

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND ISLAM  
IN INDONESIA

Michael Wood

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ISLAMIC LAW VERSUS ADAT: DEBATE ABOUT INHERITENCE LAW  
AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM IN MINANGKABAU

Yasrul Huda

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*PATTUMATEANG* AMONG PEOPLES OF CIKOANG,  
SOUTH SULAWESI: A LOCAL PRACTICE OF MORTUARY  
RITUAL IN THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

Muhammad Adlin Sila

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Dr. Michael Wood

## Archaeology and Islam in Indonesia

**Abstraksi:** *Indonesia adalah negara dengan jumlah populasi Muslim terbesar di dunia. Tapi terkadang Muslim Indonesia digambarkan memiliki peranan yang kecil oleh para sarjana Barat, oleh para Muslim yang lain, dan bahkan oleh Muslim Indonesia sendiri. Clifford Geertz memberi judul hasil studi antropologinya di sebuah kota kecil di Jawa Timur dengan *The Religion of Java*. Keseluruhan pendekatan Geertz berasal dari premis sederhana bahwa Islam Jawa bukanlah varian lokal Islam, melainkan sebuah entitas tersendiri yang terpisah. Belanda juga meremehkan peran Islam atas masyarakat Indonesia, membuat klaim yang sama, bahwa Islam bagaimanapun asing bagi budaya asli kepulauan Nusantara; budaya asli adalah India.*

Untuk menguji fenomena ini, beberapa akademisi seperti Anthony Reid merujuk pada "ortodoksi nasionalis" yang muncul di antara Muslim Indonesia. Kaum akademisi ini berbicara tentang "zaman keemasan" di mana wilayah yang sekarang dikenal sebagai Indonesia adalah negara kesatuan yang makmur, yang diasosiasikan dengan pemerintahan kerajaan Hindu dan Budha, seperti Sriwijaya dan Majapahit yang berpusat di Jawa. Tokoh-tokoh nasionalis seperti Soekarno dan Muhammad Yamin mengembangkan ortodoksi nasionalis sebagai bagian dari perjuangan kemerdekaan, khususnya dengan mencontohkan kejayaan Kerajaan Majapahit, sejarah yang ditemukan dalam teks Jawa abad ke-14, *Nagarakertagama*. Ortodoksi nasionalis tetap populer setelah Indonesia mencapai kemerdekaan, dan setelah datangnya rezim Orde Baru Soeharto. Yang menjadi persoalan bagi sebagian besar Muslim Indonesia adalah fokus masa lalu Indonesia yang berpusat pada konteks Hinduisme dan Budhisme.

Artikel ini memperlihatkan peran Islam di masa lalu Indonesia, melalui dua arkeolog Indonesia yang memberi perhatian terhadap Islam: Uka Tjandrasasmita dan Hasan Muarif Ambary. Keduanya kemudian dikenal sebagai arkeolog Islam Indonesia. Uka Tjandrasasmita adalah salah seorang arkeolog awal Indonesia yang berada di balik penulisan *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Jilid III*, sejarah nasional yang menjadi teks standar bagi peng-

ajaran sejarah di sekolah-sekolah Indonesia selama Orde Baru. Jilid yang dia kerjakan adalah berkenaan dengan sejarah Islam Indonesia. Selain itu, selama beberapa tahun dia memegang posisi Kepala Bidang Arkeologi Islam, Pusat Penelitian Kepurbakalaan dan Peninggalan Nasional, dan melakukan penelitian dan penggalian di Jawa Barat, Jawa Tengah, dan Jawa Timur. Dia juga banyak mempublikasikan laporan tentang arkeologi Islam Indonesia.

Hasan Muarif Ambary adalah seorang arkeolog teratas Indonesia yang menerima latihan di bawah pengawasan sarjana Prancis Denys Lombard. Dia mempublikasikan banyak karya tentang Islam dan arkeologi dan studi-studi tentang Sirkus Jawa Barat di Banten. Dia juga terlibat dalam penulisan Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia. Karya terakhir dapat dianggap sebagai "sejarah alternatif yang menunggu," ditulis dari dalam Orde Baru namun banyak mempertanyakan anggapan-anggapan tentang sejarah nasional dan tempat Islam dalam Indonesia modern.

Tjandrasasmita dan Ambary meletakkan rekonstruksi sejarah Indonesia yang berbeda dari ortodoksi nasionalis, setidaknya dalam hal penekanan. Menurut ortodoksi nasionalis, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia yang modern sama dengan Kerajaan Majapahit. Kedatangan Islam dianggap kurang penting.

Tjandrasasmita, Ambary, dan sejarawan-sejarawan lain yang memiliki pandangan yang sama, pada sisi yang lain, lebih berkonsentrasi dengan tempat Islam dalam sejarah dan perkembangan Indonesia. Sejarawan-sejarawan Indonesia inilah yang mendorong serangkaian seminar—diselenggarakan pada 1963, 1978, 1980, dan 1986—yang berupaya mengalihkan fokus penelitian sejarah Indonesia dari Majapahit ke tempat Islam dalam Indonesia.

Tjandrasasmita dan Ambary memberikan pandangan yang berbeda tentang masa lalu Indonesia dari pandangan sebuah "zaman keemasan" dalam dominasi Jawa. Sebagai lawan dari ortodoksi nasionalis yang cenderung meremehkan tempat Islam dalam sejarah bangsa, keduanya juga mengupayakan sebuah sejarah komprehensif Islam di Indonesia sebagaimana direfleksikan dalam rekaman arkeologis.

Dalam sejarah alternatif yang ditawarkan oleh dua arkeolog ini, Indonesia adalah bagian dari dunia Islam yang lebih besar, dan terbuka bagi banyak pengaruh luar dari India, China, dan Barat. Local genius diadopsi dan diadaptasi sementara identitas lokal yang kuat tetap dipertahankan. Sebagaimana Gajah Mada membantu menyatukan kepulauan Indonesia secara politik, Islam berperan besar menyatukan Indonesia secara budaya. Republik Indonesia modern adalah manifestasi terkini bukan hanya Kerajaan Majapahit, tetapi juga persilangan kuat perdagangan dan agama. Secara historis Indonesia terbuka bukan hanya bagi Islam, tetapi juga pengaruh-pengaruh luar lain.



Dr. Michael Wood

## Archaeology and Islam in Indonesia

**الخلاصة:** رغم من اعتبار إندونيسيا من أكبر الدول الإسلامية في العالم من حيث تعداد السكان، لكن في كثير من الأحيان أنها دولة هامشية عند البعض، بل أنها منفصلة من "مركز الإسلام" في شرقي الأوسط. كليفورت جييرتز Clifford Geertz مثلا يسمي كتابه كنتيجة من بحوثه الانثروبولوجية التي أجراها في مدينة صغيرة بجاوه، بعنوان "دين جاوه". ويبنى كليفورت جييرتز آراءه على الاعتقاد بأن إسلام جاوه ليس مغايرا محليا للإسلام، لكنه كيانا مستقلا ومنفصلا. كذلك يقلل الباحثون الهولنديون شأن الإسلام في المجتمع الإندونيسي قائلا بأن الإسلام وافد إلى الثقافة الإندونيسية الأصلية في الأرخيبيل التي جاءت من الهند.

على أساس الآراء السابقة، ظهر ما أسماه أنتوني ريد Anthony Reid بـ "أرثذوكسي الوطنيين" في عرف كتابة لتاريخ إندونيسيا. والعلماء من هذا المذهب يتحدثون دائما عن "عصر ذهبي"، حيث يربطون إندونيسيا اليوم بحكومة المملكة الهندوكية والبوذية مثل مملكة سيرويجايا وماجافهيت التي تقع في جاوه. والوطنيون مثل سوكارنو ومحمد يامين كان يطورون مذهب "أرثذوكسي الوطنيين" كجزء من الكفاح الاستقلالي مستفيدين من ازدهار مملكة ماجافهيت التي عثرت على النسخة الحاوية "Nagarakertagama" من القرن الرابع عشر. ومذهب أرثذوكسي الوطنيين ما يزال مشهورا حتى بعد ما تحققت إندونيسيا على استقلالها، ثم تقوى في عصر حكومة الطريقة الجديدة "سوهارتو" (Orde Baru Soeharto).

على هذه الآراء، يأتي السؤال المتعلق بالحقيقة بأن إندونيسيا هي من أكبر الدول الإسلامية في العالم من حيث تعداد سكانها. كيف نشرح حالة الإسلام والأمة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا التي كانت في الماضي وفي كثير من الأحيان معروفة بمركز الهندوكية والبوذية؟

وتحاول هذه المقالة على السعي الثقافي لإيجاد مكان للإسلام والمسلمين في تاريخ إندونيسيا. على ذلك، تقدم الأستاذان من العلماء الأثريين المشهورين في إندونيسيا الذين لهما الاهتمام بالإسلام وهما أوكا شندراساسميتا Uka Tjandrasasmita وحسن معاريف أمباري Hasan Muarif Ambary. وهما معروفان بالعلماء الأثريين المسلمين الإندونيسيين ومن المؤلفين لتاريخ إندونيسيا

القومي الخاص بجزء ثالث يتعلق بتاريخ الإسلام في إندونيسيا الذي يتقرر ككتاب مقرر في مادة التاريخ لجميع المدارس الإندونيسية في عصر الطريقة الجديدة (Orde Baru). بالإضافة إلى أن هؤلاء العلماء كان مديرا لقسم الآثار الإسلامية في مركز البحوث الأثرية والتراث القومي لبضع سنوات. لذلك كانت لهما خبرة طويلة في إجراء البحوث الأثرية والحفريات في مختلف الولايات الإندونيسية، ولهما كتب منشورة لنتائج البحوث الأثرية بإندونيسيا.

قد وضع العالمان أساسا لإعادة التركيب لتاريخ إندونيسيا يختلف عما كتبه مذهب أرثوذكسي الوطنيين، وعلى الأقل في تركيز قضاياها. ويرى أنصار مذهب أرثوذكسي الوطنيين أن الجمهورية الإندونيسية المتحدة الحديثة قامت على فكرة مملكة ماجافاهيت. من هنا يعتبر مجيء الإسلام أقل أهمية بما فيه السلاطين للممالك الإسلامية في خارج جزيرة جاوه مثل السلطان إسكندر مودا في آشيه والسلطان حسن الدين في سولاويسي. والشخصيات الإسلامية الأخرى مثل ديونيجورو والإمام بنحول وتيوكو عمر معترفة بفضولهم لكفاحهم ضد الاستعمار الهولندي، بينما يعتبر غاجاه مادا وهيام ووروك وآخر الملك "براويجايا" أكثر فضولا واعترافا بجهودهم في توحيد الشعب.

قد بذل أوكا شندراساسميتا Uka Tjandrasasmita وحسن معاريف آمباري Hasan Muarif Ambary ومعهما العلماء الآخرون في نفس الاتجاه جهودا كبيرة لإيجاد مكان أكبر للإسلام في تاريخ إندونيسيا وتطورها. على ذلك، يشجعان على انعقاد سلسلة من المؤتمرات العلمية المنعقدة في السنوات ١٩٦٣، و١٩٧٨، و١٩٨٠، و١٩٨٦ محاولين على تحويل البحوث لتاريخ إندونيسيا من ماجافاهيت إلى الإسلام. من أهدافهما ظهور تاريخ الإسلام المتكامل في إندونيسيا المؤيد بالتسجيلات الأثرية.

في التاريخ البديل الذي يقترحه العالمان الأثريان، تكون إندونيسيا جزء من العالم الإسلامي الأكبر ومفتوحا للمؤثرات الخارجية من الهند والصين والغرب، وويتبنى ويتكيف مع الثقافة الأخرى مع إبقاء هويته المحلية. إذا كان غاجاه مادا يساعد على توحيد الجزائر الإندونيسية سياسيا، والإسلام يلعب دورا كبيرا في توحيد إندونيسيا ثقافيا. وجمهورية إندونيسيا الحديثة أحدث جلاء لها ولم يقتصر على مملكة ماجافاهيت فحسب، بل الاندماج المتين بين التجارة والدين الإسلامي.

قد استطاع الشعب الإندونيسي على الاعتراف بسيرويجايا وماجافاهيت مع الاحساس بالفخور بالأمة الإسلامية. وتركيز العصر الماضي على الإسلام لم يعن إعلان حرب على العالم قبل الإسلام. قد شجع كل من أوكا شندراساسميتا Uka Tjandrasasmita وحسن معاريف آمباري Hasan Muarif Ambary الباحثين الآخرين على الفهم بأن الدفعة التي تؤدي بالإسلام إلى إندونيسيا هي القوة التاريخية والقوة نفسها التي تربط هذا الشعب بآسيا وباسيبك والغرب وطبعا مع شعوبها.

Although Indonesia boasts the largest Muslim population of any country in the world it is not uncommon for scholars and academics of Islam to consider Indonesian Islam as being quite distinct from the Islam of other countries, particularly that of the Arab world. Indonesian Muslims are sometimes described as lax Muslims by Western scholars, by other Muslims and indeed by some Indonesian Muslims themselves. Clifford Geertz entitled his anthropological study of life in a small East Java town, *The Religion of Java*, implying a unique, Javanese worldview clearly distinguishable from mainstream Islam. Geertz's whole approach might stem from the simple premise that Javanese Islam is not simply a local variant of Islam, but in fact a completely separate entity.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch, interested in downplaying Islam's hold over the Indonesian population, made a similar claim, that Islam was somehow foreign to the natural culture of the Archipelago; the real culture of Indonesia had been an Indic one.<sup>2</sup> Geertz's study of Javanese Islam has been cited by some Indonesian Muslims as "scientific proof" that Indonesians have strayed from Islamic norms.<sup>3</sup>

In examining this phenomenon, some academics such as Anthony Reid refer to a "nationalist orthodoxy" which resulted in Indonesian Muslims straying from mainstream Islam.<sup>4</sup> Academics of this view speak of a "golden age" in which the area now known as Indonesia was a prosperous, unitary state, associated with such Hindu and Buddhist polities as Srivijaya and the Java-centred Majapahit Empire. Nationalist figures such as Sukarno and Muhammad Yamin developed the nationalist orthodoxy as part of the independence struggle, in particular drawing on the example of the great Majapahit Empire, the history of which can be found in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Javanese text, the *Nagarakertagama*.<sup>5</sup> The nationalist orthodoxy remained popular after Indonesia won its independence and after the advent of the New Order regime of Suharto, the task of developing and propagating Indonesia's history fell to Nugroho Notosusanto, a military historian.<sup>6</sup> National history then found its way into textbooks and was reflected in monuments, museums and historical research.<sup>7</sup>

What has been problematic for many Indonesian Muslims is the focus on Indonesia's great past in the context of Hinduism and Buddhism. This has little resonance today with the larger Muslim population. The Majapahit Empire was only popular with the New Order regime, for example, because the New Order perhaps saw itself as a "New Majapahit" fulfilling Gajah Mada's oath to unify the

nation and protect it from outside threats, while ensuring the prosperity of a grateful population. Suharto himself might have been viewed as the re-incarnation of Gajah Mada, while the suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1965 could be understood as a restoration of the nation to its natural state of passive obedience to commands issued from a Javanese royal palace (*kra-ton*). Needless to say, such a take on the Indonesian past would be open to severe criticism during the post-Suharto era. Certainly, the New Order version of the Indonesian Revolution and the events of September 30<sup>th</sup> – October 1<sup>st</sup> 1965 have been attacked, although the official and popular interpretation of these events has so far been largely left alone. Perhaps this is because the New Order use of the national past conformed very closely to the narrative developed by Sukarno and Yamin. But in view of some of the objections just noted, a reassessment will no doubt occur eventually.<sup>8</sup>

The Dutch colonial administration first set up museums in the 18<sup>th</sup> century along with official bodies to study the material remains of the Indonesian past. Immediately before independence the Dutch also began to train a few Indonesians in Java and Bali in excavation and restoration techniques. Dutch and Indonesian archaeologists generally concentrated on researching the Archipelago's pre-Islamic past, be it prehistoric or Buddhist/Hindu in orientation. Emblematic of this interest was the study and restoration of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist site of Borobodur. Originally revealed to the outside world by Raffles, the central Javanese site was cleared, studied and rebuilt by Dutch archaeologists.<sup>9</sup> It remains to this day one of Indonesia's top tourist attractions as well as a powerful symbol of Indonesia's great past. Sukarno showed the site to foreign dignitaries, while the New Order regime, with help from UNESCO, undertook a massive effort to conserve and restore the monument. Most museums in Indonesia contain a scale model reproduction of Borobodur. The *candi* has become a national icon, and symbolic of the greatness of Javanese culture, along with the *wayang* puppet play, *gamelan* music and the names Srivijaya and Gajah Mada, amongst others. Interestingly, even though Borobodur has become a symbol of national pride, the Sailendra dynasty, the builders of the shrine, are largely unknown to the Republic's modern citizens. Majapahit, another source of national pride, was first revealed by Dutch historians while Dutch archaeologists excavated and restored its capital of Trowulan. The Suharto government spent a great deal of effort

on endowing it with modern museum facilities, while reconstructing its gates, temples and sacred pools.

Although Dutch scholars and historians were keen to promote Indonesia's Buddhist and Hindu past, they never developed the same passion for its Islamic past; the Archaeological Service of the East Indies was specifically mandated to restore Hindu relics only. These attitudes remain strong among researchers interested in Indonesian art and archaeology. Timothy Behrend notes that Claire Holt and F.A. Wagner leave the impression that, "monumental buildings, or any significant building of any sort, ended in Java with the fifteenth century temples Suku and Cetha on Gunung Lawa." He also notes that even among foreign students of Indonesian Islam there is often more familiarity with Borobodur than with Islamic grave complexes.<sup>10</sup> *Hasil Pemugaran dan Temuan Benda Cagar Budaya* (The Results of the Restoration and Discovery of Cultural Heritage) describes archaeological research and conservation work done by Indonesians from 1969 up to 1994.<sup>11</sup> While not comprehensive, the report is a good representation of the type of archaeological work carried out in the country during the New Order. Only twenty percent of the sites are connected with Indonesia's Islamic Sultanates, but it should be noted that many of these sites, such as the 15<sup>th</sup> century mosque at Demak, are still in use. The only notable focus of actual excavation work appears to be the mosque and palace complex of Banten although there is certainly no obvious Islamic equivalent of the work on Trowulan or Borobodur.

Some Indonesian archaeologists, however, have focused on the nation's Islamic past. Uka Tjandrasasmita is one of Indonesia's leading archaeologists and is largely behind the writing of Volume III of the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, the national history that was the "standard text" for the teaching of history in Indonesian schools during the New Order; the volume he worked on dealt with Indonesia's Islamic history.<sup>12</sup> For many years he held the position of the head of the Islamic Antiquities section of the Indonesian Archaeological Service (Bidang Arkeologi Islam, Pusat Penelitian Kepurbakalaan dan Peninggalan Nasional) and carried out survey and excavation work in West, Central and East Java. He has published many reports on the Islamic archaeology of Indonesia.<sup>13</sup> Hasan Muarif Ambary, long one of Indonesia's top archaeologists, received his training under the tutelage of French scholar Denys Lombard. He published many works on Islam and archaeology as well as studies on Srivijaya and the West Java site of Banten.<sup>14</sup> He was also involved

in the writing of the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* as well as working on the *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia* (The History of the Islamic Community of Indonesia).<sup>15</sup> The latter work could be seen as an “alternative history in waiting,” written from within the New Order but questioning many of its presumptions about national history and the place of Islam within modern Indonesia.<sup>16</sup>

Scholars such as Tjandrasasmita and Ambary have put forward reconstructions of Indonesian history that differs somewhat from the nationalist orthodoxy, at least in emphasis. According to the nationalist orthodoxy, the modern, unitary Republic of Indonesia resembles greatly the Majapahit Empire; the central event in Indonesian history (before such recent events as the August 17<sup>th</sup> 1945 Proclamation of Independence and the September 30<sup>th</sup> 1965 coup attempt) was the *palapa* oath taken by Gajah Mada, in which the Majapahit leader refused to rest until all of the Archipelago had been unified. The arrival of Islam (a religion practised by at least eighty-five percent of Indonesians today, although not of course by Gajah Mada) is considered less important. Islamic/non-Javanese rulers such as Aceh’s Iskander Muda and Sulawesi’s Sultan Hassanudin are less celebrated. Islamic figures, such as Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol, Teuku Umar, are venerated for battling the Dutch (as are Christian and Hindu Indonesians), only Gajah Mada, his patron Hayam Wuruk and Majapahit’s last monarch Brawijaya are celebrated simply for their efforts in unifying the nation. A possible exception to this pattern may be the *wali songo*, the nine semi-legendary saints who are believed to have brought Islam to Java. But while they are recognized on a popular level, they find little place in official nationalist narratives.<sup>17</sup>

Tjandrasasmita, Ambary and other like-minded historians, on the other hand, are more concerned with Islam’s place in Indonesia’s history and development. It was such Indonesian historians who pushed for a series of seminars - held in 1963, 1978, 1980 and 1986 - which sought to shift the focus of Indonesian historical research from Majapahit to the place of Islam in Indonesia.<sup>18</sup> A point of debate at these seminars was when and where the Islamic religion first arrived in the Archipelago. It was proposed that Islam arrived in Sumatra relatively early, perhaps within a century after the death of Muhammad, directly from the Middle East. The first Islamic kingdoms were all in Aceh: Perlak, Lamuri and Samudra-Pasai. The general consensus of Western scholars was that Islam arrived in Southeast Asia via India and was not really visible until the end

of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Alternate scenarios regarding Islam's arrival to Indonesia draw on different sources of data than Western researchers, who had relied on gravestone inscriptions and the accounts of travellers, such as Marco Polo, Tome Pires and Ibn Battuta.<sup>19</sup> These sources of data include Malay manuscripts, archaeological remains from northern Sumatra and references in Chinese texts to Arab migrants to the region. Thus, A. Hasymy, after noting that foreign orientalists often ignored important Malay documents, reconstructs the emergence of the early Islamic kingdom of Perlak. In doing so he refers to a genealogy of the rulers of Perlak and Pasai written by Saiyid Abdullah Ibn Saiyid Habib Saifuddin that claims that Perlak was founded at the end of the third Islamic century (the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD).<sup>20</sup> Husein Azimi speculates that Islam's arrival in the region may have been even earlier; the kingdom of Ta-Shih, perhaps made up of Arab Muslims, was apparently located in the Malay Peninsula and appears to have been in diplomatic contact with China between 630 and 655 AD.<sup>21</sup>

Uka Tjandrasasmita treats this evidence with some scepticism, although he does note that the rather mysterious Ta-Shih are mentioned in Tang dynasty sources as planning to attack the kingdom of Ho-Ling (Java) around about the year 674. Chinese sources from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and Japanese sources from the 8<sup>th</sup> century also mention Southeast Asian colonies of the Ta-Shih. Apparently, this group has been identified by some scholars, including W.P. Goeneveldt, Paul Wheatley and Rita Rose di Meglio, as Arab Muslims who settled in the region in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Another group the Po-sse may have been local Malay converts. The orientalist T.W. Arnold, the Malaysian scholar Syed Naguib al-Attas and the Indonesian *ulama* and historian Hamka all concur with an early arrival. But others, such as the orientalists J.P. Moquette, C. Snouck Hurgronje and R.A. Kern, see Islam as only arriving in Indonesia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (an opinion held by most Western scholars today).<sup>22</sup> The weakness of the latter opinion, according to Tjandrasasmita, is that it is well known that Muslim traders were present in Chinese ports from an early date and that they would have passed through the Straits of Malacca. Various Arab geographers and gravestones, such as an 11<sup>th</sup> century one from Leran (Gresik in East Java) point to a 13<sup>th</sup> century date as being rather late.<sup>23</sup> Tjandrasasmita does not fully endorse the theory that Islam arrived in Indonesia soon after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. He acknowledges that the evidence for this theory is rather sketchy and has been generally ignored. Rather

his description of the emergence of polities in Sumatra and Java is in many ways in line with that developed by Western scholars. He makes reference to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century gravestone of Sultan Malik al-Shah, the writings of Marco Polo, the *Sejarah Melayu* and economic factors in the spread of Islam. He outlines how Islamic polities emerged in north Sumatra. After the 13<sup>th</sup> century this process becomes more visible with the availability of a variety of Malay and foreign sources, a stage that can be distinguished from an earlier period during which Islam may have simply arrived in the region.<sup>24</sup> The debate over a 7<sup>th</sup> or a 13<sup>th</sup> century arrival date for Islam may simply be a matter of semantics; Arab Muslims may have visited, or even settled in Southeast Asia at an early date, the founding of kingdoms or the conversion of the local population may have taken place much later.

In an article intended for a non-Indonesian audience, Tjandrasmita, acknowledges the evidence for early Islamic contacts, while describing a process of development very similar to that of Western scholars; initial contacts as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century occurred around the Straits of Malacca; in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries Islam emerged on the north coast of Java and then spread to the rest of the Archipelago, helped by both foreign Muslims and local converts.<sup>25</sup> Trade and marriage into the local aristocracy helped the conversion process, as did the development of such institutions as the *pesantren* (boarding school) and the work of charismatic figures such as the *wali songo*. Drawing on the fact that Hindu-Indonesians had “a predilection for mysticism” and “a strong concept of God” Muslim proselytizers latter used Sufism as a means to reach out to potential converts. Hindu art forms such as the *wayang* and Hindu architecture were also used; many motifs in Indonesian Islamic structures such as mosques can apparently be traced back to earlier Hindu-Indonesian norms. Muslim cities arose under the impetus of foreign contact. From such sites as Sunda Kalapa (Jakarta), Banten, Gresik and Surabaya Islam spread to such distant points as Ternate and Tidore in the Moluccas.<sup>26</sup> Tjandrasmita offers a story that seems to be above all an Indonesian one with little hint of conquest or foreign domination. Hindu and animist Indonesians are exposed to the activities of fellow Indonesians who happen to have converted to the new religion. Islamic history compliments nationalist history and in a sense becomes a part of it (whether Hindu or Muslim, the inhabitants of Java are referred to as Indonesians).



Tjandrasasmita was also involved in writing the third volume of the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, which describes Indonesia's Islamic kingdoms. It raises the possibility of Islam entering Indonesia at an early date, but favours the view that Islam arrived in the area in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The growth of Islam in Indonesia is seen as a peaceful process in which Indonesians fully participated, one encouraged by trade and associated with Islamic mysticism. Muslim kingdoms are shown as equal in grandeur to any previous Hindu ones. The volume ends rather ominously by noting an increase in Dutch power by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but, the work is clearly "Indo-centric"; foreign colonialists are simply important players in a larger Indonesian game.

Ambary also examines the importance of evidence from North Sumatra for the reconstruction of the history of Islam in Indonesia. Although not much work has been done in the region, the available sources seem to point to an early Islamic presence. The *Kitab idharul Haq* is a single-sheet manuscript, the earliest copies of which date to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It lists members of the Pasai-Sayyid dynasty for the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Ambary is doubtful of the text's authenticity and feels it should be used with caution. But its implications, that an Islamic dynasty was in power in northern Sumatra at an earlier date than previously thought possible, can be strengthened with archaeological data derived from excavations carried out at Pasai and Chinatown-Perlak by the Indonesian Archaeological Service. The evidence seems to indicate that the Islamic kingdom of Perlak was founded by the third Islamic century (8-9<sup>th</sup> century AD) and that it was thriving in the 12-13<sup>th</sup> centuries when it is described by Marco Polo, Chinese and Arab writers. Ambary feels that further archaeological investigation would confirm these conclusions.<sup>27</sup>

However, Ambary retained his scepticism regarding the issue of early Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia. His *Menemukan Peradaban: Jejak Arkeologis dan Historis Islam Indonesia* (Discovering Culture: The Archaeological Trail of Islam in Indonesia) does not discount the possibility but he does not emphasise it either.<sup>28</sup> He appears to have a more ambitious agenda, to use archaeology as a basis for writing a generally more Islamic history of Indonesia. After describing the background to the rise of Islam in Southeast Asia, he notes that it was through trade that the region first entered the age of "globalization." The region was long open to outside influences: Hinduism and Buddhism in the 1-5<sup>th</sup> centuries, Islam from the 7-13<sup>th</sup> centuries and European colonialism from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Monumental ar-

chitecture points to the long impact of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition on local culture. Similarly, from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the people of Indonesia began to become familiar with Islam as Muslim traders took up residence in the region and the knowledge of Islam began to spread among the local population. Ambary describes gravestones from Vietnam (Pandurrangga/ Panrang) and East Java (Leran/ Gresik) dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century as the oldest evidence of Islam's progress in Southeast Asia; more substantial evidence consists of the grave of Malik al-Saleh, which dates from 1297. Apparently a social network emerged among various Islamic centres, such as Aceh, Demak, Ternate and Tidore (in the Moluccas) and Gowa (in Sulawesi). Religious change spread through the Archipelago from these states. Religious conversion was linked to political change and the emergence of a common, refined culture. This process can be followed through an examination of archaeological and textual data.<sup>29</sup> Three phases of cultural and social contact between outsiders (Arab, Persian and Indian traders) and the native inhabitants of Southeast Asia can be observed. The first stage took place within a few centuries of the death of Muhammad and involved Arab traders; it can be documented from gravestones and the writings of Arab geographers. Sources such as the Arabic-language *Kitab id harul Haq* listing the rulers of Perlak from 840 AD are more problematic; the earliest gravestone of an Islamic ruler only dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The second stage is associated with the formation of Islamic kingdoms in the 13-16<sup>th</sup> centuries; evidence involves the gravestone of Malik al-Saleh, the *Sejarah Melayu*, the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* as well as the writings of Marco Polo. The final stage was a process of institution building, in which Muslim traders spread out from Aceh, Demak and Gresik to Banjarmasin (Kalimantan), Lombok and beyond; the most important piece of evidence for this latter phase are gravestones.<sup>30</sup> This reconstruction is not much different from that put forward by Western scholars; it identifies Samudra-Pasai as the first city in Indonesia to accept Islam and places this development in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup>

Ambary pays more attention to specific manifestations of Islamic culture in Indonesian history. He examines the grave complexes of the *wali songo* and the Sultans of Central Java and notes the importance of the city of Cirebon in the Islamization of West Java while reconstructing the physical makeup of the port of Banten and associated graves, palace and mosque.<sup>32</sup> Ambary makes the suggestion that the latter complex, which is quite well preserved, might make

a good “living museum” to illustrate the Islamization of the region and the country as a whole.<sup>33</sup> Ambary analyzes the archaeology of the port city of Surabaya and its relationship with the Javanese interior that long remained Hindu-Buddhist; note is also made of the growth of an Islamic culture in the area around the mosque and grave of Sunan Ngampel.<sup>34</sup> Ambary also deals with such specific elements of Islamic culture as mosque and *kraton* architecture, epigraphy and gravestones.<sup>35</sup> He deals with Islamic legends in Indonesia and devotes much attention to modern institutions important to the Islamic community, like the Ministry of Religion and the system of *pesantren* (traditional boarding schools).<sup>36</sup>

Ambary sees archaeological research as contributing to an understanding of Islam’s place in the past, present and future of the country. He describes the activities of the Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional (Puslit Arkenas, or the National Archaeological Research Centre). This centre, based in Jakarta with regional offices in Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Bandung, Palembang, Manado, Banjarmasin, Ujung Pandang and Medan, has surveyed many sites across the nation.<sup>37</sup> The centre has studied how the local cultures of Indonesia have interacted with “great traditions” of Hinduism, Islam and the West. How local cultures developed, cultural diversity and national integration are all matters of interest to Indonesian archaeologists. Also of interest is the issue of “cultural periodization.” The latter was also one of the main interests of nationalist historians such as the compilers of the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*; archaeologists employ an almost identical time sequence involving early contacts, the emergence of Muslim communities, socialisation among Hindu-Buddhist societies, the development of Islamic kingdoms and finally an encounter with Western economic and political power.<sup>38</sup>

With his reconstruction of Indonesian history based on archaeological evidence, Ambary apparently aims to counter an orientalist (and Indonesian nationalist) narrative that downplays Islam’s importance in the nation’s development. *Menemukan Peradaban* presents a total picture of an Islamic Indonesian culture, which is as valid as one that sees the Republic of Indonesia as but the latest manifestation of the empire of Majapahit. The book’s archaeological analysis can be seen as evidence that an Islamic version of the past is as scientifically rigorous as the earlier histories developed by Western and nationalist-Indonesian scholars and writers. Ambary’s book could be seen as an alternative to the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*,

although as the book came out in the last year of New Order, this was not explicitly stated. It would thus be in line with such works as the *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia*, the writing of which Ambary was also involved in. In fact, Ambary specifically notes that the latter work was intended not to duplicate work done by nationalist historians but to supplement it by correcting the "misunderstandings and unjust attitudes" directed against Islam by Western scholars, attitudes that continue to bother Indonesians even to this day.<sup>39</sup> *Menemukan Peradaban* could be viewed as an archaeological companion piece to *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia* itself inspired by Hamka's *Sedjarah Umat Indonesia*.<sup>40</sup> The latter work not only gave Islam pride of place in Indonesia's history, it actuality submerged Indonesian history into a larger Islamic one and restored links to a larger Islamic *ummat* that many felt had been downplayed. Ambary's work can be viewed as an example of "ummat-oriented" history, which takes as its starting point the arrival of Islam in Indonesia rather than Gajah Mada. Another example of this genre, which like Ambary does not necessarily push an early date for the beginning of the Islamization process, is a work by the Malaysian writer Syed Naguib al-Attas. Al-Attas, in describing how Islam spread through Southeast Asia, mentions some of the issues of bias that colour much Western analysis. He notes that Western scholars have tended to emphasis Hindu influence in the culture of Java, with the implication that the "real culture" of the region is not in the end an Islamic one. He counters that a simple analysis of the Malay language, where Arabic borrowings far outnumber Sanskrit ones, should dispel this notion.<sup>41</sup> A cursory look at the Indonesian nationalist orthodoxy might lead to the conclusion that Western orientalisists were not alone in holding these biases.

Uka Tjandrasasmita and Hasan M. Ambary provide a different view of the Indonesian past than one of a "golden age" of Javanese domination. Tjandrasasmita describes an Indonesia open for trade and receptive to new technological and religious ideas. Religious innovations spread through the Archipelago through the actions of Indonesians themselves via traditional art forms and in harmony with local modes of social organisation. Local rulers adopted Islam, founded trading centres, the *wayang* was used to explain and propagate Islamic doctrine and mosques were often built to resemble Hindu temples. As an antidote to the nationalist orthodoxy that tended to downplay Islam's place in the nation's history, Ambary attempts a comprehensive history of Islam in Indonesia as reflected

in the archaeological record; historical inquiry of the same quality as that carried out in writing the *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* and by the Dutch in excavating Trowulan, restoring Borobodur and interpreting the *Nagarakertagama* will produce a version of Indonesian history that does not downplay Islam's place in Indonesia's history. In the alternative history, offered by these two archaeologists, Indonesia was part of a larger Islamic world and was in fact open to many outside influences from India, China and the West. Local genius adopted and adapted the best of these influences while retaining a strong local identity.<sup>42</sup> As Gajah Mada helped unify the Indonesian Archipelago politically, Islam helped build a unified Indonesian culture. The modern Republic of Indonesia is the latest manifestation not of the Majapahit Empire but of a vibrant crossroads of trade and religious currents. An Indonesia historically open not just to Islam but to other outside influences also can be seen in some recent comments by the Indonesian historian Asvi Warman Adam who calls on Indonesians to acknowledge the contributions of the Chinese to the nation's development.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps a reassessment of how isolated and unique Indonesia really has been historically might also be profitable; Indonesia as part of the *ummat* is also part of a wider world (in this context Ambary and others have referred to Islam as integrating Indonesia into the process of globalization).<sup>44</sup> Majapahit, a hierarchical, Hindu empire with a god-king ruling over masses of obedient peasants might be actually a bit of an aberration. A new view of Indonesian history need not imply that the traditional interpretation is obsolete and that Indonesians should no longer take pride in the accomplishments of Borobodur and Gajah Mada; Indonesia can retain a national history, celebrating Srivijaya, Majapahit and various *pahlawan*, while taking pride of place in the *ummat*. Stressing Indonesia's Islamic past and Islamic connections need not imply hostility to the larger non-Islamic world. In creating a more Islamic Indonesian past, scholars such as Tjandrasasmita and Ambary might perhaps spur others to understand that the broad historical forces that brought Islam to Indonesia are the same ones that continue to link this nation with Asia, the Pacific, the West and of course the *ummat*.

## Endnotes

1. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960). According to Mark Woodward, Geertz incorrectly identifies a text-based version of Islam as not only normative, but as the sole barom-

- eter by which one can measure what is and what is not Islamic, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 60. Marshall Hodgson, although he draws heavily on Geertz, notes that from the perspective of Islam as a whole, rather than from a modernist approach, Indonesian Islam is quite similar to that of the Middle East and South Asia, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in World Civilization*, 3 Vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), Vol. 3, 551.
2. Mark Woodward, "Talking across Paradigms: Indonesia, Islam and Orientalism," in *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*, ed. Mark Woodward (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1996), 25-28.
  3. *Ibid.*, 9.
  4. See Anthony Reid, "Indonesian Historiography –Modern," in *A Global Encyclopaedia of Historical Writing: Volume A-J*, ed. D.R. Woolf (New York: Garland Publishers, 1998), 465-467; "The Nationalist Quest for an Indonesian Past," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and David Marr (Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), 298 and Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Indonesian Historiography* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2001), 15. See also Hong Lysa, "History," in *An Introduction to Southeast Asian Studies*, ed. Mohammed Habib and Tim Huxley (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1996), 50.
  5. S. Supomo, "The Image of Majapahit in Later Javanese and Indonesian Writing," in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, 180-181. See Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century: A Study in Cultural History: The Nagara-Kertagama by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit*, 5 Vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960-1963) and a more recent translation by Stuart Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagarakertagama) by Mpu Prapanca* (Leiden: KITLV, 1995). See especially, Sukarno, *Indonesia Accuses! Sukarno's Defence Oration in the Political Trial of 1930*, ed., annotated and trans. Roger K. Paget (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), 79 and Muhammad Yamin, *Gadjah Mada: Pahlawan Persatuan Nusantara* (Gajah Mada: A Hero of the Unity of the Archipelago), 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Jakarta: Dinas Penerbitan Balai Pustaka, 1960).
  6. See Marwati Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (National History of Indonesia), 6 vols. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, RI, 1990).
  7. See Michael Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia: New Order Perceptions and Counterinterviews* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
  8. Though this may take quite some time; a reappraisal of the events of 1965 has been undertaken in the Indonesia press, but it is not yet evident in Indonesia's museums or textbooks. This latter issue is dealt with in my "New Takes on the New Order: Indonesian History in the Reformasi-Era" presented at a conference on Southeast Asia organized by the Canadian Asian Studies Association and held at York University on October 14-16<sup>th</sup> 2005.
  9. See Daud Tanudirjo, "Theoretical Trends in Indonesian Archaeology," in *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, ed. Peter Ucko (London: Routledge, 1995), 62-70. See also, Jacques Dumarçay, *Borobudur*, ed. and trans. Michael Smithies (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1978).

10. Timothy E. Behrend, "Kraton, Taman, Mesjid: A Brief Survey and Bibliographic Review of Islamic Antiquities in Java," *Indonesia Circle*, 35 (November 1984), 29. See also Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), F.A. Wagner, *Indonesia: The Art of an Island Group* (London: Methuen, 1962) and Philip Rawson, *The Art of Southeast Asia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967). The latter does briefly note the *wayang* puppet play, performed during Islamic times, and mosques in Java and Madura, 272-275. An Indonesian work not only devotes considerable more space to the Islamic period but also sees Islamic architecture as a natural extension of earlier Javanese developments, see Josef Prijotomo, *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1992).
11. (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1994).
12. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, Vol. III. Marwati Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto although noted as authors lead teams of Indonesian scholars who worked on each volume. Notosusanto's hand was most evident in Volume VI that examined the Indonesian Revolution and the rise of New Order.
13. See for example, *Islamic Antiquities of Sedang Duwur*, 2 vols. (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1975, 1984) *Aspek-aspek Arkeologi Indonesia: Sepintas mengenai Peninggalan Kepurbakalaan Islam di Pesisir Utara Jawa* (Aspects of Archaeology in Indonesia: An Examination concerning the Islamic Archaeological Remains on the North Coast of Jawa) (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1976) and "History of Research of Moslem Monuments in Indonesia," in *50 Tahun lembaga purbakala dan peninggalan nasional 1913-1963*, ed. S. Suleiman, R. Mulia, N.S. Anggraeni and F.X. Supandi, 104-32 (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1976). Many other reports, mostly in Indonesian, are noted in John N. Miksic, "Indonesian Publications on Archaeology, 1975-82," *Indonesia Circle*, 34 (June 84): 45-50.
14. See for example *Aspek-aspek Arkeologi: The Establishment of Islamic Rule in Jayakarta* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1975), *Laporan Ekskavasi Pakar Ikan* (Report on the Excavation of the Fish Market, Jakarta) (Jakarta: Himpunan Keramik Indonesia, 1980), "Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Srivijaya Sites," in *Studies on Srivijaya*, ed. Satyawati Suleiman et. al. (Jakarta: Puslit Arkenas, 1980), *A Preliminary Report of the Excavation of the Urban Sites in Banten (West Java)* (Jakarta: P4N, 1977) and *Catalogue of Sites, Monuments and Artefacts of Banten* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1988).
15. Ed. Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta: Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 1992).
16. For more on the *Sejarah Ummat Islam Indonesia*, its composition, its purpose and its version of Indonesian history, see Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia*, 153-159.
17. For an analysis of how the tombs of the *wali songo* were treated during the late New Order, when despite regime efforts to reach out to Indonesian Muslim sentiment, the nationalist orthodoxy could be considered to be in full force, see Michael Wood, "The Historical Past as a Tool for Nation-Building in New Order Indonesia," in *Good Governance: A Workable Solution for Indonesia*, ed. Andi Faisal Bakti (Jakarta: Logos Press, 2000), 81-83.
18. See A. Hasymy, ed. *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (The History of the Entrance and Growth of Islam in Indonesia) (Jakarta: AL-



- maarif, 1993) and K.H.O. Gadjanata and Sri Swasono, *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan* (Entrance and Growth of Islam in South Sumatra) (Jakarta: University of Indonesia, 1986).
19. See M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), Chapter 1 and S.Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: Malaysia Sociological Institute, 1963). See also, *Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. from text of L.F. Benedetto by Aldo Ricci with intro. E. Denison Ross (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931), 281-282, Amando Cortessao, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires Book of Francisco Rodriques*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 137, 143, 182), and *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1929), 272-276.
  20. A. Hasmy, "Adakah Kerajaan Perlak Negara Islam Pertama di Asia Tenggara (Was the Islamic Kingdom of Perlak the First Islamic State in South-east Asia)," in *Sejarah Masuk*, 143.
  21. Husein Azimi, "Islam di Aceh Masuk dan Berkembangnya Hingga Abad XVI" (The Entrance and Growth of Islam in Aceh up to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)," in *Sejarah Masuk*, 179.
  22. Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Proses Kedatangan Islam dan Munculnya Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Aceh (The Process of the Arrival of Islam and the Emergence of Islamic Kingdoms in Aceh), in *Sejarah Masuk*, 357-358. However, Ricklefs acknowledging new evidence recently re-titled his history of Indonesia to reflect the probability of an earlier emergence of Islamic polities in Indonesia. His book *A History of Indonesia since c. 1200* had in its first and second editions been "since c. 1300." The new evidence consists of grave-stones from north Sumatra, see Suwadi Montana, "Nouvelles données sur royaumes de Lamari et Barat (New evidence regarding the kingdoms of Lamari and Barat)," *Archipel* 53 (1997): 85-95. See also, W.P. Groeneveldt, *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaysia Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Jakarta: Bharata, 1960), 14 and Hamka, "Aceh Serambi Mekkah (Aceh the Veranda of Mecca) in *Sejarah Masuk*, 228.
  23. Tjandrasasmita, "Proses Kedatangan," 359.
  24. *Ibid.*, 360-365.
  25. Uka Tjandrasasmita, "The Introduction of Islam and the Growth of Moslem Coastal Cities in the Indonesian Archipelago," in *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, ed. Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas (New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978), 143-145, 148.
  26. *Ibid.*, 149-157.
  27. Hasan Maurif Ambary, "Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Negeri Perlak ditinjau dengan Pendekatan Arkeologi (The History of the Entrance of Islam into the State of Perlak through an Archaeological Approach)," in *Sejarah Masuk*, 440-446.
  28. Ed. Jajat Burhanuddin (Jakarta: Logos, 1998).
  29. *Ibid.*, 53-54.
  30. *Ibid.*, 58-59.
  31. *Ibid.*, 128-129.
  32. *Ibid.*, 105-115, 119-122, 125.
  33. *Ibid.*, 125.
  34. *Ibid.*, 144, 147-148.
  35. *Ibid.*, 163-170, 191-202.



36. Ibid., 230-231, 235-241, 243-247.
37. Ibid., 337-339.
38. Ibid., 340-342.
39. Ibid., 86.
40. Hamka, *Sedjarah Umat Islam* (The History of the Islamic Community), 4 vols. (Jakarta: N.V. Nusantara, 1961).
41. Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of an Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementrian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1969), 9-10, 22-23.
42. Curiously, such an analysis has much in common with some of the ideas put forward by Nugroho Notosusanto regarding the "periodization" of Indonesian history. Notosusanto developed a sequence of eras during which a basic Indonesian culture was exposed to successive foreign influences, while retaining its core identity. Nugroho Notosusanto, "Problems in the Study and Teaching of National History in Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 6, no. 1 (1965): 13-14. Later while a New Order functionary he adopts this scheme, although he downplayed the idea of foreign influence in favour of an autonomous Indonesian culture.
43. Asvi Warman Adam, "The Chinese in the Collective Memory of the Indonesian Nation," *Kyoto Review* Vol. 2 (March 2003), 1-12 (on-line edition).
44. The writer and politician Roeslan Abdulgani refers to Islam as coming to Indonesia "bearing civilisation [or progress]." Dutch colonialism had, in Abdulgani's opinion, interrupted Indonesia's historic path of development under the guidance of Islam. See *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Indonesia* (The History of the Development of Islam in Indonesia) (Jakarta: Pustaka Antara Kota, 1983), 7, 28. Abdulgani, who was close to Sukarno and later worked on developing government ideological training under Suharto was considered a very secular figure, although he later showed a great deal of sympathy for Islam. As early as the Guided Democracy period, outside observers such as Justus M. Van der Kroef, suspicious of a "nationalist orthodoxy" that emphasised an inherent Indonesian unity and an Indonesian uniqueness even in the manner of the country's exposure to Islam, called for a history that paid more attention to the importance of outside influences. See "National and International Dimensions of Indonesian History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 6, no. 1 (1965): 17.

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