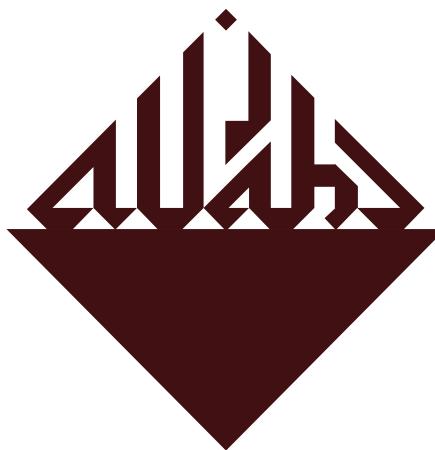


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 17, Number 1, 2010



THE MUSLIM MINORITY MOVEMENT IN SOUTHMOST THAILAND: FROM THE PERIPHERY TO THE CENTRE

Ahmad Suaedy

PRAXIS AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN ISLAM: THE CASE OF AHMAD DAHLAN, FOUNDER OF MUHAMMADIYAH

Hyung-Jun Kim

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies
Vol. 17, no. 1, 2010

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 83/Dikti/Kep/2009).

Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra

Dick van der Meij

Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*. Avec une contribution de Marie-Odette Scalliet. Paris: Cahier d'Archipel 37, 2008, ISBN 978-2-910513-53-5/ISSN 0244-5301, 402 pp.

Abstrak : Sejarah awal masuknya Islam di Nusantara menjadi subjek kajian yang menarik tetapi juga sangat sulit. Langkanya sumber dan panjangnya rentang waktu menjadikan kepastian perihal awal proses Islamisasi Nusantara sulit terlacak. Jika pun tersedia beberapa sumber sejarah, seringkali hanya mampu memberi gambaran samar. Karenanya, menjadi sangat penting menyediakan beberapa sumber sejarah yang ada untuk kemudian diperkenalkan ke khayal umum, terkhusus kepada para akademisi. Sehingga, dengan sumber itu, akan muncul gambaran yang baik dan dapat diandalkan tentang catatan awal sejarah Islam Nusantara.

Prinsip dasar itulah yang dijadikan titik awal Claude Guillot dan Ludvik Kalus ketika memulai penelitiannya tentang proses Islamisasi di Nusantara. Dengan menfokuskan diri pada pelacakan sumber inskripsi (prasasti) makam, mereka memulai buku ini dengan penjelasan singkat bahwa dalam konteks penyebaran Islam di Nusantara, memahami persebaran inskripsi makam menjadi penting. Hal ini mengingat melalui peninjauan ulang terhadap sumber sejarah tersebut, kita akan semakin memahami alur sejarah secara lebih ketat dan komprehensif.

Dan menurut mereka, ada tiga kawasan utama di Nusantara yang menjadi basis persebaran ragam prasasti tersebut. Di bagian utara Sumatera, dengan proporsi prasasti terbesar di seluruh Nusantara (Pasai, Barus, Lamuri, Pidie, Aceh, dan Aru), di Semenanjung Melayu (dua pusatnya Malaka-Johor dan Patani), dan di Brunei. Tentu, di samping ketiga wilayah tersebut, terdapat pula di pulau Jawa yang memang telah lama menjadi pusat alam budaya Nusantara.

Buku ini terfokus pada penjelajahan atas koleksi inskripsi makam, termasuk juga inskripsi batu nisan, yang ada di wilayah Pasai (Kesultanan Pasai) dan Aceh, Sumatera Utara. Seperti diketahui, secara historis, Kesultanan Pasai, disebut juga Samudera Pasai, telah hadir di Nusantara sejak tahun 1280 hingga 1523, saat di mana kekuasaannya dihancurkan dan direbut oleh Kerajaan Aceh. Secara teoritis, memahami lebih mendalam keberadaan kesultanan ini jelas akan sangat membantu siapa saja yang hendak memahami masa-masa awal keberadaan Islam di Nusantara. Tapi sayangnya, ide ini seringkali diabaikan karena faktanya, problem terbatasnya sumber sejarah menjadi kendala utama.

Sejatinya, sumber yang tersedia untuk mengkaji detail riwayat kesultanan ini cukup beragam. Beberapa karya sastra semisal Hikayat Raja Pasai, Sulalatu'l-Salatin (Sejarah Melayu) bahkan menjadi sumber penting bagi para ilmuwan Perancis tatkala hendak mengkaji sejarah Nusantara awal di wilayah Pasai. Keseriusan itu dapat dilihat misalnya ketika pada tahun 1874, muncul terjemahan Perancis dari karya Hikayat Raja Pasai yang selanjutnya diikuti oleh penerjemahan Sejarah Melayu tahun 1896. Dalam perkembangannya, kian hari makin banyak tulisan yang berupaya mendedah perihal wilayah ini yang ditulis dengan beragam bahasa, semisal Arab, Persia, Cina, Italia, Portugis, dan beberapa bahasa lainnya. Hal itu menyiratkan pentingnya Samudera Pasai di kancab internasional. Dan setidaknya ada tiga tulisan penting yang menyinggung sejarah wilayah ini. Satu ditulis oleh Ibnu Baṭṭūṭa pada pertengahan abad ke-14, satu ditulis oleh Ma Huan (Cina) pada abad ke-15, dan satu lagi ditulis dalam bahasa Portugis oleh Tomé Pires pada awal abad ke-16.

Informasi lain datang dari sejarah dua dinasti Cina (Mongol dan Ming) yang seperti halnya sumber Portugis juga berupaya menjelaskan sejarah kejatuhan Kesultanan Pasai. Sumber-sumber lain yang juga dijadikan alat pembedah untuk memahami arah perjalanan kesultanan ini adalah benda-benda sejarah semisal koin dan monumen makam, yang pada gilirannya menjadi salah satu fokus kajian buku ini.

C. Snouck Hurgronje adalah orang pertama yang menghargai pentingnya monumen makam sebagai sumber sejarah. Menurutnya, jika sebuah monumen makam dijaga dengan baik, maka akan menjadi dokumen sejarah penting. Ide inilah yang selanjutnya ia utarakan kepada pemerintah kolonial di Batavia yang selanjutnya didokumentasikan secara ekstensif oleh pihak pemerintah. Beberapa foto yang berhasil tersimpan di antaranya berasal dari batu nisan yang dibuat oleh HL Leydie Melville yang bekerja di Pasai antara tahun 1906 hingga 1908. Selain itu, terdapat pula sekitar 1500 foto yang berhasil dibuat oleh JJ de Vink pada dekade kedua abad ke-20. Namun, khusus foto-foto de Vink, keberadaannya terpencar di mana sebagiannya tersimpan di Leiden dan sebagian lainnya ada di Jakarta.

Di Indonesia, pengkajian serius tentang monumen-monumen dilakukan pertama kali oleh Hoesein Djajadiningrat yang dalam hal ini memfokuskan diri pada wilayah Aceh. Nama lain yang juga penting dicatat adalah Jean-Pierre Moquette. Penulis buku De Oudste Vorsten van Samudra-Pase: Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst Batavia (1913) ini dikenal sangat tertarik pada wilayah Pasai. Namun, setelah Moquette meninggal pada tahun 1926, upaya menekuni kajian inskripsi makam seakan redup dan baru kembali hidup setelah Perang Dunia II yang kala itu dikembangkan lebih jauh oleh L. Ch. Damais dengan beragam kajiannya tentang inskripsi makam.

Alhasil, upaya yang dilakukan oleh Claude Guillot dan Ludvik Kalus jelas berupaya melanjutkan gerak pendahulunya yang dalam banyak segi sangat bermanfaat bagi pembentukan bangunan argumentasi yang kokoh, terkhusus pada ranah arkeologis, dalam konteks menemukan penjelasan komprehensif perihal sejarah awal Islam di Nusantara.

Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra

Dick van der Meij

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خلاصة: أصبح تاريخ دخول الاسلام في الأرخبيل موضوعاً مثيراً ولكنه في نفس الوقت موضوع صعب للغاية، فإن ندرة المراجع والفراغات الواسعة التي يجب سدها من أجل التأكيد على أول دخول الارخبيل إلى الاسلام تزيد الأمر غموضاً وصعوبة للاطلاع عليه؛ ولكن كانت المصادر التاريخية متوفرة فإنها تستطيع فقط في معظم الأحوال أن تعطي لنا أفكاراً متناثرة مهمّة، ولهذا كان من الأهمية توفير عدد من المصادر التاريخية الموجودة لل العامة وخاصة للأكاديميين حتى تكون صورة معتمدة عليها حول سجل أول دخول الأرخبيل إلى الاسلام.

ذلك هو المبدأ الأساسي الذي كان منطلق البداية عند كلاود جيلوت ولويفيك كالوس Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus عندما استهلا درساًهما عن عملية الاسلام في الأرخبيل، فإذا ركزا اهتمامهما على دراسة المصدر المكتوب على شواهد الضريح فقد كانوا يبنّهان على أهمية فهم ما كان لتلك الشواهد من استخدام واسع حتى يكون في الوسع فهم مسار التاريخ بشكل أكثر شمولية.

وفي رأيهما أن هناك ثلاثة مناطق في الأرخبيل كانت تمثل قواعد لانتشار استخدام تلك الشواهد المكتوبة، ففي الجزء الشمالي لسومنطرة هناك مناطق هي أكبر المناطق التي انتشر فيها الشواهد المكتوبة (وهي بasaki وباروس ولامورى وبيدي وآشيه وأرو) وفي شبه جزيرة الملايو هناك مراكز هما ملاقا-جوهور وفطاني؛ وبروناي؛ وبالطبع كان هناك بجانب ذلك منتشرة في جزيرة جاوه التي صارت مركزاً للحضارة منذ فترة طويلة؛ يركز هذا الكتاب على مطالعة مجموعة الشواهد المكتوبة على الأرضحة بما في ذلك شواهد القبور الموجودة في مناطق بasaki (سلطنة بasaki) وآشيه بسومنطرة الشمالية.

وكما هو المعهود فإن سلطنة بasaki أو محيط بasaki ظهرت منذ عام 1280 حتى سقطتها عام 1523 على أيدي مملكة آشيه؛ ومن الناحية النظرية إن الفهم العميق

لظهور هذه السلطنة ليساعد على فهم العهود الأولى لدخول الإسلام في الأرخبيل، بيد أن هذه الفكرة كثيرة ما تتجاهلها الدراسات لقصور المراجع التاريخية؛ والمراجع المتوفرة لدراسة تفاصيل هذه السلطنة متعددة، وهناك بعض الأعمال الأدبية ككتاب حكايات راجا بasaki *Sulalatu'l-Salatin Hikayat Raja Pasai* أي قصة ملك بasaki، وكتاب سالالة السلاطين يمثلان مرجعاً هاماً في دراسة العهود المبكرة للأرخبيل في مناطق بasaki، وذلك يتمشى مع أهمية محيط بasaki من الناحية الدولية؛ وهناك على الأقل ثلاثة كتابات تتناول تاريخ هذه المناطق ومنها ما قدمه ابن بطوطة في منتصف القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي، ومنها ما كتبه ما هوان الصيني في القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي، والأخر كتبه باللغة البرتغالية توم بيريس في أوائل القرن السادس عشر الميلادي.

وتأتي المعلومات الأخرى من تاريخ أسرتين من المملكة الصينية (مغول ومينج) وهي معلومات تحاول أن تبين أيضاً تاريخ سقوط سلطنة بasaki؛ أما المراجع الأخرى التي استخدمت أيضاً كوسيلة لهم مسار هذه السلطنة فهي المراد الموروثة مثل النقود المعدنية وشواهد الأضرحة التي هي موضوع هذا الكتاب.

وأول من قدر أهمية الشواهد الأكتوبية على الأضرحة كمراجع للتاريخ هو سونوك هر جرونجي، فقد كان يرى أنه إذا ما تمت الحفاظة على الشواهد المكتوبة على الأضرحة فإنها بمثابة وثيقة تاريخية هامة، وكانت هذه الفكرة هي التي قدمتها إلى الحكومة الاستعمارية في بتافيا والتي احتفظت بها الجهة الحكومية؛ وفيها بعض الصور الفوتوغرافية للشواهد المكتوبة على ضريح صنعه هـ لـ ليدي ميليفلي الذي كان يعمل في بasaki في الفترة من عام ١٩٠٦ حتى ١٩٠٨م؛ بالإضافة إلى عدد ١٥٠٠ صورة فوتوغرافية صنعها حـ دـ فينك في العقود الثانية للقرن العشرين؛ ولكن بالنسبة لصور دـ فينك بعضها محفوظ بما في ليدن وبعضها الآخر في جاكرتا.

وفي إندونيسيا كان أول من قام بدراسة جدية للأنصاب التذكارية هو حسين جاياديدينجرات *Hoessein Djajadiningrat* الذي ركز على مناطق آشيه؛ ومن الأسماء المأمة أيضاً هو حين بيري موقيت، مؤلف كتاب *De Oudste Vorsten van Samudra-Pase, Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst, Batavia* (١٩١٣م) الذي كان معروفاً بولوعه لمناطق بasaki؛ ولكن بعد وفاة موقيت عام ١٩٢٦م تراجعت الحالات لدراسة الشواهد المكتوبة على الأضرحة ولم تزدهر مرة ثانية إلا بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية على يد شـ دـ ماميس من خلال مختلف الدراسات التي قام بها على الشواهد المكتوبة على الأضرحة.

والنتيجة أن المحاولة التي يقوم بها كلارود جيلوت ولووفيـك كالوس كانت امتداداً للسابقين، وهي محاولة جاءت في كثير من الجوانب بما يفيـد تكوين بناء استدلالي قوي ثابت فيما يتعلق بصفة خاصة بالأركيولوجية في إطار الكشف عن بيان شامل حول التاريخ المبكر للإسلام في الأرخبيل.

The history of early Islam in Nusantara is a fascinating subject but also a very difficult one. Sources are few and far apart in time, and geographical span, and it is extremely hard to get a clear and comprehensive idea of what Islam in the area was up to a rather late point in time. The available sources are often only able to give us fragmented and sketchy glimpses of what this history might have been. It is therefore very important that the few sources we have are made available to an as wide as possible audience so that they can be used by a large variety of scholars in different fields in order to come up with a reliable picture of early Nusantara Islam. The notions of early Islam are at present often still too one-sided, over-simplified, and naive. If we look at the complexity of Islam in the area in the present, I wonder if we should also not presuppose a similar complexity for the past.

There are three major areas in Nusantara where a sufficient number of funerary remains have been preserved. They are located in North Sumatra (Pasai, Barus, Lamuri, Pidië, Aceh and Aru), the Malay Peninsula (especially Melaka-Johor and Patani),¹ and in Brunei² and of course there are other finds in other areas in the region.³ The book under discussion is concerned with the major collections of these remains in Pasai and Aceh in North Sumatra and with the funerary inscriptions found on these gravestones.

The Sultanate of Pasai, or Samudra Pasai, existed from 1280 to 1523. After having had a powerful existence, it was taken over by its northern neighbour, Aceh, in 1523. Notwithstanding the important role of this small Sultanate in the area during its existence, it is virtually ignored because of lack of sources.

The sources available for the study of this sultanate are diverse. Literary sources include the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and the *Sulalatu'l-Salatin (Sejarah Melayu)* and these sources are witness to the early interest the French had in the area. A French translation of the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* appeared as early as 1874 and was followed by a French translation of the *Sejarah Melayu*, which appeared in 1896.⁴ Apparently, French interest in the area has remained vide the present book. Written sources on the area include those written in Arabic, Persian, Chinese, 'Italian',⁵ Portuguese and others and all attest to the importance and the international name Pasai had. Apart from these, there are three eyewitness accounts that mention aspects of the area. One was written by Ibn Battûta in the mid-14th century, the second in Chinese by Ma Huan

in the 15th century, and the last in Portuguese written by Tomé Pires in the early 16th century. Two Chinese dynastic histories (one from the Mongols and one from the Ming) provide additional information, as do Portuguese sources for the period of the decline of the Sultanate. Other sources include coins and the funerary monuments presented in this book.

At the end of the 19th century, C. Snouck Hurgronje was the first to appreciate the importance of the funerary monuments and he convinced the colonial authorities in Batavia of the need for extensive documentation of these remains. The first photographs of the gravestones were made by H.L. Leydie Melville who worked in Pasai between 1906 and 1908 while some 1500 photographs were made by J.J. de Vink in the second decade of the 20th century. The photographs of De Vink became separated as part went to Leiden and part remained in Jakarta (p. 11). Apparently, the photographs Melville and De Vink made in Pasai and the early ones De Vink made in Aceh are now in the Library of Leiden University. The fate of the rest of them remains in the dark so some more explorations in Indonesian libraries is called for. Two more names are important in the initial study of these monuments: Hoesein Djajadiningrat (mostly interested in Aceh) and Jean-Pierre Moquette (mostly interested in Pasai). After Moquette's death in 1926, interest waned and only resurfaced after World War II when L.-Ch. Damais recognized the importance of these funerary remains. Clearly, nowadays Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus are the latest scholars actively engaged in the study of these archaeological remains of Nusantara's Islamic past. Both have extensively written on Islamic archaeology and epigraphy especially of North Sumatra, not only of Pasai and Aceh, but also of Barus.⁶ Kalus has written extensively on Arabic inscriptions, not only in Nusantara, but also in China and Bahrain apart from other works on Islamic culture. Claude Guillot has also extensively written on Islamic inscriptions mostly together with Ludvik Kalus among others on Islamic funerary inscriptions from Brunei.⁷

All epigraphic materials in existence in Pasai are of a funerary nature and number about 150 gravesites dating from the 13th tot the 16th century and because of their richness, coherence, and age are quite unique in the entire Islamic World. They are located in three main sites: Gendong Kuta Kareueng, Lubok Tuwé, and Minye Tujuh. The first concerns mainly the graves of the royal family and number 125 graves. The other sites have less elaborate graves of people of less status.

The book gives an exhaustive typology of the various forms of the gravestones and their variations and uses clear photographs to illustrate the various types. Six types have been identified of which one, the ogival style was imported into the area from Cambay, Gujarat, India. The six types are ogival, accolade, accolade with wings, decorated with spirals, pyramidal, and others, all with subdivisions. The book continues with the languages used in the inscriptions on the stones. Although at the time Malay already functioned as the lingua franca in the area, the language used on the stones is predominantly Arabic. The various texts used in the inscriptions are subsequently divided into epitaphs, containing the name of the deceased often elaborated with extensive soubriquets. The epithets for males and females are usually the same but for women a more extensive number of labels is used such as 'the chaste', 'the virtuous', 'the pure' and so on. In addition, genealogies, eulogies, and dates of death and interment are provided. The next category is quotations from the Qur'an, Hadith (including pseudo-Hadith), religious texts, and prayers (often in poetic form).

An in-depth study of the palaeography of the inscriptions has not been attempted. Mostly the so-called *naskh* script is used but because of the absence of a proper method of description and by lack of materials from the regions of origins of the script for comparisons, attempts to describe palaeographical details are as yet impossible.

This is the first time that the photos of the funeral remains from Pasai and Aceh have been published in a book. The reader should be aware however, that not all the photos made by De Vink have been reproduced. That there are many more becomes clear from the descriptions of the individual gravestones where the numbers of the photos De Vink made of each stone are usually mentioned. The authors are very much aware of the problems they encountered in deciphering the inscriptions for which one needs to have very good eyes and a lot of experience. Luckily, modern technology enabled them to manipulate digitalized versions of the photos in such a way that they could find the right balance to enable them to read the script more easily. Especially difficult are names, titles, and other personal additions to names because of the irregularities in spelling. This was especially so for names and such in Malay. Quranic verses and Hadith quotations could be identified because of the availability of concordances. Usually a grave has two gravestones and interestingly, the stones to the south provide eulogies etc. whereas the stones at the north contain the Quranic phrases.

Only the gravestones with text are included in the book. For unclear reasons the stones with so-called ‘schematic inscriptions’ consisting of repetitions of various words and expressions are not included. I have no idea how many they are but to dismiss them because ‘Ces tombes dont les “textes” ne ressortent pas vraiment du domaine de l’epigraphie arabe, témoignent d’une phase de «décadence», c’est-à-dire de l’affaiblissement de l’islamisation classique et surtout de l’utilisation de la langue arabe dans la region’ (p. 53) sounds funny to me. It would imply that we know enough of the classical Islamisation of the area, which we do not and that is precisely why we need this book, and to dismiss things as decadent without virtually any knowledge of the way these stones came into existence and what the purpose(s) of these ‘schematic inscriptions’ were is in my view somewhat peculiar. Why they should not be part of the domain of Arabic epigraphy is also a puzzle to me.

The numbers De Vink gave to the stones have been retained and numbers were added when other finds were included. For unrevealed reasons they reversed the sequence De Vink made and rather than starting with the stones at the north sides as De Vink did, they start with the south (p. 54). Numbers are interrupted because of the deletion of the stones mentioned above.

In the descriptions of each photograph, the following sequence has been maintained: epitaph, Quran, Hadith, religious text, prayers and poetic pieces. This sequence is maintained throughout, also when the stones themselves do not have a ‘logical’ sequence, which I find interesting because I would like to know what the authors mean by that since they do not elaborate.

The last of the introductory part of the book is devoted to a historical commentary and because of the predominance of royal funerary remains, it starts with the royal family of the Sultanate. The graves of the Sultans from the end of the 14th century to the demise of the Sultanate in 1523 are all – with minor exceptions – still in place. The various rules of the Sultans is related and the sources on which these expositions are based are compared and evaluated especially with reference to the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu*. Other sub-chapters follow on Pasai society, paying attention to the nobility, the family of the ‘Abbasids’, women, administrators, men of religion (including the Sadr, Qadi and jurists, Sufis, and pieces on religion in Pasai as well as Jihad and Shahid), other groups in society and the remarkable absence of

merchants. The last part of the introductory part concerns the nations and languages spoken in Pasai and the weaknesses and grandeur of the Sultanate and ends in a conclusion.

The next more than 200 pages are devoted to inventories of the inscriptions of Pasai and Lamuri. For Pasai, Each description is provided with clear photographs mostly made by De Vink and are supplemented by extra photographs by the present authors. The photographs used for Lamuri were made by the authors. The texts are transliterated and translations are provided while the Quranic passages have been identified. Very helpfully, older publications about and earlier reproductions of individual gravestones have also been included in the descriptions.⁸ One marvels at the clarity of De Vink's photographs, which are preserved as glass negatives. This clarity even surpasses that of newly made photographs. One gets the impression that De Vink knew precisely at what time to photograph the inscriptions so that they came out most clearly.⁹

The book ends with indexes of the inscriptions on names and surnames, titles and functions, years, Quranic verses, and a bibliography.

The last chapter in the book is by the hand of Marie-Odette Scalliet and entitled *L'Aventure du relevé des vestiges islamiques de Pasai*. It describes shortly the history of the discovery of the funerary remains in 1899 and the role of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) in their study. It also highlights the efforts and roles of the others involved in this endeavour such as H.L. Leydie Melville (185?-1921), J.J. de Vink (1883-1945), J.P. Moquette (d. 1927) and Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1886-1960). Her piece ends with three photographs, one in possession of the KITLV and two from the Galestin Collection in the Library of Leiden University.

Interestingly for a book of this kind, the bibliography is a mess and many mistakes have been made usually in taking over names of titles in Dutch. It is for me difficult to understand why it is so difficult to copy Dutch, especially when names have sometimes been copied correctly. I have no idea what the *Tijdschrift voor Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde* is and I am afraid it does not exist. Indië also does not exist, but Indië does although it is often spelled Indie. The spellings Nederlandische and Nederlansche are also new to me and should be Nederlandsch. *BKI* is not *Bijdragen van de Koninklijk Instituut tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* but *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. More

mistakes are there and in light of these mistakes, one may be tempted to wonder if the painstaking transcriptions of the grave monuments are indeed trustworthy.

Conclusion

The French have to be applauded for their continuous attention for the archaeology of Indonesia, especially that of North Sumatra. Time and again, they present the scholarly community with detailed and extremely well documented works and without them, the international position of the study of Indonesian archaeology would look bleak. The present book is one of the marvels the French have produced over time. Unfortunately, one of the main problems with the book is that it is written in French and thus regrettably inaccessible to most Indonesians (and nowadays many other non-French). It is to be hoped that the École française d'Extrême-Orient will be able to afford the publication of an Indonesian translation, at least of the introductory part, as they did with a number of articles published under the name *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia*.¹⁰

Endnotes

- 1 See D. Perret and Kamarudin Ab. Razak, *Batu Aceh Warisan Sejarah Johor*, Johor Bahru: EFEO-Yayasan Warisan Johor, 1999 and D. Perret and Kamarudin Ab. Razak, *Batu Aceh Johor dalam Perbandingan*, Johor Bahru: EFEO-Yayasan Warisan Johor, 2004.
- 2 See C. Guillot and L. Kalus, 'Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei', *Bulletin d'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 90-91, 2003-2004 and 93, 2006.
- 3 Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia*, Jakarta: KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), École française d'Extrême-Orient, Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2008, p. 8.
- 4 Aristide Marre 1874, *Sumatra : histoire des rois de Pasey trad. du Malay et annotéeé par Aristide Marre*, Paris: Chez Maisonneuve et Cie, and 1896, *Le Sadjarah Malayou (l'arbre généalogique malais) ou Histoire des radjas et des sultans malais depuis les origines jusqu'à la conquête de Malaka par Alphonse d'Albuquerque*, en 1511. Traduit du malais en français: Aristide **Marre**. Vauresson.
- 5 The authors write 'Italian' between quotation marks without explaining why.
- 6 See e.g. Ludvik Kalus, 'Sumber-Sumber Epigrafi Islam di Barus', in Claude Guillot et al. *Barus seribu tahun yang lalu*. Jakarta: KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), École française d'Extrême-Orient, Association Archipel, Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional and Forum Jakarta-Paris, 2008, pp. 297-332.
- 7 C. Guillot and L. Kalus, 'Les inscriptions funéraires islamiques de Brunei'.
- 8 Few of those publications have been translated into Indonesian but two are. See Willem van der Molen, 'Syair Minye Tujuh', and Ludvik Kalus, 'Nisan Minye Tujuh Berbahasa Arab', in: Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia*, pp. 37-63 and 65-69. These articles are worth mentioning as they together present eight photographs of these gravestones whereas the present book only provides two without mentioning the rest.
- 9 Accidentally, people interested in how to make photographs of reliefs may profit from Rio Helmi's 'A Note for Photographers' which is found as Appendix B to Ann R. Kinney's *Worshipping Siva and Buddha. The Temple Art of East Java*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, pp. 286-287.
- 10 Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia*.

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