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MALIK IBRAHIM, THE FIRST ISLAMIC AUTHORITATIVE RULER IN THE LAND OF JAVA, GUARDIAN OF SPICE ROUTE AND KNOWN AS WALISONGO

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ABSTRACT:

Malik Ibrahim is one of the important figures who spread Islam in Java, known as the Eldest Wali Songo (Nine Islamic Saint who spread Islam in Java). His Graveyard until today is still visited by many people. Malik Ibrahim, also known as Sunan Gresik, he was the first Islamic authoritative ruler in Java who started developing Gresik into the first Islamic port city in Java in the 15th century. In the 16th century, Pires noted that Gresik became the largest city in Java while Samudra Pasai became the largest in Sumatra. The two largest ports in the archipelago are, of course, interconnected. Apart from both being part of the main Bandar "Spice Route" in the archipelago, archaeologically, Malik Ibrahim's tombstone, which is made of white marble, is of the Cambay type and has full epigraphy has similarities to the tombstone of the same type in Pasai or now in Lhokseumawe, Aceh Darussalam. Primary research in the field was carried out in Pasai and Gresik to uncover and reconstruct the history of Malik Ibrahim archaeologically and link it with contemporary information and stories that developed in society so that it could be seen clearly.

Keywords: Pasai, Gresik, Malik Ibrahim, Walisongo, Guardian Spice Route, Cambay White marble Tombstone, Islamic Graveyard, Islamization Java.

INTRODUCTION

Islam stimulated the birth of port cities on the Indonesian Spice Route, where Samudera Pasai played a role in forming trade and religious networks in Java. Formation Studies Network the Sumatra Ocean Pasai trade was carried out by Hall (2017) with a focus on the growth of Samudera Pasai as a trade center in the Malacca Strait area in the XIV and XV centuries, which depended on local networks between upstream and downstream, where. Upstream production, mainly pepper, camphor, and benzoin, is traded through coastal ports connected to Indian and Chinese markets. Meanwhile, the study of Nurjannah, et al (2017) revealed various gold coins and 33 Islamic burials from the 14th and 15th centuries. Some graves are still intact, with Arabic calligraphy on the gravestones containing the names of figures and the year of death (Tadda¹ et al., 2023).

In 1514, Tome Pires gave information that Samudra Pasai, the most extensive Islamic Kingdom in Sumatra, was the largest port city in Sumatra, and while in Java, apart from being known as a port for rich people, Gresik is the best port dealer in Java, where Tome Pires provides a classification of port divisions as follows. First, the Muslim port. Second, the pagan port, and third, the port belonging to Guste Pate's son Blambangan. The Gresik Harbor belongs to Muslims (Cortesao, 2018).

The origins of the Port of Gresik are associated with Malik Ibrahim, often referred to as Maulana Malik Ibrahim, who is

considered part of the WaliSongo, where Malik Ibrahim is well known as not being a native but as an immigrant or foreigner whom the King of Java appointed as Harbormaster in Gresik. Babad Gresik also tells the story that since then, more and more ships have anchored for trade. The appointment of foreigners as harbormasters at the port of Gresik is carried out with wise considerations because foreigners (syah bandar) have extensive knowledge and experience regarding trade international relations and pervasive knowledge of the language (Prameswari & Kasdi, 2013) (Mowlana, 1997).

To this day, Malik Ibrahim's graveyard, with two graves next to it, is visited by thousands of pilgrims. This is because apart from being an immigrant and being appointed as harbor master, Malik Ibrahim was known as the first holy man of Islam who first preached Islam in Java or was known as Wali Songo (Tanjung et al., 2021).

Malik Ibrahim's tombstone in Gresik in East Java is one of the most famous and well-recorded groups of the Cambay Typology in Indonesia. It consists of three rectangular cenotaph (Cover) monuments with ornate flat caps and headed by pairs of tombstones and a large curved footstone. Of the three tombs in the complex Malik Ibrahim's tomb, Malik Ibrahim's tomb is the only one that has a complete headstone and is full of carvings (Lambourn, 2003).

Elizabeth Lambourn revealed in his research that the headstone is the grave of Malik Ibrahim, and two in the surrounding area have a typological gravestone. The

same with 12 tombstones in Samudra Pasai Aceh, so there are 15 tombstones marbled white between 1406 and _ 1448 having similar typology (Lambourn, 2003). More than that, on our study shows that the total white marble tombstone is 14 in Pasai, and 3 in Gresik, we see it as one subject analyses study that cannot be separated.

The connection between Tombstone Pasai and Gresik was first made by Snouck Hurgronje in his speech in 1907. The content of the first presentation was made based on Ph. S. van Ronkel (Lambourn, 2003).

Further, in 1912 the Dutch scholar Jean-Pierre Moquette published his seminar article 'De grafsteenen te Pase' en Grisee vergeleken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestan' or 'The tombstones of Pasai and Gresik compared with similar monuments from Hindustan'. In this paper, Moquette explains that a grave commemorating the daughter of Sultan Zayn al-'Abidin of Pasai (d. 831/1428) and that of Malik Ibrahim (d. 822/1419) of Gresik in East Java had been imported to Southeast Asia from the port of Cambay in Gujarat as a finished product (Lambourn, 2003).

As a conclusion of his research, typological groups Cambay tombstones in Indonesia are one of a group of Cambay marble carvings, most notably outside the ports in India, considering the average Already rare and extinct. The existence of gravestones in Pasai, which shows processing local show trace physique Which rare from culture material Sultanate Ocean-Pasai. Grave Cambay has several sculptures that are available for para-customer

Muslims everywhere, even in the world of Islam. The presence of this gravestone in Ocean-Pasai and Gresik is because capable customers _ pay high processing costs (Lambourn, 2003).

Studies about reading epigraphy all over gravestone Cambay and Marble typologies in Pasai were also carried out in a way extensive by Taqiyudin Muhammad. Several marble tombstones in the Samudera District. North Aceh Regency, inscriptions or documents of the official Kingdom, where the creativity of marble sculpture originating from Kambayat, in India, reached Samudra-Pasai to experience new developments through innovations influenced by the local cultural and natural environment, aka Local Products. Several significant figures in history have been immortalized via marble tombstones/tombs. Without these works, it is not easy to imagine that information about these figures would have reached the present day (Muhammad, 2023).

Following up on previous research, this research explicitly describes the character of Malik Ibrahim with a comparison of figures in Pasai through the existing Cambay typology gravestones. It explores in more depth the interpretation of Malik Ibrahim who he is and what his relationship with figures in Pasai.

RESEARCH METHODS

This is a qualitative research method based on grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin method) and also based on the approach called by Prof. Dr. Muarif Ambary Indo Islamic archeology.

In outline, the approach instead of confirming the existing theory, it will produce new theory. The Historical data to be produced, can be very different from what has been circulated and takes root in society.

In doing research, this method includes five stages of work, namely, heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Heuristics are searching and gathering sources. First stage, Sources obtained through literature review. After that, in the second stage, several visits were also made to Pasai (Lhokseumawe), Aceh, and Gresik, East Java.

After taking documentation in the field. The criticism and re-interpretation were carried out. The final stage is the writing stage based on findings on the field and a new effort to connect the Islamization process that occurred in Pasai with what happened in Gresik, as part of one region of the country called Indonesia today.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

 The existence of marble headstones in Indonesia, especially the Cambay Gresik and Pasai typology



Image 1. Image of Marble Headstones in Pasai and Gresik, Indonesia 1413-1448

The total number of marble tombstones we can document is 17, of which 14 are in Pasai and 3 more are in Gresik. The ten gravestones in Pasai contain clear information about the name and date of death. In contrast, in Gresik, only one name contains complete information, namely

Malik Ibrahim, and half are without name and year of death, and the other is still blank.

The following is a short table containing a tabulation of tombstones that have inscription information based on the timeline of death, both in Pasai and in Gresik:

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From the naked eye, a similar type of pillared headstone can initially be seen on the headstone of Abdullah Al Abbasy, then Malik Ibrahim, the headstone in Gresik, and, most recently, on the headstone of Malikah Nahrasyiah. Meanwhile, the tombstone for

the pillar model with the lotus bud model is Sayid Hasan bin Ali Khan, then the nameless tombstone in the Kuta Krueng grave. That another model pillar is the tombstone of Sultan Zainal Abidin bin Ra-barzani (?) Zainul 'Abidin bin Ahmad bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Al-Malik Ash-Shalih and the tombstone of Padaka (Paduka) Situl 'Alam binti Sultan Ahmad.

Among all the Pasai Gresik marble tombstones, based on observations, Malik Ibrahim's tombstone, along with the tombstone next to it, which is written as Sayyidah Fatimah and Malikah Nahrasyiah's tombstone, are the tombstones that have the most similarities in ornamentation and decoration so that they become a separate sub-subject of discussion.

Image of Cenotaph Marble Cover with kande (lamp) ornaments

A. Image of Cenotaph in Pasai











Image 2. Cenotaph in Pasai

B. Image of Cenotaph in Gresik

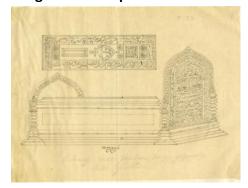


Image 3. Senopati in Gresik

Cenotaph, or what we like to call Islamic historical grave monuments, such as those found in many places in Aceh, are inspired by the shape of graves in Islam. The term cenotaph itself means an empty tomb. In Arabic, it is called Al-qabrul Ajwaf (الجوف القبر), namely a grave where the body is not buried in it but in another place. Based on experience in the field, all marble grave monuments in Samudera District are suitable to be called cenotaphs. Grave monuments it was explicitly made as a tribute and reminder, while the body had been buried in another grave nearby with a tombstone with the Syumuthrah (Samudra-Pasai) typology. This also applies to Malik Ibrahim's tombstone in Gresik (Muhammad, 2023).

A complete piece depicting a *kande* or *kandil* or lamp can be fsound in Pasai and Gresik. It is essential to know that this intact cenotaph is a rare item, so having a cenotaph with a kande in this condition is a luxury, and its existence needs to be maintained so that the details of the panels and readings are not damaged due to incorrect care.

Another essential part to pay attention to is the foot tombstone, which

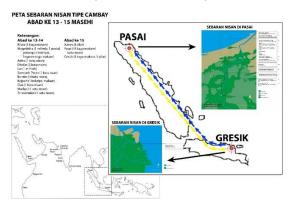
contains a picture of a flower, where Lambourn's interpretation regarding its relation to its creation, which was carried out in Cambay. A different hypothesis with solid arguments presented by Taqiyudin Muhammad's research, The absence camera tools like today meant that artists could only make carvings like "banana trees" in their natural environment, especially when there were no carving machines. Everything was done manually. Therefore, this artistic creativity was carried out and introduced in Syumutrah (Samudra Pasai) by Kambayat artists who emigrated around the beginning of the 9th century Hijriah (15th AD). This was done both with raw materials brought with them and those imported at a later date (Muhammad, 2023).

This statement is essential because, in Gresik itself, there are still tombstones whose work still needs to be completed, as well as the carvings of the foot tombstones, which still appear empty. So, the Gresik work relies on the final work from Pasai.

To find out more details, here is a map of the distribution of Cambay typology marble tombstones, in general in the world and specifically in Pasai and Gresik

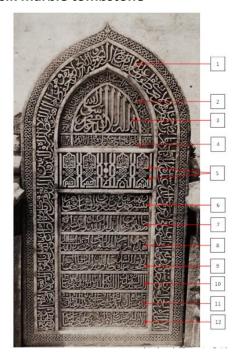
Map of The Distribution of Marble Tombstamps In Pasai and Gresik

(Lambourn, 2008)



Seeing the distribution of this map, we can conclude that the gravestones in the Malik Ibrahim Complex in Gresik relate strongly to Pasai. Pasai became the nearest kingdom who have similar tombstone in Gresik. If The entry of Islam in Gresik is linked with Cambodia or Vietnam at that age, of course they will have similar tombstone. But no another Kingdom in Asia have it, except Pasai who have similar and more luxurious gravestones

Reading of Malik Ibrahim's epigraphy and Gresik marble tombstone



Reading according to image table on

1. QS. Al-Baqarah, 255-256 (Ayatul Kursi meaning "The Throne")

"Allah! There is no god 'worthy of worship' except Him, the Ever-Living, All-Sustaining. Neither drowsiness nor sleep overtakes Him. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who could possibly intercede with Him without His permission? He 'fully' knows what is ahead of them and what is behind them, but no one can grasp any of His knowledge—except what He wills ^rto reveal. His Seat encompasses the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of both does not tire Him. For He is the Highest, the Greatest (255) " Let there be no compulsion in religion, for the truth stands out clearly from falsehood. So whoever renounces false gods and believes in Allah has certainly grasped

- the firmest, unfailing hand-hold. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. " (256)
- 2. QS. Ali Imran, 185

 "Every soul will taste death. And you will
 only receive your full reward on the Day of
 Judgment. Whoever is spared from the Fire
 and is admitted into Paradise will 'indeed'
 triumph, whereas the life of this world is no
 more than the delusion of enjoyment. "
- لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدًا رَّسُوْلُ اللَّه 3. Tawheed sentence
- QS. Ar-Rahman, 26-27
 "Every being on earth is bound to perish.
 (26), Only your Lord Himself,¹ full of Majesty and Honour, will remain forever (27)."
- 5. QS. Al-Fatihah, 1 and QS. Al-Ikhlas, 1-4
 "In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the
 Most Merciful."(Al fatihah 1)
 "Say: Say, 'O Prophet, ' "He is Allah—One
 'and Indivisible';(1) Allah—the Sustainer
 'needed by all (2) He has never had offspring,
 nor was He born. (3) And there is none
 comparable to Him (4)"
- 6. QS. At-Taubah, 21



يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِّنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ وَّجَنَّتٍ لَّهُمْ فِيْهَا نَعِيْمٌ مُقِيْمٌ (التوبة,(٢١)

"Their Lord gives them good news of His mercy, pleasure, and Gardens with everlasting bliss"

7. QS. At-Taubah, 22



خْلِدِيْنَ فِيْهَا آبَدًا لِأَ اللهَ عِنْدَهُ آجْرٌ عَظِيْمٌ. (التوبة, (٢٢)

"To stay there for ever and ever. Surely with Allah is a great reward."

8. Identification of the name of the grave



هَذَا قُبُرَ ٱلْمَرْحُوْمْ وَالْمَغْفُوْرِلَهُ ٱلرَّاجِي اِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى This is the grave of the blessed and forgiven who hope in the mercy of Allah Most High.

9. Identification of the name of the grave



مُفَخَّرَ اَلْاَمَرَا وَعُمْدَةُ السَّلَاطِيْنْ وَلِلْوُزَرَ لِ مُحِبُّ الْمُسَاكِيْنْ وَالْفُقَرَاءُ

Government pride, buffer of sultans, ministers, lovers of the poor.

10. Grave identity



ٱلسَّعِيْدُ ٱلشَّهِيْدُ بُرْهَانُ الدَّوْلَةُ وَالدِّيْنُ مَلِكُ اِبْرَاهِيْمُ ٱلْمَعْرُوْفُ كِي سَكَا

The happy and martyred as proof to the state and religion, Malik Ibrahim, known as Ki Saka,

11. Grave identity



بَاتِي بَنْتَلْ تَغَمَدَهُ اللَّهُ بِالرَّحْمَةِ وَالرِّضْوَانُ وَاَسْكَنَهُ فِي دَارِالْجِنَانَ تُوفِّيَ فِي يَوْمِ

Pati bantala, may Allah bless and love him by placing him in heaven, who died on the day

12. Day of death



الْاِثْنَيْنِ اَلثَّانِي عَشَرَ مِنْ رَبِيْعِ الْأَوَّلْ سَنَةَ اثْنَيْ وَثَمَانِماِئَةٍ وَعِشْهُ وْنَ

Monday the twelfth of Rabi`al-Awwal of the year eight hundred and twenty-two (822 AH) / 1419 AD



3. Meaning of Epigraphy

a. The meaning of verses from the Koran on Malik Ibrahim's gravestone

Most of the Koran verses from the Malik Ibrahim's tombstone decoration are the teaching of monotheism. In this case, this is the difference between Islam and the teachings of the other faiths. To become Islam means affirming that Allah is only one, and within it lies all

the others noble characteristic name. Anyone who follows this invitation comes out of idolatry and the person has followed the straight path.

The Tombstone illustrates the personality of Malik Ibrahim as a person who has great faith in Allah SWT and invites others to the teachings of Islam and as Malik Ibrahim devotion, the tombstone also mentioned great hope for Malik Ibrahim reward under Surah at-Taubah verses 21-22 because he was known as someone who died a martyr's death (Assyahid), became the pride of the rulers, The true lover of the poor, and devoted his entire life to religion and to the country. For all his good deeds, hopefully, Allah SWT will reward him happpines by giving His mercy, bless,

and provide him heaven in eternal pleasure. This is eternal life.

b. The meaning of the word Malik Ibrahim

The Title Malik inscription tomb in Indonesia as an authoritative power was found at Al Malik As-Salih's grave in Pasai, with a description similar to Malik Ibrahim, with description "Malik As Salih came from a respected family and had a famous pedigree, and had a kind nature, loved the weak and the poor empower (Muhammad, 2015).

For example, all the "Malik" previous gravestones found in the Sumatra region can be seen in the following table:

Table 1
Sumatra Region Gravestones

No	Name	Year Of Death
1	Malik Ash Salih	Ramadan 696H
2	Malik Azh Zahir	12 Dzulhijah 726H/8 November 1326
3	Malik Alauddin	822H/1419M
4 N	Malik Svamouddin	14 Ramadhan 822 H/4 October
	Malik Syamsuddin	14149M
5	Malik 'Alauddin	822 AH.
6	Malik Zainal 'Abidin	848 AH
7	Malik Muhammad Syah	845 AH

The "Malik" title, therefore, a title related to the titles of Islamic authorities,

although where it comes from remains a matter of conjecture (Muhammad,

2015). Malik generally means the leader of a region, governor, or even King. Malik Ibrahim's title, therefore, the title of an authoritative ruler, not a merchant.

The epigraphy shows fact that there is no title given in the tombstone epigraphy, which indicates that Malik Ibrahim was a trader. Epitaphs of fourteenth and fifteenth-century traders from Cambay usually contain the words Malik al-Tujjar, 'King of the traders', Mufakhr al- Tujjar 'The pride of the traders', Sultan al Nawakhudah, 'Sultan of the Shipmasters' and so on. Instead, he is mentioned in terms that associate him directly with the established Islamic system of power, and he was an Amir or nobleman, 'The Pride of the Nobility,' and 'Supporter of the Sultan and Wazir' (Lambourn, 2003).

Therefore _ the primary source from Malik Ibrahim's gravestone describes that Malik Ibrahim was an authoritative Islamic ruler first in Java. Not a trader. The story chronicle, which puts forward Malik Ibrahim as a trader, therefore, is a source of news created _ later, not in his age.

The original name of Ibrahim itself taken from a prophet who rejected the idolatry of statues (Qs Al Anbiya 21:51-54). Ibrahim was, therefore, known as a straight man. Hanif. Furthermore, invite people to monotheism. The Prophet Ibrahim is the father who laid the foundations of monotheism for Islam. Because of that, In this case, Malik Ibrahim can be associated as the founder

of the foundations of monotheism on the island of Java.

c. Bin and Maulana on the Epigraphy of Malik Ibrahim

Many articles trying to explain about the lineage tree of Malik Ibrahim, but the fact, on Malik Ibrahim's grave, bin or the son or his lineage family is not written. The absence of sculpture lineage or *nasab* (namely, Malik Ibrahim bin/son of so and so) by Elizabeth Lambourn considered as an opens possibility that he is the first generation of converts to Islam (Lambourn, 2003).

Of all the Cambay type tombstones either in Pasai or Gresik, two tombstones do not have a bin or lineage; the first is Malik Ibrahim, and the second is Raja Khan. Writing "bin or the son of" on various gravestones in Pasai is very common and often found. There is no opportunity to open up interpretations through the writings of the ancestral writings, which are linked to records from other places because the writing is very clearly carved on the tombstone.

One example of a ruler whose lineage is prominent is 'Abdullah bin Muhammad bin 'Abdul Qadir bin Yusuf bin 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Al-Manshur Abu Ja'far Al-'Abbasiy AlMustanshir Billah. Then, some pious people are descendants of the prophet. It is very soul-shaking to read his tombstone inscription because, like the famous Grand Shaykh Wali, namely Abdul Qadir Al Jailany, whose lineage meets Hasan and Husein, his name is Sayyid 'Imaduddin 'Ali bin Sayyid

'Izzuddin Ishaq Al-Husainiy Al-Hasaniy. The placement of this "bin" is carved and, of course, is an official Kingdom written document.

However, different customs apply in Lamuri, North Aceh. The epitaph on Malik Syamsuddin's tombstone, apart from not mentioning his name, also does not mention his father's name or any other additional identifier (kuniyah or its relation from a place or a country). The same thing was also observed on every Malik's (king's) tombstone, which used the title given to Ad-Din so Mapesa concluded that this was possible because they were already famous enough with the royal title, so they felt there was no need to add anything as identifiers (Mapesa, 2021)

The same principals also applied to either Raja Khan tombstone or Malik Ibrahim. At that time, they were very famous at their age so there's no need to add anything as identifiers including the "bin" or "son of" of family lineage.

Based on the Koran verses in Malik Ibrahim tombstone, it also strengthening this argument, seeing all the verses indicates Malik Ibrahim actually preaching people convert to Islam rather than was a converted.

d. "Ki Saka Pati Bantala" Royal Noble Title

One of the core problems in reading Malik Ibrahim's tombstone is the title *Ki saka Pati Bantala*. One sentence of the epigraphy that still become question mark is the sentence which was connected with the word "maruf bil", or

nown (Lambourn, Elizabeth, 2003). The meaning of this sentence that Malik Ibrahim, in his daily activities at that place in Gresik, is not known as Malik Ibrahim, instead he is known by a different name, namely Ki Saka Pati Bantala.

Lambourne expressed his uncertainty that the following three words include the Javanese word "kaki," an honorific epithaph that means 'grandfather' or 'father' and is used for honorable people, and Pati, another Javanese word meaning 'prince,' which means 'father and prince' (Lambourn, 2003).

On another type of cambay tombstone, namely the Nahrasyiyah malikah, Taqiyudin attributed the title Ra-Bakhsyakhadiyu to mean the gracious Queen, referring to the phrase bakhsy which comes from the Persian word which means generous, and khadiyu comes from the Persian word khidiv (w) meaning king, minister, lord (Muhammad, 2015).

Meanwhile, Sultan Zainal' Abidin was nicknamed Ra-Ubazar, which means conqueror of waves. Ra: The affix at the beginning of each name in a language dialect in the Central Asian region; ubab and 'ubab come from the Arabic words: large and high water waves; 180 and dar: the Persian affix at the end of the name means owner, ruler, holder, person in charge'. Zainal' Abidin already held this title before he ascended the throne of the sultanate. The expansion of Islamic

territory in Southeast Asia led by Ratu Samudra Pasai during the reign of Nahrasyiyah is believed to be inseparable from the role and work of Zainal (Muhammad, 2015).

In our repeated readings, we linked the title and the situation that occurred. The first, the Malik Ibrahim title, is an Islamic title, the second is Ki Saka Pati Buntala title, which indicates a Javanese title.

Malik Ibrahim's title is clear, a possibility that we can explore considering Malik Ibrahim's origin from an Islamic country, in this case, affiliated with Pasai, so the deceased was buried with Malik Ibrahim. However, in Java, in 1419, not yet a Muslim country, that is why the title in old Java language was written.

Ki Saka, When pronounced in Javanese, it becomes "Ki Soko". Ki means the person who is considered as elders who have high knowledge and Soko means Pillar. While, Pati Buntala, the local rulers are called as patih. Bantala is an ancient Java languanges which means earth or land.

So what is meant by "ki soko pati bantala" means someone who is considered as elders who become pillar for the world's rulers. This meaning in Javanese is identical to the title in Arabic, namely "Umdatun as Salatin." Pillars of the Sultans.

e. Year of Death 12 Rabiul Awal

The date on the birth of usually done Prophet's date to milestone commemorate the of someone who has died. This has become a habit in Javanese society. In Pasai, the gravestone of Sayyid Hasan bin 'Ali's death is also dated 12 Rabiul Awal. As a note, in Java, the ceremony of celebrating the death people has become ritual habits, and for certain associated with people is commemoration of the death of the Prophet.

f. The meaning of the word Shahid in the inscription

One of the oldest inscriptions in Indonesia with the words "As Sahid" happy and "Asy Syahid" martyrdom, was found on King Ahmad's tombstone in Cot Magapi, not far from the banks of the Pasai River. This gravestone is dated 622 H/1226 AD, the words "Blessed One" are used as a greeting to a dignitary, while as a martyr, the person who was killed for sabilillah. In this case, it is thought to be related to the liberation of countries that are not yet Islamic (Muhammad, 2015).

The concept of death, which is synonymous with the term martyrdom, is usually related to the word war "fii safilillah". However, in Islam, the basic concept is that there is no compulsion in religion. Muslims must convey the message of Islam, but this does not mean occupying the country, confiscating wealth, and imposing

Islamic beliefs. On the contrary, it is precisely so that it does not become an obstacle in carrying out dawah (Muhammad, 2015).

That is why the invitation to appeal to Islamic conceptions is included in the bold epigraphy on Malik Ibrahim's gravestone. There is no compulsion in religion. Moreover, it also contains the letter Al Ikhlas, an invitation to worship one God. Meanwhile, the word "Said Assyahid" on the Cambay-type marble tombstone itself is inscribed on only two marble tombstones, the first on Malik Ibrahim's tombstone and the second on Malikah Nahrasyiah's tombstone.

g. Epigraphy next to Malik Ibrahim Sayyidah Siti Fatimah and connection with Nyi Ageng Pinatih.



Elizabeth Melbourne confirmed that the three headstones in the Malik Ibrahim grave complex are family graves. However, based on the photos obtained, the headstone of the third grave was not finished, only completed. The first line of the tombstone was with the words "had a qabr al-marhumah al-maghfurah al-

masturah al-rajiyah ila rahmat Allah ta ala', which means this is a person's grave who are called to God's mercy and forgiven, who is holy, who depend on God's great mercy...'. The use of the feminine gender in Arabic indicates that this gravestone is intended for a woman.

The sacred word for women is often found, even in the Pasai Ocean and even in the Lehran. The first inscription of a holy woman in Java is on the tomb of what is now known as Siti Fatimah binti maimun hibatullah.

As for the meaning of a chaste woman, it means an unmarried woman. In the past, unmarried women, such as nuns and monks, were commonplace. In the story of the Koran, it is told about Maryam, a woman who dedicated her life to fully worshiping God and never married. In the Sufi Sect, there is also Rabia al Adawiyah. Pires noted that many Javanese women did not marry and remained virgins or chaste. They built a house in the mountains and lived there until the end of their lives. The number in Java is huge. More than 100,000 women. They live in purity until they die. They build their houses in remote places. Female ascetics are the same as male ascetics, asking for food with God's blessings in return (Pires, 2003).

Therefore, considering this fact, the tombstone next to Malik Ibrahim is not his wife but his daughter, and until she died, she did not get married. If you look at the logic of ordering Malik's gravestone, which of course was ordered

after the year of his death and also the existence of a woman who had no children and no husband in building the very rich Bandar Gresik, then the gravestone next to Malik Ibrahim is the current gravestone of Nyi Ageng Pinatih. She was written and labeled as Siti Fatimah.

2. Comparison of the gravestones of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiah





Comparison and notable observation between the tombstones of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah is a must, considering instead of various types of Cambay tombstones in Gresik and Pasai, only both have tombstones with identical twin ornaments and models. In addition, these two tombstones are the only Cambay typology tombstones in the Indonesian archipelago that have the title of "Malik/Malikah" ruler and in one continuous timeline.

1. Comparison of Al-Qur'an Verses and Other Sentences Embedded on the Headstones of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

Table 1
Sentences Embedded on the Headstones of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

Excerpt from the Koran	Malik Ibrahim	Malikah Nahrasyiyah
Surah al-Fatihah	Verse 1	Verse 1
Surah al-Baqarah	Verses 255-256	Verses 156, 255-256, 285- 286
Ali Imran's letter	Verse 185	-

Surah at-Taubah	Verses 21-22	-
Yasin's letter	-	Verses 1-14, 52
Surah ar-Rahman	Verses 26-27	-
Surah al-Ikhlas	Verses 1-4	-
The sentence Sy a hadatain	-	Asyhadu alla ilaha illallah. Wa asyhadu anna muhammadar rasulullah
The Sentence of Monotheism	La ilaha illallah muhammadar rasulullah	-

2. Headstone Identity

Even though there are many similarities in the embedding of verses from the Koran between the two tombstones, the number of columns or boxes on the tombstones for both Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah's is not the same. There are fewer columns on Malik Ibrahim's tombstone than on Malikah Nahrasyiyah's tombstone. There

are 12 columns for Malik Ibrahim's tombstone, while Malikah Nahrasyiyah's headstone has 16 columns.

The column used to write identity, both name and title for Malik Ibrahim, consists of three columns. Meanwhile, for Malikah Nahrasyiyah's two columns.

Table 2
Name and Title For Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiah

Malik Ibrahim	Malikah Nahrasyiyah
هَذَا قَبُرُ ٱلْمَرْحُوْمْ وَالْمَغْفُورِلَهُ ٱلرَّاجِي اِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى	هَذَا اَلْمَرْقَدُ الْمَنُوْرُ الْمَطْهَرُ الْمَلِكَهُ الْعَظَمَةُ اَلْمَرْحُوْمَةُ نَهْرَاشِيَهُ اَلْمُلَقَّبَةُ رَا بَخْشَا خَادِيُّ بِنْتِ
This is the grave of the blessed and forgiven who hope in the mercy of Allah Most High.	This is the radiant and holy lying place of the late great, blessed and forgiven Queen Nahrasyiyah who was nicknamed Ra Bakhsha Khadiyu daughter of .

	اَلسُّلْطَانْ اَلشَّهِيِدْ اَلسَّعِيْدْ زَيْنَ الْعَابِدِيْنْ بِنْ اَلسُّلْطَانْ اَحْمَدْ بِنْ اَلْمَلِكُ الصَّالِحْ بِنْ اَلْمَلِكُ الصَّالِحْ
The pride of the government, the Pillars of the sultans, the ministers, the lover of the poor	One who was martyred and happy was Sultan Zainal Abidin bin Sultan Ahmad bin Sultan Muhammad bin Al-Malik As-Saleh
اَلسَّعِيْدْ اَلشَّهِيْدْ بُرْهَانُ اَلدَّوْلَةْ وَالدِّيْنْ مَلِكْ اِبْرَاهِيْمَ اَلْمَعْرُوفُ كِي سَكَّا	
The happy and martyred as proof to the state and religion, Malik Ibrahim, known as Ki Saka	

3. Time of Death of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

Table 3
Time of Death of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

Malik Ibrahim	Malikah Nahrasyiyah
وَاَسْكَنَهُ فِي بَاتِي بَنْتَلْ تَغَمَدَهُ الله بِالرَّحْمَةِ وَالرِّصْوَانُ دَّارِالْجِنَانَ تُوُفِّ َ فِي يَوْمِ	عَلَيْهَا وَعَلَيهِمْ اَلرَّحْمَةُ اَلْغُفْرَانْ اَنْقَلَتِ مِنْ دَارِ الْفَنَاءِ اِلَى جِوَارِ رَحْمَةِ اللّهِ فِي تَارِيْحِ يَوْمَ الْإِثْنَيْنِ سَابِعَ عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ ذِي الْحِجَّهْ سَنَةَ اَحَدِي وَثَلَثِيْنَ وَثَمِائَةً
Pati bantala, may Allah bless and love him by placing him in heaven, who died on the day	May mercy and forgiveness be upon him and upon them, may Allah's mercy and forgiveness be upon all of them. He died on Monday the seventeenth of the month of Dzulhijjah in the year eight hundred and thirty-one (831) of the hijrah of the Prophet. (1428 AD)
الْإِثْنَيْنِ اَلثَّانِي عَشَرَ مِنْ رَبِيْعِ الْأَوَّلُ سَنَةَ انْثَيْ وَتَمَانِماِئَةٍ وَعِشْرُوْنَ	

Monday the twelfth of Rabi` al-Awwal of the year eight hundred and twenty-two (822 AH) / 1419 AD

The khat or writing for each grave identity above, both on Malik Ibrahim's tombstone and Malikah Nahrasyiyah's tombstone, have the same type, namely Tsulus. Even though there are similarities in the type of text between the verses of the Koran and the identity of the tomb, the type and character of the writing on the identity of the tomb are slightly different. It seems that the identity writing on the tomb is not a product of Cambay India but was made by residents in the area where the two lived who had skills in calligraphy.

1. The meaning of Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

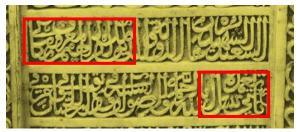
The linguistic origin and meaning of the word malik can differ depending on the original writing in Arabic. Maalik (abc) means ruler or owner, whereas if the letter mim is not put in front of the alif ma, it is read short as abc abc, which means king. Both are derived from the root word (abc abc ab

Meanwhile, the word malikah is isim mu'annas (a word for naming women),

which comes from the word malik. However, when writing the word Malikah in the tombstone inscription, the word malik does not use the letter alif in front of the mim, الملكه (al-Malikah). The word al-Malikah, in this case, means queen. Al-Malikah Nahrasyiyah's means a queen named Nahrasyiyah's.

In principle, the words malik and malikah are similar. Both are described as rulers, kings, and queens. Namely, the head of government who controls the area he leads. Therefore, the luxurious Cambah marble headstone inscription with the title of Malik is certainly not an ordinary title but memorable and very special.

2. Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah titles



The end of the sentence in the second box, which continues with the beginning of the sentence in the third box of the tombstone from the bottom is very clearly written with the name and title of Malik Ibrahim:

اَ بَاتِي بَنْتَلْ مَالِكُ اِبْرَاهِيْمَ اَلْمَعْرُوفُ كِي سَكَا (Malik Ibrahim is known for his kindness with Ki Saka Pati Bantala)

Meanwhile, on Malikah Nahrasyiyah's tombstone is written the sentence:



At the end of the sentence in the third box from the bottom is written the name and title of Malikah Nahrasyiyah which reads

نَهْرَاشِيَهْ ٱلْمُلَقَبَةُ رَا بَخْشَا خَادِيُّ

(Nahrasyiyah nicknamed Ra Bakhsya Khadiyyu)

3. The meaning of the titles Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

Both Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah have the same personality traits of really loving the weak (dhu'afa) and the poor. On Malik Ibrahim's tombstone, before being given the title Ki Saka Pati bantala, his personality traits were written. The sentence reads:

لِمُحِبُّ الْمَسَاكِيْنُ وَالْفُقَرَاءِ (lovers of the poor)
Meanwhile, Malikah Nahrasyiyah has
the title Ra Bakhsya Khadiyyu, which
means generous ruler. This title does not
only mean being a ruler who is generous to
people with low incomes but can be broader.
Nahrasyiyah's maternal traits seemed to
dominate her personality when she served
as ruler and ran her government.
Nahrasyiyah cares about the welfare of its

entire community, especially people experiencing poverty.

From various descriptions of the similarities in the descriptions, ornaments and shapes of these two tombstones, it is tough to say that these two tombstones are not related. These two tombstones have a close relationship and are connected. This relationship was very exclusive because, during that period, the luxurious Cambay typology marble gravestone with the title of King or Queen was only single, second to none, namely Malik Ibrahim and Malikah Nahrasyiyah

After we see the similarities, then we combining the description on what written on the Tombstone. In Malik Ibrahim Tombstone, it was written that he was "Assaid Assyahid" Happy and Martyrdom and no family lineage explanation. Later on, almost 30 years later on, another Tombstone was carved with title Malikah Nahrasyiyah's with his father mentioned as someone who is described as a "happy martyr" and his name is Sultan Zainal Abidin bin Sultan Ahmad bin Sultan Muhammad bin Al-Malik As-Saleh.

Seeing the fact, that only two cambay tombstone who was carved as Malik, which mean there is no other and the description of "Said Assyahid" only carved on Malik Ilbrahim then We can conclude that Malik Ibrahim is actually Sultan Zainal Abidin from Pasai, who's the father of Malikah Nahrasyiyah.

This conclusion is strengthened by other mutually binding facts, namely, the workmanship and manufacture of

tombstones with similar carvings was carried out in Pasai. Apart from that, based on Mapesa research, the tombstone of Nahrasyiyah's father has not yet to be found in Pasai and is thought to be outside Pasai (Muhammad, 2015).

Illumination of the history of Malik Ibrahim in bringing Islam to Java and its contextuality in the development of the Indonesian Spice Route, there needs to be more information from contemporary manuscripts that provide information directly related to Malik Ibrahim. The existing information in the saga or tripe provides information that is very different from the inscription on Malik Ibrahim's gravestone.

Apart from Malik Ibrahim, other Islamic figures continuously emerged, such as Nyi Ageng Pinatih, and also the existence of Sunan Giri from Pasai, these are fragments of the story that need to be reconstructed. To weave this story into a systemic historical description, we will once again reconstruct the establishment of Gresik Harbor as the first and largest Islamic port on the island of Java:

4. Establishment of Gresik Harbor

The people of Gresik and Java do not deny that the existence of Gresik Port in Java originates from the person who is considered the Harbor Master, namely Malik Ibrahim and the name Nyi Ageng Pinatih (Ricklefs, 1993).

Contemporary manuscripts, Ming dynasty records and also the Ma Huan Ying Ya Sheng Lan (Beautiful View Across the Sea) which accompanied Admiral Zheng he's visit,

contain the origins of the founding of Gresik Port. At that time, during his visit in 1405, Ma Huan witnessed that in Majapahit the Islamic religion had also spread and quite a few Chinese people had embraced Islam. Ma Huan said that in Gresik, there was a new village built by Chinese people, and the village head was a Guangdong person. The new village has become a commercial centre visited by many native people to trade.

"From Tuban, walk east. After about half a day, we arrived at Kampung Baru or Gresik, the name called by the native people. The area was previously just barren sand. Thanks to exploitation by Chinese people who came and settled there, it later became an area called Kampung Baru, until now the head of the village is Guangdong and the residents are more than a thousand families. Native people from various places came there to trade gold and various kinds of gems which they brought with many buyers. The residents in the village are rich. From Kampung Baru, heading south, sailing 20 li, you arrive at Su Lu Ma Yi, the name called by the native people of Surabaya. What flows out at the estuary of the city is fresh water. Large ships cannot enter, they must use small ships and travel 20 km to reach their destination. There is also a village head who takes care of more than a thousand families, among whom there are also Chinese people " (Rosyidin, 2023).

In 1425, the Emperor of the Ming dynasty granted Javanese envoy Ya Lie Huang Fu Xin and his accompanies 159,050 gold nuggets. Since The gold given was in the same year with building of the Harbor and

appointment of Harbomaster Gresik, the biggest possibility the submission of a large amount of money related with the development of Gresik Harbor as a Muslim port. Considering the origin existence of Shi Jin Qing from Sumatra, Of course Sumatra also has its share in the construction of the Port of Gresik, as did the King of Java (Weatherbee, 2017).

The short note had showed a very special moment, 159,050 gold nuggets. It never happened before. This is, of course one of the important investment moments at that time When Bandar Gresik became a determining point in the southern Spice route in the trade distribution chain for both Muslims and the Ming dynasty. Gresik was becoming the hub port to Maluku for the southern route.

5. Shi Jin Qing and her two daughters

In the official History of the Ming Dynasty, no writing document revealed Admiral Zheng he as a preacher of Islam. However, the people in the archipelago, especially back on the island of Java, Admiral Zheng he was known as a Muslim admiral and famous as a preacher of Islam (Al Qurtuby, 2009) and is a descendant of the Prophet too (Alam, n.d.). The Ming Dynasty itself is the closest Chinese ruling dynasty to Muslim people, so until today, many believe that the emperor of the Ming Dynasty was Muslim (Bigelow, n.d.).

Ming Dynasty documents, revealed the connection with the Kingdom in the Archipelago, Admiral Zheng he owned harmonious relationship with the Pasai Kingdom, because the similar identity of Islam. During his visit to Java, Zheng he had a time problem with the ruler's conflicting localities between Raja Barat and Raja Timur, which caused his soldiers to be killed (Rosyidin, 2023).

On his way to Palembang, Admiral Zheng he attacked by Pirates namely Chen Zu Yi's with such big force. Zheng he Then overcome the pirates attack Because they get help from Muslims known and mentioned as Shi Jin Qing's. For his services, Shi Jin Qing, later on also appointed as head security route spice from Sumatra to to Java with Ruan Wei Shi's rank title. The incident in which Chen Zu Yi and Shin Jin Qing mentioned was in 1407, and later, after Shi Jin Qing died, a new replacement was carried out in 1425 (Rosyidin, 2023).

Along with the replacement of Shi jin Qing appointed, the Name of Sambodja or Srivijaya has lost from map Ming dynasty (Hall, 2010).

If Ming dynasty, describe the event in Palembang like that, Tome Pires in The Suma Oriental, 100 years later on shows different record. "The land of Palembang used to have heathen kings of its own and it was subject to the cafre king of Java, and after the Moorish pates of Java had made themselves masters of the sea coasts, made war on Palembang for a long time and took the land, and they it had no more kings, only pates, the country of Palembang had its pagan king, who was a conqueror of the pagan king in Java. After the Pati moors from Java established themselves as rulers of the coast, they fought with Palembang for a long time before finally taking over its territory.

Palembang does not have a king, only pate" (Cortesao, 2018).

In this case, Admiral Zheng seems had an alliance in changing the role of the authority constellation in Palembang so that 100 years later, when the Raden Patah Demak happened, Palembang already under Islamic Kingdom.

Based on Analysis of this event, Shi Jin Qing who was the person who given the authority to guard and secure the spice route from Sumatra to Gresik, this power, of course, came through the power of three kingdoms, the first from Sumatra Pasai, the second from Java and the third from China.

Shi Jing Qing, in the description of the Ming Dynasty records, is obvious: he was not a trader, but he was fully responsible for all efforts to sabotage spice commodities, pirate threats and so on. This is why Shi Jin Qing had authority over the three kingdoms and, of course, had a self-defense army—specifically operating in water from Pasai to Java.

Having long war to keep the route safety need special forces and indeed, martial arts. If in period 1407 to 1421 this job done by Malik Ibrahim, it seems in 1514, this job performed by other person, which we considered as his grandson, Patih Bubat, "The land of Surabaya is bounded on one side by the lands of Grisee and on the other by the lands of Ganda. The lord of Surabaya is called Pate Bubat, and Guste Pate has now given him the name of jurupã Galacam ymteram, which means 'the excellent captain'. He is a knight and a person of great authority, more honoured in affairs of arms than any of those

who are now living along the sea-coast, whether Javanese or Moorish; and all the Javanese rely on him, on his personality and counsel. He has a great deal of land and he is often at war with Guste Pate, and sometimes they are friends. He has many war calaluzes at sea.

He is a brother-in-arms of the lord of Grisee. They say that his grandfather was a heathen slave of Guste Pate's grandfather. Others say that his grandfather was from Sunda. In any case he is greatly esteemed. He must have about six or seven thousand fighting men in his country. He is constantly at war, and he is not given to any other exercise." (Pires, Suma Oriental)

After Shi jin qing died, rather than giving the position to his son, it was given to the second daughter, Shi Er Jie (Second Princess), meanwhile the first daughter of his daughter, emigrated to Java and then became famous with the name Nyai Gede Pinatih, who contributed to the spread of Islam in Java (Gungwu, 2005).

The eldest daughter of Shi Jin Qing, who in Java is called Nyai Gede Pinatih, is a Muslim who has donated all his soul for the sake of spreading Islam in the archipelago. In Java, Nyai Gede Pinatih was placed in Gresik as a harbormaster. Nyai Gede Pinatih was very instrumental in the spread of Islam in East Java. Raden Paku, one of them of the famous Wali Songo , is child he picked up . Raden Paku, since small, has had an intensive religious upbringing and education from Nyai Gede Pinatih (Weatherbee, 2017).

Nyai Ageng Pinatih is also known as Nyai Ageng Samboja. The word Samboja is associated with the name "Cambodia."

Pinatih started from the word "Patih," which later became Pinatih. According to the story that developed in Gresik, Nyai Ageng Pinatih was the wife of Patih Semboja, who came from the Blambangan Kingdom and was still Hindu (Hasanah, 2020).

Different with babad or chronicle information, Song dynasty record Semboja is not Cambodia; instead, it shows former Kingdom territory in Sumatra, namely Sriwijaya. Srivijaya's Name changed from Shi Li fo Shi to San Fo Qi (Samboja)This is Possible Because center power has shifted from Palembang to Jambi (Chow-Bing, 2019).

looking at the events of Shi Jin Qing's death, after he died as a father, there were two female rulers in the same era and both of them were Muslim. The first, was the second child of Shi Jin Qing in Sumatra and the second was the first child of Shi Jin Qing who was in Gresik

Referring to this, it is impossible not to relate the story about Shi Jin Qing and her two daughters refers to the existence of three Cambay tombstones of the same type, namely the first is Malik Ibrahim with the earliest date of death, then the Tombstone Malikah Nahrasyiah with the next date of death, and another one, his other daughter,

CONCLUSION

Malik Ibrahim, based on research studies either by reading the Epigraphy of his

who became Harbormaster of Gresik, namely Nyi Ageng Pinatih, whose inscription has not yet been carved but is currently labelled as Sayyidah Fatimah.

In reading the existence of the Cambay typology tombstone in Gresik, of course this very luxurious tombstone, which contains the official name, rank, then year of death, and also other information belong to an official royal inscription issued by the royal authorities. Considering the large number of tombstones like this, and also the existence of carvings and the large number of carvings in Pasai, it is impossible for the existence of Cambay's luxurious tombstones in Gresik not to refer to the authority of Pasai, Aceh.

Nyi Ageng Pinatih from Java and Malikah Nahrasyiyah became rulers in their respective regions, one in Pasai and one in Gresik. These two tombstones have the exact words where in both inscriptions the holy words are written, meaning "not yet" or "not married". In the words of the Gresik community, Nyi ageng Pinatih has no children, and her adopted son is Sunan Giri, who comes from Pasai.

Cirebon Chronicle, also confirming pasai as the origin of Malik Ibrahim. Both either Maulana Malik Ibrahim Asmarakandi and Maulana Ibrahim have lived in Pasai for a long time. While Malik Ibrahim's said came from Campa, it will refer to Jeumpa, Biureun which was also part of Pasai at that time.

Tombstone and also the records of the Ming dynasty, is a figure known in Java As *Ki Saka Pati Bantala*, or in Ming records as Shi Jin Qing, or in Pasai as Sultan Zainal Abidin bin Sultan Ahmad bin Sultan Muhammad bin Al-Malik As-Saleh. The figure refers to the same person. Malik Ibrahim comes from Pasai, which is why he is related to other Gresik figures who are related to Pasai, such as Sunan Giri. Malik Ibrahim was not a trader nor just a harbourmaster. Malik Ibrahim was Chief Officer Commander who entirely responsible for guarding and securing the spice route from Pasai to Gresik with full authority from the three major kingdoms. The Samudra Pasai Kingdom, the Kingdom in Java, and the Chinese Kingdom of the Ming Dynasty. This is why the inscription reads "Pillars of the Sultans." Not only that, also he acted as Chief commander officer for Islamic matter on this route,

One of Malik Ibrahim's strong and prominent characteristics is his love for poor people. Malikah Nahrasyiyah and Nyi Ageng Pinatih are the daughters of Malik Ibrahim. The construction of Gresik Port was a joint investment in 1425 between the Pasai Kingdom, the Javanese Kingdom, and the Chinese Kingdom of the Ming dynasty later on in the next 100 years, the newly built Gresik Port developed into an Islamic port as well as the largest and best port in Java. More in-depth research regarding the epigraphic reading on Nyi Ageng Pinatih's gravestone and the gravestone next to it is needed. In addition to that, preservation efforts need to be made to maintain the condition of the three graves so that they remain intact and are not eroded and the carvings are lost—the reading.

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