

Gravestones and *candi* stones

Reflections on the grave complex of Troloyo

Hadi SIDOMULYO *



Troloyo in the early 1990's; southward view towards the enclosure of Syech Jumadil Kubra (Kubur Tunggal)

Introduction

More than fifty years have passed since the publication of L.-C. Damais' well known article on the gravestones of Troloyo.¹ In the meantime, the conclusions drawn in his landmark study have helped to alter perceptions of the early development of Islam in Java, as well as influenced an entire generation of scholars and researchers. Arguing against the prevailing view that the oldest material evidence of Islamic culture was to be found on the island's northern coast, Damais believed that the dated gravestones at Troloyo pointed to the presence of Muslims at Majapahit since the mid-fourteenth century, not a few of whom were members of the Javanese nobility. Through a critical examination of the available literature pertaining to the grave complex, backed up by observations in the field, Damais argued persuasively that the reservations held by his predecessors were unwarranted. His own detailed study, by contrast, offered a firm foundation for future research at the site, and as such has remained the standard reference up to the present time.

The grave complex of Troloyo is located to the south of the village of Trowulan in the East Javanese regency of Mojokerto. The whole area covers a little more than one hectare

* Independent writer and historian, currently attached to the University of Surabaya, Indonesia.

1. "Études javanaises : I. Les Tombes musulmanes datées de Trâlâyâ", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 48/2, 1957: 353-416.

and is divided into two parts, with the larger portion situated in the southeast, close to the road (Fig. 1). The latter contains eight main enclosures, associated principally with some of Java's early proselytizers of Islam, chief among them the revered saint (*wali*) named Syech Jumadil Kubra, while the smaller section in the northwest is limited to two sites known as Panggung and Kubur Pitu, representing various semi-legendary figures from the closing years of Majapahit. It should be borne in mind, however, that all of these identifications are based upon an oral tradition of questionable reliability. Concrete documentary evidence is limited to a gravestone recording the death of a certain Zain ud Dīn during the latter half of the fifteenth century.²

The site of Kubur Pitu, comprising seven graves enclosed by a wall, contains a number of gravestones displaying a distinctive image which has for long attracted the attention of scholars (Fig. 2).³ Popularly referred to as the 'Majapahit halo' (*surya Majapahit*), the depiction of this motif on four headstones, in combination with an Arabic inscription and an Old Javanese date, led Damais (1957: 368) to conclude that these graves belonged to members of the Majapahit nobility, who had converted to Islam and were subsequently buried in the vicinity of the royal palace.

The current full scale development of Troloyo as a major pilgrimage destination has meant that the identity of the complex, along with its history, is likely to become increasingly subject to the demands of the tourism industry in the years to come. In view of this, it is certainly fortunate that Damais had the foresight to prepare a document for posterity, but at the same time regrettable that his plan to return to the topic did not come to fruition. The present article may thus be regarded as a belated response to the call for a more exhaustive study. Although at the present stage it falls far short of Damais' ideal to prepare the entire inscriptional record of eastern Java as a backdrop, it has at least been possible to extend the field of enquiry to include the surrounding regency of Mojokerto, which preserves a great wealth of comparative material. This offers the chance to view the archaeological and epigraphical evidence at Troloyo in a broader perspective.

In the course of a recent field survey the present writer has documented close to 200 dated stones, originating from an area extending some thirty kilometres eastward from the former Majapahit capital to the mountain Penanggungan. Well over half of these items comprise stone blocks of varying sizes, and in the great majority of cases the dates are expressed in ciphers displaying the Old Javanese Śaka year.⁴ Other objects examined include boulders, standing stones, *lingga*, *yoni*, gateways, cave entrances, stone pots, weights, statues, pedestals and pillar supports, as well as objects commonly referred to as gravestones. Although less common, both verbal and pictorial chronograms are also represented, sometimes in combination with ciphers.

Study of this material has helped to shed some light on the cultural history of the region. The former geographical dispersion of these dated stones reveals a dense concentration in two areas. The first, and apparently the earlier, is Mt. Penanggungan and the land lying in its shadow on the regency's eastern perimeter. Inscribed dates recovered from these

2. Discussed by Damais (1957: 408-09), this stone has since disappeared. It is the single known gravestone from Troloyo to preserve a true epitaph, and further represents the sole example of an inscribed date employing the Hijra calendar, *i.e.* 874 (= AD 1469-70). These factors, coupled with the name Zain ud Dīn, point to the likelihood that the deceased was not a native Javanese.

3. The occurrence of this motif at Troloyo would appear to be confined exclusively to the Kubur Pitu.

4. This material excludes some twenty-six longer inscriptions, mostly taking the form of royal charters issued between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, in which the preamble typically begins with a date comprising numerous calendrical elements.

districts reflect more than five centuries of history, beginning with the bathing place of Jolotundo at Trawas, dating from Śaka 899 (977-8), and ending with a terraced sanctuary on Penanggungan's northern slope, apparently consecrated in Śaka 1433 (1511-2). Placed against the historical narrative, this time frame encompasses the greater part of the pre-Islamic period in eastern Java, from the establishment of the Īśāna dynasty by king Siṇḍok in the third decade of the tenth century, to the eclipse of Majapahit and the dawning of the age of Islam early in the sixteenth.

By contrast, dated stones from the second area, comprising the village of Trowulan and its immediate surroundings, begin in Śaka 1203 (1281-2) and end abruptly in Śaka 1397 (1475-6), the date inscribed on a gravestone at Troloyo. This is not to say that Majapahit was entirely abandoned, however, for we find two gravestones, one in the Trowulan Museum and another still *in situ* at Troloyo, displaying dates equivalent to 1589-90 and 1611-2 (discussed below). The museum collection further includes an inscribed stone pillar, which appears to read Śaka 1546 (1624-5). These items, erected many years after Majapahit had ceased to exist, point to a connection with the central Javanese court of Mataram.⁵

Taken together, the two groups described above account for seventy five per cent of the dated stones discovered in the Mojokerto region. The remainder are to be found scattered over the land lying between these two centres.

Early research at Troloyo

The first known European to record a visit to the Trowulan area was the Dutch surveyor J. W. B. Wardenaar, who explored the ruins of Majapahit in 1815 at the request of T. S. Raffles.⁶ Although Wardenaar did not venture as far as Troloyo, his survey included the settlement of Kedaton, which is located just a few hundred metres north of the grave complex and has for long been identified with the Majapahit royal palace.⁷

It was to be another three quarters of a century before the earliest published account of Troloyo itself became available. Writing in the second volume of his monumental *Java: Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch*, P. J. Veth described an extensive graveyard divided into enclosures surrounded by stone walls, containing graves fashioned from the 'ruins of Majapahit' (1878: 140-41). Some of the gravestones were reported to bear Arabic inscriptions. Veth's brief account, however, was not based upon personal experience, as he himself never visited Java. It is rather to R. D. M. Verbeek that we turn for the first field

5. Unfortunately there exists very little available documentation from the period preceding the arrival of the first European visitors in the nineteenth century, but what records do exist suggest that the archaeological remains at Trowulan were actively maintained by the courts of seventeenth and eighteenth century Mataram, whose rulers claimed descent from Majapahit and wished to preserve a connection with their ancestral seat in eastern Java (cf. Ricklefs 1993: 53-54, 56, 181, 366 [note 74]; 1998: 75-76, 233, 272). With regard to the stone pillar, discussion of this interesting item lies beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say that, despite uncertainty about its exact provenance, there seems no strong reason to doubt that it originates from the vicinity of the Majapahit capital.

6. Raffles served as lieutenant governor of Java during the British interregnum, between the years 1811 and 1816.

7. Wardenaar's 1815 "Plan of Majapahit", rediscovered in the British Museum in 2008, is instructive inasmuch as it shows that the principal settlements at that time corresponded with the present day villages of Trowulan and Sentonorejo, the latter encompassing both the site of Kedaton and the graveyard of Troloyo. Much of the material discussed in the present article originates from these two villages (cf. Wardenaar 1815).

survey, the results of which were published in 1887.⁸ Verbeek described the graveyard in much the same way as Veth, but added more details. He noted, for instance, that the stones at Troloyo could be divided into two types. Some stood vertically and resembled gravestones, while others took the form of rectangular ‘*candi* stones’,⁹ designed to lie in a horizontal position. Old Javanese dates, consisting of ciphers displaying the Śaka year, were found inscribed on seven of the gravestones and five of the *candi* stones, while among five gravestones bearing Arabic inscriptions, two displayed an Old Javanese date on the reverse side. In the following year Verbeek reported an additional dated *candi* stone.¹⁰ These findings provided the foundation for future research.

Despite the value of Verbeek’s contribution, there was still no plan of the grave site, and it was not until the publication of J. Knebel’s report from Troloyo in 1907 that a first hand description of the layout of the complex, with its various enclosures, became available.¹¹ Under the guidance of the caretaker, Mangoen Amidjojo, Knebel began his tour in the southeast, near the main entrance, visiting three separate pavilions (*cungkup*) containing ‘long graves’ (*kubur panjang*), whose headstones displayed Arabic inscriptions. From there he proceeded to the northwest, passing the site of Panggung before reaching a walled enclosure containing seven graves, identifiable today as the Kubur Pitu. At this last mentioned site Knebel (1907: 63) noted that “four of the headstones displayed a *surya* seal accompanied by an Old Javanese date”. Unfortunately, the facsimiles reproduced in Knebel’s report turned out to be unreliable, and in one instance wrongly labelled; factors which led N. J. Krom to undertake a personal field investigation in 1910.

It is with Krom, in fact, that the initial phase of research at Troloyo finds a crystallization. The result of his study, first published shortly after his field survey and subsequently included in the revised 1920 edition of J. L. A. Brandes’ *Pararaton*, shows a listing of sixteen dates spanning the Śaka years 1204-1394 (1282-3 - 1472-3).¹² Krom, however, was clearly perplexed by the archaeological remains at Troloyo, and particularly the gravestones. Herewith his final word on the matter, written some thirty years before Damais began his research:

“Following the road southward [from Trowulan] for about 700 metres, one reaches a large graveyard at Troloyo, where can be found a number of stones dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A few of them display Arabic inscriptions from a more recent period. The grave site itself does not hold any archaeological value, and of course it is impossible to determine the kind of buildings to which these stones originally belonged before they came to function as grave markers. In view of the increasing number of converts to Islam during the fifteenth century, however, it could be that some of the later stones were designed specifically as gravestones.”¹³

8. Verbeek 1887: 9.

9. Although more correctly denoting a royal ancestral shrine, the term *candi* is today applied generally to all manner of archaeological sites dating from the pre-Islamic period. For a detailed discussion of the Javanese *candi*, see Soekmono 1995.

10. Verbeek 1888: 12.

11. Knebel 1907: 62-66.

12. Krom 1910; 1911; 1920.

13. Krom 1923, vol. 2: 189.

Krom's final judgment thus underlines an uncertainty which was detectable from the outset. In his initial report he had followed Verbeek and described the dated items at Troloyo as *candi* stones and 'gravestones or boundary posts'.¹⁴ This last mentioned category, however, was no longer acknowledged in his subsequent publication on the dated inscriptions from Java, which referred simply to gravestones and *candi* stones. Some years later, when preparing the revised edition of Brandes' *Pararaton*, he apparently changed his mind again, listing all of the items from Troloyo under the neutral heading of 'dated stones'. From the foregoing one can see that Krom was unable to make up his mind about the original function of these stones with their combination of Old Javanese dates and Arabic inscriptions. In the end he could do no more than suggest vaguely that some of the later items might have been designed specifically as gravestones. We will return to these problems when discussing the conclusions drawn by Damais.

Damais' list of dated stones extended

It should be emphasised that the scope of Damais' study was quite limited, with discussion essentially focused upon ten gravestones from Troloyo. The list of dated stones appended to his article, moreover, comprised just thirty two items, twelve of which were described as gravestones and the remainder stone blocks. Damais himself was well aware that this list was not truly representative, and he admitted that the substantial collection of dated stones housed in the archaeological museum at Trowulan had not been included, mainly because it was poorly catalogued and hence unmanageable.¹⁵ Fortunately, conditions have improved somewhat since then, allowing the possibility to extend Damais' original list quite significantly.

The year 1986 saw the publication of an ambitious volume entitled *Rencana Induk Arkeologi Bekas Kota Kerajaan Majapahit, Trowulan*, sponsored by the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture. The book was essentially a feasibility study, aimed at a long term development plan for the archaeological remains at Trowulan in the interests of both the scientific community and the tourism industry. The large research team, headed by the Indonesian archaeologist Mundardjito, conducted surveys at several important sites, among them the grave complex of Troloyo. Of particular relevance to the present discussion was the inclusion on page 7 of an inventory of dated stones recovered from the vicinity of the Majapahit capital, many of which were preserved in the Trowulan Museum. The fact that the report described fifty nine stones was remarkable, as this was almost double the number listed by Damais in 1957. Regrettably, however, while including thirty of the items from Damais' list, together with their original catalogue numbers, the inventory provided no further details about the twenty nine additional stones, aside

14. With regard to the boundary posts, Damais (1957: 377-78) pointed out that this category did not feature in Verbeek's original report, but seemed to have been arbitrarily introduced in a later publication (cf. Verbeek 1891: 230, no. 457), to be accepted by Krom without further explanation.

15. Damais 1957: 413, note 1. The stones referred to here are those accumulated in the course of excavations at Trowulan in the years before World War II, specifically under the sponsorship of the *Oudheidkundige Vereeniging Majapahit (OVM)*, founded in April 1924 by the retired regent (*bupati*) of Mojokerto, R. A. A. Kromodjojo Adinegoro (in office 1894-1916). Formerly preserved at what is now an administrative centre for the regional Archaeological Service (*Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya*), these items were moved to their current location in 1987. Today they form the heart of the modern Trowulan Museum, together with the valuable collection which used to be housed in the Mojokerto Museum, originally established in 1911. Unfortunately, however, while this latter collection is well documented, many records pertaining to the articles from Trowulan are believed to have disappeared between the years 1942 and 1945, at the time of the Japanese occupation.

from recording their dates. As this meant that their existence could neither be verified, nor their readings confirmed, the new listing as it stood was of little value to researchers.

In April 2011 the present writer had the opportunity to focus attention on the museum's valuable collection for ten full days, during which time it was not only possible to identify, measure and photograph at least two thirds of the stones listed in the 1986 inventory, but also to discover quite a few items previously unreported.¹⁶ These will be discussed in more detail below.

Limiting the scope to the village of Trowulan and its immediate surroundings, it was found that the new material provided by the inventory comprised fifteen dated stone blocks and two dated gravestones.¹⁷ In addition, eight stone blocks not included in the inventory were found to originate from the district of Trowulan. Two of them, dated Śaka 1299 and 1307, were already catalogued by M. A. Muusses (1923: 108) but for some reason not included in Damais' list. Another, from Penanggalan and dated Śaka 1323, was also ignored by Damais, despite its proximity to the Majapahit capital and the fact that it had already been noted by Krom (1915a: 70; 1915b: 88). Yet another item, resembling a gravestone and dated Śaka 1303, was found in the store room of the museum.

In all, the survey conducted in 2011 revealed twenty-eight additional stones originating from the vicinity of Trowulan. These comprised twenty-four stone blocks and four items which may be tentatively classed as gravestones. Of the former, all but two are currently preserved in the Trowulan Museum, exceptions being a stone from Panggung (discussed below) and one of the items reported by Muusses, the present location of which is unknown. As to the gravestones, three are currently preserved in the museum, while the fourth can be found at Troloyo.

It must be admitted that this extended list of sixty dated stones cannot yet be considered truly representative. There are, for instance, eleven stone blocks of uncertain provenance in the Trowulan Museum, some of which probably originate from the immediate vicinity of the Majapahit capital and, as such, deserve to be included. Despite these uncertainties, the list as it stands may at least be considered a step forward, with a view to further precision in the future.

Here follow some remarks on a number of the items encountered during the 2011 survey, with additional comments on some of the dated stones listed by Damais, in particular those for which photographic documentation was not provided.¹⁸ Code numbers refer to the inventory attached to the present article as Appendix B and C.

***Gravestone from Troloyo dated Śaka 1278
(B.8; Fig. 3)***

This gravestone is today popularly associated with a certain Syech Abdurochim, who shares a covered enclosure at Troloyo with two other deceased individuals, identified as

16. I am grateful to both the Jakarta office of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and the *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* at Trowulan, without whose support this survey could not have been conducted.

17. It should be noted that not all of the catalogue numbers refer unequivocally to the district of Trowulan. On the contrary, the letters ONB indicate that the precise origin of some of the stones is unknown (*onbekend*). Notwithstanding the Dutch terminology, it turns out that this cataloguing system is quite recent, and rather tells us that the present staff members at the Trowulan Museum are less well informed than their predecessors in the 1980's. See, for instance, the gravestone labelled Troloyo VI by Damais (no. 13 in Appendix B below), currently listed as 2495/Bta/ONB/24.

18. Damais 1957: 414.

Syech Abdurochman and Syech Jaelani. Whereas the gravestones of the latter are plain and undated, that of Syech Abdurochim displays the rather unusual combination of an Arabic inscription on the outer face of the headstone, and an Old Javanese date on that of the footstone. As far as I am aware, this site has not been discussed in any of the published literature on Troloyo. If the reading of Śaka 1278 is correct, and if the stone was originally designed to mark the site of a grave, it represents the earliest dated gravestone in the entire district of Trowulan (cf. B.10; Fig. 11 below, which is dated twelve years later).

Gravestone (?) from Trowulan dated Śaka 1303
(B.19; Fig. 4a-b)

The original function of this stone is unclear. The only published reference to my knowledge is a brief report by R. Soekmono and I. A. Romli (1993: 82-83), who identify the item as a gravestone. They further draw attention to the unique imagery, as well as to the Śaka date 1303, which is incised on the edge of the stone.

The definition of this object as a gravestone would seem open to question, especially in view of the fact that it combines three motifs fundamental to the iconography of fourteenth century Hindu-Buddhist Java, namely the *lingga*, *padmāsana* and ‘Majapahit halo’ (*surya Majapahit*) mentioned earlier (cf. p. 2). The slender projection beneath the *padmāsana*, moreover, indicates that this stone once served as an ornamental feature on a solid structure built from stone or brick, probably raised at some distance above the ground. If it is an Islamic gravestone, then it must be regarded as exemplifying a remarkable blending of two cultural traditions.

Gravestone from Trowulan dated Śaka 1344
(B.37; Fig. 5)

Mundardjito *et al.* (1986: 7) identify this item as a gravestone and give its provenance as Trowulan. The reading of Śaka 1344 is certain enough, but the panel displaying a short inscription below the date seems too weathered to allow the possibility of an interpretation.

Fragment of a gravestone from Trowulan dated Śaka 1511
(B.59; Fig. 6a-b)

This is very probably the object described by Mundardjito *et al.* (1986: 7) as a ‘stone block’ from Trowulan dated Śaka 1511. Despite its fragmentary state, enough remains of the object to identify it as a gravestone. The date, equivalent to AD 1589-90, coincides with the rise to prominence of the Mataram dynasty in central Java.

Five dated stone blocks
(B.41; Fig. 7a - B.21; Fig. 7b - C.3; Fig. 7c - B.30; Fig. 7d - B.50; Fig. 7e)

Examination of the museum collection reveals that dated stone blocks originating from Trowulan tend to be both smaller in size and generally more refined than those recovered from outlying regions. Applied cautiously, these criteria can help to identify stones of uncertain provenance. The five examples illustrated here may thus with some confidence be attributed to the vicinity of the former Majapahit capital. The stone dated Śaka 1356 (B.41; Fig. 7a) exhibits an interesting artistic innovation in the form of a floral motif above the third cipher, resembling those found at each end of the inscribed date. The strategic placement makes it clear that this ornament serves a purpose beyond that

of simple decoration, and indicates that the figure should be read as a 5; a fact apparently overlooked by the compilers of the 1986 inventory.¹⁹

Stone block from Trowulan dated Śaka 1203

(B.1; Fig. 8)

This andesite block from Trowulan was labelled Trowulan XII by Damais. First reported in 1900 by the *bupati* of Mojokerto, R. A. A. Kromodjojo Adinegoro, the stone bears a short Old Javanese inscription recording an important occasion, marked by the planting of a ‘bodhi’ tree (*waringin*) in the Śaka year 1203.²⁰ As for the purpose of the ceremony we can only speculate. It is noteworthy, however, that the placement of the stone occurred shortly before king Kṛtanagara’s consecration of an Akṣobhya image at nearby Kedungwulan. This suggests that the two events were in some way connected, together anticipating the founding of the royal court of Majapahit twelve years later.²¹

Damais (1957: 372) admitted that he had been unable to obtain either a photograph or an impression of this inscription, and apparently did not have a chance to examine the stone *in situ*. This seems strange, as the site is located just 100 metres from the grave complex of the princess from Champa, which Damais himself visited. Since the 1970’s the stone has come to function as the centrepiece of a modern day sacred site (*keramat*) known as Kubur Panjang, or ‘long grave’.²² According to popular tradition, the Kubur Panjang preserves the heirlooms (*pusaka*) of Damar Wulan, last king of Majapahit and husband of the princess from Champa (cf. B.47; Fig. 12 below).

Four dated stone blocks, probably from Troloyo

(B.20; Fig. 9 - B.4; Fig. 10a - B.5; Fig. 10b - B.3; Fig. 10c)

In 1887 Verbeek observed five dated *candi* stones at Troloyo.²³ Two of them were said to date respectively from Śaka 1204 and 1241, while the remaining three displayed the identical date of 1276. All were subsequently declared lost. Neither Knebel nor Krom encountered them at Troloyo in the first decade of the twentieth century, and Damais himself was unable to verify their existence fifty years later. It was thus somewhat surprising to find four stone blocks fitting Verbeek’s description on display in the Trowulan Museum in 2011. The only stone missing was the one dated 1241. Although it is not known precisely when or where these items were recovered, it is clear from the inventory numbers that they were never part of the collection of the former Mojokerto Museum, and presumably for that reason were not seen by Damais.

19. Mundardjito *et al.* 1986: 7. Insofar as inscribed blocks of limestone are relatively rare, it can be assumed that this is the stone listed as dating from Śaka 1346 in the inventory. A stone bearing that date was not encountered in the Trowulan Museum during the survey of 2011. For a discussion of the Old Javanese ciphers 4 and 5, see Damais 1957: 395-99; 1952: 106.

20. According to Brandes (1900), the text reads *pangadĕg ning boddhi i śaka 1203* (cf. Damais 1957: 372-73). The *waringin* is the Javanese banyan tree (*L. ficus benjamina*).

21. For a discussion of the significance of the Akṣobhya statue at Kedungwulan, see Sidomulyo 2011: 124-28.

22. Despite prevailing local belief, as well as Brandes & Krom’s (1920: 241) misleading description, this object was quite clearly never intended to mark the site of a grave, and almost certainly predates the graveyard in which it is located. As to its dimensions, the stone measures 58 cm wide and 7 cm thick, with the visible portion rising about 37 cm above the earth in which it is buried. In recent years the surface has been given a coat of silver paint, and the inscription highlighted in gold.

23. Verbeek 1887: 9.

To begin with the earliest of the four stones (B.20; Fig. 9), the letters STR painted on the front indicate that it was indeed once located in the vicinity of the Troloyo grave site.²⁴ The inscribed date raises some problems, however, and one wonders how Damais would have interpreted it. The second figure does at first glance appear to resemble a 2, but the stone's weathered condition allows for the possibility of an alternative reading. Examination of the eroded surface reveals that the lower part of the figure may formerly have curled back to the right, effectively turning the 2 into a 3. Although a conclusion based upon observation alone is difficult, there is another argument which supports this latter interpretation. Judging by the specimens currently preserved in the museum, dated stones recovered from the vicinity of Trowulan are the exclusive products of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, limited moreover to the period following the accession of king Rājasanagara in AD 1350. A reading of Śaka 1304 would thus seem preferable, although it must be admitted that the argument is hardly conclusive.

Commenting on the stones dated 1276, Damais (1957: 361) noted that the discovery of three stone blocks at a single location, all bearing the same date, was in itself such an unusual occurrence that Verbeek's reading, albeit unverifiable, was quite likely to be correct. For the same reason we can be fairly confident that the three stones dated 1276 (B.4, B.5, B.3; Fig. 10a-c) currently housed in the Trowulan Museum are none other than the ones seen by Verbeek in 1887. All are of the same form and display similar dimensions. The readings for all three, moreover, do not present any difficulties.

***Gravestone from Trowulan dated Śaka 1290
(B.10; Fig. 11)***

Labelled Trowulan XIII by Damais, this headstone from Trowulan dating from a year equivalent to AD 1368-9 is generally recognized as the earliest evidence of Islam at Majapahit, attesting to the presence of a Muslim community in the vicinity of the royal court during the reign of king Rājasanagara (1350-1389). Modest in size and devoid of ornament, the stone can be found at the well known grave site of the princess from Champa, where it occupies a rather inconspicuous position at the southern end of the complex. The date is displayed clearly in relief at the top of the stone's inner face, below which are two lines of Old Javanese script, as yet undeciphered.

***Gravestone of the princess from Champa, dated Śaka 1370
(B.47; Fig. 12)***

The complex of the princess from Champa is one of the most well known pilgrimage sites in the entire district of Trowulan. The grave was visited by Wardenaar in 1815 and a description of it published in Raffles's *History of Java* two years later.²⁵ The principal object of interest takes the form of a smooth andesite slab measuring 62 cm in height, one side of which displays the Śaka date 1370 and a short inscription, enclosed within a rectangular frame. The figures expressing the date are clear enough, but the two accompanying lines of script appear so far to have defied interpretation.

According to popular belief, this stone preserves the memory of a princess from Champa, who was taken as a wife by Damar Wulan, the last king of Majapahit. The princess and her husband are buried side by side in the complex, surrounded by an

24. The letters STR stand for Sentonorejo, the name of the village where the Troloyo grave complex is located.

25. Raffles 1817, vol. 2: 54.

assortment of semi-legendary figures familiar to the Javanese historical tradition. Each grave is marked by two stones, while the dated slab serves as a separate monument at the southern end, positioned between the royal couple.

Caretakers at the site are quick to affirm that the stone dated Śaka 1370 functions more as an independent memorial than a gravestone in the true sense of the word. Perhaps this fact, along with other considerations, led Krom (1920: 247) to limit his description of the item to “inscribed stone from Trowulan”, reflecting uncertainty about its original function. Damais, on the other hand, appears to have found no difficulty in identifying it as a gravestone, which he labelled Trowulan VIII. I would suggest that the criteria for determining the function of some of these items remain too vague to offer much certainty. One only has to compare the two standing stones illustrated below (cf. Figs. 13-14) to appreciate the difficulty. The former, recovered from a terraced sanctuary on the hill of Semodo, at the western foot of Mt. Penanggungan, very probably functioned as an altar stone, while the example from Pacet is described in the catalogue of the Mojokerto Museum as “resembling a gravestone”.²⁶ Having seen, moreover, how the stone from the Kubur Panjang has come to be surrounded by its own body of tradition, it is not hard to imagine that the site of the princess of Champa was subject to a similar process of cultural assimilation at some time in the past.

One gravestone and two stone blocks from Troloyo dated Śaka 1302 and 1342 (B.16 - B.35 - B.18; Fig. 15)

Reporting in 1887, Verbeek described a gravestone from Troloyo displaying the Śaka date 1302.²⁷ The stone’s existence was confirmed by Krom in 1910, and again in 1957 by Damais, who labelled it Troloyo V (cf. B.16).²⁸ The latter pointed out its location at the site known as Panggung, where it served as the headstone of a grave locally identified with the legendary Majapahit princess Kencana Wungu. Curiously, however, this stone was not mentioned by Knebel, who had personally visited the site of Panggung and identified the two graves located there just three years before Krom published the results of his own field survey. This suggests either an oversight on the part of Knebel, or the possibility that the stone was formerly located somewhere else.²⁹ It is to be regretted that Krom’s report on the individual locations of the gravestones at Troloyo was not more detailed.

The site of Panggung itself has suffered quite drastic alteration in recent years. What was originally described by Knebel as a raised brick terrace measuring about 25 metres square, with six steps leading up to it, has since been covered by a small pavilion (*cungkup*) with a floor of ceramic tiles. Today, the sole reminders of the site’s antiquity are a few stone pillar supports located in front of the entrance. The headstones of the two graves are now plain and the long time caretaker, Sanusi, has repeatedly denied any knowledge of the inscribed stone reported by Damais. In short, the present location of Troloyo V is unknown.

26. See also the standing stone from Kesemen dated Śaka 1377, illustrated in Damais 1957: pl. XXXIV, no. 5, described as a gravestone (*maesan*); height: 55 cm. The catalogue of the Mojokerto Museum referred to is an undated copy, handwritten in Dutch, currently preserved in the Trowulan Museum.

27. As noted by Damais (1957: 362), Verbeek apparently failed to notice the Arabic inscription on the reverse side of this stone.

28. Krom 1910: 21; Damais 1957: 375, 403, 414 and pl. XXIV.

29. The fact that Krom did not provide details of the stone’s precise location makes it theoretically possible that it was placed on the grave of Kencana Wungu later, between the year 1910 and the time of Damais’ visit.

Another stone from this site, dated Śaka 1342, was apparently seen only by Damais, who had the foresight to note its dimensions and make a drawing of the inscribed date, which was reproduced in his article of 1957 (cf. B.35).³⁰ The stone has since vanished. The fact that it was not noticed by any of the previous visitors suggests that it was placed on the grave in the years following Krom's survey, to be removed again (along with the dated headstone) when the alterations were carried out at Panggung in 1958.

In the meantime, a hitherto unreported stone block dated Śaka 1302 has made its appearance at the foot of the grave of Kencana Wungu (B.18; Fig. 15). As this stone was not seen by Damais, it must have come to occupy its present position quite recently.³¹ The date, moreover, arouses suspicion, as it matches precisely that of the vanished headstone. It may be, of course, that this item surfaced during the renovations referred to above, but it is also possible that it represents a deliberate attempt to maintain the integrity of the grave by preserving the original date on a newly inscribed stone. The matter needs further investigation.

Stone block from Trowulan dated Śaka 1300
(B.15; Fig. 16)

Formerly listed among the collection of the Mojokerto Museum in 1914,³² this stone is now on display in the Trowulan Museum. The inscribed date was initially read and published by Krom as Śaka 1300, but later corrected to 1400 by Damais, who labelled the stone Trowulan X.³³ The latter, however, clearly drew his conclusion on the strength of the photograph supplied by the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* (OD 1743c), which is misleading. A re-examination of the stone shows that the objection to Krom's interpretation was in fact unwarranted, despite the sound argument upon which it was based. The figure expressing the century is quite clearly a 3, not a 4, as is evident from the appended photograph. Krom's original reading should therefore definitely be retained.

Gravestone from Troloyo dated Śaka 1533
(B.60; Fig. 18a-b)

The two images illustrated in Figs. 17 and 18a below were labelled Troloyo X by Damais, and reproduced as plates XXIX and XXX in his publication of 1957. Before elaborating, however, a few introductory words are necessary.

Discussing a list of photographs covering fifty 'grave inscriptions' (*grafopschrift*) from Troloyo, compiled by the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* and subsequently published in the *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (Krom 1913), Damais noted a number of inconsistencies, among them the fact that numbers 12, 14 and 28 were for some reason not included. The last mentioned number, or rather its absence, appears to have been the cause of a misleading representation of the item listed as Troloyo X. As can be seen when referring to Damais' article, plates XXIX and XXX are labelled respectively *face a* and *face b* of *Tombe X*, giving the impression that these images represent two sides of a single gravestone.³⁴ This, however, is not the case. The former is in fact the outer face of a footstone and

30. Damais 1957: 374, Fig. 14b. This stone block was labelled Troloyo XVIII.

31. The stone was first registered by staff from the Trowulan Museum in 1993 (Inv. no. 77/MJK/1993).

32. Krom 1914: 6, no. 378.

33. Damais 1957: 399, 414 and pl. XXXI (3).

34. One can infer from the captions that Damais was unsure of the stone's orientation, being unable to indicate a *face interne* or *face externe*, as he had with other stones which were still *in situ* at the time

the latter the inner face of a headstone belonging to the same grave. Observations at the site further make it clear that the missing grave inscription numbered 28 refers to the reverse side of number 29 (plate XXIX), of which it is an almost perfect reflection. The fact that Damais failed to make any mention of this twin image, complete with a second medallion containing figures that might have influenced his interpretation of the date, strongly suggests that he never set eyes on the stone itself, but instead relied solely upon the photographs from the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* for his discussion. This is certainly surprising, especially as the grave is quite easily accessible.

That said, we can now continue with a description of the two stones labelled Troloyo X (Figs. 17-18a), which are to be found in an enclosure containing three graves aligned in a row, known locally as Kubur Telu. When Knebel visited the site in 1907 he was informed by the caretaker, Mangoen Amidjojo, that the graves (from west to east) were identified respectively with Said Maulana Abdulkadir Jailani, Said Ibrahim Asmara, and Said Maulana Iskak.³⁵ Describing the westernmost grave (Troloyo X), Knebel noted that the headstone bore an Arabic inscription, while the footstone displayed some decoration. He did not, however, draw attention to the latter's unusual mirror image, nor to the fact that the outer side of the headstone was undecorated. Thus it appears that Damais, equipped only with the photographs of *grafopschrift* 27 and 29, was uncertain about their respective positions.

The outer side of the footstone (*face a*, B.60; Fig. 18a) is richly decorated with a motif consisting of flowers and twisting vines. In the centre can be seen a small medallion enclosing four Arabic letters, which Damais believed to signify a date. Reading from the right and moving clockwise, he subsequently transcribed them, together with their numerical values, as *ġīm* (= 3), *lām* (= 30), *tā* or *ta* (= 400 or 500), and *ġayn* (= 1000), which provided the possibilities 1433 or 1533. Since these numbers could not possibly represent the Hijra calendar, Damais concluded that they must refer to the Śaka dating system, and opted for the later of the two dates on palaeographical grounds.³⁶ If this analysis is correct, it means that the stone marks the grave of a prominent individual buried at Troloyo in AD 1611, just two years before the accession of Sultan Agung of Mataram.³⁷

The illustration in Fig. 18b represents the reverse side of the footstone, which to my knowledge has never been published and was apparently unknown to Damais. The immediate question that arises, of course, concerns the significance of the figures enclosed within this second medallion. What is their relationship to those displayed on the reverse side of the stone, and do they likewise conceal a date?

The inscribed stones of Troloyo: a problem of function

It has already been mentioned above, in connection with Verbeek's initial report, that the inscribed stones from Troloyo can be divided into two groups. The first comprises objects generally referred to as 'gravestones', vertically oriented and displaying either

of his survey at Troloyo. Compare, for instance, the captions to plates XV-XXV, all of which (with one exception) distinguish between the stone's outer and inner face.

35. Knebel 1907: 63. The association with these semi-legendary Islamic missionaries has remained unchanged up to the present time, although nowadays the honorific 'Syech' is preferred.

36. Damais 1957: 409-10.

37. This raises the possibility that some of the inscribed gravestones at Troloyo could represent prominent citizens from the sixteenth and seventeenth century *kadipaten* of Jepara and Wirasaba, which were Majapahit's natural successors. In this connection it is worth drawing attention to a manuscript of uncertain provenance entitled *Tedhak Dermayudan*, which lists a Ki Tumenggung Tralaya and a Tumenggung Trasasi (Trawulan) among the early regents of Wirasaba (cf. Arifin 1995: 305).

an Arabic inscription or an Old Javanese date in figures, or a combination of both. The second consists of dated stone blocks, which are rectangular in shape and designed to lie horizontally. As Damais noted, however, early observers did not always acknowledge this distinction. In point of fact, the differences separating the two categories are quite clear. One only has to glance at the illustration in Fig. 19 to see that the objects described as stone blocks, or '*candi* stones', were never intended to mark the site of a grave, despite their discovery in a graveyard. The gravestones, on the other hand, exhibit sufficient variety of form to raise questions about their original purpose; a difficulty confounded by their present context.

The significance of the dated stone blocks does not yet seem to have been discussed in any depth. Damais (1957: 361, note 4) himself admitted that they were not the focus of his study. In view of the fact that the Trowulan Museum houses more than seventy of these items, at least half of which may be attributed to the immediate vicinity of the Majapahit capital, they clearly deserve our attention. Herewith some observations following the survey of the museum collection in 2011.

Of thirty nine stones examined, including an additional five examples not belonging to the museum, the majority were listed as originating from Trowulan (24) and Troloyo (12), with the remainder attributed to the neighbouring settlements of Sentonorejo (2), Kedaton (2), Nglinguk (1), Bejijong (1), Kedungwulan (1) and Penanggalan (1) (Fig. 20). Particularly interesting were the dates, which, barring two possible exceptions, spanned a period of 115 years, from 1354-5 to 1468-9.³⁸ As to the dimensions, the heights ranged from 7-20 cm, widths from 12.5-55 cm, and depths from 8-37 cm. It was noted further that in almost all cases the dates were carved on the narrow edges of the stones, the depth thus far exceeding the height. This was an indication that they were designed to be incorporated into the wall of a building, or perhaps functioned as lintels above an entrance.

Inasmuch as these stones represented isolated and fragmentary remains, detached from their original context, it could be assumed that they had once belonged to structures built from bricks, which had long since collapsed. It is after all well known that Majapahit architects frequently employed a combination of brick and stone, the durability of the latter being preferred for highlights such as relief decoration, or in this case, inscriptions. As to the fate of the bricks, they had either disintegrated, or been recycled.³⁹

Having established the likelihood that these dated stone blocks represent vanished structures, it remains to offer a suggestion as to their purpose. In view of the fact that the dates are spread evenly over the period mentioned above, and the most likely event worthy of a record in stone to occur on a frequent and regular basis is the death of an individual, it seems reasonable to suggest that not a few of the inscribed blocks formerly functioned as *candi* stones in the true sense of the word. It is, after all, well known from recorded history that deceased members of Javanese royalty were immortalised through the construction of *candi*, some of which are still identifiable today. The same custom

38. The two exceptions are the stones from Troloyo dated Śaka 1204 and 1241, reported by Verbeek (1887: 9). As already noted, however, the former should perhaps be read as 1304 (cf. B.20; Fig. 9 above), while the date of 1241 is impossible to confirm as the stone has not been recovered. The inscription from Trowulan recording the planting of a 'bodhi' tree in Śaka 1203 (cf. B.1; Fig. 8 above) represents a separate category and need not be considered here.

39. Although the archaeological remains at Trowulan had obviously been disappearing gradually since the collapse of Majapahit early in the sixteenth century, wilful and systematic destruction of the site probably did not begin until the 1900's, when it was found that Majapahit bricks were of value to the local cement factories (cf. Kromodjojo Adinegoro 1899: civ).

probably applied to the lesser nobility, albeit on a more modest scale. The hypothesis is at least supported by the dates on the stones, which begin in the mid-fourteenth century. This period would have seen the passing of Majapahit's first generation, the contemporaries of the renowned Rājapatnī, who died in 1350.⁴⁰ The fact that mention of these 'lesser' monuments has yet to be found in an inscription or work of literature from the period is hardly an argument against their former existence.

Considering the above suggestion to lie well within the realm of possibility, it is time to return to Troloyo, where the dated stone blocks indicate the former existence of at least seven separate buildings.⁴¹ The immediate question that arises concerns the relationship of these structures to the gravestones, which span roughly the same period. In this connection it is interesting to note that, as far as the respective dates on the gravestones and *candi* stones are concerned, they are found to correspond in at least two cases, namely Śaka 1278 and 1302.⁴² We can thus envisage gravestones housed within individual shrines, probably constructed from bricks, with dates inscribed on the buildings, as well as on the stones themselves. The gravestone dated Śaka 1302, observed by Damais among the remnants of a brick foundation at Panggung, offers the clearest example of such a combination (see the description of B.18; Fig. 15 above). It is to be regretted that the renovations carried out in the 1950's destroyed any chance of conducting further archaeological research at this site, which may well have represented the sole surviving evidence of an authentic structure at Troloyo.

The foregoing observations are admittedly no less fragmentary than the scattered remains of the grave complex itself. Even so, the available evidence allows us to contemplate a collection of small shrines (*candi*) at Troloyo, dedicated to members of the Majapahit nobility from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. As to their specific status or religious persuasion, one can only speculate. Insofar as we remain unable to prove that the Arabic inscriptions on the gravestones are contemporary with their accompanying Old Javanese dates (a fact admitted by Damais himself), it would seem premature to assume that they were Muslims. Not enough is known about mortuary ritual in ancient Java to preclude the possibility that the dated gravestones were in fact pre-Islamic, and held a significance which is as yet unclear. One thing that seems fairly certain, however, is that the site of Troloyo was situated to the south of the palace at Majapahit, and thus not far from the residential quarters of the leading Shivaite and Buddhist officials (*dharmādhyakṣa*).⁴³ The choice of such a location was probably intentional, as it accorded with the principles of Hindu-Buddhist cosmology, south being identified with the region of death (*mṛtyudeśa*).⁴⁴ The land could have been set aside as a graveyard (*setra*) for royal family members and

40. The Rājapatnī was the wife of the founder of Majapahit and grandmother of king Rājasanagara.

41. This is a conservative estimate. The number increases if we consider each of the three stone blocks dated Śaka 1276 and the two from Śaka 1278 to have represented an individual structure, as well as take into account the probable existence of other dated stones, as yet unidentified. The bricks from these collapsed buildings were probably recycled, becoming the walls of the grave complex, and even some of the graves themselves; a fact plainly evident until the massive alterations to the site in the opening years of the present century (see the frontispiece to this article).

42. A possible alternative reading of Śaka 1298 for one of two stone blocks read by Damais as 1278 (Troloyo XII) could provide a third example, matching the gravestone labelled Troloyo VI. This, however, still awaits confirmation.

43. Pigeaud 1960-63, vol. 1: 10. The residence of the Shivaite and Buddhist *dharmādhyakṣa* is described in canto 12:5 of Prapañca's *Deśawarnana*, completed in the year 1365.

44. For a definition of the term *mṛtyudeśa*, see Zoetmulder *et al.* 1982: 1152.

high ranking officials early in the fourteenth century, before coming to serve as an Islamic burial ground in later years.

This is not to deny the early presence of Muslims in the royal capital, however, for there is enough documentary evidence to support the likelihood that Islam had already penetrated the centre of the Javanese realm during the reign of king Rājasanagara.⁴⁵ That some of its adherents were native Javanese likewise seems not at all improbable; but whether this gives us sufficient cause to identify the dated gravestones at Troloyo with these early Muslims is another matter. As things stand, the only convincing testimony is the stone recording the death of an individual named Zain ud Dīn in the year 1469-70 (cf. note 2 above). The fact that this stone is the only one so far discovered at Troloyo to display either a genuine epitaph or an Arabic date is in itself a curious phenomenon, suggesting exceptional circumstances. Damais, of course, used the case of Zain ud Dīn to defend the authenticity of other gravestones in the complex, but it was a negative argument, serving only to demonstrate that the age of the latter could not be established on the basis of the quality of the Arabic script. Ultimately, we have no certain evidence to show that the site of Troloyo was used for the burial of deceased Muslims much before the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

A re-examination of the thesis advanced by Louis-Charles Damais

The conclusions reached by L.-Ch. Damais in his article of 1957 appear to have been accepted more or less unreservedly by contemporary historians and archaeologists. Thus, Soekmono and Romli (1993: 81) state that “It was only Damais who saw the importance of the ancient gravestones at Troloyo for an understanding of the process of religious transformation in Java, and especially at Majapahit.” M. C. Ricklefs (2006: 12), likewise, observes that “The earliest surviving evidence of Javanese who were Muslims are the gravestones of Trawulan and Tralaya in East Java, near the site of the royal capital of Majapahit.” More recently, G. Wade (2010a: 388) has proposed that these Javanese Muslims were perhaps rather “people from abroad who had given their allegiance to the Majapahit polity”, but his suggestion nonetheless presupposes an acceptance of Damais’ essential thesis.⁴⁶

In view of this widespread acknowledgment, it would seem important to review some of Damais’ arguments and assess their validity in the light of recent field investigations. We can begin by noting that there had been very little interest in the Troloyo grave complex since Krom offered some rather uncertain conclusions more than thirty years before Damais began his research. There existed neither a firm hypothesis to challenge, nor a voluminous body of literature to consult. In fact, in the space of just thirty two pages Damais was able to cite and discuss every single known reference to Troloyo, beginning with Veth’s report of 1878 and ending with some observations by Krom in a

45. See, for instance, S. O. Robson (1981: 271), referring to early sixteenth century reports by Tome Pires; or the description of Java by Ma Huan in his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (cf. Feng & Mills 1970: 93).

46. Wade (2010b: 13-14) has drawn attention to the anti-Islamic purges in Quanzhou, Fujian during the last four decades of the fourteenth century, which undoubtedly led many Muslim residents, both Chinese and foreign, to escape by sea and find a refuge in Southeast Asia. The arrival of these new settlers from China, he believes, had a strong influence on the development of Islam in the region, and it is “more than likely that it was these refugees and their descendants whose gravestones began appearing at Trowulan and Tralaya near ancient Majapahit in the 1370’s and which continued to appear well into the second half of the 15th century.”

study published in 1926. This material, moreover, was largely documentary and contained very little discussion or argument. In short, there was a vacancy for a new theory, and Damais was able to fill it.

Opening his article with some sharp criticism of the manner in which research had been conducted at Troloyo by a previous generation of scholars, Damais proceeded to describe the complex in general terms, noting that the most important graves from the archaeologist's point of view had fortunately escaped the attention of the local inhabitants, who exhibited a predilection for cement and ceramic tiles. He was referring in particular to the Kubur Pitu, the form of which did not seem to have altered significantly since it had first been described in some detail at the beginning of the century.⁴⁷

Damais then moved on to the second part of his discussion, which consisted of a critical analysis of the literature pertaining to the complex, arranged in thirty-six separate sections. Insofar as the essential part of his thesis was introduced quite early on, we can begin by examining the arguments presented in the first three sections, which culminate in the conclusion that a number of the graves at Troloyo represented members of the Majapahit nobility who had converted to Islam, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century.

The first section begins with Damais expressing his annoyance at Veth's unqualified assumption that the complex of Troloyo had been "fashioned from the ruins of Majapahit". Notwithstanding the essential truth of Veth's statement, which was corroborated by subsequent visitors, Damais' complaint is nonetheless justified insofar as it was intended as a warning against unfounded prejudice. The remaining part of the discussion concerned the location of a place known to Veth as Kuburan Srēngenge, identified by Knebel as the site of Candi Kedaton.⁴⁸ Damais questioned this identification, suggesting that Veth might have been describing the site of the Kubur Pitu at Troloyo, where a number of the gravestones were decorated with a solar symbol. The literal meaning of the words Kuburan Srēngenge, after all, is 'grave of the sun'. Further on, in section 15, Damais returned to this problem, expressing surprise that a site referred to by Knebel as a temple foundation named Candi Kedaton, or Siti-inggil, should have been described by Veth as a graveyard.⁴⁹

Moving on to section 2, Verbeek's field survey was the topic of discussion. Damais expressed surprise at Verbeek's failure to describe certain details, such as the enclosure containing seven graves, despite observing three of the dated stones subsequently found there by later visitors. Verbeek, moreover, said nothing about the unique decoration on five of the gravestones whose dates he noted, and even remained silent about the *surya* motif. In addition, he mentioned that only two of the dated gravestones displayed Arabic inscriptions, when in fact six of the seven dated stones reported by him were inscribed in Arabic on the reverse side.

47. Damais 1957: 357. It need hardly be added that this observation tells us nothing about the site's antiquity.

48. Knebel 1907: 66-67.

49. In point of fact, the name Kuburan Srēngenge would not seem so inappropriate for the site of Kedaton. Prior to its restoration in the late 1990's the rectangular brick platform in the northeastern corner of the complex supported no less than four Muslim graves, popularly identified (from east to west) as Dewi Murni, Dewi Pandansari, Wahito and Puyengan. More gravestones could be found collected within walled enclosures constructed from the remains of brick foundations, as at Troloyo (cf. Wisnoewhardono 1988: 34, confirmed on site by the present writer in 1989). As will be seen, moreover, there is no certainty that the Kubur Pitu even existed in the 1880's.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, Damais considered Verbeek's testimony to be a valuable contribution to the field of archaeology, but once again he was annoyed by the fact that Verbeek, like Veth, had taken the liberty of suggesting that the Arabic inscriptions could well have been added much later, without providing a reason for such an assumption. The criticism continued into the opening paragraphs of section 3, specifically with regard to L. W. C. van den Berg's opinion that the roughness of the Arabic script on the gravestones from Troloyo indicated that it was not of great antiquity, and had been added later to gravestones which by chance happened to display Old Javanese dates on the reverse side.⁵⁰ To illustrate his point, van den Berg had drawn a comparison with the script on the early fifteenth century tomb of Malik Ibrahim at Gresik, which displayed a high quality.⁵¹

Van den Berg's line of thought was questioned by Damais, who argued convincingly that the age of the Troloyo inscriptions could not be determined on the basis of the quality of the script. There were other ways to explain the peculiar features of the gravestones without resorting to the assumption that the Arabic script was added later.

Admitting that his own observations were as yet insubstantial, Damais next drew attention to a gravestone at Troloyo inscribed with an Arabic date.⁵² Inasmuch as it represented roughly the same period (fifteenth century) as the stones bearing dates in Old Javanese, and further displayed a script which was hardly more elegant than its companions, there seemed no good reason to doubt the authenticity of the latter simply because some of them dated from a few decades earlier.

A further point concerned the respective orientation and dimensions of the gravestones and the rectangular *candi* stones. The latter, which were designed to lie horizontally with the dates inscribed on the narrow edges of the stones, were clearly not intended to mark the site of a grave, and could not possibly be refashioned for such a purpose. The items functioning as grave markers, on the other hand, displayed a vertical orientation with the dates placed strategically in the centre, or at the base of the stones. This configuration, in Damais' view, could only indicate that they had been designed as gravestones, with the Old Javanese dates recording the year of death of the deceased.

Accepting that these graves were both Javanese and Islamic, the question as to whether or not they were inscribed later in Arabic was thus rendered superfluous; for the important point was not the authenticity of the Arabic inscriptions, but that of the dated gravestones themselves. They, in Damais' opinion, provided the evidence to show that, at a period earlier than generally acknowledged, there were Muslims in Java who had the right to be buried in the vicinity of the Majapahit palace. In view of the typically Javanese ornament displayed on some of the gravestones, moreover, and in particular the *surya* motif, it was reasonable to conclude that they represented members of the Majapahit nobility who had converted to Islam, or at least taken foreign Muslim wives.

Having outlined the arguments leading to the conclusions reached above, it is now time to test the strength of Damais' thesis. The first thing to note is that Krom had good reason to be skeptical about the value of Troloyo as an archaeological site. Regardless of whether or not the presence of Muslims at Majapahit in the fourteenth century fitted into his conception of Javanese history, there can be little doubt that the complex is largely

50. Van den Berg 1887.

51. Traditionally regarded as a senior member of the *Wali songo*, Malik Ibrahim died in the year 1419 and was buried at Gapura in the coastal town of Gresik.

52. Cf. Appendix B.57, and note 2 above.

a fabrication. It presents itself as a typical Javanese *keramat*, which has very probably undergone continuous renewal over the centuries.

Bearing this in mind, it seems somewhat surprising to find that Damais' defense of the authenticity of the gravestones extended to their locations. At the very least, his suggestion (1957: 413) that the graves in the Kubur Pitu enclosure might have represented successive generations of a single family is an indication that he believed the setting to be original. One wonders about the basis for such an assumption, as we have no clear picture of Troloyo prior to Knebel's report of 1907, and the Kubur Pitu does not appear to display any convincing signs of antiquity other than the gravestones themselves (Fig. 21).⁵³ The fact that the graves are aligned north-south tells us no more than that they conform to Islamic burial procedure. The same orientation, after all, applies to an enclosure identified with the *Wali songo*, which has since Knebel's time been recognized as a *petilasan*,⁵⁴ or pseudo grave site. We can thus only speculate as to the original positions of the gravestones displaying the conspicuous *surya* motif, although it seems justifiable to assume that they are somehow related and once belonged together.

Curiously, Damais appears not to have considered the possibility that Verbeek's silence regarding the Kubur Pitu enclosure was an indication that the site did not yet exist in 1887. This suggestion is not as absurd as it might at first seem, especially when we recall the abortive search for stone inscriptions at Troloyo conducted by the *bupati* of Mojokerto, R. A. A. Kromodjojo Adinegoro, at the turn of the century.⁵⁵ If the task had proved so difficult at that time, one wonders how Knebel was able to provide such a detailed report of the archaeological remains just seven years later. It is of course impossible to reach any certainty in this regard, but it is not hard to imagine the energetic *bupati* taking the first steps to promote the site in the intervening years, in response to the interest shown by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap*. This could well have involved alterations to the layout of the complex, the collection and arrangement of stray items, as well as the appointment of an official caretaker (*juru kunci*) versed in the local traditions.⁵⁶

As mentioned above, almost nothing was known about Troloyo until 1907, when Knebel published the first description of the individual enclosures. On the basis of information provided by the caretaker Mangoen Amidjojo, Knebel described the complex, beginning with the graves which to this day remain the most important for pilgrims to the site, namely those of Sunan Ngudung, Maulana Machribi, Maulana Abdulkadir Jailani, Sayid Ibrahim Asmara and Maulana Iskak.⁵⁷ Upon arriving at the Kubur Pitu, the caretaker was able to identify one of the graves as a certain Pangeran Surya, but confessed that the identities of the other six were unknown to him.⁵⁸

53. The presence of 'Majapahit bricks' in early photographs of the site rather serves to create a false impression of authenticity. These bricks were cleared away during renovations undertaken in the late 1950's.

54. A Javanese word meaning 'remnant' or 'trace', commonly used for sacred sites in general, but more specifically to denote graves which do not shelter the mortal remains of an individual.

55. Damais 1957: 372-73.

56. Although speculative, this suggestion is in keeping with Kromodjojo Adinegoro's lifelong effort to preserve the archaeological legacy of Majapahit. For a brief but illuminating account of some of the activities (and eccentricities) of this legendary *bupati*, see Wibowo 1975: 72-80.

57. These figures are today more commonly referred to as Sunan Ngudung, Syech Jumadil Kubra, Syech Abdul Kadir Jaelani, Syech Maulana Ibrahim and Syech Maulana Sekah.

58. Knebel 1907: 63.

This last point is important, for it shows that the tradition surrounding the Kubur Pitu has developed over the course of the past century. If Mangoen Amidjojo was unaware of the names of Pangeran Surya's companions in 1907, it follows that they probably did not yet exist. By contrast, the present caretaker is far more well informed and can identify the occupants of all seven graves.⁵⁹ We find further evidence of the establishment of new traditions following the occasional rediscovery of a gravestone (*makam tiban*), or as the result of supernatural intervention (*wangsit*) at a particular site. Two graves currently located to the south of the Kubur Pitu may serve as good examples. Unmentioned in the early reports, they are identified today as Syech Kohar and Syech Abdurochim (cf. B.8, Fig. 3 above), and are housed within their own separate *cungkup*. This practice of attaching exotic (preferably Middle Eastern) names to hitherto unimportant or forgotten graves has tended to increase in recent years, in keeping with the commercial exploitation of the complex as a pilgrimage destination.

Turning now to the question of the authenticity of the gravestones themselves, the stone labelled Troloyo VIII by Damais provides a good example of the problem confronting us (cf. B.54; Fig. 22a-b). Judging by the available photographs, it once occupied a position in front of the entrance to the enclosure known as Kubur Tunggal (Fig. 23), before being moved to the Mojokerto Museum in around 1914.⁶⁰ The original purpose of this unique item remains uncertain. Although its form and dimensions are similar to several other gravestones originating from Troloyo, there is no sign of an Arabic inscription. The elaborate ornament is further strongly reminiscent of that found on Hindu-Buddhist architecture and sculpture of the Majapahit period. Krom (1926: 67) was prepared to concede that the object might possibly have been designed to serve as a gravestone, despite his skepticism regarding the archaeological value of the Troloyo complex as a whole. Damais (1957: 405), on the other hand, concluded that the determining factor was the plain, undecorated lower section, which was clearly meant to be buried in the ground, thereby indicating that the object was intended to mark the site of a grave.

Damais' argument is persuasive, but at the same time it introduces another factor which calls for some reflection. This concerns the sharply defined rectangular bases typical to so many of the gravestones at Troloyo.⁶¹ One needs to ask why the craftsmen who fashioned these stones took the trouble to carve the projections in such a manner if they were simply to be "planted in the earth". Would it not seem more likely that they were intended to fit securely into a supporting structure, raised at some level above the ground? The fine craftsmanship and sheer size of some of the stones certainly warrants as much. Although the above observation is admittedly not very helpful, it does at least caution us against drawing conclusions based on the present layout of the complex, which is probably quite different to that of five centuries ago.

In all fairness to Damais, the closing paragraphs of his 1957 article make it clear that he considered his study to be no more than a preliminary investigation, and certainly not the last word on the subject. In fact, it appears that Damais still held some reservations, detectable in a footnote to the gravestone labelled Troloyo VIII, where he points to the

59. Beginning in the northwest and moving clockwise, the seven graves of the Kubur Pitu are identified as Pangeran Notosuryo (as he is now better known), Patih Notokusumo, Gajah Permodo, Noyogenggong, Sabdopalon, Emban Kinasih and Polo Putro.

60. Krom 1914: 5, no. 342. The inscribed date, read as Śaka 1379 by both Verbeek and Krom, was contested by Damais (1957: 406-07), who argued convincingly that the figure representing the decade signified an 8, not a 7.

61. Soekmono & Romli 1993: 82.

importance of undertaking a separate study of the development of inscribed stones from the Hindu-Buddhist period in Java, with an emphasis on items which were not the products of the royal court.⁶² Presumably this was a reference to a number of 'standing stones' recovered from the hill regions of Mojokerto, some of which display dates anterior to those found at Troloyo. Perhaps, too, he was alluding to the numerous altar stones scattered on the slopes of nearby Mt. Penanggungan, which may be regarded as the prototypes of the Javanese Islamic gravestone. Insofar as these stones belong to the religious architecture of the late Majapahit period, it makes sense to assume that their form was retained and adapted to an Islamic context.⁶³

Two examples from the above mentioned categories (cf. Figs. 13-14) have already been seen to extend the possibilities for a number of items which until now have generally been acknowledged as Muslim gravestones. Likewise, the images portrayed in Figs. 24 and 25, albeit uninscribed, underline the difficulties in determining the original purpose of some of these objects if their provenance is unknown. Fortunately, we can be sure that the stone from Mt. Penanggungan (Fig. 25) was recovered from a terraced sanctuary on the mountain's western slope, where it undoubtedly served as an altar stone. The function of the example from Troloyo (Fig. 24), however, is more difficult to ascertain. Although it currently marks a grave in the *Wali songo* enclosure, there is no certainty that it was originally designed for that purpose.⁶⁴

Another ornament typical to early Javanese Islamic monuments which should be mentioned consists of a row of heart-shaped leaves. This motif is encountered at almost all of the important Muslim grave sites scattered along Java's northern coast from Surabaya to Cirebon, as well as on the island of Madura (Fig. 26a). Discussing its occurrence on the sixteenth century tomb of Sendang Duwur, U. Tjandrasasmita (1975: 43) suggested that the motif appeared in Indonesia with the arrival of Islam, as it was unknown on the *candi* of central and eastern Java. This observation is not entirely correct, however. While admittedly absent in the temple art of the plains (at least as far as I am aware), the same ornament is not uncommon to the terraced structures on Mt. Penanggungan, where it appears to have replaced the function of the *padma* (Fig. 26b). Why its appearance seems to be confined exclusively to this group of mountain sanctuaries is unclear, but it does at least support the probability that Mt. Penanggungan, which remained an important religious centre until well into the sixteenth century, was instrumental in the transmission of cultural forms, and as such may be viewed as a link connecting two historical periods. I hope to explore this subject more thoroughly in a future publication.

To sum up, this article has questioned the authenticity of the grave complex of Troloyo as a whole, as well as that of the dated gravestones themselves. As such, it challenges the well known thesis advanced by Damais and effectively returns us to the position held by Krom in 1920. The conclusions reached should not be regarded as a retrograde step, however, but rather a call for caution. In this connection it is perhaps pertinent to quote the words of G. W. J. Drewes (1968: 457) when summarising the state of research into

62. Damais 1957: 405, note 3.

63. One of the essential features of these stones was the so-called 'deer arch', or *kāla-mrga* motif, in many cases reduced to an abstract contour (cf. Figs. 6a-b, 13, 22a-b, 24, 25). For further examples, see Stutterheim 1936, Fig. 8; 1937, Fig. 40; Bernet Kempers 1959: pl. 229, 343, 346.

64. As already mentioned, the enclosure dedicated to the *Wali songo* is recognized as a *petilasan*, serving as a memorial to the occasion when the nine apostles convened at Majapahit (cf. Knebel 1907: 64-65).

the early development of Islam in Indonesia more than forty years ago. In his opinion, the value of the various theories advanced “lies more in that they have broken through the fascination with ideas which seemed well established, or even sacrosanct, than that they have provided acceptable new solutions”. It need hardly be added that the above statement applies no less to the present article than to that prepared by Damais in 1957. The latter certainly succeeded in overthrowing existing conceptions, but it is also clear that the study remained incomplete. In view of this, one wonders how Damais’ thesis has come to be so widely and unreservedly embraced.

As a final word, we can do no more than stress the need for further research into the archaeological remains of the late Majapahit period, and especially those from more outlying regions. In addition, the disciplines of epigraphy and palaeography need to be applied to the substantial collection of Arabic inscriptions from Troloyo, with the aim of establishing a more certain position for them in the historical narrative. Until these tasks are accomplished, any suggestion of high ranking Javanese Muslims at the court of Majapahit in the fourteenth century must, in my opinion, remain strictly hypothetical.

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Appendix A

*The Oudheidkundige Dienst collection of photographs from Troloyo*⁶⁵

In 1910 H. L. Leydie Melville prepared photographs of fifty ‘grave inscriptions’ (*grafopschrift*) from Troloyo for the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* (OD). As Damais (1957: 383) remarked, however, not all of the items photographed fitted that description. Five of the images, for example, were purely ornamental, while another three represented dated stone blocks, whose function was quite different to that of the gravestones. Three numbers, moreover, specifically 12, 14 and 28, were for some reason not represented. Field investigations have since revealed that the numbers 12 and 28 were in fact almost mirror images of their counterparts 13 and 29, and hence perhaps accidentally overlooked or intentionally omitted. Number 14 is more problematic, but it might have referred to a stone currently occupying the foot of grave G in the Kubur Pitu enclosure, which displays the familiar *surya* motif but remains unmentioned in the literature on Troloyo (cf. (A.14?); Fig. 27).

Of the fifty photographs produced for the *Oudheidkundige Dienst*, twenty-six were already published in Damais’ article of 1957. The remainder consist of undated stones and fragments displaying Arabic inscriptions, among them gravestones identified with the early Muslim apostles in Java, led by Syech Jumadil Kubra. Others represent more obscure figures from the period, such as a female ‘entertainer’ named Śri Gading, occupying a site known as Kubur Tandak.⁶⁶ Yet another Arabic inscription marks a *petilasan*, set within a memorial to Java’s nine Muslim saints (*Wali songo*).

At least ten of the original stones photographed have since disappeared, making it difficult to determine their former context, while the rest are either still *in situ* or preserved in the Trowulan Museum. Notwithstanding the absence of some of the original material, the series from the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* offers about thirty Arabic inscriptions, ten of which have already been discussed by Damais. If we add to that a further eleven examples reported over the course of the last century, the total exceeds forty separate items. This solid and well defined body of epigraphical data would thus seem to warrant its own separate study.

65. I am grateful to Marijke Klokke of the University of Leiden for making these photographs available for examination.

66. *Tandak* = *ronggeng*, a traditional Javanese female dancer.

List of the OD collection (originally published in 1913; see Krom 1913)

No.	Photo no.	Description	Date Śaka	Date AD	Dimensions (cm): Height (H.); Width (W.); Depth (D.)	Observations
---	OD 1551	Grave complex; panorama	-----	-----	-----	View from within the complex towards the eastern entrance.
---	OD 1552	Grave complex; panorama	-----	-----	-----	View northwards from the Kubur Tandak.
---	OD 1553	Grave complex; panorama	-----	-----	-----	View towards the Kubur Tunggal. In front of the entrance stands the stone labelled Troloyo VIII by Damais (nos. 46 and 47 below).
---	OD 1554	Grave complex; panorama	-----	-----	-----	As above.
1	OD 1555	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 44 W.: 37 D.: 16	Damais, Troloyo I. Arabic inscription on the outer face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave A).
2	OD 1557	Grave inscription	1397	1475-6	As above.	Damais, Troloyo I. Inner face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave A), displaying <i>surya</i> motif and medallion.
3	OD 1558	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 38 W.: 36 D.: 16	Damais, Troloyo I. Ornament on the inner face of a footstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave A), displaying medallion, floral motif and <i>surya</i> .
4	OD 1559	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 44 W.: 37 D.: 13	Damais, Troloyo II. Arabic inscription on the outer face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave B).
5	OD 1561	Grave inscription	1349	1427-8	As above.	Damais, Troloyo II. Inner face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave B), displaying <i>surya</i> motif and medallion.
6	OD 1562	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 46 W.: 46 D.: 16	Damais, Troloyo II. Ornament on the inner face of a footstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave B), displaying medallion, floral motif and <i>surya</i> .

7	OD 1563	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 42 W.: 35 D.: 13	Damais, Troloyo III. Arabic inscription on the outer face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave C).
8	OD 1565	Grave inscription	1389	1467-8	As above.	Damais, Troloyo III. Inner face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave C), displaying <i>surya</i> motif and medallion.
9	OD 1566	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 41 W.: 35 D.: 13	Damais, Troloyo III. Ornament on the inner face of a footstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave C), displaying <i>surya</i> motif and medallion.
10	OD 1567	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 42 W.: 31 D.: 16	Damais, Troloyo IV. Arabic inscription on the outer face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave D).
11	OD 1569	Grave inscription	1329	1407-8	As above.	Damais, Troloyo IV. Inner face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave D), displaying <i>surya</i> motif and medallion.
12	-----	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 35 W.: 32 D.: 9	No photograph. Possibly ornament on the outer face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave G), displaying <i>surya</i> and medallion.
13	OD 1570	Grave inscription	-----	-----	As above.	Ornament on the inner face of a headstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave G), displaying <i>surya</i> and medallion.
14	-----	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 40 W.: 32 D.: 9	No photograph. Possibly ornament on the inner face of a footstone from the Kubur Pitu (grave G).
15	OD 1571	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Gravestone displaying four lines of Arabic script. Present location unknown.
16	OD 1573	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged gravestone displaying four lines of Arabic script. Present location unknown.
17	OD 1575	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damais, Troloyo V. Outer face of a headstone displaying five lines of Arabic script, from the site of Panggung. Present location unknown.
18	OD 1577	Grave inscription	1302	1380-1	-----	Damais, Troloyo V. Inner face of a headstone from the site of Panggung.
19	OD 1578a	Grave inscription	1391 (H 874)	1469- 70	-----	Damais, Troloyo IX. Inner face of a gravestone recording the death of a certain Zain ud Dm. Present location unknown.

20	OD 1580	Grave inscription	1298	1376-7	H.: 55 W.: 23 D.: 10	Damais, Troloyo VI. Outer face of a gravestone, formerly located near the grave of Sunan Ngudung (no. 22 below).
21	OD 1581	Grave inscription	-----	-----	As above.	Damais, Troloyo VI. Inner face of a gravestone displaying five lines of Arabic script.
22	OD 1583	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 73 W.: 38 D.: 9	Inner face of a headstone displaying five lines of Arabic script, from the grave of Sunan Ngudung.
23	OD 1585	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged gravestone displaying two lines of Arabic script. Present location unknown.
24	OD 1587	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged gravestone displaying four lines of Arabic script. Present location unknown.
25	OD 1589	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged gravestone displaying Arabic script. Present location unknown.
26	OD 1591	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 56 W.: 35 D.: 8	Inner face of the headstone from the site of Kubur Tunggal (Syech Jumadil Kubra), displaying six lines of Arabic script.
27	OD 1593	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 54 W.: 35 D.: 10	Damais, Troloyo X. Inner face of a headstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Abdul Kadir Jaelani), displaying ten lines of Arabic script.
28	-----	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 46 W.: 34 D.: 10	No photograph. Probably inner face of a footstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Abdul Kadir Jaelani), a near mirror image of no. 29 below.
29	OD 1595	Grave inscription	1533	1611-2	As above.	Damais, Troloyo X. Outer face of a footstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Abdul Kadir Jaelani).
30	OD 1596	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 60 W.: 34 D.: 10	Arabic inscription on the outer face of a headstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Maulana Ibrahim).

31	OD 1598	Grave inscription	-----	-----	As above.	Arabic inscription on the inner face of a headstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Maulana Ibrahim).
32	OD 1600	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 57 W.: 34 D.: 8	Inner face of a headstone from the site of Kubur Telu (Syech Maulana Iskak), displaying five lines of Arabic script.
33	OD 1602	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 35 W.: 22 D.: 10	Inner face of a footstone from the <i>Wali Songo</i> enclosure, displaying Arabic script.
34	OD 1604	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 26 W.: 25 D.: 13	Formerly outer face of a headstone from the grave known as Kubur Tandak, displaying six lines of Arabic script. The stone has since been reversed following recent renovations at the site.
35	OD 1606	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 46 W.: 27 D.: 10	Arabic inscription on the inner face of a headstone at the site known as Ki Ageng Surgi, on the northern side of the mosque at Troloyo.
36	OD 1578b	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged stone bearing an Arabic inscription. Present location unknown.
37	OD 1608	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Stone fragment displaying an Arabic inscription. Present location unknown.
38	OD 1610	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Stone fragment displaying an Arabic inscription (probably the reverse side of no. 37 above).
39	OD 1612	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 36 W.: 34 D.: 8	Damaged gravestone displaying at least four lines of Arabic script. Now in the Trowulan Museum, Inv. no. 167/Bta/ONB/24.
40	OD 1614	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Damaged gravestone displaying four lines of Arabic script. Present location unknown.
41	OD 1616	Grave inscription	1340	1418-9	H.: 23.5 W.: 32 D.: 9.5	Damais, Troloyo VII. Dated headstone.

42	OD 1617	Grave inscription	-----	-----	As above.	Damais, Troloyo VII. Headstone displaying four lines of Arabic script (the reverse side of no. 41 above).
43	OD 1578c	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Gravestone displaying Arabic script. Present location unknown.
44	OD 1619a	Grave inscription	1294	1372-3	H.: 12 W.: 42 D.: 20	Damais, Troloyo XIII. Dated stone block.
45	OD 1620a	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 24 W.: 23 D.: 8	Stone fragment bearing an Arabic inscription, currently preserved in the Trowulan Museum, Inv. no. 1405/Bta/TLY/24.
46	OD 1622	Grave inscription	-----	-----	H.: 89 W.: 43.5 D.: 16	Outer face of a gravestone, displaying ornate decoration.
47	OD 1623	Grave inscription	1389	1467-8	As above.	Damais, Troloyo VIII. Dated inner face of no. 46 above.
48	OD 1619b	Grave inscription	1320	1398-9	H.: 8 W.: 23 D.: 16	Damais, Troloyo XVI. Dated stone block.
49	OD 1620b	Grave inscription	-----	-----	-----	Stone fragment bearing an Arabic inscription. Present location unknown.
50	OD 1625	Grave inscription	1302	1380-1	H.: 10 W.: 38 D.: 20	Damais, Troloyo XIV. Dated stone block with an additional line of Old Javanese script.

Appendix B
Revised list of dated stones from Trowulan

No.	Origin	Description	Present location	Date Śaka	Date AD	Dimensions (cm) *: Height (H.); Width (W.); Depth (D.)	Inv. no. Mojokerto Museum	Inv. no. Trowulan Museum **	Photographs (OD), Illustrations in this article	References / Observations
1	Trowulan	Stone block	Kubur Panjang	1203	1281-2	H.: 37 W.: 58 D.: 7	-----	43/MJK/1993	Fig. 8	Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan XII.
2	Troloyo	Stone block	Unknown	1241	1319-20	-----	-----	-----	-----	Reported by Verbeek in 1887, since disappeared.
3	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1276	1354-5	H.: 16 W.: 43 D.: 20	-----	372 551/Bta	Fig. 10c	Probably reported by Verbeek in 1887.
4	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1276	1354-5	H.: 16.5 W.: 45.5 D.: 21	-----	373 526/Bta	Fig. 10a	Probably reported by Verbeek in 1887.
5	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1276	1354-5	H.: 18 W.: 55 D.: 23	-----	2193/Bta/ ONB/24	Fig. 10b	Probably reported by Verbeek in 1887.

* In the case of items still *in situ*, dimensions refer to the visible portions only.
** The inventory codes Bta and Btp refer to the type of stone, respectively andesite and limestone.

6	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1278	1356-7	H.: 10 W.: 32 D.: 22	372 (079)	540/Bta	OD 1743a	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XI. The reading is not completely certain. Possibly 1298.
7	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1278	1356-7	H.: 10 W.: 33 D.: 21	516 (379)	527/Bta	OD 2216a	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XII.
8	Troloyo	Gravestone	Syech Abdurochim	1278	1356-7	H.: 44 W.: 24 D.: 8	-----	-----	Fig. 3	The date is preserved on the outer face of the footstone.
9	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1280	1358-9	H.: 9.5 W.: 12.5 D.: 13	-----	3687/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
10	Trowulan	Gravestone	Complex of the princess from Champa	1290	1368-9	H.: 26 W.: 23 D.: 9	-----	42/MJK/1993	Fig. 11	Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan XIII.
11	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1294	1372-3	H.: 12 W.: 42 D.: 20	343 (217)	565/Bta	OD 1743b	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XIII. See Appendix (A.44).
12	Kedaton	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1297	1375-6	H.: 18 W.: 36 D.: 21	400 (012)	557/Bta	OD 1896b	Damais 1957: 414; Kedaton II.

13	Troloyo	Gravestone	Trowulan Museum	1298	1376-7	H.: 55 W.: 23 D.: 10	-----	2495/Bta/ ONB/24	OD 1580, OD 1581	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo VI. See Appendix (A.20), (A.21). Muusses 1923: 108; Not listed by Damais.
14	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1299	1377-8	H.: 20 W.: 44 D.: 26	755 (557)	579/Bta		
15	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1300	1378-9	H.: 15 W.: 46 D.: 37	378 (015)	564/Bta	OD 1743c, Fig. 16	Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan X. Incorrectly read as 1400.
16	Troloyo	Gravestone	Unknown	1302	1380-1	-----	-----	-----	OD 1575, OD 1577	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo V. Formerly at Panggung. See Appendix (A.17), (A.18).
17	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1302	1380-1	H.: 10 W.: 38 D.: 20	345 (078)	536/Bta	OD 1625, OD 1744a	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XIV. See Appendix (A.50).
18	Troloyo	Stone block	Panggung	1302	1380-1	H.: 17 W.: 30 D.: 11	-----	77/MJK/1993	Fig. 15	Questionable authenticity.
19	Trowulan	Gravestone (?)	Trowulan Museum	1303	1381-2	H.: 33 W.: 20 D.: 10	-----	3649/Bta/ TRW/24	Fig. 4a-b	Soekmono & Romli 1993: 82-83.

20	Sentonorejo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1304 (?)	1382-3	H.: 10 W.: 36 D.: 19	-----	2172/Bta/ STR/24 A.368/ STR/19/5	Fig. 9	Reported by Verbeek in 1887, possibly to be read as 1204.
21	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1306	1384-5	H.: 19.5 W.: 31 D.: 8	-----	129/Bta/ TRW/24	Fig. 7b	Not included in the 1986 inventory.
22	Trowulan	Stone block	Unknown	1307	1385-6	H.: 8 W.: 20 D.: (?)	754	-----	-----	Mususes 1923: 108; Not listed by Damais.
23	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1317	1395-6	H.: 10 W.: 34.5 D.: 23	-----	112/Btp/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
24	Sentonorejo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1319	1397-8	H.: 8 W.: 27 D.: 19	739 (280)	554/Bta	-----	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XV.
25	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1320	1398-9	H.: 8 W.: 23 D.: 16	344 (027)	560/Bta	OD 1619b, OD 1744b	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XVI. See Appendix (A.48).
26	Penanggalan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1323	1401-2	H.: 7.5 W.: 20 D.: 8	566 (026)	566/Bta	-----	Krom 1915a: 70; 1915b: 88. Not mentioned by Damais.
27	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1324	1402-3	H.: 9 W.: 25 D.: 19	-----	23/Bta/ TRW/24 169/Bta/ ONB/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.

28	Trowulan	Stone block	National Museum Jakarta (MNI)	1325	1403-4	H.: 8.5 W.: 19.5 D.: 6	D.115 (Inv. MNI)	-----	-----	Knebel 1907: 52 (and Fig.); Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan IX (described as a 'brick'). Still to be located.
29	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1328	1403-4	H.: 13.5 W.: 24 D.: 8.5	-----	171/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. Reading of the final figure not absolutely certain.
30	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	(1)328	1406-7	H.: 12 W.: 15 D.: 8	-----	1387/Bta/ ONB/24	Fig. 7d	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. Damaged stone, displaying only the ciphers 328.
31	Troloyo	Gravestone	Kubur Pitu	1329	1407-8	H.: 42 W.: 31 D.: 16	-----	73/MJK/1993	OD 1567, OD 1569	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo IV. Read by Krom as 1319. See Appendix (A.10), (A.11).
32	Troloyo	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1332	1410-1	H.: 8 W.: 26 D.: 17	371 (024)	570/Bta	OD 1744c	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo XVII.
33	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1338	1416-7	H.: 17 W.: 46 D.: 28	352 (013)	553/Bta	OD 1744d	Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan XI.

34	Troloyo	Gravestone	Trowulan Museum	1340	1418-9	H.: 23.5 W.: 32 D.: 9.5	-----	188/Bta/ TLY/24	OD 1616, OD 1617	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo VII. See Appendix (A.41), (A.42).
35	Troloyo	Stone block	Unknown	1342	1420-1	H.: 9.5 W.: 24 D.: 13.5	-----	-----	-----	Damais 1957: 374 (Fig. 14b), 414; Troloyo XVIII. Formerly at Pangung.
36	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1343	1421-2	H.: 8 W.: 26 D.: 16	-----	551 543/Bta	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. Additional line of script above the date.
37	Trowulan	Gravestone (?)	Trowulan Museum	1344	1422-3	H.: 77 W.: 30 D.: 14	-----	2493 865/Bta 112/ Bta/ONB/24	Fig. 5	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. A panel below the date displays a badly weathered inscription.
38	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1345	1423-4	H.: 8 W.: 24 D.: 19	-----	-----	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
39	Troloyo	Gravestone	Kubur Pitu	1349	1427-8	H.: 44 W.: 37 D.: 13	-----	71/MJK/1993	OD 1559, OD 1561	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo II. See Appendix (A.4), (A.5).

40	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1351	1429-30	H.: 10 W.: 29 D.: 14.5	-----	172/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
41	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1356	1434-5	H.: 11 W.: 23 D.: 10	-----	3565/Btp/ ONB/24	Fig. 7a	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. Originally read as 1346.
42	Nglinguk	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1363	1441-2	H.: 11.5 W.: 27 D.: 16	-----	215/Bta/ NGK/-	-----	Not included in the 1986 inventory.
43	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1363	1441-2	H.: 8.5 W.: 24.5 D.: 19.5	-----	.../Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
44	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1364	1442-3	H.: 14 W.: 43 D.: 30	-----	552 012 550/Bta	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
45	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1365	1443-4	H.: 8 W.: 21.5 D.: 13	-----	168/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
46	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1367	1445-6	H.: 9 W.: 34.5 D.: 23	-----	26/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Not included in the 1986 inventory.
47	Trowulan	Gravestone	Complex of the princess from Champa	1370	1448-9	H.: 62 W.: 44 D.: 12	-----	41/MJK/1993	Fig. 12	Damais 1957: 414; Trowulan VIII.
48	Kedaton	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1372	1450-1	H.: 7 W.: 18 D.: 13	401 (383)	528/Bta	OD 1896a	Damais 1957: 414; Kedaton I.

49	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1380	1458-9	H.: 8.5 W.: 23 D.: 15	-----	-----	174/Bta/ ONB/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
50	Beijjong	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	(1)382	1460-1	H.: 9.5 W.: 14.5 D.: 10.5	-----	-----	2/Btp/BJJ/87 L.1/2/87/BJJ	Fig. 7e	Not included in the 1986 inventory. A quarter of the stone is missing.
51	Kedungwulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1384	1462-3	H.: 12 W.: 29 D.: 28	388 (081)	-----	-----	OD 1795	Damais 1957: 414; Kedungwulan. Formerly read as 1374.
52	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1385	1463-4	H.: 7.5 W.: 18 D.: 13	-----	-----	30/Bta/ ONB/24 A.381/ ONB/M/18	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7. A third of the stone is missing.
53	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1388	1466-7	H.: 11 W.: 33 D.: 23	-----	-----	716/Bta/ ONB/24 366/ Bta/ONB/24	-----	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7.
54	Troloyo	Gravestone (?)	Trowulan Museum	1389	1467-8	H.: 89 W.: 43.5 D.: 16	342	-----	-----	OD 1622, OD 1623, Fig. 22a-b	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo VIII. Formerly read as 1379. See Appendix (A.46), (A.47).

55	Troloyo	Gravestone	Kubur Pitu	1389	1467-8	H.: 42 W.: 35 D.: 13	-----	-----	72/MJK/1993	OD 1563, OD 1565	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo III. See Appendix (A.7), (A.8).
56	Trowulan	Stone block	Trowulan Museum	1390	1468-9	H.: 10 W.: 41 D.: 12	-----	-----	27/Bta/ TRW/24	-----	Not included in the 1986 inventory.
57	Troloyo	Gravestone	Unknown	1391 (H 874)	1469- 70	-----	-----	-----	-----	OD 1578	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo IX. Epitaph commemorating the death of one Zain ud Dīn. See Appendix (A.19).
58	Troloyo	Gravestone	Kubur Pitu	1397	1475-6	H.: 44 W.: 37 D.: 16	-----	-----	70/MJK/1993	OD 1555, OD 1557, Fig. 2	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo I. See Appendix (A.2).
59	Trowulan	Gravestone (fragment)	Trowulan Museum	1511	1589- 90	H.: 24 W.: 34 D.: 12	-----	-----	2190/Bta/ ONB/24	Fig. 6a-b	Mundardjito <i>et al.</i> 1986: 7 (described as a stone block). From Troloyo?
60	Troloyo	Gravestone	Kubur Telu	1533	1611-2	H.: 46 W.: 34 D.: 10	-----	-----	65/MJK/1993	OD 1595, Fig. 18a-b	Damais 1957: 414; Troloyo X. Footstone. See Appendix (A.29).

Appendix C

Dated stones of uncertain provenance preserved in the Trowulan Museum

No.	Description	Date Śaka	Date AD	Dimensions (cm): Height (H.); Width (W.); Depth (D.)	Inv. no. Trowulan Museum	Illustrations in this article	References / Observations
1	Stone block	1274	1352-3	H.: 15 W.: 60 D.: 29	659/Bta/ONB/24	-----	-----
2	Stone block	1275	1353-4	H.: 14 W.: 40 D.: 22	36/Bta/ONB/24	-----	-----
3	Stone block	1282	1360-1	H.: 18 W.: 40 D.: 19	713 577/Bta	Fig. 7c	Possibly Trowulan.
4	Stone block	1296	1374-5	H.: 18.5 W.: 54 D.: 23	456	-----	-----
5	Stone block	1302	1380-1	H.: 12 W.: 36 D.: 26	712 547/Bta	-----	-----
6	Stone block	1322	1400-1	H.: 8 W.: 27 D.: 17	686 575/Bta	-----	Possibly to be read as 1344.
7	Stone block	1325	1403-4	H.: 36 W.: 64 D.: 21	14	-----	-----

8	Stone block	1340	1418-9	H.: 9 W.: 38 D.: 25	711 549/Bta 142/Pt/M/77	-----	-----
9	Stone block	1348	1426-7	H.: 10 W.: 21 D.: 14	688 567/Bta	Possibly to be read as 1358.	-----
10	Stone block	1361	1439-40	H.: 9 W.: 28 D.: 18	170/Bta/ONB/24	-----	-----
11	Stone block	1367	1445-6	H.: 8 W.: 26 D.: 20	546/Bta	-----	-----

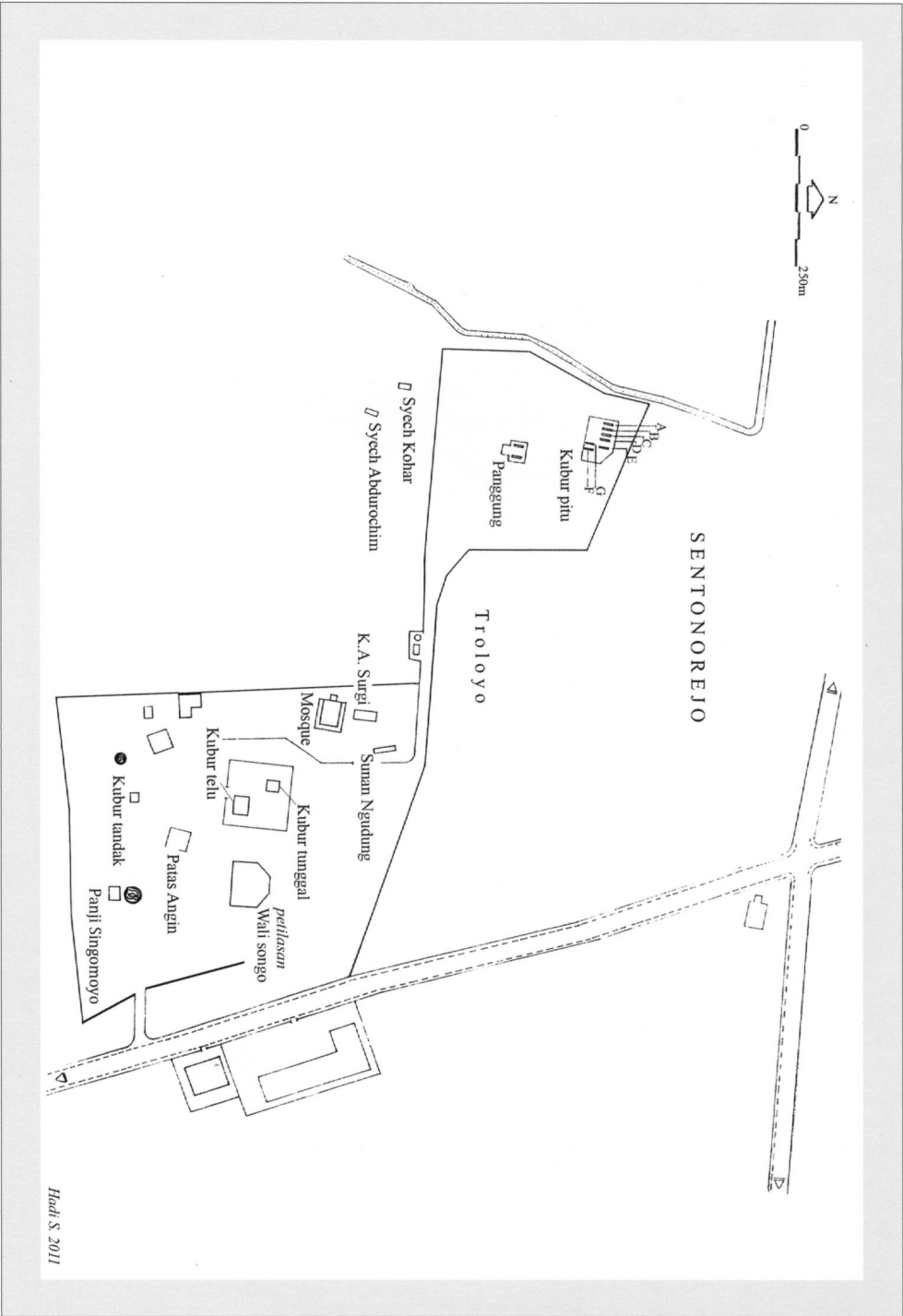


Fig. 1 : Plan of the grave complex of Troloyo, showing the principal enclosures.



Fig. 2: Troloyo, Kubur Pitu, headstone displaying the 'Majapahit halo', dated Śaka 1397 (B.58).⁶⁷



Fig. 3: Troloyo, Syech Abdurochim, footstone dated Śaka 1278 (B.8).

67. In the captions, we have indicated: the origin, the present location, the description of the stone (with reference to Appendix A, B or C), and possibly its dimensions when not mentioned in Appendix A, B or C.



Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b: Edge of the stone.

Fig. 4: Trowulan, Trowulan Museum, gravestone (?) dated Śaka 1303 (B.19).



Fig. 5: Trowulan, Trowulan Museum, gravestone (?) dated Śaka 1344 (B.37).



Fig. 6a Fig. 6b

Fig. 6: Trowulan, Trowulan Museum, fragment of a gravestone dated Śaka 1511 (B.59).



Fig. 7a: Trowulan, stone dated Śaka 1356 (B.41).



Fig. 7b: Trowulan, stone dated Śaka 1306 (B.21).



Fig. 7c: Possibly Trowulan, stone dated Śaka 1282 (C.3).



Fig. 7d: Trowulan, damaged stone dated Śaka (1)328 (B.30).



Fig. 7e: Bejjong, damaged stone dated Śaka (1)382 (B.50).

Fig. 7: Five dated stone blocks in the Trowulan Museum.



Fig. 8: Trowulan, Kubur Panjang, inscribed stone dated Śaka 1203 (B.1).



Fig. 9: Sentonorejo, Trowulan Museum, stone block dated Śaka 1304(?) (B.20).



Fig. 10a (B.4)



Fig. 10b (B.5)



Fig. 10c (B.3)

Fig. 10: Troloyo, Trowulan Museum, three stone blocks dated Śaka 1276.



Fig. 11: Trowulan, complex of the princess from Champa, gravestone dated Śaka 1290 (B.10).



Fig. 12: Trowulan, complex of the princess from Champa, gravestone dated Śaka 1370 (B.47).



Fig. 13: Mt. Penanggungan, Trowulan Museum, altar stone dated Śaka 1265. (H. 86 cm; W. 46 cm; D. 19 cm)



Fig. 14: Pacet, Trowulan Museum, standing stone dated Śaka 1278. (H. 82 cm; W. 25 cm; D. 13 cm)



Fig. 15: Tröloyo, Panggung, stone block dated Śaka 1302 (B.18).



Fig. 16: Trowulan, Trowulan Museum, stone block dated Śaka 1300 (B.15).



Fig. 17:
inner face of a
headstone.
(H. 54 cm; W. 35
cm; D. 10 cm)



Fig. 18a: outer face
of a footstone dated
Šaka 1533 (B.60).

Figs. 17, 18a: Troloyo, Kubur Telu, *face b* and *face a* of the
gravestone labelled Troloyo X by Damais.



Fig. 18b: Troloyo, Kubur Telu, reverse side of Fig. 18a (B.60).



Fig. 19: dated stone blocks on display in the Trowulan Museum.

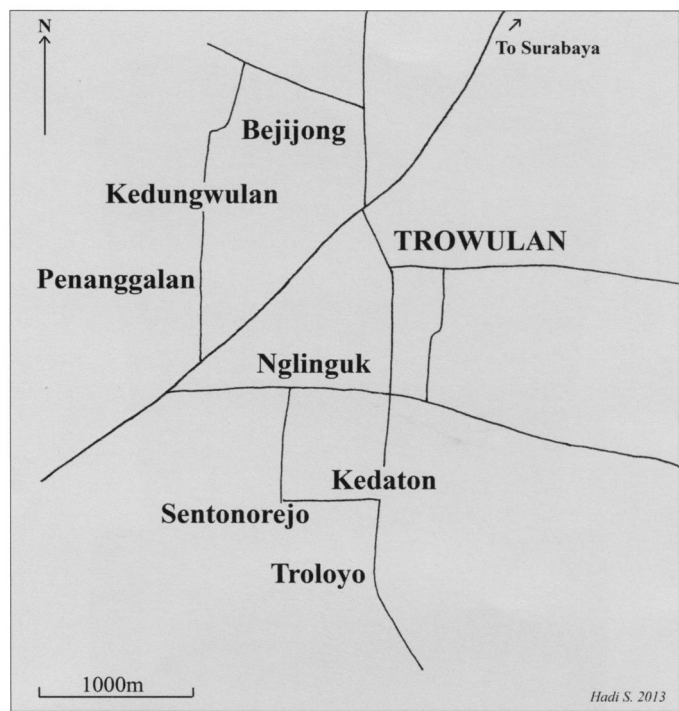


Fig. 20: Trowulan; map showing the distribution of dated stones.



Fig. 21: Kubur Pitu; view from the southeast (1996). A roof has since been added, and the flooring covered with ceramic tiles.



Fig. 22a



Fig. 22b

Fig. 22: Troloyo, Trowulan Museum, gravestone (?) dated Śaka 1389 (B.54).



Fig. 23: Troloyo, entrance to the Kubur Tunggal. The contrived setting is already clearly apparent from this photograph, taken in around 1910 (OD 1554).



Fig. 24: Troloyo, *Wali songo* enclosure, gravestone.
(H. 84 cm; W. 44 cm; D. 15 cm)



Fig. 25: Mt. Penanggungan, Mojokerto (bathing place of Jolotundo at Trawas), altar stone.
(H. 83 cm; W. 53 cm; D. 10 cm)



Fig. 26a: Gresik; the tomb complex of Sunan Giri.



Fig. 26b: Mt. Penanggungan; Candi Selokelir.

Fig. 26: Examples of the popular motif depicting a row of heart-shaped leaves.



Fig. 27: Kubur Pitu; footstone of grave G (A.14?).