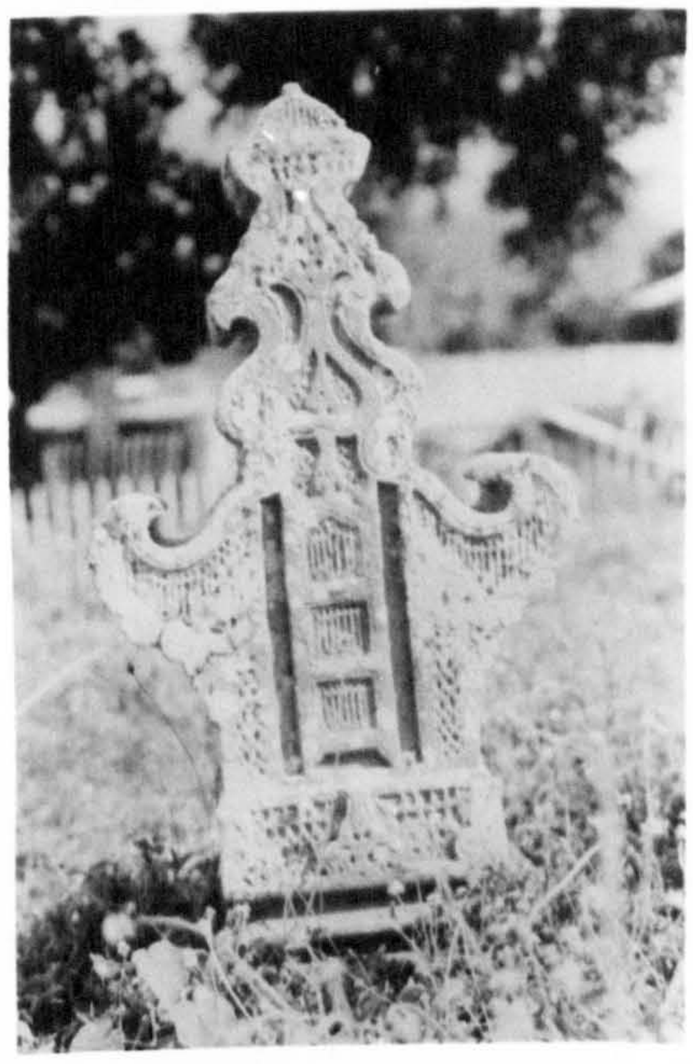
b) Gravestones of Raja Jamil of Pahang.

c) An undecorated batu Aceh at Kampung Pande, Banda Aceh.

d) An undecorated batu in Makam Nibong, Pahang.

COMPARISON OF BATU ACEH IN ACEH WITH THOSE IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

a) Gravestone in Makam Tok Subang, Perak.



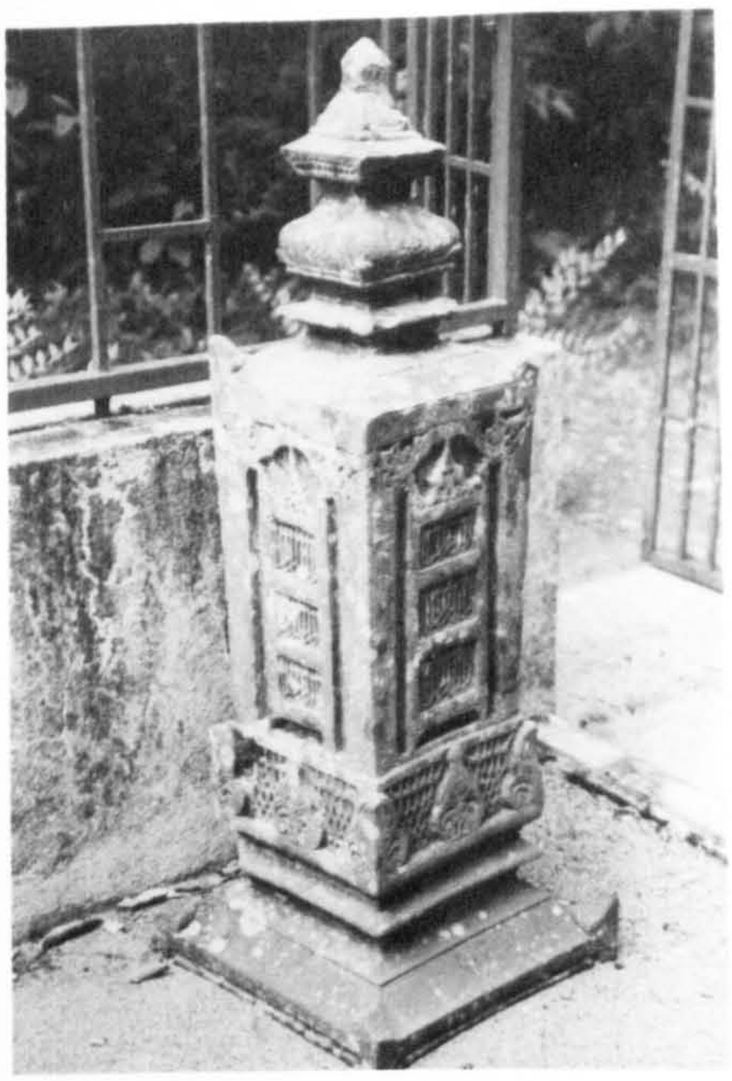
b) Gravestone at Kampung Pande, Banda Aceh.

c) Gravestone in Makam Tok Halus, Perlis.

d) Gravestone at Kampung Meurassa, Banda Aceh.

COMPARISON OF BATU ACEH IN ACEH WITH THOSE

IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA



a) Gravestone in Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Perak.

b) Gravestone at Kuta Alam, Banda Aceh.

c) Gravestone at Kuta Alam, Banda Aceh.

d) Gravestone in Makam Laksamana Aceh, Perak.

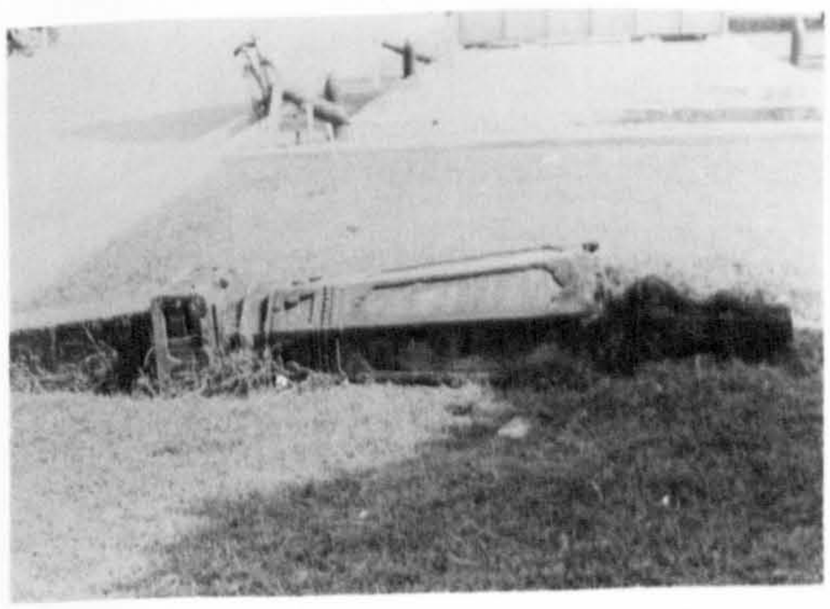
COMPARISON OF BATU ACEH IN ACEH WITH THOSE IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

a) Tombstones of Acehnese rulers at BAPERIS, Banda Aceh.

b) Gravestone in Makam Diraja, Langgar, Alor Setar, Kedah.

c) Gravestone near the Museum of Banda Aceh.

d) Gravestone in cemetery as b)



e) Gravestone lying in front of the Museum of Banda Aceh.

COMPARISON OF BATU ACEH IN ACEH WITH THOSE IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

Plate 14

Kufic

a) Gravestone of Fatimah at Leran, East Java (from Fatimi, 1963: facing page 38)

Kufic

b) Gravestone from the South of Champa (from Fatimi, 1963: facing page 44)

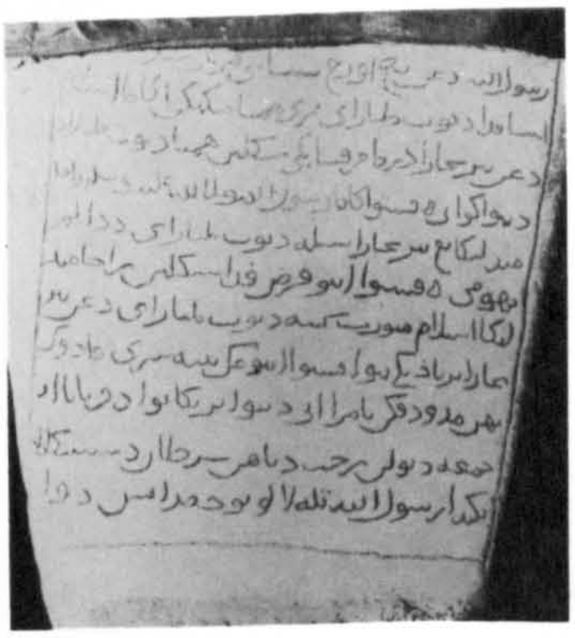
Jawi

c) Inscribed stone from the South of Champa (from Fatimi, 1963: facing page 45)

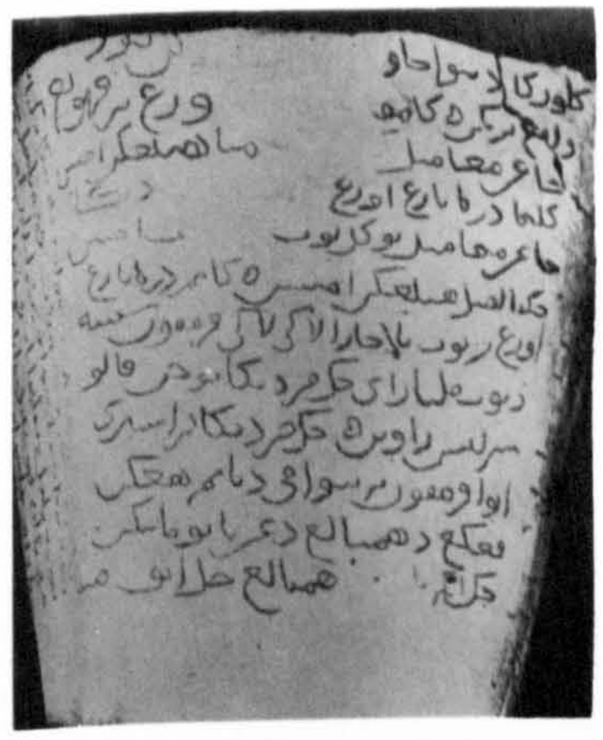
INSCRIBED STONES PRE-BATU ACEH USING VARIETIES OF ARABIC SCRIPTS.

TOMBSTONE OF SULAIMAN BIN ABDUL RAHMAN BIN ABDULLAH NURULLAH
(d. 1418/1419), BRUNEI
( from Sharma 1979)

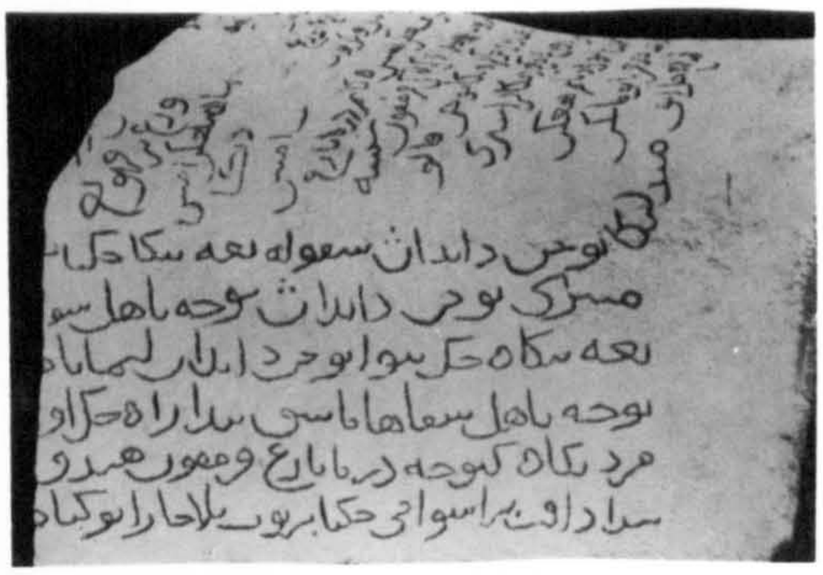
Plate 16



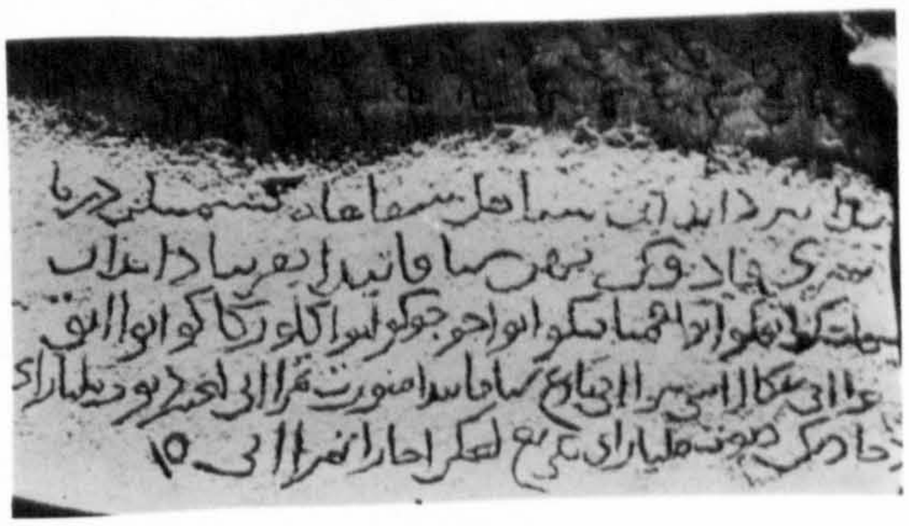
a) Front face



b, Back



c) Right side

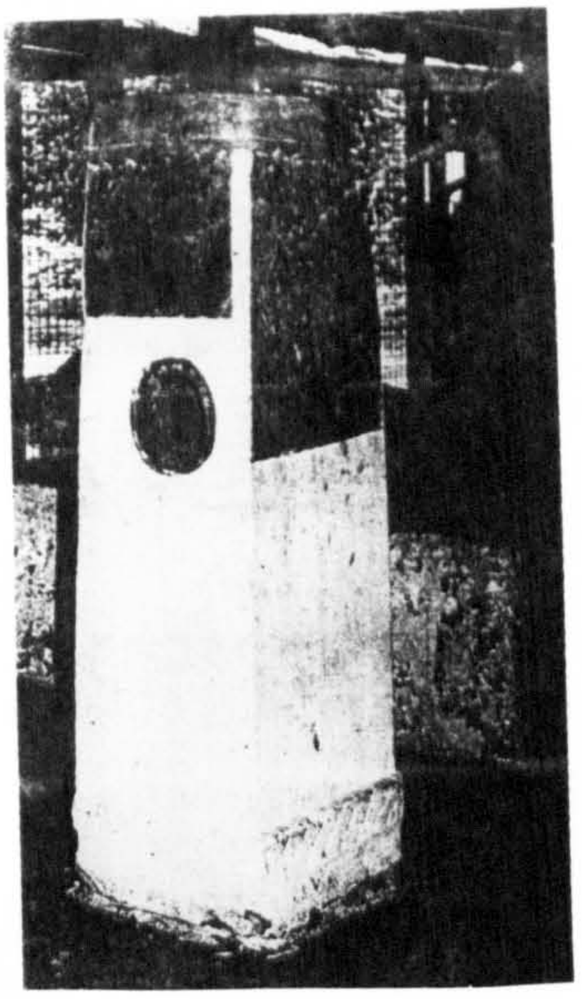


d) Left side

THE TRENGGANU STONE

( from Fatimi, 1963: between pages 60 and 61)

Plate 17



a) View of tombstone

b) Kawi inscription
(North side)

c) Kawi inscription
(South side)

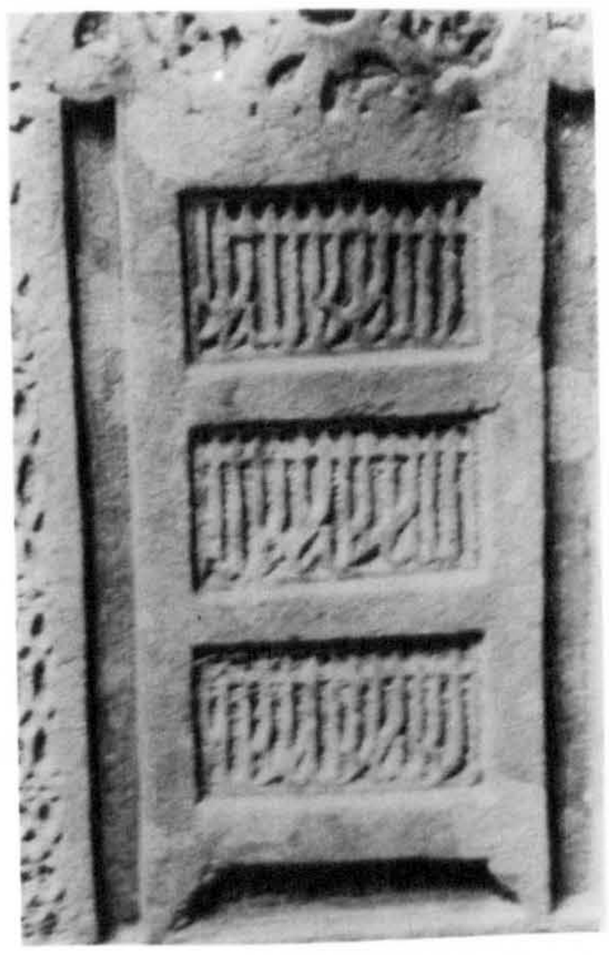
d) Jawi inscription
(East side)

e) Jawi inscription
(West side)

TOMBSTONE OF AHMAT MAJANU (d. 1467/1468 AD) AT PENGKALAN KEMPAS, NEGERI SEMBILAN (from Casparis 1980).

Plate 18

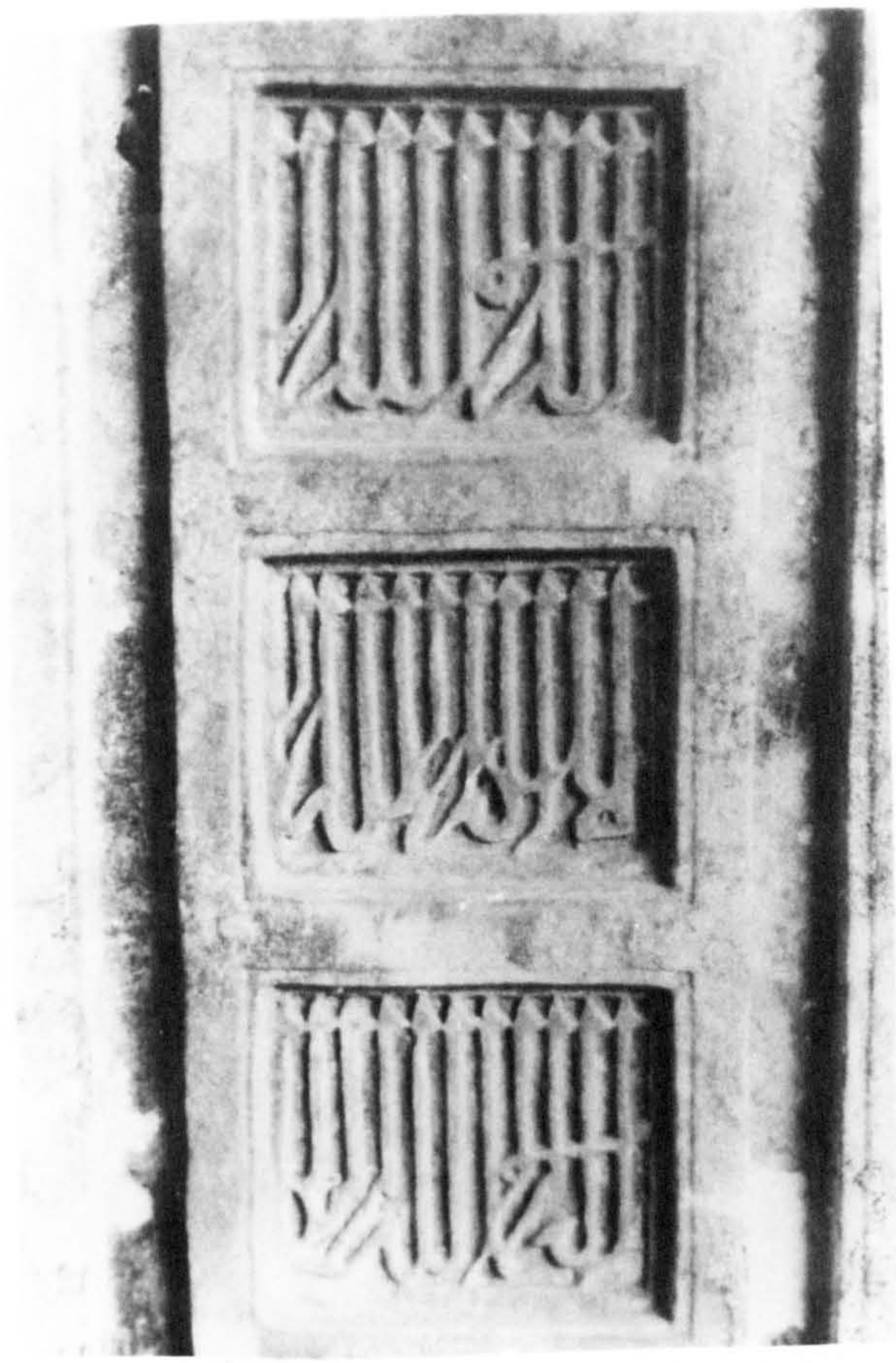
a) Kalimah panel with the Shahadah on gravestone in Makam Tok Subang, Perak.



b) 'Ladder shape' with the Shahadah between rungs on Slab batu Aceh in Makam Tok Halus, Perlis.

c) Similar pattern to b) on Pillar batu Aceh in Makam Tok Sego Aceh, Perak.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE SHAHADAH ON BATU ACEH



a) Pillar batu Aceh showing another variations of Arabic script, late Kufic, on gravestone in Makam Sayong Pinang, Kota Tinggi, Johore.

b) An octagonal panel of Pillar batu Aceh with the Shahadah viewed sideways on gravestone in Makam Diraja, Langgar, Alor Setar, Kedah.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE SHAHADAH ON BATU ACEH.

a) Patterns forming word Allah repeated twice on the base of a gravestone in Makam Diraja, Langgar, Alor Setar, Kedah.

b) Repetition of the Shahadah inscribed on base of a gravestone in Makam Johore Lama, Kota Tinggi, Johore.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE SHAHADAH ON BATU ACEH

a) Pillar Batu Aceh

b) Slab batu Aceh.

PAINTED BATU ACEH AT KAMPUNG MEURASSA.
( PAINTED TO ATTRACT TOURISTS)

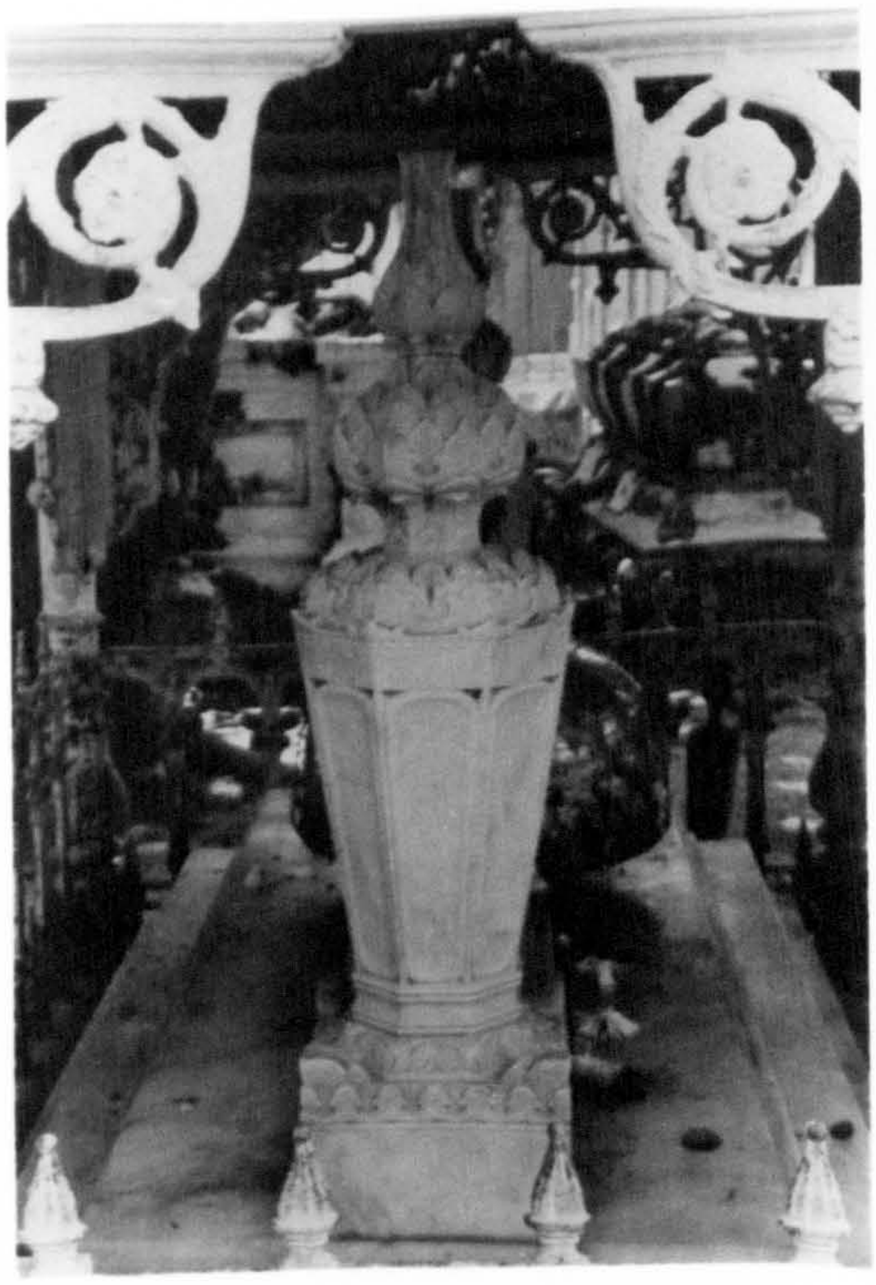
a) Shoulder with rosette on gravestone of wife of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak

b) Shoulder with Arabic calligraphy from gravestone in Makam Tok Subang

CURLY SHOULDERS OF BATU ACEH

OF TYPE C.

a) Gravestone in Makam Diraja, Langgar, Alor Setar, Kedah.



b) Gravestone of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Shah (d. 1879) in the same cemetery as a).

Italian marble but design based on batu Aceh.

a) Gravestone of Nakhoda Haji al-Kanbaiy (d. 1459).

b) An undecorated gravestone

GRAVESTONES ORIGINALLY IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA BUT NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SINGAPORE.

a) Gravestone
from Melaka.

b) Gravestone
from Melaka.

c) Gravestone
from Sayong
Pinang (?)

d) Gravestone
from Sayong
Pinang (?)

e) Gravestone
from Sayong
Pinang (?).

GRAVESTONES ORIGINALLY IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA BUT
NOW IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SINGAPORE.

Plate 26

a) Footstone, north side.

b) South side of a) above.



c) Restored site in 1979.

GRAVESTONES OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH I OF PAHANG
AT DUSUN PINANG, PAHANG TUA, PAHANG.

a) General view of the makam.

b) Tombstones of Raja Fatimah (d. 1495).

c) Arabic/Malay inscriptions on the headstone of b).

d) Tombstones of Raja Jamil

e) Another inscribed stones.

MAKAM ZIARAT RAJA RADEN, PEKAN, PAHANG.

a) Headstone of Raja Muda Abdullah

b) General view of the makam.

MAKAM CHONDONG, PEKAN, PAHANG.

Plate 29

a) General view of the makam

b) One of the inscribed stones

c) An undecorated stone

d) Headstone of one of the graves

MAKAM NIBONG, PEKAN, PAHANG.

a) General view

b) Headstone

c) Side view of the headstone

MAKAM CHE RIAL, PEKAN, PAHANG.

GRAVESTONE FROM PENGKALAN UBAH, PAHANG TUA, PAHANG.

a) General view

b) Headstone, south side.

c) Headstone, east side.

GRAVESTONES AT KAMPUNG PERMATANG PASIR, PEKAN, PAHANG.

a) Headstone, north side.

b) Headstone, west side

c) Footstone, north side.

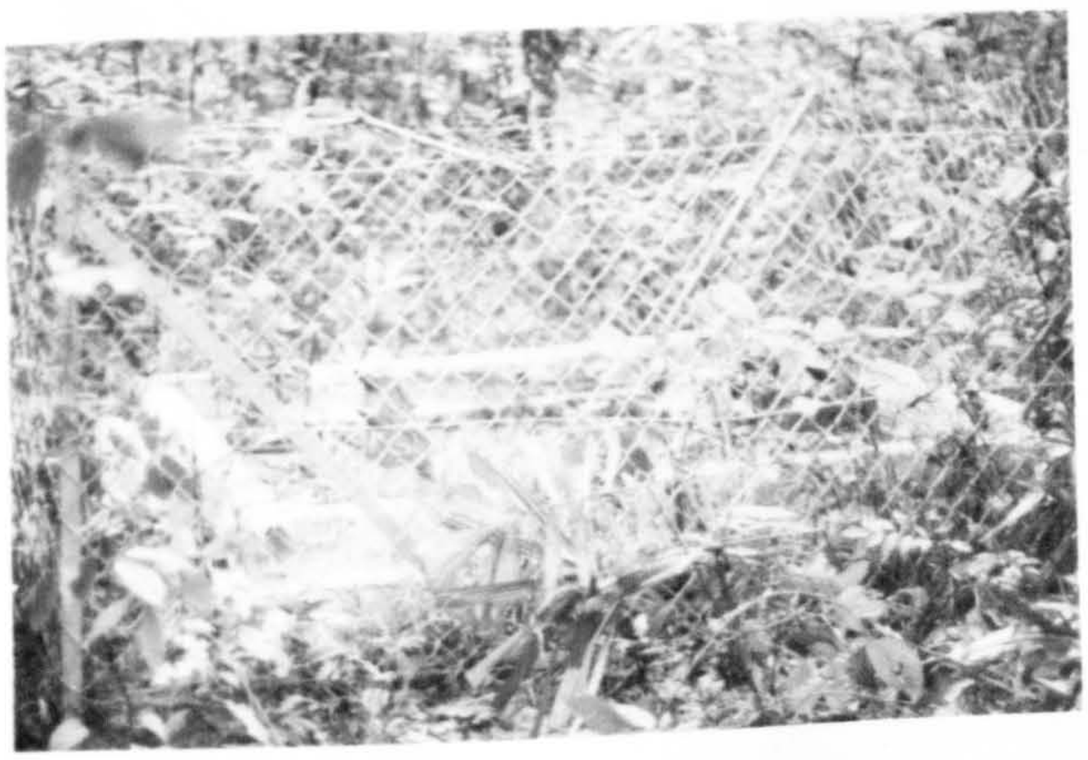
GRAVESTONES AT KAMPUNG PERMATANG PASIR, PEKAN, PAHANG.

a) Footstone, east side.

b) Footstone, south side.

c) Footstone, west side.

GRAVESTONES AT KAMPUNG PERMATANG PASIR, PEKAN, PAHANG.



a) General view in 1983

b) Headstone of first grave.

c) Headstone of second grave.

MAKAM KUALA BERA AT KAMPUNG KUALA BERA, TEMERLOH, PAHANG.

Plate 36

a) General view of two of the graves.

b) General view of the third grave.

c) Marble headstone.

d) Headstone of wife of Marhum Sheikh.

e) Headstone of daughter of Marhum Sheikh.

MAKAM LUBOK PELANG, JERANTUT, PAHANG.

a) Headstone of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah (d. 1488 AD).

b) Gravestone of Marhum Berdarah Puteh.

MAKAM SULTAN ALAUDDIN RIAYAT SHAH AND MARHUM BERDARAH PUTEH AT KAMPUNG RAJA, PAGOH, MUAR, JOHORE.

Plate 38

a) General view of the makam

b) Headstone of Sultan Abdul Jalil, grave no. 7, Fig. 21.

c) Headstone of Sultan Mahmud Shah, grave no. 6, Fig. 21.

d) Footstone of grave no. 1, Fig. 21.

e) Footstone of grave no.2, Fig. 21.

MAKAM SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH AT KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) Headstone of grave no. 11, Fig. 21 .

b) Headstone of grave no 10, Fig. 21 .

c) Headstone of grave no. 8, Fig. 21 .

d) Headstone of grave no. 14, Fig. 21 .

e) One of the graves outside the roofed and fenced cemetery.

MAKAM SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH AT KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) General view of the makam.

b) Headstone of Bendahara Tun Habab (Habib) Abdul Majid.

c) Footstone of grave no. 10, Fig. 22.

MAKAM BENDAHARA TUN HABAB (HABIB) ABD. MAJID, KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) Grave no.5, Fig. 22.

b) Grave no. 1, Fig. 22.

c) Grave no. 4, Fig. 22.

d) Footstone of grave no. 5, Fig. 22.

e) Headstone of grave no. 4, Fig. 22.

MAKAM BENDAHARA TUN HABAB (HABIB) ABD. MAJID, KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) Two graves outside the roofed and fenced graveyard .

b) Headstone of the extreme left grave (grave no.6, Fig. 23 ).

c) Headstone of grave no. 8, Fig. 23).

MAKAM SAYID AT KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

Plate 43

a) Grave no. 5, Fig. 23 .

b) Grave no. 4, Fig. 23 .

c) Footstone of grave no. 5 above.

d) Headstone of grave no. 4 above

MAKAM SAYID AT KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

Plate 44



a) A pair of Pillar batu Aceh.

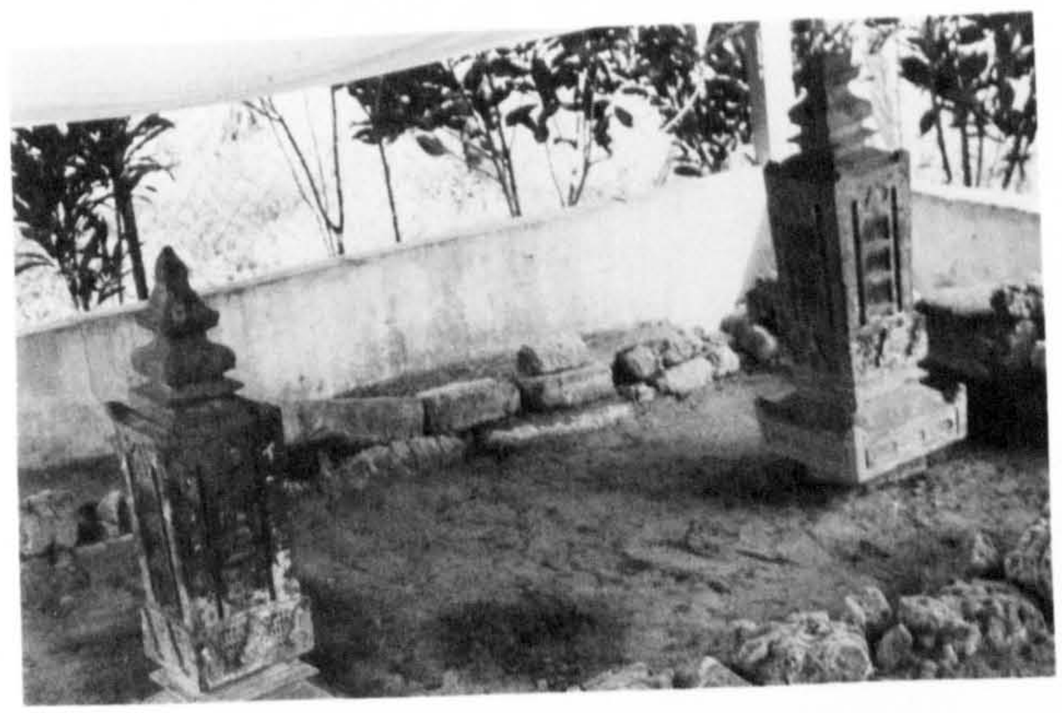
b) Headstone of a).

c) A pair of Upright Slab batu Aceh.

d) Footstone of c).

MAKAM TAUHID AT KAMPUNG MAKAM, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) A pair of gravestone from grave-
yard no. 2, Fig. 24.



b) A pair of gravestone from graveyard
no. 1, Fig. 24.

c) Gravestones of
Sulaiman Shah.

MAKAM SAYONG PINANG, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) Gravestones of Bendahara Seri Nara Diraja.

b) Headstone of above grave.

MAKAM SAYONG PINANG, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

Plate 47

a) A pair of batu Aceh at Kampung Johore Lama.

b) Headstone of above grave.

MAKAM JOHORE LAMA AT KAMPUNG JOHORE LAMA, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

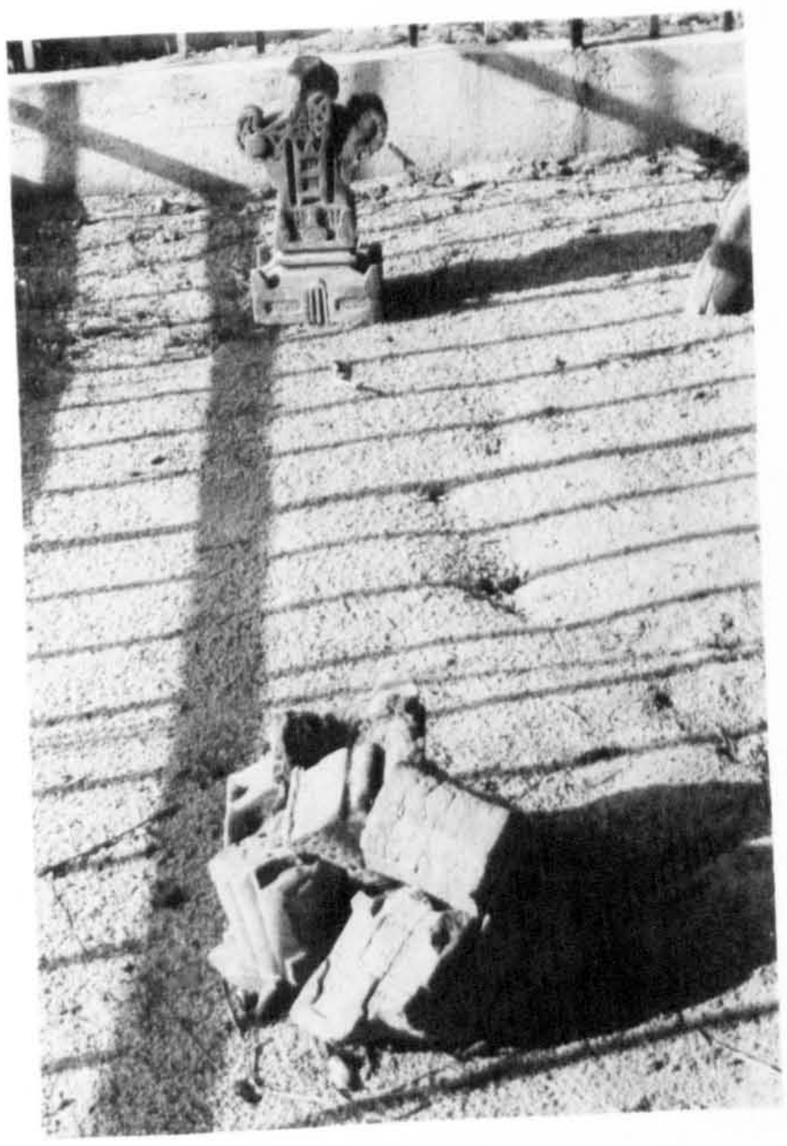
a) Gravestones in Makam Seluyut.

b) Headstone of the centre grave above

MAKAM SELUYUT, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) General view of graves in Group 1, Fig. 25 .

b) Footstone of the centre grave.

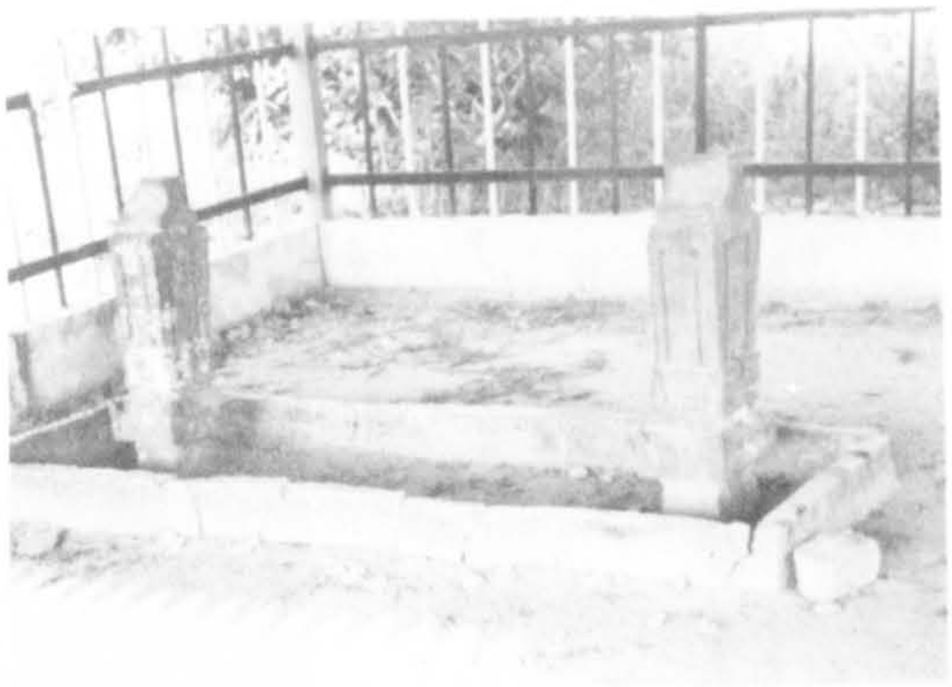


c) A grave in Group 2, Fig. 25.

d) Headstone of c).

GRAVESTONES AT TANJONG BELADING, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

Plate 50



a) Another pair of batu Aceh of Group 2 graveyard, Fig. 25.

b) Headstone of above grave.

c) Sole surviving stone of former graves of Group 2, Fig. 25.

GRAVESTONES AT TANJONG BELADING, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

a) Gravestones of Raja Puteh or Puteri Berdarah Puteh.

b) Footstone of a).

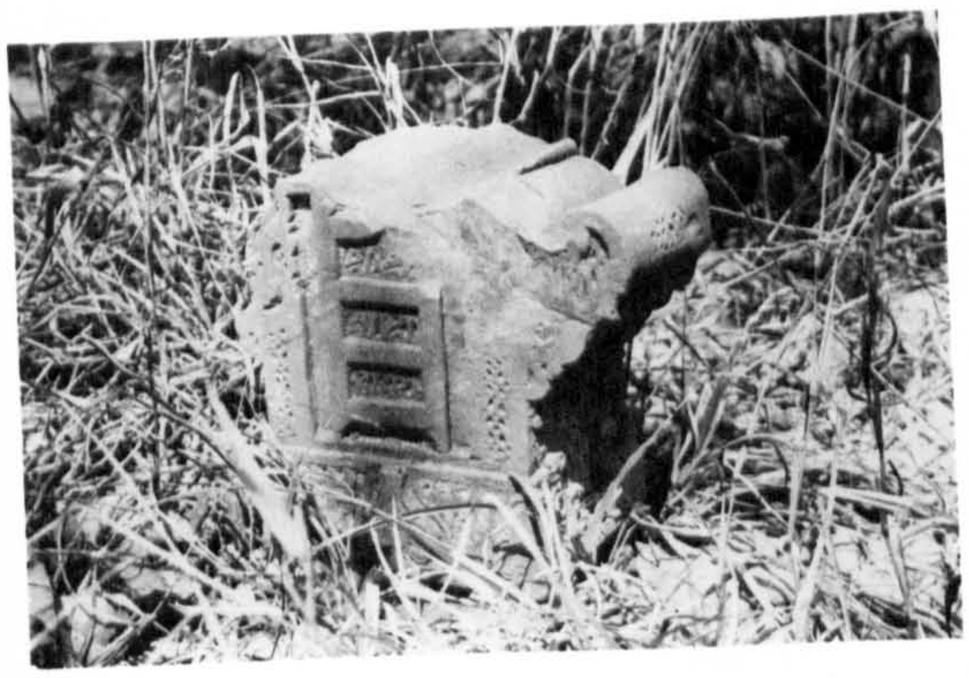
c) Gravestones of Sultan Abdul Jalil.

GRAVESTONES OF RAJA PUTEH AND SULTAN ABDUL JALIL AT PANCHOR, KOTA TINGGI, JOHORE.

MAKAM RAJA BRUAS AT KAMPUNG KOTA, BRUAS, PERAK.

a) Gravestone in Makam Raja Bruas.

b) Gravestone in Makam Raja Bruas.



c) Broken batu Aceh in Makam Raja Bruas.

d) Another batu Aceh in Makam Raja Bruas.

e) An undecorated batu Aceh in Makam Raja Bruas.

GRAVESTONES IN MAKAM RAJA BRUAS, KAMPUNG KOTA, BRUAS, PERAK.

HEADSTONE OF MAKAM TOK SUBANG AT KAMPUNG KANDANG,
NEAR SAYONG, KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK.

a) Headstone of wife of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak.

b) Headstone of daughter of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak.

c) Headstone of Syed Hussain, the religious teacher of Sultan Muzaffar Shah I of Perak.

GRAVESTONES IN MAKAM SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH I OF PERAK.

a) Headstone

b) Footstone

MAKAM TOK SEGO ACEH AT KAMPUNG PASIR, PARIT, PERAK.

a) General view of the makam.

b) Headstone of Laksamana Aceh.

c) Footstone of above.

MAKAM LAKSMANA ACEH, KAMPUNG PULAU, PARIT, PERAK.

Plate 58

a) Headstone of wife of Laksamana Aceh.

b) Footstone of daughter of Laksamana Aceh.

c) Headstone of daughter of Laksamana Aceh.

GRAVESTONES IN MAKAM LAKSAMANA ACEH, KAMPUNG PULAU, PARIT, PERAK.

a) General view of Makam Tok Tongsa.

b) Headstone of Tok Tongsa

c) Footstone of an assistant to Tok Tongsa.

d) Headstone of Tok Dewangsa.

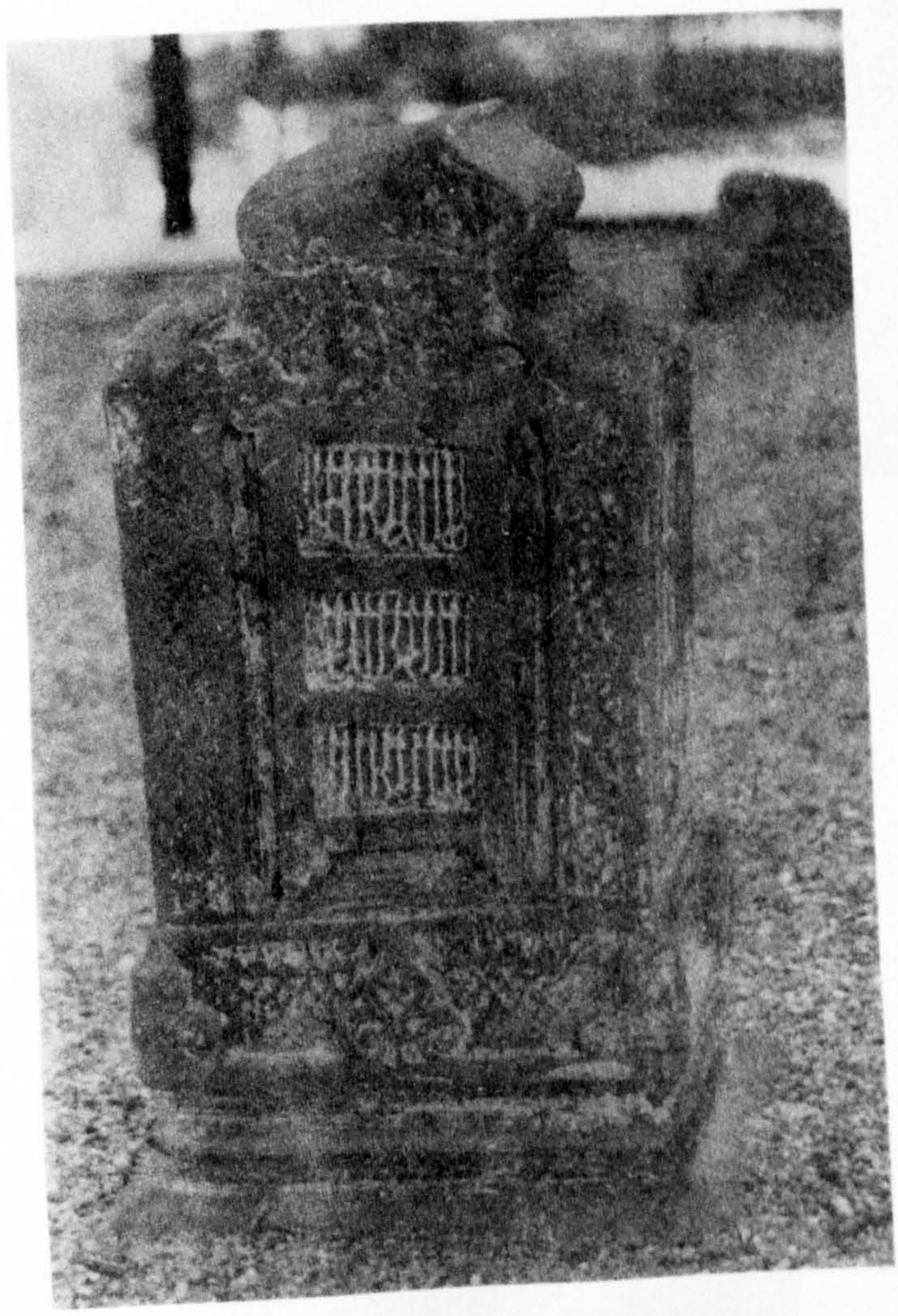
MAKAM TOK TONGSA AND TOK DEWANGSA, KAMPUNG PULAU, PARIT, PERAK.

a) Gravestone of Puteri Aceh.

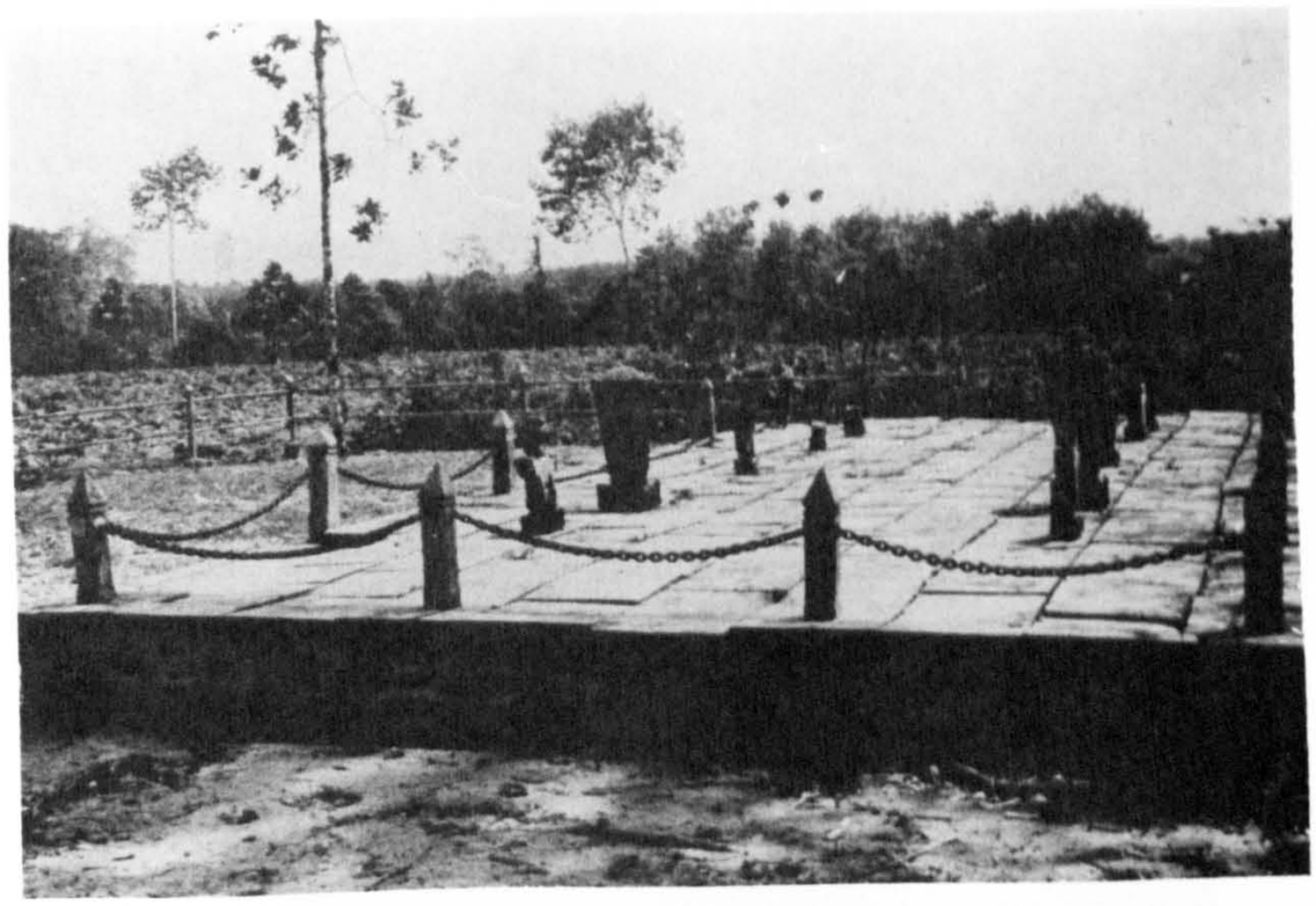
b) Close-up of the above.

GRAVESTONE OF PUTERI ACEH AT KAMPUNG PULAU JUAR, PARIT, PERAK.

KERAMAT TOK BIDAN SUSU LANJUT AT KEMUNTING, PERAK.
(DEMOLISHED IN JANUARY 1985)



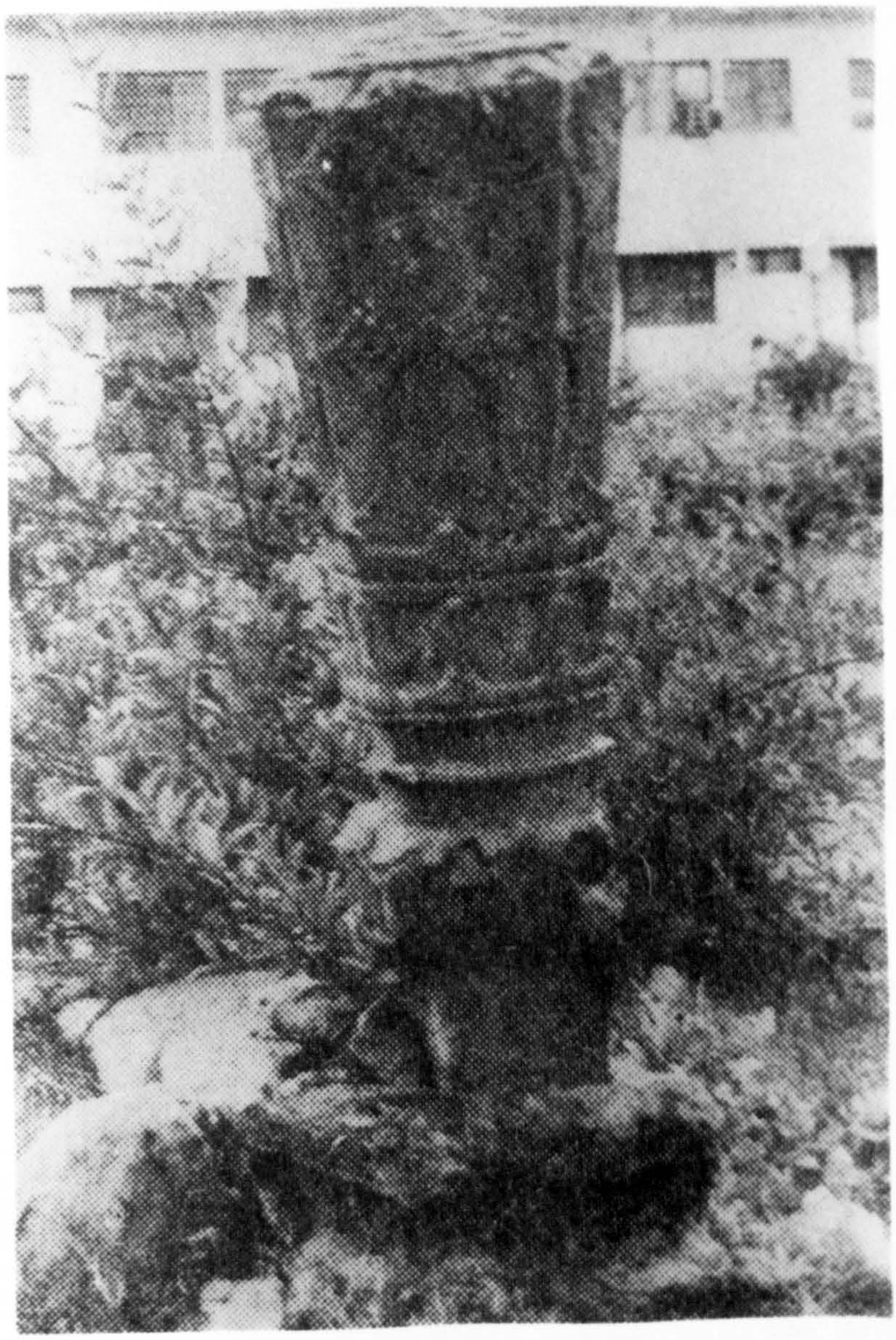
MAKAM TOK TUMUNG (TEMONG), KAMPUNG TEMONG ULU, KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK.



a) General view of the makam

b) Headstone of Sultan
Muzaffar Shah.

MAKAM SULTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH AT KAMPUNG BUJANG, MERBOK
KEDAH.



MAKAM TOK PASAI AT KUALA KEDAH, KEDAH

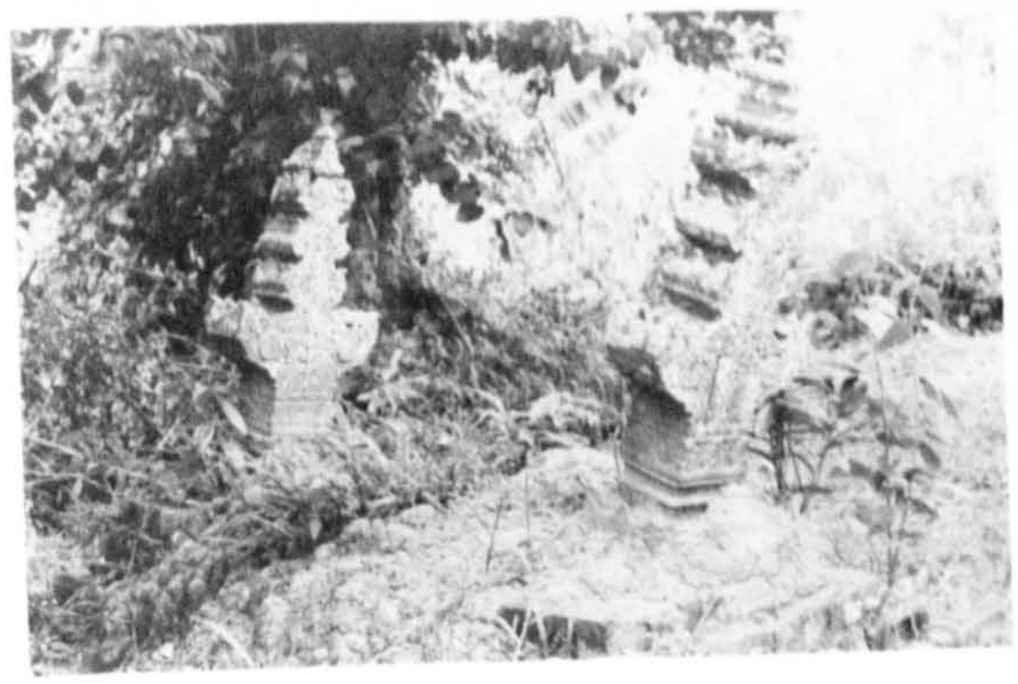
(from Utusan Malaysia 7.9.83).

a) A pair of Pillar batu Aceh.

b) Headstone of above grave.

c) Gravestones below the mound. Note the batee badan, or body stone, which connects the head and footstones.

MAKAM TOK ACEH AT ANAK BUKIT, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.



a) A pair of batu Aceh.

b) Headstone of above grave.

c) Footstone of above grave.

MAKAM TOK ACEH AT ANAK BUKIT, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.

a) General view of the makam

b) Headstone, grave no. 2, Fig.

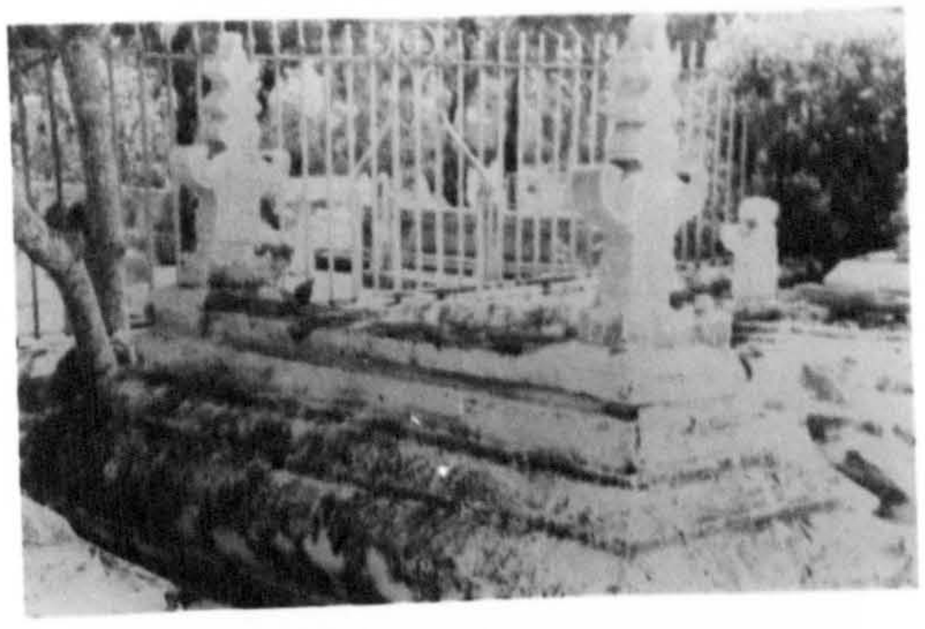
c) Footstone, grave no. 1, Fig.

d) Headstone, grave no. 4, Fig.

e) Headstone, grave no.3, Fig.

MAKAM DIRAJA, LANGGAR, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.

a) A pair of batu Aceh on grave no. 3, Fig. 32.



b) A pair of batu Aceh on grave no. 4, Fig. 32.

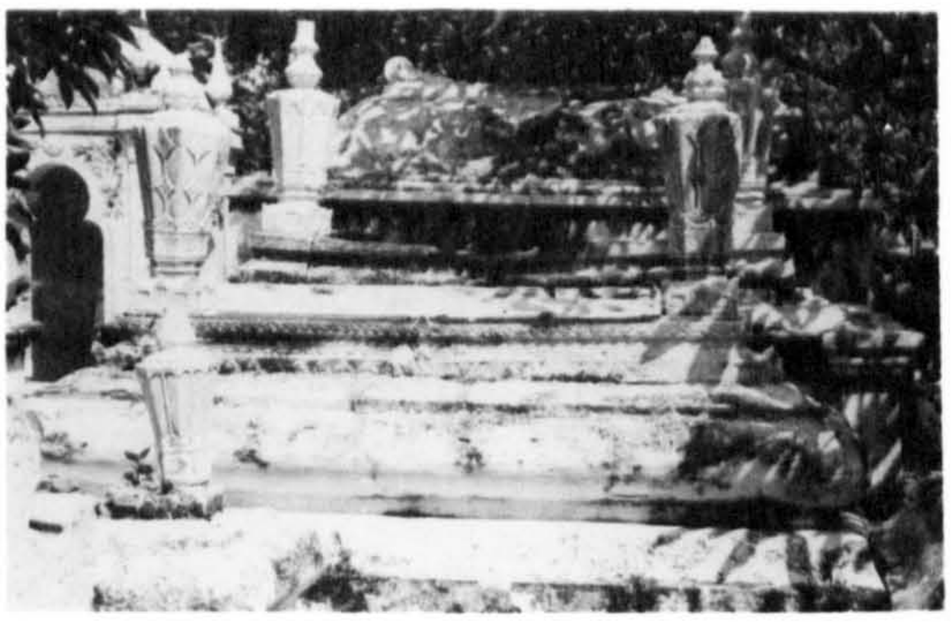
c) Headstone, grave no. 8, Fig. 32.

d) Footstone, grave no. 5, Fig. 32.

e) Grave no. 7, Fig. 32.

f) Footstone, grave no. 11, Fig. 32.

MAKAM DIRAJA, LANGGAR, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.



a) In background, grave no. 17, centre no. 16 and foreground footstone of grave no. 15, Fig. 32.

b) Gravestones on grave no. 17, Fig. 32.

c) Headstone, grave no. 16, Fig. 32.

d) Headstone, grave no. 14, Fig. 32.

e) Headstone, grave no. 9, Fig. 32.

f) Footstone, grave no. 18, Fig. 32.

MAKAM DIRAJA, LANGGAR, ALOR SETAR, KEDAH.

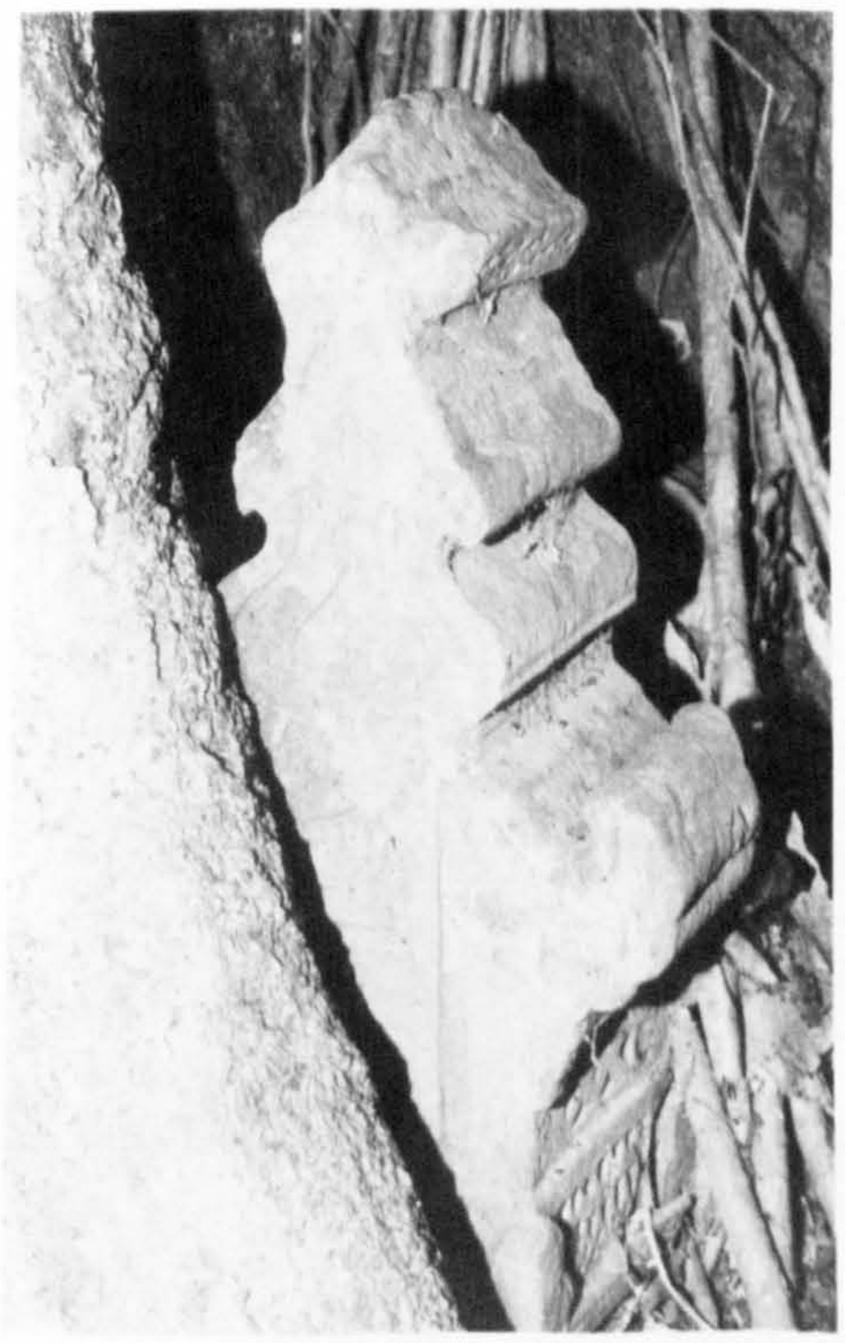
a) Footstone.

b) Headstone.

MAKAM PUTERI LINDONGAN BULAN OR PUTERI BERDARAH PUTEH
AT KAMPUNG SIPUTEH, KEDAH.

MAKAM PURBA (ANCIENT GRAVE) AT KAMPUNG ULU MELAK, PULAU LANGKAWI, KEDAH.

a) Batu Aceh embedded in the root of a banyan tree.



b) Close-up of above batu Aceh.

MAKAM TOK GERGUT AT KAMPUNG GUAL SYED ALWI, KANGAR, PERLIS.

a) A pair of batu Aceh in Makam Tok Halus, also known as 'Kubor Panjang' (Long Grave).

b) Footstone of above grave.

MAKAM TOK HALUS AT KAMPUNG BINJAI, KANGAR, PERLIS.

a) A pair of batu Aceh in Makam Tok Jaya.

b) Headstone of above grave.

MAKAM TOK JAYA AT KAMPONG PANGGAU, MUKIM SERIAP, KANGAR, PERLIS.

a) A pair of batu Aceh at Kampung Surau, Mukim Ngulang, Kangar, Perlis.

b) Footstone of above grave.

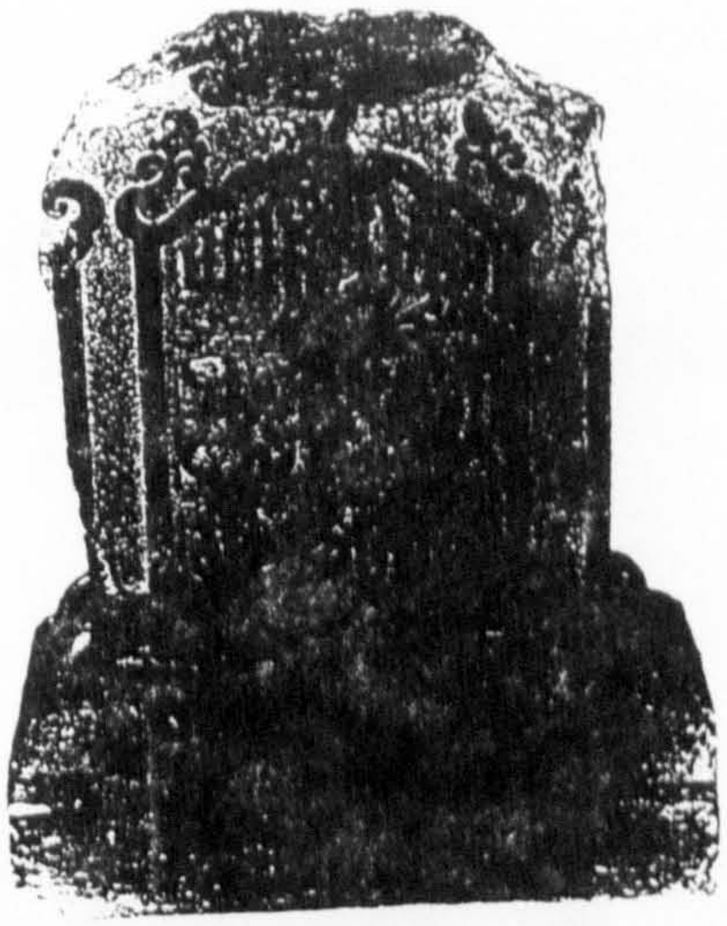
c) A pair of batu Aceh (Tok Seri Manis).

MAKAM TOK SURAU AND MAKAM TOK ACEH AND TOK SERI MANIS, KANGAR, PERLIS.

a) Footstone

b) Headstone

MAKAM TOK WENG AT KAMPONG KOTA KERAN, KANGAR, PERLIS.



a) Mutilated headstone

b) Close-up showing inscription

TOMBSTONE OF SULTAN MANSOR SHAH OF MELAKA.

a) General view of the site.

b) Headstone

c) Footstone

MAKAM TUN TEJA AT PENGKALAN SAMAK, MERLIMAU, MELAKA.

a) Gravestone at Bukit Keledang, Kuala Trengganu.

b) Headstone of Tok Raja Re, Ulu Trengganu.

BATU ACEH IN TRENGGANU.