

PART ONE: EARLY HISTORY
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

There is no monograph on the port of Gresik. Aspects of this port have been studied in larger works covering the archipelago as a whole, notably that of Meilink-Roelofs¹, which deals mainly with trade. The works of Van Leur² and Schrieke³ are also important as studies of pan-archipelagan developments in the areas of economics and politics. De Graaf and Pigeaud have written a work on the north Javanese coastal states in general, including a chapter on Gresik, which is of great value but does not deal with the port/state as a socio-economic form.

This study examines Gresik from the point of view of its institutions, economic institutions, religio-legal institutions as centres of power in their own right, and the role that Gresik played in sculpturing the political forms of Java. It presents an argument that the period of Javanese history from 1475 to 1625 A.D. should be revised to take into account certain changes brought about by Gresik in the fabric of Javanese society and polity.

This study also considers the early history of Gresik, dealing with the founding of the port by ethnic groups from overseas and the role played by the Chinese and other ethnic

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1. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1962.
 2. Van Leur, J.C.: *Indonesian Trade and Society*, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1955.
 3. Schrieke, B.: *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, part 1, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1966 (1955). Schrieke, B.: *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, part 2: *Ruler and Realm in Early Java*, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1957.

groups in the introduction and establishment of Islam in Gresik.

The last part of this study covers the downfall of Gresik in the early 17th century and argues that it was not the hinterland kingdom of Mataram which was ultimately responsible for its downfall. It was rather the effect of Dutch military actions far from Gresik on the complex interdependent trade network of the archipelago that undermined Gresik economically. It was this which led to its inability to withstand a resurgent hinterland kingdom bent on monopolising trade for itself. A re-integration of the political and the economic in the newly expanded territory of Mataram, in concert with the politico-economic entity of the Dutch United East India Company, sounded the death-knell for the free commercial societies on the north coast of Java.

Sources: The principle sources employed were European (Portuguese and Dutch), Imperial Chinese records and chronicles from Java (babads and ceritas). Some Indonesian chronicles from outside Java were used as minor sources. The "Chinese chronicles" of Semarang⁴ have been consulted but not used because their veracity is still in doubt and the amount of material in them concerning Gresik is small.

4. De Graaf, H.J. and Pigeaud, Th.G.: Chinese Muslims in Java, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 12, 1984.

European Sources: The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in the archipelago and their writings are especially useful for the early 16th century. Tome Pires, the Portuguese apothecary attached to the fort at Mosque, was sent on a spying mission to the island of Java in about 1516 to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of the Muslims in the coastal ports and to find avenues of communication with the Hindu kingdoms in the interior. The latter kingdoms were seen as potential allies for the Portuguese. Pires did not land at each of these ports because they were seen as hostile. He sailed past them and wrote his account of these ports and states based upon a Javanese informant who sailed with him. At the port of Tuban, however, the description is sufficiently detailed⁵ to allow us to accept that he did anchor there, go ashore, and converse with the local ruler; he claims to have met a representative from the hinterland Hindu kingdom of Daha, a remnant of Majapahit, which meeting was arranged by the ruler of Tuban at Pires request.⁶ He therefore probably did sail past the other ports, including Gresik, but constructed his description of them from his

5. Pires, Tome: *Summa Oriental*, 2 vols., Works of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, vol. LXXXIC, London, 1944, p189: "The town of Tuban has a series of palisades (within) a crossbow (shot) of the sea; it is surrounded by a brick wall, partly of burned and partly of sun-dried bricks; this must be two spans thick and fifteen high. Around the walls on the outside there are lakes of water, and on the land side there are carapeteiros (large thorny trees) and brambles against the wall, which is pierced with large and small loopholes, and has high wooden platforms along the wall inside....and there is fresh water at low tide and quite sweet water in springs, and if you put your feet down without noticing the holes you get stuck in the mud up to your middle."

6. Pires: *ibid.*, p191: "I saw a heathen in Tuban who came there from the court to see us. They said he was a nobleman....and I talked to him many times."

informant's account. The fact that he suddenly waxes eloquent when arriving at Gresik, describing the harbour as the "...best in all Java" and the port as "...the jewel of Java in trading ports,"⁷ allows us to give credence to his implicit claim to presence there. It must have been the setting of the anchorage of Gresik that inspired him since it could provide the Portuguese ships with a haven safe from waves and wind: "This is the royal port where the ships at anchor are safe from winds, with their bowsprits touching the houses."⁸ He did not land there, however, because he knew that it was a strongly Islamic centre, although he does not appear to be aware of the fact that of all the Islamic ports on the Javanese coast, this one was the nest of the hornet itself. His account of Gresik in the "Summa Oriental" is therefore valuable testimony.

The Dutch accounts begin with the arrival of the first ships from Holland in 1595. They therefore provide us with much information for the period after this date, especially in matters of trade. In other matters, such as politics, they are also of some use since the governors at Batavia realized well that their trading position depended on their own power vis-a-vis that of their Indonesian rivals and of the hinterland kingdoms. Unlike Pires' account however, we are not treated with detailed descriptions of Javanese societies and states. The main Dutch sources are the reports from the first and second voyages, the daybooks recorded at Batavia,

7. Pires: *ibid.*, pp192-3.

8. Pires: *ibid.*, p193.

and the correspondence of the company both with agents in different parts of the archipelago and with the *heeren* of the company in Holland.

The Imperial Chinese records concerning Southeast Asia were translated into English by Groeneveldt⁹ in 1880 and then again by Mills in 1970.¹⁰ They are useful for matters of a social nature and cover both the early and later periods. Aside from these Imperial records, there are also records from the Kingdom of Ryukyu, written in Chinese and housed in the Library of the National University of Taiwan. From this collection, those records concerning Indonesian states in the 15th century have been translated into English by two Japanese scholars.¹¹ A small amount of important information was found here.

Chronicles from Java: The Babat Ing Gresik is a chronicle written on paper in Jawa script in Javanese language. It is located in the Radyapustaka library of Surakarta, being Ms. 58. A transliteration into Roman script was made by Dr. H.J. De Graaf in 1936 and this document is resident at Leiden University Library and is classified as Cod. Or. 6780, bearing the different title Serat Babad Gresik. There are no significant differences between my transliteration of the

9. W.P. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago compiled from Chinese Sources, V.B.G., XXXIX, 1880, C.V. Bhratara, Djakarta (1960).

10. Mills, J.V.G. (ed.): "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores." W.H.S., Extra Series, 42, C.U.P. for Hakluyt Society.

11. Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda: Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Seas Countries; An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan. Kyoto, 1969.

original manuscript and this Dutch one other than the spelling of the name of Panembahan Kawisguwa¹² and some minor alterations made to the text by the transliterator. The alterations are of two kinds. The first kind of alteration is an improvement to the spelling of the occasional word thus rendering it intelligible; an example of this is to be found on page 2 of the translation where the original has the meaningless word "sata" where the word "saha" (meaning "and") was expected. In this transliteration the original error has been preserved but the correction has been added in parentheses. In this respect, I must acknowledge the assistance afforded by the earlier transliteration. The second kind of improvement was to the style of the language of the original; the babat is meant to be written in high Javanese but in fact it occasionally lapses into the vernacular. This type of improvement was also applied to the spelling of personal names, especially to those of Arabic origin. This second type of alteration has not been followed in this transliteration. Errors of style and name-spelling are faithfully reproduced. In general, although there were found to be variations from the original on nearly every page, they were not significant and some were helpful. Regarding the manuscript's punctuation, one must say that it is faint and seems to vary in style from Javanese to European; in these matters the Dutch transliteration was usually followed because the transliteration was carried out by a Javanese assistant to

12. Cf. the Dutch version L Or 6780, p147 "Kawistuwa" with BIG p49.

De Graaf. It must be remembered when reading the chronicle that it was once in poetic form and that the punctuation is fairly loose: fullstops more often designate the end of a story rather than the end of a sentence.

Javanese chronicles are re-written periodically to preserve them from decay. Such re-writings are accompanied by additions which bring the story up to date, and may also involve editing of the older parts of the story to reflect the wishes of contemporary powers or even simply to edit out parts of the story which no longer seem important. Hence they have several authors. However, this chronicle almost certainly was the work of scribes from the Mosque and Pesantren of Giri, the holy centre located on top of the hills which overlook the port of Gresik. This is evidenced by the content of the chronicle itself, in that the main function of this chronicle is to record the lineages of the Sunan of Giri and to demonstrate his illustrious origins.

The chronicle is written in prose form but it is clear that just beneath this prosaic surface the recognizable rhythms of Javanese poetry are discernible and at times break through to the surface.¹³ An instance of this is to be found on page 3:

"Sampuning lami-lami Mahulana Ibrahim tuwin Mahulana Mahpur
seda, kasarekaken ing panggenan gegesik wetan, dipun namani

13. Acknowledgements to Drs. Pitono Hardjowardojo of Curtin University for this datum.

*pasareyan Mahpura, sabab inkang dipun kubur ing ngriku Mahulana Mahpur, inggih punika kampung Gapura mashur gegisik wetan panggenan kubur gapura, kasebat nama Gresik, sinengkalan taun Jawi, sirna ilang oboring Jawa 1300, menggah panggenan *gegisik ingkang kawitan* kanamanan dening *tiyang Gresik wetan*, inggih punika ing dhusun Rama sahingga samangke, sabab tiyang Jawi ngawekaken nguwuh bapak, punika Rama, dumunung dhadhekahipun ingkang Rama."*

The underlined and italicised parts represent some of the repetitively rhyming portions and the portions which rhyme to and fro. However, it may take a *pujangga* (man of letters, poet) or *dalang* (puppet-master) to unravel the particular form of poetry here.

What is significant for the historian here is that the decayed poetry embedded in the text points to a much older version which is now lost. This raises the question of the age of the babad. The extant version ends with the date of 1809 A.J. or 1887 A.D. at which time some marble tiles were laid in the graveyard of Giri in order to preserve it. The language is in a literary form of *Krama Inggil* (High Javanese) and has the sound of the type of Javanese used at the turn of this century.¹⁴ However, the text itself is stratified with the first 53 pages of historical events dated according to the sangkala chronogram system. The pages following, pages 53 to 66, describe events which are not dated in the above manner, frequently the date is absent all

14. Ibid.

together or it is recorded in the Javanese calendar without sangkalas, and on one occasion it is in the Gregorian calendar. The period between 1625 A.D. and 1826 A.D. suffers considerably from the absence of any dating system. Since the date of 1625 A.D. coincides with the downfall of Gresik as an independent trading port, and its conquest by the kingdom of Mataram, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the first 53 pages constitutes the main body of the original version which would have been written after 1625 A.D.. There is mentioned in the text a great grandson of Sunan Prapen, called Pangeran Babad, who must have lived some time in the 17th century, probably between 1587 and 1672 A.D.. With such a name, he is either the local ruler of the area 75 km west of Gresik known as Babad, or he is the composer of our chronicle. It is unlikely that he is the local ruler of Babad because of the discrepancy between his high rank and the small size of the locality of that name. The latter case is therefore more likely, and implies that the chronicle would have been completed between 1625 and 1672 A.D..

There are other versions of the *Babat ing Gresik*. Raffles quotes extensively from a version in 1812, in his "History of Java", but it is in fragmentary form and far from complete. Mackenzie acquired a version in 1812. It was given to him by the Adipati of Gresik. It bears the title "Punika Serat Sejarah Rasulullah Muhammat" ("This is the Book of the History of the Prophet Muhammat") and is Ms. I.O.L. Jav 12 B in the Mackenzie collection of the East India Company Library (now British Museum). It has been translated into

English, presumably by Mackenzie himself who was in Java during Raffles' administration. This latter version contains only the stories regarding Raden Paku, the first Sunan of Giri. The stories have the same themes as the one translated here, but the details are different.

The *Babat ing Gresik* is a privileged source in one sense, that it presents the local inhabitants view of their own internal history, a history which they know imperfectly, yet one which they knew better than the Portuguese and Dutch merchants who visited them. Only from this *babad* can one obtain a Sunan-list, that is a dynastic history of Gresik, complete with dates and historical events. To write the history of Gresik without it is to describe what one sees while looking at the surface of a pond from above; one can see some of what is genuinely Javanese but it is merged and overlaid with one's own reflection as well. One can escape this limitation by stepping into the pond, and this is done by appropriating the local tradition in its own terms and its own language. Earlier works about the north coast of Java have failed to do this. Both Van Leur¹⁵ and Meilink-Roelofs¹⁶ fail to make this passage, despite the former's exhortations to do so. The recent works by De Graaf and Pigeaud represent a break with this tradition.¹⁷

15. Van Leur, J.C.: Indonesian Trade and Society, W. van Hoeve, The Hague, 1955.

16. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, op.cit..

17. See for eg. De Graaf, H.J. and Pigeaud, Th.: Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam di Jawa, Grafitipers, Jakarta, 1985.

Having said this however, it would be a mistake to take the *babad* entirely on its own terms. It is clear from even a cursory reading that much of the chronicle is refracted through a mythology which is recognizably middle-eastern, that is, common to the Judeo-Christian and Islamic world. The most striking example is the story of Raden Paku's life which, with local variations, repeats that of Moses: Paku is the offspring of a wandering Islamic holyman and a princess of Blambangan. He is heir to the throne, but upon birth is cast out to sea in a box and is saved and raised by a rich merchant family of Gresik. He is educated in Islam, climbs the mountain and obtains knowledge of God. Eventually he becomes the kingmaker and lawgiver in the land of Java, liberating the people from the tyranny and wickedness of the infidel kingdom of Majapahit. There is also a kind of "feeding of the multitude" story of Paku trading in the name of God, that is, giving away his goods to the poor of Banjarmasin and having the profits restored by an act of God. The spontaneous lactation of his "foster-mother" which restores his strength after doing penance on the mountain is yet another miracle story. However, both between these myths, and in their interstices, there is historical data. We can reject the story of the boy found at sea, later to be raised by a rich trading woman, but it leaves us with the idea that the latter was probably Paku's *real* mother, an idea full of consequence. In this instance De Graaf and Pigeaud take the chronicles too much at face value.

Gresik was visited by two travelling historians in the 19th century, firstly by W.R. van Hoevell¹⁸ in 1847 and secondly by J.A.B. Wiselius¹⁹ in 1876. The chapter on Gresik by Van Hoevell is slender but contains the story of Raden Paku and how he came to be the Sunan of Giri. He obtained this story from a book owned by the "Pangeran Ardjo Adi Negoro" of Gresik while on tour of Java. He said the book was about the "early regents of Gresik" and that it contained a chronology.²⁰ It also contains a translation of the Arabic inscriptions on the gravestone of Malik Ibrahim.²¹ The article by Wiselius is far more substantial and his Javanese sources are from a different version of the *Babat ing Gresik* as well as from a Mataram chronicle. The lack of precise documentation makes it difficult to compare his babad and the present one because we do not know from which chronicle his sangkala dates²² have been obtained. Some of his sangkalas are identical with the present one, others are entirely different, and there are yet others which overlap in meaning. Some translations into dates of the sangkalas, made by his assistants, are clearly in error and he seems to be aware of this. All three versions (i.e. Raffles',

18. Van Hoevell, W.R.: *Reis Over Java, Madura en Bali*, in *Het Midden van 1847*, Amsterdam, 1849, vol.1, pp151-166.

19. Wiselius, J.A.B.: "Historische Onderzoek naar Geestelijke en Wereldlijke Suprematie van Grissee op Minden en Oost Java Gedurang de 16e en 17e Eeuw" in *Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 's-Hage, M. Nijhoff, 1876, deel XXIII.

20. Van Hoevell: op.cit., p158.

21. Ibid., pp153-156.

22. A sangkala chronogram is a sentence containing usually four words which tell in cryptic terms of an historical event, each of whose words has a numerical value in Javanese cosmology. By reversing the word order one obtains the year in the Javanese calendar. By adding 78 years the date in the Gregorian calendar can be determined.

Wiselius' and the present one) must be cross-checked to build up an adequate picture.

The babads, then, must be used cautiously. The mythical form of its stories must be first identified and then lifted off. This leaves us with a residue of empirical matter which can then be checked against epigraphic data, other physical remains, other Indonesian records and records of foreign origin. In this way they can be of use to the historian.

Historical Geography: When an Arab navigator, ibn Majid, explored and noted in his rutter-book the location of Gresik in the early 16th century, he gave its astronomical position as 1° Little Bear and described the port as "concealed".²³ What he meant by "concealed" is uncertain but it would be true to say that the port of Gresik is well protected by the island of Madura which lies immediately before it. Gresik is located in the Straits of Madura, a natural harbour of generous proportions, and for this reason it must have been considered an ideal position for a port.

The Straits of Madura, immediately before Gresik, are at least 9 fathoms in depth, which was ample for the time. Pires claims that the larger ships could anchor "...safe from winds, with their bowsprits touching the houses."²⁴ The smaller vessels were careened on the beach as they are

23. G.R. Tibbetts: A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia. E.J. Brill, Leiden and London, 1979, pp197,199.

24. Pires: op.cit., p193.

still. Currents did not appear to present a problem until an Imperial Chinese source noted it in the early 17th century.²⁵ Nor were rivers much of a threat to the anchorage as they are in much of Southeast Asia. The silt that they usually bring down was, in the case of Gresik, deposited many kilometres to the north. This river was the great Solo River whose southernmost arm was the Mireng River which entered the Straits some 6 kilometres to the north of Gresik. It was only much later, during the Dutch colonial period, that the Batavian government decided that it was necessary to divert the Solo river to the north so that it would flow directly into the Java Sea, thus saving the Straits from obstruction. The older part of Gresik known as the village of Rama did find its shoreline creeping out to sea as a result of silt spreading south from these rivers, but the newer part of Gresik, Gresik Wetan, grew and eventually became known as Gresik proper.²⁶ Judging from the present coastline, it would appear to have been the old Islamic port of Leran which suffered most from silting: the old coastline would have been close to the present day edge of the wetlands, a line which runs from Rama to Leran.²⁷ A major factor in the preservation of Gresik from silting and coastal creeping was the meeting of the currents of the Maduran Straits with the substratum of limestone which rolled down from the hills near Gresik, entered the waters of the Straits, and re-appeared as hills on the Island of

25. Cited in W.P. Groeneveldt, *op.cit.*, p54.

26. See map: Gresik and Environs.

27. *Ibid.*. According to the Babad, Rama was on the coast in 1371 A.D.. See Babad ing Gresik, p2.

Madura. The action of the current on the limestone always gave the port of Gresik a clean and stable edge.

Some 2 or 3 kilometres inland from Gresik lie the hills and ridges of the limestone range which runs north-west to south-east, covering a distance of 5 kilometres. Its highest peaks are Gunungsari (100 metres) and Giri (75 metres). This range affords a modicum of military protection, but more importantly protects Gresik from the rivers and wetlands. It has the further implication that little rice can be grown on its slopes since its low height excludes the possibility of causing rivers; nor does it bring fertile silt to the lowlands because it is not volcanic. This range does not contain valuable minerals other than material for cement manufacture (a thriving industry of present day Gresik) and salt-petre. The latter product was mined at Sutji on the eastern slope of the range. Its earliest history, according to Van Hoeffell's sources, is that it was mined by the Dutch during the period 1796 to 1811.²⁸

The two peaks on this range of hills serve as significant backdrops to the history of the country as they are the sites of the original *kedaton* ("palace", though actually a Mosque) and Giri (meaning "mountain" in Kawi and Sanskrit), the site of the Mosque during the latter part of our period. The view from the portico of the Mosque at Giri is grand and one can look down upon the port of Gresik as well as survey the island of Madura and the entrance to the Straits

28. Van Hoeffell: op.cit., p163.

themselves. It must have served as a lookout for the arrival of trading vessels and those of a hostile nature in former times.²⁹

Gresik is bordered by rivers and large stretches of wetlands to both the north and south. These wetlands are tambaks (fish-ponds) and salt-pans, as well as waste-land, swamp, mangroves and shallows of the sea. It would not be exaggerating too much to say that Gresik was built upon a wide peninsula, the entrance to which was protected by the limestone range of hills. The attacks made on Gresik/Giri in 1535 A.D. by Terung, the remnant of the kingdom of Majapahit, came from the only possible direction, east, near Lamongan.

The rice-fields marked on the map (Gresik and Environs) are present day fields, but were probably the location of the rice-fields of the 16th century since they require flowing water and it is mainly in the eastern districts of Gresik that one has access to reliable rivers. The British expedition of 1812 also noted rice-fields in this area.³⁰

From the point of view of Chinese traders sailing with the north-east winds from China to Java, it would seem that Gresik was located in the most easterly position that they could reach for after rounding the great island of

29. It is possible that one of the two tall buildings on the hills of Gresik that one can see in the frontispiece is the Mosque of Giri. Otherwise they are lookouts established by the Dutch.

30. Thorn, W., *Memoires of the Conquest of Java*, 1815, p300.

Kalimantan. This is because their vessels were flat bottomed and could not sail at an angle to the wind of less than 90°. However this view should be qualified by the fact that the north-east trade wind tends to swing eastward to follow the gap between Kalimantan and Java. This would carry them to a position further east.

The location of the port and its component parts has been the subject of some considerable confusion. When Pires arrived in about 1516 he wrote of there being a twin city of Gresik divided by a little river which dried up in the dry season, and which was ruled over by two different and occasionally hostile rulers. Later that century the Dutch arrived and spoke of the ports of Gresik and Jortan/Jaratan as if they were close neighbours. A port of Jortan is definitely located at the mouth of the Kali Porong, the southern arm of the Brantas River, the latter ending at Surabaya. This is recorded in Valentyn's map and is confirmed by the Imperial Chinese records.³¹ Valentyn's map locates another Jortan just a few kilometres south of Gresik, possibly near the mouth of the Lamong River³². Another Dutch report supports this view.³³ A third Jortan can be found on this map just south of Surabaya.

The *Babat ing Gresik* and certain physical remains in the area provide some solutions to our problem. The *babad* speaks

31. See map in Valentyn, F.: *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol.4, Dordrecht-Amsterdam, 1724-1726. Also W.P. Groeneveldt, *op.cit.*, p55.

32. q.v. map of Gresik and Environs.

33. See below.

of five main centres in the area of Gresik, that is, within a radius of 3 kilometres from the centre of modern Gresik. Two centres are in the hills; these are the old kedaton ruins on the mountain of Gunung Sari, and the old Mosque and grave complex of Giri. On the coast, from north to south, we have the village of Rama, the area known as Kabungson³⁴, and the Arab quarters which include the famous Gapura Mashoer Graveyard of Malik Ibrahim, Mahulana Mahpur, and their two fathers. The *babad* speaks of Rama as though it is the port of Gresik itself,³⁵ whereas the area of the famous graveyard, that is, the Kampong Arab, is called Gresik Wetan, meaning East Gresik.³⁶ It is this Gresik Wetan which constitutes the modern port and which was used by the Dutch; a jetty was constructed there with a *bedilan* or fortified gun-platform to protect it.³⁷ Later, Gresik Wetan came to be known as Gresik itself, while the earlier port became known by the name of Rama, which name it currently bears. The area of Kabungson, including China town and the Kambodian graveyard, is really a part of Gresik Wetan and is only 800 metres north of the Arab quarters, separated by the great square or *alun-alun*. The Kabungson was the heart of the trading port of Gresik and fronts immediately onto the harbour and jetty.

The *babad* makes no mention of Jortan/Jaraton, nor of a port a few kilometres south of Gresik Wetan. However, a Dutch

34. BIG, p38.

35. BIG, p3.

36. Ibid.

37. See Frontispiece.

report speculates that the word Jaraton probably derives from the Javanese word *djaraton* meaning "cemetery".³⁸ This could mean that either the graveyard of Malik Ibrahim in Kampong Arab or the Kambodian graveyard in Kabungson is the location of Jortan. Valentyn, however, tells us that "Jatan" lies approximately 1 (Dutch) mile south-west from Gresik.³⁹ The Tweede Schipvaert of 1599 reports that it (Jortan) is "...a well-closed in harbour and one can lie with large ships in 12 fathoms a stone's throw from the walls of the city of Grisse which is the principal city."⁴⁰ We can ignore Valentyn's account on the grounds that we do not know his sources and that it is contradicted by the Tweede Schipvaert account. The latter source implies that Jortan stood shoulder to shoulder with Gresik and supports, therefore, Pires' description of Gresik as a "twin-city".

Pires writes of a little river which divides the twin city of Gresik.⁴¹ The Frontispiece shows such a river dividing Gresik Wetan into two parts: the part to the right (north) is Kebungson, while the part to the left (south) is the Pakojan and Kampong Arab. The city ruled by Pati Cucuf is most likely to be Kebungson, since Pires claims that it was Cucuf's town which was the real centre of overseas trade. Pires speaks of the other town as being ruled by Pati Zainal who had no shipping, little trade, and who lived by control

38. J. Keuning: *Der Tweede Schipvaert... onder J. van Neck en W. Waerwijck, 1598-1600*, vol. III, p41, n107.

39. Valentyn, *op.cit.*, p47.

40. J. Keuning: *op.cit.*, vol. III, p204.

41. Pires, *op.cit.*, p193.

over agricultural fields inland.⁴² This other town was the Pakojan. Further evidence supporting this view will be introduced in chapter three below. It will be shown conclusively that Pati Cucuf's town is Kebungson and that Kebungson is known by the Dutch as "Jortan", while Pati Zainal's town was the Pakojan and known to the Dutch as "Gresik".

We have therefore three centres on the coast: Rama (being old Gresik); secondly Kabungson/Jortan (the central part of new Gresik/Gresik Wetan); and thirdly the Pakojan (part of Gresik/Gresik Wetan). Because of the multiple siting of Jortan, data about this port must be treated cautiously. In the present study, the term "Gresik" is applied, following present day usage, to the entirety of these quarters.

Lineage and Political History: The port of Gresik was under the control of the hinterland Kingdom of Majapahit from its creation in about 1371 A.D. until the destruction of Majapahit in 1475 A.D.. From this date until Gresik itself was destroyed in 1625 A.D., the country of Gresik was under the influence and leadership of a line of Islamic holy men, venerated as saints, and titled "Sunan", a word that has both a Javanese and an Arabic/Islamic meaning. This line reproduces itself by polygamy and a preferred system of male primogeniture. Although this period is characterized by rivalry between the Islamic states of both the coast and the new "Islamic" states in the hinterland, the Sunans who

42. Pires: op.cit., p193-5.

resided in the Mosque and Pesantren (religious school) on the hill, known as Giri, which overlooked Gresik, found that as they surrendered direct political power to worldly men, so too did their ideological or spiritual influence increase, eventually casting a spell over the whole of Java. No Javanese King could claim legitimacy without winning recognition from the Sunan of Giri. A new type of power centre had emerged, that of "Kingmaker", founded in religion and religious law, financed by its connections with trade, bearing an ideology of the equality of the common people before God that uplifted the lower classes as well as integrating the ethnic traders, without threatening the profits of the merchants provided they contributed alms; a power centre that was independent of the traditional Javanese patrimonial agrarian bureaucracy which always nurtured its own dynastic lineage. When Gresik was burned by a reformed "Islamic" hinterland kingdom, Mataram, the holy centre at Giri was astutely avoided. The two forms of power danced and strutted across the plains of Java, a dance that constitutes the history of Java in the period under our investigation, 1475 to 1625.

The principal members of the lineage of the Sunans of Giri in this period are:

1. Raden Paku/Sunan Giri (lives: 1443-1506 A.D.). He is known as Raden Paku as a youth, meaning "Prince Nail", implying an upright figure or man of principle. He became the first Sunan of Giri, the founder of the Kadaton (meaning "palace", but actually a Mosque) on the hill near Gresik. Amongst the circle of Muslim holymen on the coast of Java he

is recognized as the elder statesman. Alone amongst the Sunans of Java, he establishes a dynasty of holymen which lasts until 1680. He is responsible for securing the institution of Islam in Java and of carrying out a policy of spreading it westwards along the coast of Java such that the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of the hinterland was eventually isolated, contained, and finally overthrown. He cultivates the Islamic warrior Raden Patah as the instrument of destruction of Majapahit, making him Sultan of the first Islamic state in Java. He participates in the successful attack on Majapahit in 1475 A.D..

2. Sunan Dalem Wetan (r. 1506-1546 A.D.). His name means that he came from the "eastern court" which was at Gunungsari. Dalem appears in the Babad as the man who saved Giri from the attack by the remnants of the old hinterland kingdom. He is a contemporary of the second Sultan of Demak, Trenggana, and died in the same battle to spread Islam to Pasuruan in east Java.

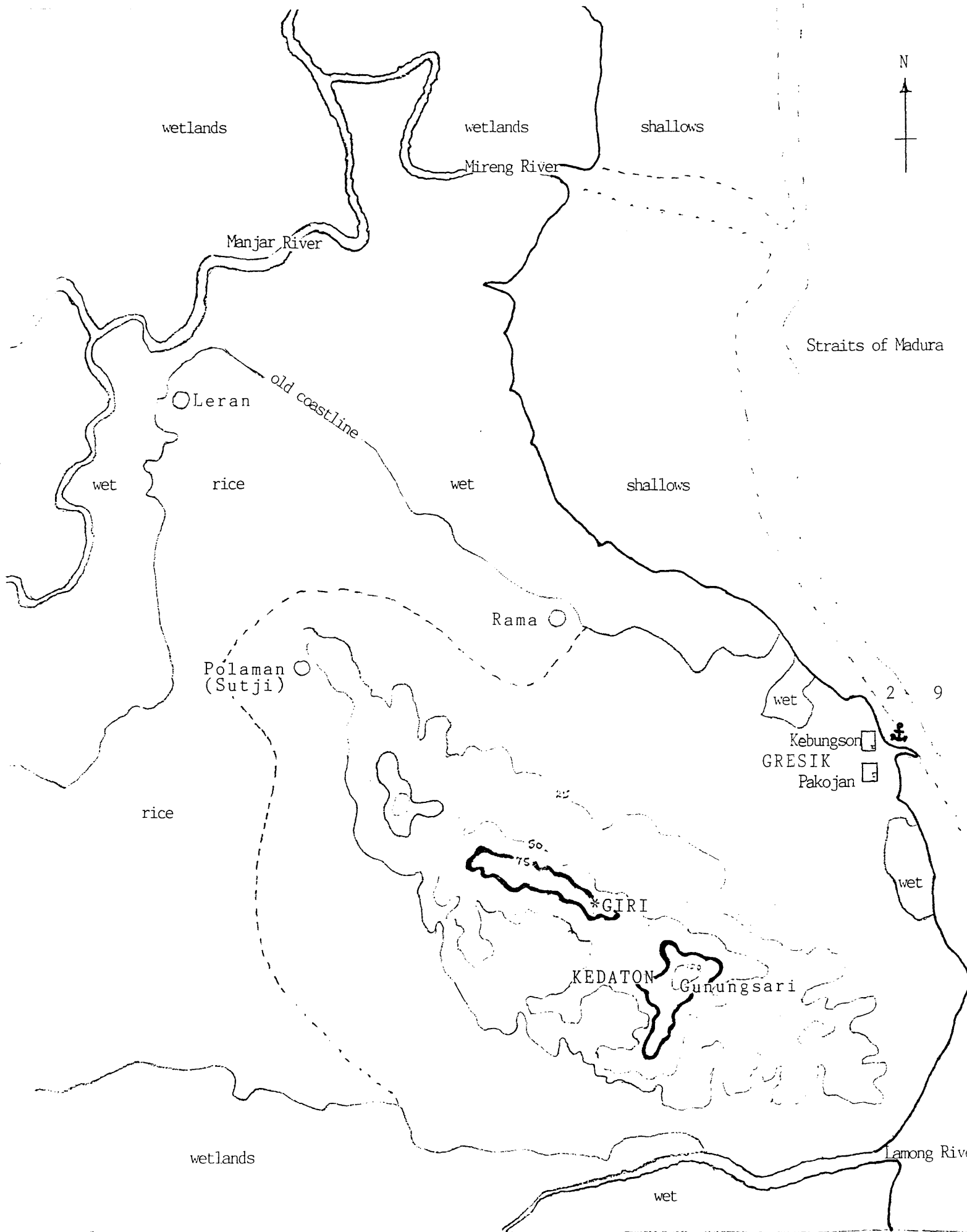
3. Pangeran Seda Margi (r. 1546-1548 A.D.). This name means "died on the road". The part of the chronicle dealing with his accession to power and the reasons for his "resignation" in favour of his younger brother has been lost. It is argued in a later chapter that he was killed during the internecine strife that enveloped the Islamic north coast in 1548, probably being killed by a force from Surabaya.

4. Sunan Prapen (r. 1548-1625 A.D.). His name means "place of eternal fire". He is renown in the eastern islands for spreading Islam. He plays the role of kingmaker in the

creation of Pajang and Mataram, and is a strong influence in the internal political struggles of Java. The first Dutchmen to arrive thought that he was one hundred and twenty years old and lived on nothing but human milk from his wives.⁴³

5. Panembahan Kawisguwa (r. 1625-at least 1641 A.D.). He is forced to accept the inferior title of Panembahan which entitles him to some respect only. He surrenders the title of *Sunan* to the King of Mataram after Gresik was destroyed by the army of the latter.

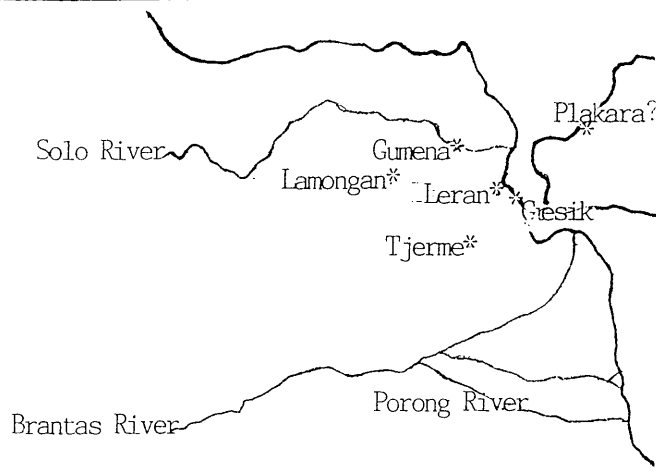
43. Noort: Oliver Noort's account in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumas or Purchas His Pilgrims*, W.H.S., vol.2, extra series, Glasgow, 1905-07, p204.



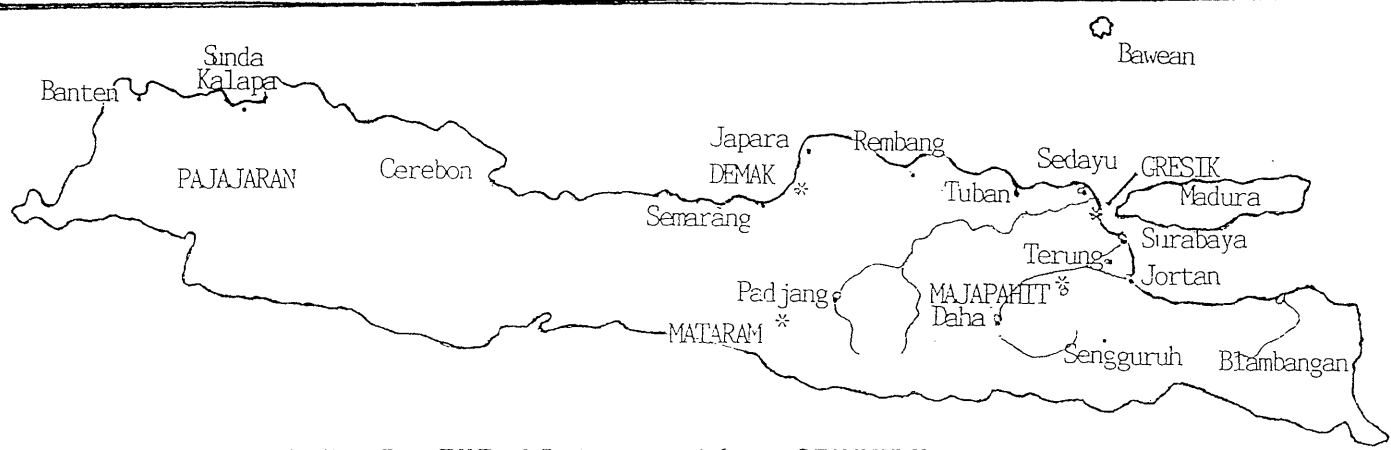
GRESIK AND ENVIRONS

Scale 2 cm = 1 km. Contours in metres. Depths in fathoms.

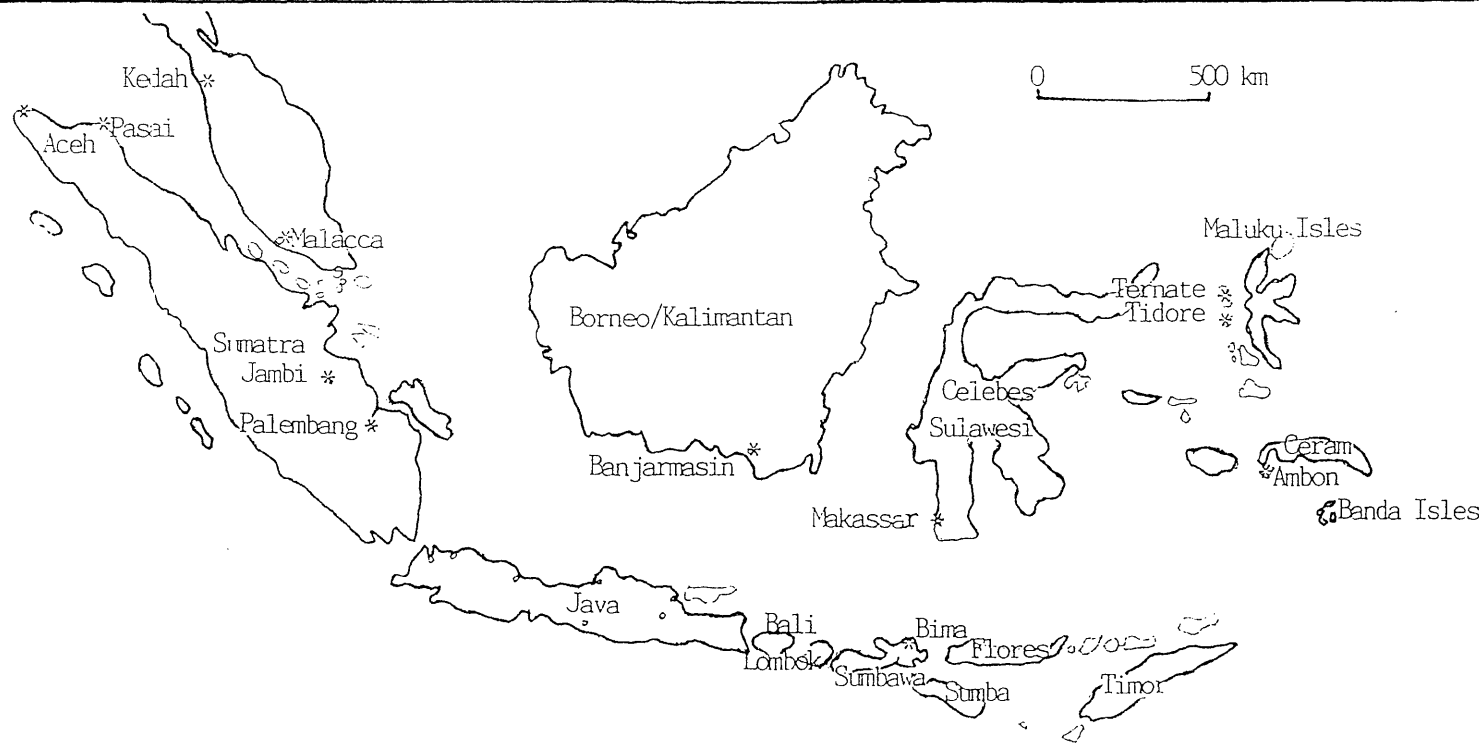
Legend: 1. Kebungson includes the trading compound of the Sunan, China town and the "Kambodian" graveyard; known as "Jortan" by the Dutch. 2. Pakoijan/Kampong Arab is the place of Moslem West Asians (Indians and Arabs) and includes the Capura graveyard.



GRESIK AND DJENG GALUH



JAVA IN THE 15th AND 16th CENTURY



THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO

CHAPTER TWO: LERAN AND GRESIK

The historical records pertaining to the founding of the port of Gresik offer differing accounts. The babad speaks of the port's west Asian origins, yet the Imperial Chinese records claim the port was founded by people from the "Central Country", that is, from China. Despite this however, the actual sequence of events is ascertainable.

The babad of Gresik asserts that the founders of the port came from west Asia and that they called the place "Gerwarasi", claiming that this was Arabic for "place of stop-over". The author implies that the name "Gresik" was a corruption of this "Gerwarasi" or that it was a Javanese approximation of the Arabic. There are three pieces of data which are fatal to this assertion. Firstly, the word itself (both as a whole word and as a combination of words) is neither colloquial nor classical Arabic, nor Persian nor Gujarati. Secondly, the name "Gresik" appears in a number of places in Malaysia at the present. They do not appear to be places named in honour of our Javanese port since they are small places and one of them is a drain on the west coast of West Malaysia. It is unlikely that they were once all named Gerwarasi and that this name decayed into Gresik at each place. Thirdly, the word Gresik has a meaning in Malay and Javanese: it means "coarse sand". Gresik was a place where there was coarse sand on the coast; this is reasonably uncommon in Java because the rivers deposit so much fine mud on the coast. Hence one can understand a place being given such a name. The coarse sand probably had its origin in the action of the currents of the Straits of Madura wearing away

the limestone substratum of Gresik. When Gresik was visited by ibn Majid in the early 16th century he noted in his rutter-book the name of this port to be "Jarshik", an obvious attempt to imitate the Javanese name since it has no meaning in Arabic.¹

Confirmation of Gresik's Javanese origins, at least as a village, if not as a port, comes from the Charter of Karang Bogem dated 1387 A.D., the earliest mention of the name of Gresik in Javanese literature. This charter speaks of a bondsman of Gresik who has a debt of 120,000 cash; he is a fisherman (managing fish-ponds) who is declared free from the claim of Sidayu² but indebted to the interior (Majapahit); the debt was to be paid in fish-preserve.³ We may conclude therefore, that Gresik was founded, as a fishing village based on the management of fish-ponds, by people of Javanese descent, sometime before 1387 A.D.. Capital for the creation of the fish-ponds originally came from Sidayu, but this "sub-infeudation" arrangement was replaced by direct control of the debt from the central government of Majapahit.

Though there are competing claims to the founding of the port of Gresik by the Chinese and the Arabs, it is clear from epigraphic data in the Gresik and Leran regions that it

1. 1. G.R. Tibbetts: A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia. E.J. Brill, Leiden and London, 1979, p197.

2. A port/town north of Gresik.

3. Pigeaud, Th.G.: Java in the 14th Century: a study in cultural history, vol.3, K.I.T.L.V., The Hague, 1960, p173.

was the West Asians (Arabs/Gujaratis) who came after the Javanese fisher-folk, and who established the place as a port. The babad of Gresik confirms this source though the story and context it provides is flawed.

The babad of Gresik relates in detail the earliest visitations of Muslims to the Gresik area. Its account is enriched in detail by the Raffles and Wiselius versions, and to a lesser extent, by the version of Crawfurd. It is unfortunate for the Javanese account, however, that a part of it is absolutely contradicted by the epigraphy on the gravestone at Leran, though the other part is confirmed by the gravestone epigraphy in Gresik. The story in brief goes thus:-

Two brothers from Mahrabbi/Arabia/*Chermen*⁴ came to Java with 40 companions to teach Islam by example and by preaching while at the same time carrying on their trade. They are known as Mahulana Ibrahim and Mahulana Mahpur. They were sent there by their relation/*cousin* King Mahmud Sadad Alam of the country of Gedhah/*Chermen/Charmen*. They landed at Gresik (Rama)/Leran and established villages there in 1371 A.D.. They visited the King Brawijaya/*Angka Wijaya/Browijoyo* of Majapahit to obtain his approval and to try to convert him. The King declined the offer of the new religion. Ibrahim was given the position of Shahbandar in Gresik and

4. Italicised parts of the story indicate that Raffles' version is the source. Underlined parts indicate that Crawfurd is the source. Otherwise, the account is from the this Babat ing Gresik. Wiselius follows the Raffles version on this question.

was permitted to preach as well as trade there. Ibrahim had a son named Malik Ibrahim, while Mahpur had a son named Muhamed Sidik. The two children, when of age, were sent to the east coast, about 2 or 3 miles away, to establish a settlement there and to trade. It was called Gresik Wetan or East Gresik; the place where their fathers lived later became known as Rama (meaning "father"). The two fathers passed away in the year 1378 A.D., commemorated by the sangkala date: "Gone and lost is the light of Java."

Upon hearing of the deaths/*failure* of the two Mullahs, the King of Gedhah/*Chermen* arrived in Leran/*Leran*. He built a Mosque there and with his armed descendants/*40 holymen including Ibrahim and Mahpur (both of whom were still alive)* set out to the south determined to convert the King of Majapahit. He brought with him a pomegranate (with jewels secreted inside it) and his daughter, Princess Suwari.⁵ The meeting between the two sides was held at the village of Tjareme on the outskirts of Majapahit/*at a place on the confines of Majapahit*⁶. This event happened in the year 1391

5. The daughter's real name was Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibatallah. She is known by the Javanese, and in the babads as Suwari, meaning Cassowary, indicating, perhaps, a different estimation of her attractive qualities.

6. There is in fact a town called variously Tjerme/Tjareme/Tjermoe on the way from Leran to Majapahit, about 15 km. south of Leran, or less than 40 km. north-east of Majapahit. Note also the similarity between the country of origin of the Muslim King (*Chermen/Charmen*) and the place where he met the King of Majapahit (Tjareme). They are probably the same word but its role in the story has been displaced. Since the word is almost certainly a variation of the Javanese word "tjerme" (meaning "type of tree bearing a small edible fruit with a large pit") then it should be viewed as the meeting place of the two parties rather than the name of the Arabic country from which our visitors came. This supports our version of the babad rather than that of

A.D./1391 A.D., commemorated with the sangkala date: "Year southward, land westward" (meaning that this was the year that the Leran people went south to Majapahit to westernize/Islamize the country). The King scoffed at both of the enticements and rejected Islam. Both sides were offended. War broke out and the Muslim King was forced to withdraw to Polaman (which was renamed Sutji: holy) where he prayed, nursed his wounds, had a vision of Gresik's future greatness, and finally returned to Leran/the Muslim King returned to Leran and the King of Majapahit, upon discovering the jewels in the pomegranate, had a change of heart. He pursued the Muslim party back to Leran.

At Leran the party of Muslims fell ill from disease. Many died including Princess Suwari/three cousins of the Muslim King died, namely Sayed Jafar, Sayed Kasem and Sayed Ghart, as well as the princess. Another cousin, Sayed Jafar (sic) died soon after leaving Leran, and he was buried on the island of Madura just west of the village of Plakara. Yet another died on the way and was buried on the island of Bovian.⁷ They were buried in the Kuburan Pandjang ("long graves cemetery") in Leran. The Muslim King and his

Raffles or Crawford. It leaves us with Gedhah as the place of origin of the Muslim King.

7. These graves, at Plakara on Madura Island, and near the village of Bovian/Bawean on the Island of Bovian/Bawean (about 150 km. north of Gresik in the Java Sea), have never been mentioned in any study of Indonesian epigraphy. This does not augur well for our chances of finding them. They may be buried or indistinguishable from local headstones since they were no doubt buried in passing. Nevertheless, it is unusual for a Javanese chronicle to give such definite locations for a grave. Therefore a search will be conducted in the near future.

surviving relations, leaving Malik Ibrahim and Muhamed Sidik as care-takers of the grave site, left for their own country again/*Ibrahim remained to take care of the kuburan pandjang while Mahulana Mahpur stayed at Majapahit.* This event took place in 1391 A.D./1391 A.D. and is commemorated with the sangkalas: "No memory of that Princess"⁸ and "Like the Moon that Princess."

In Gresik Wetan, the two sons, Malik Ibrahim and Muhamed Sidik passed away. The babad's date is given in the Muslim, Gregorian and Javanese calendars: the 1st Rabingulawal (third month) of the year 822 A.H.; the 8th of April 1419 A.D.; the sangkala is "Sumur loro gunaning wong" meaning "Two wells of benefit to the people" having apparently a numerological value of 9231 which reversed yields 1329 A.J..⁹ They were buried in the famous cemetery where their two fathers were buried, in the Pakojan (Muslim West Asian quarters) of Gresik. Raffles' and Crawford's versions identify Ibrahim with his son Malik Ibrahim and both give the date of death as 1334 A.J. or 1412 A.D., a date clearly at variance with the epigraphy on the tomb stone which has the same dates as our babad, 822 A.H., being 1419 A.D.

8. A candid admission by our scribe?

9. The Gregorian date can be calculated from the Muslim date by adding 622.5 to the latter and subtracting the "slippage" between the two calendars (the Mohammedan year divided by 32.5). Thus $822+622.5-(822/32.5)=1419$. The Gregorian year in the babad is correct. (Conversion manuals indicate 28th March, 1419). The sangkala date cannot be correct since the difference between the Gregorian and Javanese calendars is 78 years; $1329+78=1407$. The babad and the gravestone of Malik Ibrahim both agree on the date of 822 A.H..

The story above is fertile soil for much historical data and cannot be surrendered lightly even though it is seriously flawed. The major flaw is that the head stone of the Arabic princess Suwari has a date of 475/495 A.H. (1082/1102 A.D.), whereas all versions of the babad have 1313 A.J. or 1391 A.D., a difference of at least 289 years. The date on the headstone of Malik Ibrahim (1419 A.D.) is reported correctly in the babad; this means that the time difference between the two headstones is 317 years so that the two characters cannot be considered contemporaries. The fact that elements of the story have been mislocated in the re-telling, as indicated by the role of "Tjerme" in the different versions of the babad, points to the best possible solution: firstly, to retain and re-arrange the elements, and secondly, to split the story at its weakest point into two parts so that each part is in accordance with the epigraphy on the headstones of both the Leran and Gresik graveyards and other data of a physical kind.

We may begin the operation by examining *terra firma* itself. The range of limestone hills near Gresik and Leran, with the river to the east and the sea-shore to the north, constitute our surest path to obtaining a definite framework for the chronological development of the region. The range of hills is fixed, but the river brings silt to the shoreline which gradually moves outward in time. This provides us with the key to understanding what has happened in this region. Leran was located in a reasonable harbour in 1102 A.D., the date of the Fatimah headstone. As the shoreline at Leran receded

due to deposition of silt, so the port eventually had to be shifted eastward along the coast to Rama (Old Gresik). The process of silting continued and again the port had to be shifted to its present position at Gresik at the end of the 14th century. This process probably took about 400 years, being the difference in the dates of the two gravestones¹⁰ plus 100 years (to allow for the life-span of Leran). Unfortunately there is no gravestone at Rama with epigraphy with which to date the move to this place.

The physical remains of the port of Leran itself are also important in determining its history. It would appear to have been a sizable port since it exhibits three interesting features. The grave complex of Fatimah is a definite sign of wealth and social position. By north coastal standards the complex itself, with its Gapura, high walls and stairs, are impressive and uncommon. Fatimah was not merely a visitor who happened to expire on tour. The whole complex speaks of someone firmly established in Leran. Almost certainly she was the daughter of a local Arab/Gujarati merchant of means whose name was Maimun bin Hibatallah.¹¹ We do not know their

10. That is, Fatimah's at Leran, having the date 1102 A.D., and Malik Ibrahim's at Gresik, having 1419 A.D..

11. The full translation of the inscription of Fatimah's grave is as follows, (from Slametmuljana, A Story of Majapahit, Singapore Univ. Press, 1976, p221-222): "In the name of God most gracious, most merciful. All that is on earth will perish, but the face of thy Lord will abide forever, full of majesty, bounty and honour. This is the grave of the martyr (the protected or the deceased) Fatimah (Asimah), daughter of Maimun, son of Hibat Allah, who on Friday the 7th of Rajab in the year 495 (475) passed to the mercy of Allah (who is knower of the hidden). Truly has spoken God, who is great, and also his Messenger, who is noble."

exact place of origin however. The grave and its *cungkub*¹², as well as its inscription, are much dilapidated now, having weathered and been damaged, then altered and damaged yet again.¹³ Its style however is considered to be very ornamental, florid and Sufi.¹⁴ As for its location, we can safely assume it to be in the Pakojan of Leran, that is, the Muslim West Asian quarters of the port.

Leran, however, seems to be more than a small camp of Arab/Indian traders at the river-mouth. Present-day Leran shows a second set of noteworthy features: the Chinese quarters. To date there appears to have been no investigation by historians of the China-town section to determine its history. A third feature of note is that of the Pasantrin, or Muslim school for religious studies. Its background, like that of China-town has yet to be determined. Is it likely that these features emerged in the period of Leran's decline after 1300 A.D., with the emergence of Rama and Gresik, or before?

Elements of the babad's account may now be safely introduced and combined with the above to produce a sensible account of the data. An Arab lady lived at Leran who was the daughter of a merchant, Maimun bin Hibatallah. The father was prominent in worldly terms and probably also lived at Leran and at other ports in the archipelago where he had

12. A roofed shelter erected over a grave.

13. Soekmono, R: Pengantar Sejarah Kebudayaan Indonesia 3, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1985, p84.

14. Damais, L-C: L'epigraphie Musulmane dans le Sud-est Asiatique, BEFEO, LIV, Paris, 1968, p571.

business.¹⁵ He may be buried in Leran or in some other port. They lived in the period up to 1102 A.D. (the date of the headstone).¹⁶ At some stage the question of obtaining the right to preach Islam in Leran and Java, and the question of fulfilling Islamic duty by attempting to convert the Javanese King, emerged. This resulted in a meeting with that Javanese King at the actual town of Tjerme. However, it could not have been any King of Majapahit who met the Leran delegation because this kingdom did not come into existence until the end of the 13th century. The babad mentions the country of Djeng Galuh (or Jang'gala as Raffles would have it), the name for a kingdom of north-east Java which came into being when, in the middle of the 11th century, the Javanese King Erlangga could not reconcile the rivalry between his two offspring. His realm was then partitioned into two halves: Kediri (Daha) and Djeng Galuh (Kahuripan). The latter was centred in the delta or basin of the Brantas river.¹⁷ Tjerme was within the kingdom, while Leran was

15. See chapter on economic affairs below regarding the role of the family in inter-regional trading networks.

16. The babad states that he built a Mosque there. If this could be confirmed, it would be the oldest in Java. Given that the date on Fatimah's headstone is correct, it is highly likely that the resident Muslim community in Leran did build a Mosque there in the 11th century. A search will be made for its remains. Most Javanese Mosques built in the period 1400-1700 are of the "Javanese/Chinese-pagoda" style with a square building and a roof with several layers. After this period, during colonial times, the style was borrowed from the Middle East with its domed roof. An 11th century Mosque may look more like a Mosque from the colonial period since it was built under the direction of West Asians; remnants or portions of it may therefore still be in existence but indistinguishable from the modern version. Furthermore, it would provide us with a means of testing the proposition that the Mosques of 1400-1700 are of Chinese style, and not Javanese.

17. The area of Surabaya and its hinterland, including the basin of the Brantas river, could be conceived as a kind of

probably its main port. Despite the fact that Djeng Galuh was a coastal kingdom (while Kadiri was a hinterland kingdom), and despite the proximity of the dates of the partition and the said meeting, there is no evidence to show that Leranian Islam had any role to play in the initial process of partition.¹⁸

Both the babad and Raffles' version of it mention that Leran was part of the "country" of Djeng Galuh/Jang'gala.¹⁹ It is odd that this should be mentioned since nominating the kingdom of Majapahit would normally be considered sufficient - the babad's audience certainly knew the location of Leran, it being just a few kilometres up the coast. The author of the babad seems to be faintly echoing here the tale of the

triangular peninsula jutting out into the Madura Sea. It would therefore be called an "ujung". There is a place near Surabaya called Ujung Galuh which may be a remnant of this kingdom and an indicator of its location and the meaning of its name.

18. If Leran did play a part in the partition, then the story would be along the following lines: the Leranian delegation met with the Javanese King, Erlangga, in order to request permission to preach Islam and trade; they would have attempted to convert the King himself and other members of the royal family; they obtained partial success with the conversion of one branch of the royal family, namely, the married daughter(?) of Erlangga; this was anathema to the son of Erlangga; fighting between the two branches ensued with a battle at Tjareme; the King intervened and willed that the kingdom would be divided upon his death into Djeng Galuh and Kediri; the former was a coastal kingdom in which Islam was favoured or protected and which was much involved in trade. Whatever the case, the existence of Muslim graves in the re-unified kingdom of Majapahit at a later date would not therefore be surprising. Moquette's "completely isolated" datum of the Fatimah headstone would cease to be isolated, and the history of Islam in Java would increasingly look more like that of Sumatra with Islamic ports already involved in hinterland politics by the 11th century.

19. BIG, p4. Raffles, T.S.: History of Java, O.U.P., 1978, vol.II, pp 113.

division of the kingdom into Djeng Galuh and Kediri, with Leran being part of the former. Despite the incorrect dates, the author has weakly retained a detail of the late 11th century with this mention of Djeng Galuh. The mention of Djeng Galuh in the context of the Fatimah/Suwari gravestone of 1082/1102 gives some credibility to the babad's account.

If the Tjerme battle had little to do with the emergence of that partition, what was its significance? Tjerme is on the route from Leran to both of these two kingdoms, Djeng Galuh and Kediri. Conceivably then, Leran could have been in conflict with either of them. However, considering the fact that divisions of kingdoms are unstable, we are probably safer considering this conflict to be one between the two kingdoms, with Leran both as the bone of contention and a supporter of one side. Since Leran was long considered part of Djeng Galuh, this may indicate that Leran supported Djeng Galuh. Let us therefore present a coherent account of these events based on these unproven assumptions and then test it afterwards. The battle was between Kediri on the one side and Djeng Galuh and Leran on the other. The motive for the battle is reasonably apparent when one considers the economic-geography of the two kingdoms. Djeng Galuh is well placed for rice-agriculture and very well placed for access to wealth from trading ports on the coast. Kediri however is in the opposite condition, with large scale rice fields but quite isolated from the coast and unable to tap the wealth from international trade. The war therefore was primarily between Djeng Galuh and Kediri and the motivation of Kediri

was to break through to the coast and obtain control over at least one port, Leran. The Muslim traders at Leran fought vigorously for Djeng Galuh because its monarch protected, even possibly sympathised with, Islam. They feared destruction and massacre by Kediri, which fear appears to have been partially realized. Kediri won the battle and having administered punishments accordingly, its King left the dead and wounded Muslims of Leran and took with him to Kediri one of those Muslim merchants, namely Mahulana Mahpur.²⁰ His function was not to teach Islam at the Kraton of Kediri, but to act as the King's merchant, taking and receiving orders for merchandise from both his relatives in Leran and the King. It is not clear whether this battle reunited the kingdom of Java by obliterating Djeng Galuh or whether it simply re-drew the boundary between them.

To test this account one needs to explain only why the victorious King took back with him one of the Muslim merchants from Leran, namely Mahulana Mahpur. Djeng Galuh had no need for a resident merchant in its court because it had ready access to the coast, to trade and to shipping. Kediri was however poorly placed in these matters. It needed access to a port and it needed a merchant-in-chief through whom orders would be placed. Kediri was therefore the most likely aggressor and our account survives the test while the alternative does not.

20. See mention of Mahpur above.

The kingdom of Djeng Galuh, including its port of Leran, deserve a separate study in itself. That task is however beyond the scope of the present work.

The story above indicates that the Muslim King who arrived in Leran was from the country of Gedhah and not Tjareme/Tjerme/Charmen.²¹ The latter was clearly the place of meeting with the Javanese King. As for the location of the former place, Gedhah, we do not know for certain. There are four possibilities however. It could be the coastal state on the Malay peninsula called Kedah. This is the possibility favoured by Wiselius.²² However there does not appear to be a Sultan nor a Mahmud Sadad Alam there in the 14th century. The date given in the babad for the arrival of this Sultan is 1313 A.J. or 1391 A.D.,²³ but we know that it must have been before 1102 A.D. because of the date on the headstone. Whatever the case, Kedah does not become a Muslim port until the 15th century. On the other hand it undoubtedly had a Muslim trading community before then, and it was a major port in the pre-Melaka era. Of all the possibilities, it is certainly the closest to Gresik and Leran. It must therefore remain a candidate.

21. See note 6 above regarding meaning and location of Tjerme/Charmen.

22. Wiselius, J.A.B.: "Historisch Onderzoek naar de Geestelijke en Wereldlijke Suprematie van Grissee op Midden en Oost Java Gedurende de 16e en 17e Eeuw" in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 's-Hage, M. Nijhoff, 1876, deel XXIII, p465 n1.

23. BIG, p4.

The second possibility is the port of Jeddah in the Red Sea, the door to the holy centre of Mecca, through which most Southeast Asian Muslims would travel while making the Haj or pilgrimage. Indeed this seems to be the most likely candidate because the babad refers to this group as being descendants of the "Mahrabbi Arab people". However, the latter is probably not an Arab tribe but an Arabic term for "armed follower/descendent"; the Javanese equivalent ("wadya santana") is frequently used in the same context. They could therefore come from any part of the Arab trading zone. Moreover, the Javanese are unlikely to confuse or corrupt a "J" by turning it into the glottal sound "G". It is more likely that they would confuse the two glottals "G" and "K". Finally, can we accept a story that proposes a long-distance sea voyage by a ship-load of armed men bent on Islamizing a rice-plain kingdom by force? It would seem unlikely considering that rice-plain kingdoms are strong not only in producing rice but also in producing soldiers. Furthermore the trading world of the Indian Ocean had at this stage become compartmentalized into an Arabian-Indian section and an Indian-Southeast Asian section.²⁴ It is unlikely that a direct sea voyage was made over such a distance at this time, neither as a trading venture, nor as a military expedition. It would seem more likely that our Muslim visitors came from somewhere in India and that their visitation was probably to do with trade and lay-preaching than with armed invasion inspired by religious zeal.

24. Chaudhuri, K.N.: Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean, C.U.P., Cambridge, 1985, p102.

The third possibility is that of Ternate. Wiselius relates that this is a candidate and mentions an island within the Ternate group as having that name.²⁵ Though Ternate is certainly within a reasonable distance of Leran to conduct such an expedition, it does not become Islamic until about 1465 A.D.²⁶ Furthermore, there does not appear to be an island near Ternate bearing a name that could be construed as "Gedhah".

The fourth possibility is in the country of Gujarat. This country, along with other Indian ports, had supplanted the direct Arab trade with Southeast Asia by the end of the 10th century; it was from these ports that Islam was most likely to have come. Pires mentions the Gujaratis as being among the traditional traders of Gresik: "...whither the Gujaratees, and (people of) Calicut, Bengalees, Siamese, Chinese and (people of) Liu-Kiu (Lequeos) used to sail of old."²⁷ This location, the west coast of India, is favoured by Slametmuljana on the grounds that other Muslim travellers set off from there in the 9th century to journey to Srivijaya and China.²⁸ Finally, an examination of Gujarati maps reveals a town of Kheda about 50 kms. from the present

25. Wiselius, *op.cit.*, p466.

26. Pires, *Tome: Summa Oriental*, 2 vols., Works of the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, London, 1944, vol. LXXXIX, p213.

27. Pires, *op.cit.*, p192.

28. Slametmuljana, *A Story of Majapahit*, Singapore Univ. Press, 1976, p221.

coastline of Gujarat.²⁹ This town is located in a province also known as Kheda. This province contains the well-known port of Cambay from which merchants used to sail to the ports of Java. The babad does not specify the town or port from which the Mulims came to Leran, only that they came from "nagari Gedhah tanah sabrang", meaning "the country of Gedhah in a land overseas".³⁰ The difference in spelling may be due to the closeness of the two glottal sounds in Javanese and the fact that originally the story would have been transmitted orally. This place must be considered a strong candidate for our Gedhah.

We are left, therefore, with two reasonable possibilities for the origin of Islam in Leran: the port of Kedhah on the Malay coast, and Kheda in Gujarat. To choose between them would require more data than at present exists. In either case Gujarat must have played a role, if only as Islam's place of transit to the Malay Kedhah and thence to Leran.

29. Map location: 22°45'N, 72°40'E. South of Ahmadabad on a tributary of the Sabarmati river, just below the junction of the Meshwa and Vatrak rivers.

30. BIG, pl.

CHAPTER THREE: ORIGINS OF ISLAM IN GRESIK

It was stated in the previous chapter that the babad had to be split at the weakest point so that each story could be made compatible with the epigraphic data. The weakest point is determined in the following way: the relation between Sultan Gedhah, Princess Suwari (Fatimah) and her brothers is strong since they are a family; the relation between this group and the group at Rama and Gresik is more distant since they are described as "relatives" in the different versions of the babad. This is the weakest point. The people of Rama are closely related to those of Gresik, the babad stating that they are father and son, while the name of Rama means "father", indicating that the people of Gresik (specifically the Pakojan of Gresik) recognize the village of Rama to be their immediate origins.

We may now continue the story. After the departure of Sultan Gedhah and the passing away of his offspring, a period of nearly 3 centuries passes, shrouded in darkness, without any reliable data. All that can be said is that the process of silting continued apace and that at some stage the overseas merchants would have begun to complain about the distance they had to carry their bundles of cargo on their heads from the place of beaching or anchoring the ship, over the soft muddy sand, to the port itself. The babad states that the two groups of people, those at Leran and at Rama, were of the same background. The Dutch historian, J.P. Moquette, argues on the basis of a comparison of the tombs of Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, Malik al-Salih of Sumatra and tombs in Cambay/Gujarat, that they are identical in style and bear

similar linguistic peculiarities. He concludes that they have come from the same place in Gujarat, being transported after being fabricated and engraved.¹ Either some Leran people decided it was time to shift port to a more convenient place, or some visiting merchants from the same country of origin of the Leran people left behind their offspring to establish the new port of (old) Gresik, that is, Rama. The babad dates this event at 1374 A.D. with the sangkala: "As though unobstructed (was) the people's vision (of the future for Gresik)"², implying confidence in Gresik's future.

Rama therefore served as the port of Gresik for a brief period beginning in 1371 A.D.. The babad states that Mahulana Ibrahim was appointed Shahbandar there by Majapahit and allowed to preach Islam; shipping and population are also said to have increased along with those who came to study under this holyman.³ The sons of the two Mahulanas, Malik Ibrahim and Muhamed Sidik, were sent to the eastern shore, about 4 kilometres away, to engage in trade and to preach Islam. The reason for this move must have been one of harbouring-convenience rather than one of religious zeal since the place is so close to Rama. It points to the continuing problem of silting or possibly of the attempt to maintain or attract ships of deeper draft. The waters of new Gresik become deep near to the shore, yet it is still

1. Damais, L-C: op.cit., p572.
2. BIG, p2.
3. BIG, pp1-3.

possible for the smaller vessels to be careened on the beach.

The port of Gresik, then, is founded by these two expatriate merchants of Gujarat in 1374 A.D.. Upon the death of their fathers in 1378, the grave complex at Gapura Mahpur is constructed and the two fathers buried there. The Gapura (a kind of arched gateway) is now badly weathered and the markings upon it difficult to discern. Local literature interprets the visual imagery of the Gapura and the cemetery as a *sangkala memet*, that is, a *complex sangkala*, where we are required to reconstruct the date and the event from the visual imagery. This raises the vagueness of the *sangkala* to its highest form and we had best leave it aside.

The babad mentions a Mosque being built in Gresik and being given a name. The Mosque would have preceded the building of the Kedaton on the hill by half a century. The site was probably the place of the present Mosque now facing the alun-alun and situated mid-way between the Pakojan and China-town. The Chinese chronicles of Semarang state unequivocally that a Mosque existed in Tse Tsun (New Village), their name for Gresik, in the period of 1411-1416 A.D., though this is probably a Mosque inside China-town itself.⁴

4. De Graff, H.J. and Pigeaud, Th.G.: Chinese Muslims in Java, Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 12, 1984, p14.

Pires speaks of periodic clashes between the twin cities of Gresik as being the normal pattern.⁵ It is impossible to entertain such an idea if he means serious warfare since the cities are so close and only separated by a little river which runs dry in the dry-season. He must be referring to the commercial rivalry between the Pakojan and China-town which occasionally flares up into public disorder.⁶

The life course of the two sons of the Mahulanas, Malik Ibrahim and Muhamed Sidik, is unknown. It is certain that they were merchants and that they plied the trade in goods which were of interest to the west Asians: nutmeg, mace and cloves from Maluku and Banda, as well as the sale of Arabic goods and Indian cloth in the archipelago. They died in 1419 A.D. and are buried in the same cemetery as their fathers. This cemetery was then thought of as the grave of Malik Ibrahim. Most sources, as well as Gresik's historians consider that this early attempt to spread Islam in Java was only modestly successful; there being no indication that any Javanese, high born or low, were ever converted. Though there may have been a politico-religious struggle coming from Leran, in the 11th century, the period of Malik Ibrahim's era seems to be one of quiet acceptance of Islam's low status in Java. The attitude, however, of the Mullahs to

5. Pires, op.cit., p193.

6. The little river surmounted by a small bridge is visible in the Frontispiece to the left of the jetty and the gun-platform with its parapet walls. The Pakojan is the quarters to the left (south) of the river; to the right (north) is the quarters of the Chinese and other east Asians.

the divine conceptions of power held by the Javanese is couched in contemptuous rhetoric and engraved in marble.⁷

7. The gravestone has the following inscription, translated from the Dutch of Van Hoevell, W.R.: *Reis Over Java, Madura en Bali*, in *Het Midden van* 1847, Amsterdam, 1849, vol.1, pp153-156: "In the name of the merciful and almighty Gods (sic). Speak: God is one, the eternal God. He is not conceivable and is not conceived and no-one is like him. God is a friend of he who believes. He will lead them out of darkness into the light. Those who do not believe, befriend the pagan gods; they lead them out of the light into the darkness. They are doomed to the fires of hell and will stay there until eternity. God will be given what is in heaven and earth; if you reveal or conceal what is in your soul, God will ask whatever you reveal or conceal, and he will forgive whatever he wants and will punish whoever he wants, because God is almighty. God is the best shepherd. God is merciful to those in sorrow. O you believers! You can enter paradise in peace and without fear. 'Peace' will be the word of your merciful Lord. God - there is no other God than him, the Living, the Self-subsistent; no dozing nor sleep will bother him; He will get what is in heaven and earth. Who can speak for him with his consent? He knows what has been and what is coming, and they will describe of his knowledge not more than he wills. His throne stretches out over the heaven and the earth and the caring/governance does not burden him, he is the high, the mighty. In this belief nobody is forced; clearly enough is the right way distinguished from the wrong way; whosoever does not believe in pagan gods, but believes in God, will hold a strong handle, that will not break. God will hear all and know all. All souls will taste death; but on the day of upstanding you will receive your reward. He who will be removed from the hellish fire and will be accepted in paradise, is happy; this life is but an illusionary pleasure. There is no God but God, and Mohammed is God's servant. All that is on earth will pass. Only God's appearance is clothed in majesty and honour. In the name of the merciful and most respected God, the Lord gives pleasure to his servants with the announcement of his goodness and mercifulness and of paradises, wherein they will sample undisturbed pleasure, where they will live for eternity, and therefore (!) by God is a lovely reward. This is the grave of the chosen, who has been forgiven for his sins, and who trusted the merciful God, and the highest of the high, the most beautiful of the Kings, the pillar of the Sultans and Viziers, the friend of the poor and the beggars, the fortunate ones, God's witnesses, the strength of the domain and the true religion, Malik Ibrahim, the true believer. Come forward and pray! May God look-over him with his mercifulness and generosity, and give him a home in the heavenly paradise! Died on Monday, the 12th day of the month Rabioe'l-awal in the year 822 A.H.." Cf. Drewes, G.W.J. (ed.): *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*, K.I.T.L.V., The Hague, 1978, front plate.

Tjampa. At this stage there appear a second group of arrivals, this time from the country of *Tjampa* (*Tjempa/Champa/Campa*). The *babad* relates the story of two members of the family of the King of *Tjempa* coming "to visit their aunt, the Prameswari of *Majapahit*" who had married the King of *Majapahit*.⁸ These two princes were Raden Aliutama, who was the oldest, and Raden Rahmad. They came by trading vessel and landed at *Gresik*, indicating that at this time (1341 A.J./1419 A.D.)⁹ *Gresik* was considered the point of entry for *Java*. The *babad* states via the *sangkala* (chronogram) that this was "The start of good management of the people"¹⁰ implying a change in this system of government, or at least, a change in leadership for *Gresik*.

The oldest prince of *Tjempe* was given permission (by *Majapahit*) to establish himself in *Gresik*. He took up residence at a place within *Gresik* called *Wunut*. He adopted, or was given, the title "Raja Pandita" (Priest King), though it is clear from the *babad* that he is an Islamic "priest" not a Buddhist or Hindhu "pandita". With such a title we must assume that he was the (or a) shahbandar of *Gresik*, though this is problematic since he appears at the same time as *Njai Ageng Pinatih*¹¹ who was also appointed Shahbandar at *Gresik*.¹² It may be the case that *Pinatih* was in fact not in charge of the entire port, but rather of a section of it

8. BIG, p7-8.

9. BIG, p8.

10. BIG, p8. "Awit tata gunaning wong, 1341."

11. q.v. below.

12. BIG, p36.

(the babad has it that she resided at Gegis, about 800 metres north of the Gapura). Her title of Pinatih, if it is to be considered a title, means one who is considered as Pati (meaning regional representative of the King). According to Pires, all the local rulers of the ports of north Java were "Pati".¹³

According to the babad, Aliutama and his brother were well connected, both in their country of origin where they were the sons of a Princess of Tjempa who had married a Muslim foreigner, and in Java where they were the nephews of a Tjempa wife of the King of Majapahit. However, we recognise here the tendency of Javanese to exaggerate the origins of their notables. Recent research on the history of Islam in Campa cannot support the view that members of the Campa royal family had embraced Islam until long after the 15th century.¹⁴ Since Islam was still confined to the mercantile communities on the coast of Campa at this time, then we may assume that these two brothers were Muslim merchants and probably of non-Campa descent. If they are non-Campa, then they must be of Arab, Chinese, Arab-Campa or Arab-Chinese descent. Aliutama's status was, however, enhanced by his fraternal relationship with Rachmad, renowned for introducing Islam to the Bangil/Jortan and Ngampel/Surabaya areas. Aliutama married the daughter of Arya Baribin of Madura; the latter's title indicates that he was of the highest caste in the Hindhu-Buddhist hierarchy, an Aryan

13. Pires, op.cit..

14. Manguin, P-Y: "The Introduction of Islam into Campa", J.M.B.R.A.S., vol.58, part 1, 1985, inter. alia..

lord. The offspring of that union were threefold: Kadji Isman, Usman Kadji, and the youngest being the daughter Njai Ageng Tondha. This daughter, by marrying the future first Islamic King of Demak, Raden Patah, also served to connect well Aliutama with the power that would be. ¹⁵

We know little of the course of his life. Presumably his trading connection with countries to the north, such as Campa and China, persisted. He died and was buried at Wunut in 1449 A.D. and this event is commemorated with the sangkala date of: "Appearance of an ulama/Muslim scholar dying in Java."¹⁶

15. It is interesting that Raden Patah should be cited in this context. In the Babad Tanah Djawi, and in popular mythology, he comes from Palembang in Sumatra, the son of the King of Majapahit and of a Chinese wife who was expelled from court to Palembang while bearing Raden Patah. Yet Tome Pires informs us that he came originally from Gresik. We may assume that the popular account is a device for elevating his origins and giving his claims to the throne of Java some legitimacy. Yet we have no record of his birth in the Gresik babad. Obviously he spent some time in Gresik and almost certainly he was a product of an Islamic pesantrin at either Giri/Gresik or Ngampel/Surabaya. Putting these disparate facts together, we may say that he was probably born in Palembang, the son of the local ruler, that he is at least part Chinese, that he studied Islam in Gresik where he met and married with the daughter of our Aliutama, and that he, under the direction of Sunan Giri, moved to Bintara in central Java to establish the foundations of the first Islamic state in Java. As for his ethnic background, it is unlikely that the popular account is true. The available data for the ruler of Palembang in the period 1407-1424 indicates that he was Chinese from Kuang Tung province and had the name Shih Chin-ch'ing (see Mills, J.V.G. (ed.): "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores," W.H.S., extra series, 42, C.U.P. for Hakluyt Society, 1970, pp99-100.) His heirs were his daughter followed by his son who was appointed by the Emperor of China in 1424 and who ruled for an indeterminate period after that date. Raden Patah was therefore more likely to have been Chinese from his father's side than his mother's, and if there was continuity of rulership of Palembang, must have had the same family name, Shih.

16. BIG, p8.

While the first wave of Islam came from west Asia and was motivated by trade, this second wave from Campa may have had another impulse. The date of the arrival of the two brothers, 1419, is significant. During the period 1400-1720, Campa was collapsing in stages under the impact of an Annamite (north Vietnamese) invasion. Since our two brothers were merchants, then they must have come from a port somewhere on the Campa coast. Coedes dates the collapse of the northernmost port of Hue at 1402, with the next port of Vijaya being taken in 1471.¹⁷ The two brothers were probably therefore from the port of Hue or a smaller port between Hue and Vijaya. Their shift to Java could be seen more as the action of refugees rather than as traders establishing new connections. The babad speaks of a servant coming with them, and that they already had a (female) relative in Java (the one who married the King). Can this be construed as a flight of refugees taking all their families and worldly goods with them? The Cheng Ho voyages were much concerned with defending Campa from Annam.¹⁸ Originally these voyages were studied from the point of view of Chinese Imperial history, but it is significant that they were led by a Chinese Muslim and directed initially at defending Campa from Annam. Is it possible that Cheng Ho had his own purpose in proposing and executing these voyages, and that he convinced the Emperor, by presenting his intentions in terms of the Imperial

17. Coedes, G: *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Aust. National Univ. Press, Canberra, 1968, pp238-239.

18. Wang Gungwu: "China and Southeast Asia, 1402-1424," in J. Ch'en and N. Tarling: *Studies in the Social History of China and South East Asia*, C.U.P., 1970, pp381-383.

interest, to relieve the distress of the Muslim merchant refugees from Hue who were no doubt flooding into Vijaya, by helping them transfer to other parts of Southeast Asia, including Java? It is certain that Cheng Ho was involved in the making of appointments to the various ports of the overseas Chinese and the settling-in of Captains of these Chinese communities.¹⁹

Kambodja. The next group of arrivals to Gresik were a group of people said, by the babad, to be from Kambodia. They were also said to be under the governance of a powerful and wealthy lady, Njai Ageng Pinatih. Before discussing her background, it is interesting to note that the places where she lived and died, as well as the place where her son, Raden Paku, lived and reigned, all have names which are in the Malay rather than Javanese language. Pinatih is buried at *Kebungson* and her son presided over the *Kedaton*. These names appear in both the babad and on maps with the above spelling. If they were spelt with the prefix "Ka-", then one could say that they are words from the Javanese language. Furthermore, the stem of *Kebungson* is *Bungsu* (the youngest child), which is not modern Javanese (the modern Javanese being *Ragil*). It could be old Javanese, but the prefix negates this view. Similarly, the stem of *Kedaton* is *Datu(k)*, being the Malay word for the Javanese *Ratu*

19. Mills, *op.cit.*, pp99-100. See also De Graff, H.J. and Pigeaud, Th.G.: Chinese Muslims in Java, *Monash Papers on Southeast Asia*, No. 12, 1984, where Cheng Ho is seen as responsible for appointing all the Kaptens Cina to the ports of Southeast Asia.

(King/Elder); this word too could possibly be old Javanese but the prefix denies it.²⁰

The fact that both the trading centre on the coast and the political-religious centre on the hill are given Malay names indicates that the people who founded and ruled in those places thought and spoke in that language. The Malay language was the *lingua franca* of the trading cities of the archipelago. It was spoken by all those overseas traders of the cities in the archipelago; this included all of those groups said by the Portuguese writer Tome Pires to have traded in Gresik: "the Gujaratees, and (people of) Calicut, Bengalees, Siamese, Chinese and (people of) Liu-Kiu (Lequeos)..."²¹ This would mean then that the founders of the Kebungson and the Kedaton were Malay language users. Who exactly these people were requires further examination.

It was assumed above that the stem for Kebungson was Bungsu, but in fact there are three possibilities which need to be discussed: 1. the stem is Bungsu meaning "youngest child"; 2. the stem is a corruption of Bangsa meaning "people/nation"; 3. the stem is a corruption of a personal name. Since it will be argued that Bungsu is the correct stem, we may leave this for last.

20. On modern Dutch maps Kebungson is spelt as such. However, on one version it is given the Javanese prefix "Ka". Similarly, in the babad of Gresik the word for Kedaton is spelt on one occasion as Kadaton (v. p38). These can be explained away as follows: in the context of Java, a Malay word may become Javanised, but rarely the other way around.
21. Pires, op.cit., p192.

Taking the term Bangsa as a possibility would imply that the uncorrupted form of the complete word would be Kebangsaan, meaning "place of nationalities" implying "foreigners". In support of this argument is the fact that Kebungson is in China-town and includes a Kambodian graveyard. Against this argument stands the fact that "Bangsa" doesn't exactly mean "foreign people", but simply "people/nation". Usually the foreign quarters of a port are called Pacinan (China-town), Pakojan (place of Muslim West Asians including Arabs, Persians and Gujaratis) and Pekelingan (place of Tamils). The actual area in Gresik called the Kebungson excludes the Pakojan, so it cannot be a word covering all foreign groups.

Our third possibility is that it is a corrupted form of a personal name. There are some restrictions on the possibilities here. It is unlikely to be a Javanese or west Asian name since the Kebungson is in an area which is a community of traders peopled by those of Chinese but also Kambodian (and possibly Champa) descent; the west Asian traders live 800 metres to the south. It is more likely to be a Chinese name because of the locality. The babad mentions the arrival in Java of two brothers from Campa, by name Raden Rachmad and his older brother, Raden Aliutama.²² Rachmad is well known by his title Sunan Ngampel who lived at Ampel in Surabaya. He is famous for spreading Islam in Java. His older brother lived in Gresik and had the title Radja Pandita. Very little is known about Aliutama; it must be a part of the babad which has been edited out by later

22. BIG, pp7-9.

writers. He is obviously an important personage, though, because of his title and his connection with Rachmad. Whoever possessed the Kebungson obviously was a prominent person because not anyone would attach the affixes "Ke-an" to their name to indicate their private quarters. The "Chinese Chronicles of Semarang", a source which is of uncertain veracity, because the original version is unlocatable, yet is being viewed in a more sympathetic manner now, mentions this Sunan Ngampel.²³ It states that his Chinese name is Bong Swi Hoo, and that he was the son of Bong Tak Keng who was appointed as Governor of the Overseas Chinese of South-east Asia by Admiral Cheng Ho during one of the latter's voyages.²⁴ It would not be too difficult to contract this name into Bungsu. The Hikayat Bandjar from the island of Kalimantan refers to Sunan Ngampel as Bungsu.²⁵ Unfortunately he did not reside at Gresik but at Surabaya. His brother, if the account of the Chinese chronicles is correct, would also bear the family name Bong, but it would be an unusual coincidence for him to have personal names that could be contracted and corrupted to form Bungsu as can his brother's name. It would seem that this line of reasoning, attractive though it is, cannot reach its goal.

23. De Graff, H.J. and Pigeaud, Th.G., op.cit., pp21-22. The chronicles refer to a religious teacher of Ngampel - this can be none other than Sunan Ngampel.

24. Ibid., p14. In the chronicles, Cheng Ho is referred to as Sam Po, in accordance with a southern Chinese dialect.

25. Ras, J.J.: Hikayat Bandjar: A Study in Malay Historiography. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1968. pp417-423.

Our first possibility, therefore, is the most likely one, that Kebungson derives from the stem "bungsu", meaning "the youngest child". "Kebungson" would therefore have the meaning of "place of the youngest child". It is an unusual name for anything, even more so for a section of a port. There are two possible senses of meaning here, though they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. One sense is that it implies a junior palace. If we survey the kraton complexes of Java it is apparent that kings sometimes build secondary kratons. Examples of this are to be found in Cerebon where there is both a Kraton Kasepuhan (Senior Palace) and a Kraton Kanoman (Junior Palace); the Court of Surakarta also has a junior palace, Mangkunegaran.

The second sense of the term is that it implies a satellite complex or quarters built for the youngest child of a particular family; and that this pattern had become a tradition in that family over generations. It implies that the pattern, like most traditions, met an on-going need of that particular family. Who that family was, can be determined from the babad: the mother of Raden Paku, the youth who would become the first Sunan of Giri, is buried in the Kebungson. Next to her grave are the graves of her Shipping Master (Seh Kamboja/Tunggal Kukus) and her lifelong female companion who also came out with her from Kamboja/Cambodia. Outside this "tomb" is a courtyard where the other "Kambodians"²⁶ are buried. The whole complex is in

26. It is oral tradition which asserts that they are Cambodians and that there were 40 of them; the graves themselves are certainly visible. The babad claims that

a compound surrounded with a high wall and includes housing. It is located within two hundred metres of the harbour. Immediately south of it is the present day *alun-alun*²⁷; this implies that it may have been a political centre, since they are usually located at one side of the alun-alun. The babad states that the mother, Njai Ageng Pinatih, lived at Gegis and that Gegis was "200 ru" (800 metres) north of the Gapura graveyard (and the Pakojan).²⁸ If we travel 800 metres north of the Gapura graveyard, we arrive at the graveyard of Pinatih in Kebungson. Gegis must therefore be Kebungson.²⁹ This means that the graveyard complex of Kebungson and its adjoining grounds was the domain of Pinatih, the place where Sunan Giri was raised from the time he was a baby to the time he ascended the mountain to build the Islamic Kedaton.

When Pinatih passed away, the youth, Raden Paku, had already established the Kedaton and his reputation as a holyman and teacher. His eldest son would follow in his footsteps and enter the world of religion and politics, becoming the second Sunan of Giri, and residing in the Kedaton and Mosque at Giri. This is apparent from the genealogical table of the Sunans which indicates a preference for male primogeniture. Paku must have inherited from his mother the entire compound, trading organization, shipping fleet, and long-

Pinatih, the mother of the Sunan, and her Shipping Master, were from Kamboja. See BIG, pp9,10.

27. "Alun-alun" meaning "great square" of a town, usually consisting of a great lawn.

28. BIG, p9.

29. "Gegis" may be "Greges" which is Javanese for "gravel"; its similarity to "Gresik" meaning "course sand" may be significant.

standing shipping contracts for Moluccan spices, Indian cloth and much more. The problem of how to manage all this must have been perplexing once Pinatih was gone. The Sunan, as a youth, certainly showed no aptitude as a trader and a good deal of disdain for the life of a merchant.³⁰ Should a holyman be so involved in worldly matters? The solution was to appoint the youngest child, the bungsu, when of age, as manager of the trading compound in the port. In the time of Pinatih, it was known as Gegis. Henceforth it would be known as the Kebungson and would be managed by the bungsu from the Mosque on the mountain. The Mosque and Kedaton on the mountain certainly had a complex and fine system of aerial roots in the realm of religious ideology, but in the Kebungson we have found its tap-root, deeply embedded in the earthly sphere of trade.

This line of argument finds some support in the writings of Wiselius who was told by a resident in Gresik, in 1876, that the Sunan had another "Kraton" in Jortan which he thought of as the old part of Gresik; the Sunan also had an office in Gresik (the new Gresik).³¹ Wiselius is of the opinion that

30. See the story of his first trading venture to Banjarmasin in BIG, p22-27, or the account in Mackenzie version (Mackenzie 1822 Collection 25, part 1, Poenika Serat Rasulullah Muhammad, I.O.L. Jav 12 B, pp8-11, in which Paku gives away his mother's cargo to the poor people on the beach at Banjar. Upon returning to Gresik his mother expresses some considerable displeasure, and in response, much to his mother's embarrassment, Paku calls out to the Almighty, in front of a crowd of interested people: "May the Lord who is great, please give mother profits, because she loves money!" Leaving all of her worldly possessions to her son the Sunan upon her death must have been equally embarrassing to him.

31. Wiselius, op.cit., pp489, 492n.

Jortan was a Dutch seafarer's term for that part of the port in which Pinatih is buried and that the term is based on the Javanese term "jaraton" meaning "graveyard".³² He does not however make the connection between this "Kraton" in "Jortan" and the domain of Pinatih in Kebungson which Sunan Giri must have inherited.

Returning to the question of the background of Pinatih it is interesting that the babad makes no mention of the arrival of the Chinese in Gresik. Yet, it is apparent from the Imperial Chinese records that they were a prominent group in Gresik even to the extent that the ruler of the port was, in 1433, and had always been, a man from Kuang Tung province in China.³³ These records also call the port by a Chinese name, Tse Ts'un or Hsin Ts'un, meaning "New Village".³⁴ Ma Huan, a scribe travelling with Cheng Ho, noted that in Majapahit

32. *ibid.*, p468-9. It has never been established that there is a Jortan at Gresik and it is very likely that it is only a fact of Dutch cognitive geography. A real Jortan was at the mouth of the Porong river south of Surabaya, far from Gresik. The Dutch, in 1595, were probably told of a large port in the Madura Sea called Jortan, but saw Gresik just inside the Straits of Madura and assumed it to be Jortan. It is very unlikely that there would be two major ports on the same coast, within 80 kilometres of each other, bearing the same name. It is true that Gresik was divided, as are most Asian ports, into a West Asian kampong and an East Asian kampong, but nowhere in Javanese maps or chronicles of Gresik do we find mention of such a name.

33. "...right down to the present day the ruler of this village is a man from Kuang Tung..." in Mills, J.V.G. (ed.): "The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores." W.H.S., Extra Series, 42, C.U.P. for Hakluyt Society, p90.

34. Mills, *op.cit.*, pp197-198. It had a Chinese name "because people from the Central Country came to this place and established themselves..." (Mills, *op.cit.*, p89.) The name changed from Ts'e Ts'un to Hsin Ts'un, according to W.P. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago compiled from Chinese Sources, V.B.G., XXXIX, 1880, C.V. Bhratara, Djakarta (1960), p56.

(i.e. Java generally), there were three classes of people: firstly, Muslims from the west, who have migrated as merchants, of whom "...every one is clean and proper..."; secondly, T'ang people (i.e. Chinese) from Kuang Tung, Chang and Ch'uan provinces "...who fled away and now live in this country...many of them follow the Muslim religion, doing penance and fasting..."; finally the people of the land (the Javanese) who are devil-worshippers.³⁵ While this data indicates a strong and prominent Chinese presence in Gresik in the early 15th century it does not give the location of the China-town in Gresik. Present day architecture, however, shows that the area known as Kebungson is built in the style usually associated with the Chinese. We know it cannot be located in the Pakojan. The only other major centre is the Kebungson. The Kebungson is also the heart of the port, being nearest to both the harbour and the present day Kabupaten (local government) offices. Since the Chinese had such a prominent role to play in both trade and government, and since the architecture is Chinese in style, then we may safely assume that Kebungson is China-town or part thereof. The implications of this are that Pinatih and her followers are overseas Chinese who have migrated to Java from somewhere else.

The babad asserts that Pinatih is Kambodian, being the wife of the Patih (Vice Regent or Governor) of that country.³⁶ A Patih or Pati in this context is more likely to have been a

35. Mills, op.cit., p93.

36. BIG, p9.

ruler of a port rather than a province, since we are dealing with a woman of trade. According to the Raffles version of the babad she was expelled from Kambodia for sorcery and she migrated to Java to seek protection and position there. She was appointed as a "kind of *shahbandar*" in Gresik.³⁷ Our version states that this appointment was in 1412 A.D. and that she became very rich as a result of it.³⁸ Before deciding the question of her "Kambodian" origins, it is worthwhile examining an article about her published in 1963.

The article³⁹ written by the Singapore historian, Tan Yeok Seong, has much to say about Pinatih's origins. Based on a study of the *Lih Tai Pao Ann* (Dynastic Records of Ryukyu) covering the period 1428-1440, Tan states that there were eight despatches between Palembang and the kingdom of Ryukyu in this period.⁴⁰ They tell of a power struggle taking place within the ruling family of the port of Palembang in Sumatra.⁴¹ A daughter, Shih Ta Niang Tzu Pi Na Ti, writes to the King of Ryukyu telling of her quest to remove a younger sister, Shih Er Chieh, from power and restore the brother, Shih Chin Sun. Later, after the son had fled, she sought the position herself. The father, Shih Chin Ching, who had been installed by Admiral Cheng Ho during his first voyage in 1405-1407, had passed away and a power struggle had ensued. For a few years, 1421-1424, the son had assumed power and

37. Raffles, op.cit., p115.

38. BIG, pp9-10.

39. Tan Yeok Seong: "The Chinese Element in the Islamization of South East Asia", Proceedings, South Sea Society Journal, 1963.

40. Tan: *ibid.*, p24.

41. The essential story is contained in Tan, *ibid.*, pp24-26.

had requested from the Chinese Emperor recognition of this assumption. He had also sought recognition in Japan (on the basis of the goodwill established after 2 decades of trade with that country). The mission sent to Japan in 1421 was ship-wrecked off Ryukyu and this became the reason for the exchange of correspondence between Palembang and Ryukyu. The records of Ryukyu are said to include two letters by the eldest daughter, Pi Na Ti. While some of this story is found in the Imperial Chinese records⁴², the material about Shih Ta Niang Tzi Pi Na Ti is new. Tan argues that this daughter, after her quest expires and she is forced to quit Palembang, moves to Gresik and becomes the Shahbandar there. She is therefore, according to Tan, the same person as our Njai Ageng Pinatih (Great Lady Pinatih). The argument purports to demonstrate the Chinese character of Pinatih. While the story of the power struggle is interesting, it is mainly the name of this Lady of Palembang which is of interest here. Let us examine Tan's source more closely.

Two of the letters referred to by Tan are reproduced below in Appendix C. The first is a letter sent by a Lady of Palembang who bears the name *Shih Ta Niang Tzu Pi Na Chih* to the Premier of Ryukyu. The second letter is a letter from the Premier of Ryukyu to *Shih Ta Niang Tzu*. The expression "Shih Ta Niang Tzu" means "eldest daughter of Shih". The term "Pi Na Chih" is at variance with Tan's transcription

42. For Imperial Chinese records regarding the appointment of Shih Chin Ch'ing and also for the accession to power of the daughter, Erh-Chieh instead of the brother, see Mills, op.cit., p100.

"Pi Na Ti". We cannot simply accept Tan's transcription without some considered argument.

"Pi Na Chih" is neither a Chinese nor a Japanese/Ryukyu name or title and has no meaning in these languages. This is implicitly accepted by not only Tan and the English translators, Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda, but also apparently by the Premier of Ryukyu who does not seem to know what it means since he avoids using it in his reply to her.⁴³ It must therefore be either a Javanese or a Malay term or name.

Kobata and Matsuda propose that it may be a corruption of the Malay "perwatin" or "proatin", meaning "chief".⁴⁴ This, however, is neither credible, since it transforms the word beyond recognition, nor appropriate for a lady of a port, since it has the connotation of "warrior/tribal chief". It also ignores the fact that Palembang is an area of Javanese influence and control. There is, in fact, no citation of the word "pinachih" in Malay dictionaries. It must therefore be Javanese. The word, in Javanese, is most probably derived from "pati/patih" meaning "governor/vice-regent", a common title for the rulers of ports in Java. The form "pinatih" comes from the insertion of the Javanese passive infix "-in-" making it "p-in-atih", meaning "one

43. Appendix C: Translation: 2. Premier of Ryukyu to Shih Ta-Niang Tzu.

44. Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda: Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Seas Countries; An Annotated Translation of Documents in the Rekidai Hoan. Kyoto, 1969, p141 n16.

who is considered or treated as patih". While this is an unusual title in Java, it is grammatically correct and follows a common pattern in both Javanese and Malay in making some titles passive; the Malay "Raja", meaning "King" can become "diraja" meaning "treated as King/treated in royal style". The title "Pinatih" would therefore be adopted by someone who was the wife of the Patih or by someone who was being considered temporarily as Patih in a time of political confusion.

The corruption of the word into "Pinachih" would have to be explained as a case of using an old Chinese character for "ti" which is now pronounced as "chih", or as the use of a character which is pronounced as "ti" in a different Chinese dialect. The Foochow dialect has "tae" for the Mandarin character "Chih".

The final piece of evidence is obtained internally, that is, from within the letter by Pinachih herself. It states: "Temporarily I have taken charge of important affairs of the present dynasty."⁴⁵ It is most likely, then, that our "Pinachih" is meant to be "Pinatih", the temporary Patih, and that since no other person in Javanese history has sought to use this title, we may conclude that the Lady Pinachih of Palembang is probably our Lady Pinatih of Gresik.

45. Appendix C: Translation: 1. Pinachih Shih Ta-Niang-Tzu to Premier of Ryukyu.

How is it possible for our Lady Pinatih to have migrated from both Palembang and Kambodia to Gresik? She could not have been expelled from Kambodia if her father and family were already rulers of, and resident in, Palembang. The power struggle in Palembang would indicate that she was expelled from this port rather than from Kambodia. From the correspondence of Pinatih and the Premier of Ryukyu, it is clear that the Chinese of Ryukyu refer to the country of Palembang as San-fu-ch'i.⁴⁶ This term is a Chinese approximation of the name of the old empire of Sri Vijaya which was centred on Palembang. The similarity with Kamboja is sufficiently strong in itself, but becomes more so when we use the Babad Tanah Djawi's appellation for Lady Pinatih, (Lady) Sambodja.⁴⁷ What has happened here is that the people of Gresik, over the centuries, had forgotten that the term "San-fu-ch'i" was the old Chinese name for Palembang, and imagined, mistakenly, that it must have been the name for Kambodia since it has a similar sound to it. The Sambodja term is simply a stepping stone in this process of equating San-fu-ch'i with Kambodia; the "fu" syllable becoming "pu" because the Javanese do not have the sound "f" in their repertoire; the "p" is then confused with the other plosive, "b".⁴⁸

46. See Appendix C.

47. Poenika Serat Babad Tanah Djawi Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Doemoegi Ing Taoen 1647, M. Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1941, p21.

48. Tan (op.cit., p24) was first to make this connection between Palembang and "Kamboja".

We may conclude from the evidence above, that Pinatih was probably Chinese in origin and came to Gresik from Palembang rather than from Kambodia.

Let us now turn to Pinatih's family. Our babad, and the account of Raffles, state that she never married in Java and never had children of her own. Some other data supports this view: she is buried in a crypt next to a man who was "not her husband"⁴⁹ but her shipping captain, known variously in the babads as Tunggakukus⁵⁰/Seh Kambodia/Sambodja⁵¹. However there are contrary indications. The graves themselves are unmarked and it is only local tradition which informs us of the names of the people buried there. They do not however tell us of their relationship to each other. It is possible and reasonable that one of them is that of her husband. In fact it would be strange for a prominent Lady to be buried with her servant, the shipping captain, unless he was related to her. The chronicle of the hinterland kingdom of Mataram known as the Babad Tanah Djawi has a different version of the story of Pinatih and Sambodja. It speaks clearly of Ki Sambodja as the husband of Njai Ageng Pinatih, and of her as his widow.⁵²

49. Local tradition.

50. BIG, p10. Tunggakukus is said to come from Kambodja.

51. BTJ, p21.

52. "Sapadjahipun ki Sambodja atilar semah... Anonten wonten padangipun manggih tabela isi lare, dipun-soekakaken dateng njai randa Sambodja." (Upon his death, Ki Sambodja left behind a wife... Soon after there was a trader who had come upon a burial-raft containing a boy, it was given to the widow, Lady Sambodja.) The boy is Raden Paku and he is given to Great Lady Pinatih who is called here, Lady Sambodja. Ibid., p21.

Returning to Tan's article, we are informed that the seizure of power by the younger sister was opposed not only by the brother (Shih Chih Sun) and the older sister, but also by a "brother-in-law" of Shih Chih Sun.⁵³ If we assume that there are only two sisters in this family, then it follows that the brother-in-law must be the husband of the older sister, Shih Ta Niang Tzi Pi Na Ti. Tan gives the name of this brother-in-law as Chiu Yan Chen. The married name of Pinatih would therefore be Chiu. The Portuguese writer, Tome Pires, wrote in 1516 that Gresik was ruled by a merchant named Cucuf (pronounced Chusuf).⁵⁴ It is a common practice for Chinese in Java to change their names to Indian-Javanese names if they are non-Muslim residents of Java, and to Arabic-Javanese names if they are Muslim residents of Java. They do so in such a way that their Chinese name is preserved in the sound of the Javanese one. In this case, Chiu is well preserved in the Muslim-Javanese name of Cucuf.⁵⁵ When Pires wrote of the ruler of Gresik, it must have been about a descendant of this Chiu family since it was long after the death of Pinatih in 1477.

Pires own account⁵⁶ of Cucuf's background appears to be different. Cucuf is the "Malayan" son of Pate Adem who "came and settled in Malacca" from Gresik. Adem was the son of a merchant of Gresik. When Adem's father died, the former returned to Gresik to take over the business there. He

53. Tan: op.cit., p26.

54. Pires: op.cit., p194.

55. Cucuf is Middle-Eastern in origin; cf. our Joseph.

56. Pires: op.cit., p193.

obviously had been managing the Melakan branch of the business. He left his own son, Cucuf, to continue the operations of this branch in Melaka. When Adem died, Cucuf, who was born in Melaka, moved to Gresik as his father did before him. He is therefore "Malayan" only in the sense that he was born there, not that he is ethnically Malay. His background is more truly that of a person of Gresik. Pires also states that Cucuf's grandfather in Gresik was married to the sister of the Sri Nara Diraja (the father of the Bendahara or Treasurer) of Melaka.⁵⁷ However this may be, it does not contradict the earlier argument. Sri Nara Diraja may in fact be Pinatih's brother, Shih Chih Sun, who also fled Palembang. Pinatih and her husband were therefore probably overseas-Chinese who bore the name Chiu, and who maintained strong commercial connections with Melaka. What can we say, however, about her "foster-child", Raden Paku?

The babad states that Pinatih is merely the *foster-mother* of Raden Paku, the first Sunan of Giri. It is now necessary to examine the evidence regarding Paku's origins to determine the ethnic background of this Muslim saint who played such a significant role in Java's history. There are two main versions of Paku's origins in the literature of Indonesia. The Javanese version, including that of the *Babad ing Gresik*, the *Babad Tanah Djawi*, and the versions of the Babad of Gresik contained in the works of Raffles, Mackenzie and Wiselius all follow the same general outline with some

57. Pires: op.cit., p193.

differences in detail.⁵⁸ This version proceeds as follows: there is a travelling Islamic holyman (a Mahulana) named Seh Mahulana Iskak/Ishak/Wali-Lanang, who was descended from Mahommed through his daughter Fatima and was the uncle of Sunan Ngampel at Surabaya and who has come from the country of Mlaka (Melaka)/Pasi-Malaca/Passee/Pasai (in Sumatra)/Djoeldah. He travels to the Kingdom of Blambangan in east Java and practices *tapa* (asceticism) on a mountain top there. At this time the daughter of the King of this country was incurably ill and the King promised the hand of his princess, half his kingdom and the title of Prabhu Anom (Junior King) to whoever could cure her. All the priests, dukun (witch-doctors) and nudjum (astrologers) failed to do so. The presence in the kingdom of a strange holyman was brought to the attention of the King and he was duly summoned to court. The Mahulana prayed to God and the princess was *miraculously cured*. The marriage took place and was consummated. During the pregnancy, however, the King and his new son-in-law failed to come to terms in matters of religious ideology; arguments ensued and the holyman was obliged to make his *exodus*, leaving behind his pregnant wife. God punishes the kingdom for rejecting the true religion by inflicting *plague* upon it: many were those who died; those ill in the morning were dead by evening. The child is eventually born and it is a boy; there are signs that he is favoured by God. The King, however, aghast at the

58. BIG, pp10-22; Babad Tanah Djawi pp20-21; Raffles, op.cit., pp118-120; Mackenzie 1822 Collection 25, part 1, Poenika Serat Rasulullah Muhammad, I.O.L. Jav 12 B pp1-8; Wiselius, op.cit., pp467-468. Crawford does not offer an account of Paku's origins.

destruction of his people caused by the presence of this Muslim, and now his offspring as well, orders that the baby boy be placed in a waterproof box/a *tabela* (burial raft made of bamboo like that of *Moses*) together with regalia to indicate his royal paternity, and then orders it to be cast out to sea. At sea, the raft is found by a passing merchant ship from Gresik; it was emitting light during a moonless night. The captain of the ship is Tunggalkukus/Seh Kambodja of Gresik/Seh Sambodja of Gresik (formerly a royal servant of Blambangan and then Majapahit). He offers the child up to his Lady (employer), Njai Ageng Pinatih, who is a wealthy ship-owner of Gresik. She was childless and a widow/divorced wife of the Patih of Kambodja (cf. *wife of the Pharaoh*). She accepts the child and raises him in the port of Gresik at the place known as Gegis. When he is 12 years old he is sent to study the Koran, religious law and Arabic at Sunan Ngampel's school in Surabaya. At the same time he took lessons from Tunggalkukus in sailing and trading. At school one night another sign from heaven appears: while the pupils of the school are asleep on the floor of the *pesantrin* (school), Raden Paku begins to emit light again, and this indicates to the Sunan that he is the one chosen to be the future patriarch of an Islamic Java, not his own son who comes to be known as Sunan Bonang. When he finishes with his education he *ascends the mountain* and communes with God. He then descends the mountain and becomes a *lawgiver* and leader of men.

The second version comes from the Hikajat Bandjar of Bandjarmasin.⁵⁹ In this account Raden Paku/Sunan Giri is the son of a prince of Majapahit (whose mother was a princess of Pasai and sister to Radja Bungsu/Sunan Ngampel of Surabaya) and a princess of Bali. The father dies before the birth of the boy and the princess returns to Bali. During the birth both the mother and the mid-wives die. The King rejects the child as cursed, ordering the baby to be cast out to sea. The baby is discovered floating in the sea by Master Balaba, a shipping captain of one of Njai Suta-Pinatih's vessels. The baby is taken on board and miraculously the wind changes to the direction required for Master Balaba to carry the baby directly back to Gresik through the Madura Sea. Pinatih accepts the child since she has no child of her own, forgiving Master Balaba for having forsaken the trading voyage to Bali. He is rewarded with ownership of the ship, while the crew are given the cargo.

The function of these stories is to justify the spreading of Islam by holy war to Majapahit, Blambangan and finally Bali by reason that Sunan Giri was the natural born heir to these kingdoms. If each story could be dated according to the time of its invention then it would probably reflect the schedule of holy war as conceived in the minds of the religious leaders in Giri. These accounts are to be rejected on three counts. Firstly, they are inconsistent with their variant forms since Raden Paku cannot be born in each of these

59. Ras, J.J.: Hikayat Bandjar: A Study in Malay Historiography. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, pp421-425.

places; such inconsistency betrays the real motive of the myth as outlined above. Secondly, there are obvious questions of credibility about major parts of the story such as how Pinatih and Tunggalkukus came to know of the boy's royal origins. The story accounts for this by stating that the box/raft contained regalia indicating the babies social rank. Why would the King of Blambangan want to indicate this fact? The answer would have to be that he wanted the boy's rescuers to raise him and then encourage him to return to the kingdom to overthrow the person who had cast him out, that is, himself. This answer is clearly absurd. Thirdly, the story is written to a pattern designed to invoke the mythology of middle-eastern people: we recognise the elements of both an *Exodus* and a *Moses* story here that culminates in Raden Paku climbing the mountain of Giri, communing with God, then assuming a law-giving authority for Giri, Gresik and then for Java. These stories are pan-Semitic and would have arrived as part of the cultural baggage of Islam.

Given that these accounts are unacceptable, how can we determine Raden Paku's real origins? The answer lies in accepting the data which lie in the interstices of the myth. The babad states that Pinatih was only the boy's foster-mother while Tunggalkukus merely "gave" him to Pinatih and taught him the things which fathers teach their sons. Once the veil of mythology has been removed, it leaves us with these two figures as the most likely candidates for the parentage of our Raden Paku. We would add that the account

of the Babad Tanah Djawi is probably correct in describing Tunggalkukus as the husband of Pinatih.⁶⁰

Given that the story of Paku's origins is refracted through the Moses myth it would seem reasonable to question also the existence and legend of his mother, Nyai Ageng Pinatih. The Moses myth requires a *wife of the Pharaoh*, a good woman though an unbeliever, who will raise the hero to accept the best and noblest values of the time. These are the stated qualities of Pinatih, according to the babad. Yet we must suppose that he did indeed have a mother and that the babad is correct in identifying her grave in Kebungson. Furthermore, it is reasonable to accept that she was, as her title suggests, the wife of a *Patih* of at least a part of the port of Gresik since her possession of the Kebungson and her being the parent of the Sunan bespeaks of position and wealth. If the babad distorts our perception of her it is in elevating her significance in relation to her husband who was probably the Patih or Shahbandar of Gresik or Kebungson.

In the popular Indonesian conception, Raden Paku/Sunan Giri is as portrayed in the babad, a descendant of an overseas Arab. However, in the Gresik chronicle there is a telling incident in which Sunan Ngampel, Paku's teacher, takes a close look at the boy to discern whether or not he is a descendant of the Prophet. It seems that it was not obvious, but required careful scrutiny. About the Muslim Chinese in

60. Is there a suggestion in the name itself of his role? Tunggalkukus could have the meaning of "mature partner".

the province of Yunnan in China, it is said by outsiders that they can be distinguished on sight as being of Arab descent, but not easily; the Muslim Chinese themselves claim that they are indistinguishable except by manner and dress.⁶¹ These people can claim a very remote Arabic ancestry but the traces of this in their appearance have all but disappeared. This is what Sunan Ngampel was looking for in the face of Raden Paku: faint Arabic traces in the face of an obviously Chinese boy. Interestingly, the babad does not report whether he found them. Given that many of the Chinese of Majapahit at the time of Cheng Ho's visit were described as "...following the Muslim religion, doing penance and fasting"⁶², and that the Chinese Muslims in China can in fact trace a lineage back to the middle-east, then it is probably the case that our Paku had a similar appearance to the Muslim Chinese of China.

The babad provides us with a further piece of circumstantial evidence regarding this question of Paku's origins. During the war between Gresik and the remnants of Majapahit, in 1535 A.D., the second Sunan of Giri, Sunan Dalem, is warned of the approach of the enemy and of the impending battle. He is escorted to the field of battle by those whom he trusts implicitly: by his personal relations and by forty Chinese soldiers.⁶³ These soldiers cannot be directly from China

61. Broomhall, M: *Islam in China*, Paragon, New York, 1966 (1910), pp221-222.

62. Mills: *op.cit.*, p93. Cf. Lombard, D: "Islam et Sinite", in *Archipel* 30, 1985, p74: "A contemporary text, the *Xi-yang Fan-guo Zhi* goes as far to say that 'all the Chinese were muslimans'. (My trans.)

63. BIG, pp43-44.

since Imperial Chinese influence had long been on the wane. They must have come from China-town in Gresik. Probably they were the sons of other orang kaya and, together with his own sons, constituted the "palace guard". This circumstance is further evidence of the Chinese character of the lineage of the Sunans of Giri.

That the parents of Raden Paku were Lady Pinatih and Tunggakukus is reasonably certain. It is also equally certain that he was born and raised in the China-town of Gresik. His parents were both overseas Chinese. His family-name was Chiu.

This concludes the early history of the port of Gresik. Islam came to Leran and then Gresik in several waves, starting with the people of Gedhah in the 11th century and continuing up until the beginning of the 15th century. This Gedhah is probably located in Gujarat but could also be the port of Kedah on the coast of Malaya. In either case the Gujaratis were probably the bearers of Islam to Java. Islam arrived with the merchant ships and was spread by lay preachers who were themselves merchants. New evidence of Leranian influence on the kingdom of Djeng Galuh was discovered in the babad, including mention of an 11th century Mosque in Leran and a battle with a Hindhu force at Tjerme. Mention of the existence and location of two 11th century grave-stones was also uncovered in the confused story contained in the Gresik chronicle. These literary

indications need to be confirmed by a search for any physical remains.

A second wave of Islam came at the beginning of the 15th century with the arrival of the people of Tjampa. This wave consisted of refugees from the port of Hue which had changed sides several times in the war with the Annamites. They are probably overseas-Chinese people rather than overseas-Arabs. They had a profound influence on the countries which accepted them. Possibly the Cheng Ho voyages were conceived, in part, to rescue and resettle them in the archipelago. The "refugee" is a new element in the historiography of the question of the manner in which Islam arrived in Java.

In the same period, a wave of "Kambodians" arrived and built up the China-town section of Gresik known as Gegis and later as Kebungson. In researching the history of this part of the port of Gresik, it became clear that there was a "junior palace" located near the graveyard of Pinatih and her fellow "Kambodians". These people were almost certainly overseas-Chinese from Palembang. Their motivation in coming to Java and bringing Islam with them was clearly trade since they were so much involved in it. The reasons why they were more successful in spreading Islam was that they brought new population with them, adding to the already settled Muslim population; they had trade connections with China and Tjampa which they developed, and which provided them with a dynamic and expanding economic basis; finally, they had protection from the monarchs of Majapahit which was probably negotiated

from a position of strength by Admiral Cheng Ho. It was from the China-town of Gresik that a generation of idealist Muslims sprang. They were set on transforming Java religiously and politically.