

The Archaeology of The Johor-Riau-Lingga Malay Kingdom from the 16th to 19th Century C.E.: A Re-Evaluation

Arkeologi Kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga Abad 16-19 Masihi: Penilaian Semula

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ABSTRACT

This topic focuses on the later history and archaeological heritage of the Malay Johor-Riau-Lingga Sultanate dated from the 16th to 19th century CE (Current Era). This paper includes the study of Kota Sayong Pinang, Batu Sawar, Kota Seluyut, Kampung Makam, Kota Panchor and Kota Johor Lama. The supporting evidence for the discussion in this paper includes a textual study of several Malay texts (such as Sejarah Melayu, Sejarah Negeri Johor, and Sejarah Petempatan di Sepanjang Sungai Johor) and the archaeological record. This research shows that the remains of old forts such as found at Kota Johor Lama, Kota Sayong Pinang, Kota Batu Sawar and Kota Seluyut represent a lot of the material historical and archaeological evidence. The burial sites of the royalty and ruling class, the discovery of gold dinar coins, various weaponry and an overwhelming abundance of ceramics (mostly broken) are among the important discoveries throughout the research. As much as 211 tombstones of the Aceh style were discovered in the state of Johor. The oldest Aceh tombstone in Johor was dated 1453 CE (or 857 Hijrah according to the Islamic calendar) and ceramics dated between 11th and 14th century strongly suggests that there was an earlier kingdom prior to the Malay Johor-Riau-Lingga Sultanate. Among the earlier ceramics found include Chinese Song, Sawankhalok, Khmer, Vietnamese and Sukhothai dated from the 13th to 15th century. Even so, most of the archaeological evidence along the Johor River were destroyed due to deterioration, development of the surrounding and various conflicts among the ruling kingdoms.

Keywords: Archaeology; Heritage; Malay Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini memfokuskan kajian terhadap latar sejarah dan warisan peninggalan arkeologi Kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga dari abad 16 Masihi hingga 19 Masihi. Dalam jangka masa ini, banyak penyelidikan arkeologi telah dilakukan terutamanya oleh penyelidik tempatan dan juga luar. Tokoh-tokoh penyelidik tempatan misalnya Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abdul Rahman, Adi Haji Taha, Abdul Jalil Osman, Kamarudin Ab. Razak dan penulis sendiri telah melakukan penyelidikan arkeologi sejak tahun 1990-an hingga ke tahun 2000-an. Manakala penyelidik dari luar pula misalnya Solheim, I.A Mc Gregor, R.O Winstedt, C.A Gibson-Hill, G.A Gardner dan Green Erneste pula merupakan antara pelopor kepada penyelidikan arkeologi di Lembah Sungai Johor ini. Antara kawasan yang akan diberi tumpuan ialah di Kota Sayong Pinang, Batu Sawar, Kota Seluyut, Kampung Makam, Kota Panchor dan Kota Johor Lama. Kawasan tersebut meliputi dari bahagian hulu Sungai Johor hingga ke Hilir Sungai Johor. Kaedah kajian yang akan digunakan dalam melihat isu ini ialah dengan menggunakan kajian latar sejarah yang terdapat dalam teks Sejarah Melayu, Sejarah Negeri Johor, Sejarah Petempatan di sepanjang Sungai Johor dan juga kajian arkeologi. Hasil kajian mendapati kebanyakan kesan sejarah dan warisan Kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga yang boleh dilihat hingga ke hari ini ialah kesan kota lama seperti Kota Johor Lama, Kota Sayong Pinang, Kota Batu Sawar, Kota Seluyut, makam-makam para Sultan dan pembedar, jumpaan wang syiling dinar emas, alat-alat senjata dan yang paling banyak sekali ialah kesan pecahan tembikar. Sebanyak 211 buah batu nisan Aceh telah dikenalpasti di negeri Johor. Jumpaan batu nisan Aceh yang tertua di Johor iaitu bertarikh 1453 Masihi bersamaan 857 Hijrah dan jumpaan tembikar yang usianya sekitar abad 11 – 14 Masihi menunjukkan wujudnya zaman pemerintahan pra Kesultanan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga. Antara jumpaan tembikar yang usianya lebih awal dari abad 16 Masihi ialah seperti tembikar zaman Song abad 11 – 13 Masihi dari China, tembikar Thailand iaitu Sawankhalok dan Sukhothai dari abad 13 – 15 Masihi, tembikar Khmer

abad 13 Masihi dan tembikar Vietnam abad 15 Masihi. Namun demikian, kebanyakan daripada kesan peninggalan sejarah dan warisan di sepanjang Sungai Johor ini telah musnah akibat daripada faktor usia, pembangunan semasa dan juga konflik yang berpanjangan semasa pemerintahan kerajaan tersebut.

Kata kunci: Arkeologi; warisan; kerajaan Melayu Johor-Riau-Lingga

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this topic is to examine and re-evaluate the historical archaeological data associated with the Johor-Riau-Lingga Malay kingdom that has been uncovered as a result of the different nationalistic researches in the two countries of Malaysia dan Indonesia. The Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom came into being after fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, a kingdom that existed between the 16th and 19th centuries C.E.

There have been strong ties between peninsula Malaysia and Sumatera ever since the prehistoric Mesolithic (or Hoabinhian) ages (see Bellwood 1997). The archaeological and historical evidence (considering the two areas were united under two different empires, Sri Wijaya and Melaka) suggests that at some time in the past, these two areas were probably once a single group of people practicing the same religion. Taking into consideration the above possibility, archaeological researches and interpretations should incorporate the probable ties between the two areas from various aspects including administration, culture, values, norms, and religion. This is because through archaeological research, we not only see the overall picture of the history and heritage of a kingdom (or civilization) from the written sources but also from the (artifactual and non-artifactual) archaeological evidence that had been uncovered in excavations at the abandoned sites of the former kingdom.

In the history of archaeological research, especially along the banks of the Johor river during the period 1998 until 2001, a lot of archaeological remains were identified belonging to the times of the Malay kingdom of Johor-Riau-Lingga era. Some of these remains were identified as features i.e. the monumental heritage remains of any particular kingdom that is large, permanent, and impossible to be moved to a different location (or museum). These features include the mausoleums of the Sultans, royal families, and court officials, fortifications, drainage systems, foundations of palaces, and wells. Uncovered artefacts include golden dinar coins, weapons (such as lance [*tombak*] points, spear

[*lembing*] blades, Malay *keris* and arrow points), various ceramics, gold ornaments, beads, and clothing. Even so, most of the artefacts that were uncovered during excavations at the sites associated with the Malay kingdom of Johor-Riau-Lingga era consisted of ceramics such as fragments of plates, bowls, cups, spoons, teapots, large water containers (*tempayan*) and pots (for cooking) (Quaritch-Wales 1940).

The discovery of numerous ceramic fragments in addition to the other artefacts and features suggests several ideas regarding the history and background to the inner-workings of the Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom. From the remains uncovered, we can estimate the time period when this kingdom first came into being, the existence of trade ties with other nations, for example with China, Europe, Aceh and Vietnam, the diplomatic ties with these afore-mentioned nations, economic activities, and also some social activities (Gardner 1932).

This paper will focus on several topics of discussion such as the historical background of archaeological research on the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga and research locations, important discoveries and the link between the archaeological discoveries of the two countries afore-mentioned.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE LOCATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE MALAY SULTANATE OF JOHOR-RIAU-LINGGA

The area encompassing the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau Lingga is very large. It includes the area of southern Malay Peninsula (that includes Johor and Singapore) and the Riau islands in Indonesia. The Riau Islands encompasses eight groups of larger islands that is Kepulauan Bintan, Kepulauan Karimun, Kepulauan Lingga, Kepulauan Tambelan, Kepulauan Anambas, Kepulauan Natuna, Kepulauan Serasan dan Kepulauan Batam. The discussion in this paper will only be directed on a few main areas that are representative of the whole area in question (Wheatley 1980).

The main source for information and focus of this research is on four archaeological sites that represent the whole discussion on the archaeology of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga from the 16th to the 19th century C.E. The first archaeological site is located at Kota Sayong Pinang on the upper

reaches of the Johor River. The second site, Kota Panchor, is located in the central regions of Johor River. The third site, Kota Johor Lama, is located on the mouth of Johor River. The fourth and final site, Kota Bukit Canning or Fort Canning Hill, is located to the south of Johor River (please refer to Map 1).



MAP 1. The Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga
Source: Asyaari 2012

The main reason why this research does not discuss about the archaeological sites found on the eight large islands in Riau, Indonesia is because a lot of the information on archaeological finds in these areas are vague in nature. It is not known to what extent archaeological research has been done in these areas since extensive research on the various publications for this area did not uncover any archaeological information whatsoever. Furthermore, most of the archaeological information from this area is based on artefacts such as ceramics, weaponry, old coins, and manuscripts that belong to individual collectors rather than institutions. A lot of specimens from these collections have been purchased by Malaysian institutions such as Jabatan Muzium Malaysia, the state museums, and Yayasan Warisan Johor. Therefore, most of the artefacts in the assemblage for the area of Riau-Lingga islands is probably available in the collections in Malaysia.

This research is able to access the artefacts that are in the collection of the institutions mentioned above.

The discovery of historical and archaeological remains in the area of the Johor-Lingga-Riau has opened a new page in the archaeological research into the early history of Malaysia specifically the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga. This area is very rich with the historical and archaeological evidence and requires further research. A researcher on the history of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga will probably know of several key sites along the Johor River such as Johor Lama, Panchor, Sayong Pinang, Batu Sawar, Seluyut and Kampung Makam at Kota Tinggi. These sites are found on both river banks starting from Teluk Sengat until Sayong Pinang. There are several local and foreign sources that have reported on the sites of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga. Among the most important information available on the fortification sites of Johor Lama (Quaritch –Wales 1957).

According to Nik Hassan Shuhaimi (2000:84), deep interest in researching the remains of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga along the Johor River only materialized during the 20th century as a result of several reports by English researchers including that by an unidentified writer in 1826, as found in *Singapore Chronicle of 1825-1826*, regarding *Viator's trip to the Johore River* (Hill 1955: 131). It can be considered that Viator is the first person to report on the antiquarian activities along the banks of the Johor River. Viator identified one such site as Panchor. He jotted down his observations on the fort remains at Panchor as follows:

... Setelah tiba di puncak bukit, kami mendapati puncaknya telah diratakan dan bahagian tepinya ditarah lebih kurang 8 hingga 10 kaki; keluasan kawasan yang telah dikerjakan mungkin 50 ela lebar dan 160 kaki panjang; waktu itu telah menjadi semak, tetapi tidak sebatang pokok pun memiliki saiz yang besar. Dari kawasan ini kami dapat melihat sepenuhnya muara sungai yang lebarnya tidak sampai setengah batu. Di penghujung kota di timur laut kami menjumpai sebuah kubur yang dibina dengan menimbun batu leper bersaiz besar dan diisi pada bahagian tengahnya dengan tanah; terdapat dua buah batu diletak berdiri lebih kurang sekaki jaraknya, dan kedua batu mempunyai bentuk sama, tingginya 3 kaki dan diukir dengan menariknya dan masih berada dalam keadaan baik. Batu tersebut jenis batu pasir yang keras... hasil buatan orang Cina dan kubur Tungko Putih.

(Viator in Nik Hassan Suhaimi 2000)

Other than the above report, there is also another report by J. R. Logan in 1847, but this report is regarding the present conditions at Kota Johor Lama (Solheim and Green 1965: 1). This second report is an addition to an earlier report by Pierra Etienne Lazare Favre which stated that:

"Favre's 'Johore' was 'the town of Johore Lama' that the houses like the inhabitants, were Bugis, not Malay; and that the remains of an extensive rampart were visible on the site of the former capital".

(Pierra Etienne Lazare Favre 1849: 52)

The remains of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga along the banks of Johor River was forgotten for some time after that last report. Approximately ninety years passed by until the publication of a map by the *Johore Survey Department* in 1932 (Winstedt 1932: 20). Excavations were then conducted by G. B. Gardner between 1932 and 1935, who also made some surveys on several sites that showed potential along the banks of Johor River.

While undertaking surveys, Gardner found several old Malay graveyards that had Acheh-type tombstones. He also identified the remains of an old fort at Sayong Pinang. He collected porcelain and earthenware sherds during the surveys. Gardner investigated Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi, Panchor, and Johor Lama. All of his finds are in the collection of Raffles Museum (now National Museum of Singapore) in Singapore (Gibson-Hill 1965: 178). In 1937, Gardner reported the discovery of approximately 600 beads that were mostly found in Kota Tinggi (Gardner 1937: 467-470).

In 1938, H.G. Quaritch Wales spent four months researching the banks of Johor River. He found numerous artefacts along the river and focused on two main areas at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama. During excavations, he found Ming porcelain fragments, white porcelain and earthenware. According to Matthews (1961:237), the artefacts were located not more than 18 inches below the original level and that none of the porcelain were dated earlier than the 16th century C.E. Between 1948 and 1954, a lot of ceramic fragments of blue and white porcelain, Dutch porcelain, and earthenware were found at several sites investigated by P. D. R. Williams Hunt, H. D. Collins, C. A. Gibson and Han Wai Loon (Hill 1965: 178).

Archaeological research along the banks of Johor River was actually only started on March of 1953 by P. D. R. Williams-Hunt dan Paul Wheatley (Sieveking 1955: 206-208). They focused their research on a Malay village close to Kota Johor Lama. They uncovered blue and white Ming porcelain fragments in the top layer of the cultural deposits or even on the ground surface. In their report, they did not find any ceramic samples dating earlier than the 16th century C.E. On August of 1953, G.de G. Sieveking dan C. A. Gibson Hill along with several students from the University of Malaya (Singapore campus) did some archaeological excavations at Johor Lama. The excavations encompassed two areas in Tanjung Batu, Johor Lama and uncovered two old boats (sampan) that are believed to be Malay in origin and dating not less than 200 years old. This discovery suggests that such boats could have been in existence prior to the 16th century C.E. (Sieveking, Wheatley and Gibson-Hill 1954: 224 – 233). Subsequently, on November of 1954, a hoard of Chinese ceramics was found in association with brassware that showed Islamic influences. This chance find was in a rubber estate at Johor Lama, close to an area which has been suggested to be the site of an old palace (Gibson-Hill 1955: 126-197).

In 1960, Wilhelm G. Solheim II dan Erneste Green also did some archaeological research at Johor Lama. The objective of their excavations is to prove that the site is the centre of administration for the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga in addition to trying to solve several historical issues arising from the vague nature of historical documents especially with regards to the ascendancy, fall, and subsequent disintegration of the fort (or city) in question. Additionally, they were also trying to ascertain the actual shape of the fort during the 16th century C.E. and begin restoration works on the fort which would later require preservation (Solheim and Greene 1965: 178). Subsequently in 1963, Solheim, Greene and Collin Jack-Hinton undertook excavations at Johor Lama. Several important finds including earthenware and foreign porcelain were discovered during these excavations (Dunn 1975).

An extensive archaeological survey that took a considerable amount of time was made by Abdul Jalil bin Osman, an officer from the Department of Museums and Antiquity during the 1970's. He was then responsible for the antiquities for the southern region of the Malay Peninsula. The efforts of the Department of Museums and Antiquities to register the historical and archaeological sites in Johor continued during the subsequent years (1980s to early 1990s), however no complete reports were published for the public consumption (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 2000: 95). In 1977, an archaeological survey of Johor was undertaken by Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abdul Rahman. It took almost one month and funded by the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (or National University of Malaysia). This research did not include excavations.

Further archaeological research at Sungai Permandi, Kota Tinggi was undertaken in the 1980's. This site is located behind a mosque in Kampung Makam. It is a site that was discovered unintentionally as a result of public works to deepen and enlarge the sewage system by Jabatan Parit dan Saliran Johor. Several artefacts including an old fishing hook, Chinese porcelain and earthenware were uncovered.

Between 16 October and 31 October 1995, Yayasan Warisan Johor, a state institution entrusted with looking after the arts and cultural activities of Johor, undertook an intensive and comprehensive archaeological survey along the banks of the Johor River. The subsequent report from the survey was compiled and published; the main objective of that survey was to formulate an action plan for building

the infrastructure in addition to maintaining the cultural heritage along the Johor River banks for future generations and also the development of the local tourist industry. Following this report, the Yayasan Warisan Johor started a comprehensive research project involving archaeologists from the local universities (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 2000: 96)

Beginning on June of 1998, the writer along with Nik Hassan Shuhaimi undertook surveys and excavations at Kota Sayong Pinang. This research was undertaken in 11 phases with the assistance of several research assistants, a local worker, students from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia as well as the archaeology team from Yayasan Warisan Johor. Since then, the archaeological research at Kota Sayong has successfully completed almost 60% of the total project and its results have been published in book form by the Yayasan Warisan Johor (Asyaari 2001: 1 - 245). The archaeological excavations at Kota Sayong Pinang has still to be fully completed. In conjunction with the main objectives of Yayasan Warisan Johor dan the Johor State Government to do a comprehensive and systematic research on the cultural remains (and heritage) of Johor, several archaeological excavations have been planned at several archaeological sites along the Johor River banks. For the years 1999, 2000, and 2001, two additional areas were excavated.

The two sites are located at Kota Panchor dan Kota Johor Lama. The site of Kota Johor Lama has seen lots of research being done by researchers both local and foreign, however, the data uncovered from these researches usually end up being controversial. The controversy arises from the validity of data obtained as well as the subsequent interpretation of the history. For example, artefacts such as Chinese porcelain, Dutch porcelain, earthenware, coins, metal objects, weapons, beads and boats have been given miscellaneous interpretations related to the historical background of the fort. A few issues have yet to be resolved regarding to actual location of the palace, the persons interred in the graveyard there, and building structures other than that present today. A more structured research should be undertaken with a more systematic and scientific emphasis. Additionally, Kota Johor Lama is also in a geographically strategic location that can benefit from tourism both local and foreign provided a development programme is developed to improve its accessibility to tourists and further research is undertaken to gather more information that might be used to reconstruct the fort and its history, thus enhancing its desirability as a tourist attraction.

Maritime (or underwater) archaeology has also been done in the waters of Kota Johor Lama. In 1999, Jabatan Muzium & Antikuiti awarded a contract to a private company in order to provide assistance in conducting systematic surveys in the area surrounding the mouth of Johor River. The company in question obtained the services of Shahrman Ghazali from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, a local maritime archaeologist to lead the surveys.

Excavations as part of a salvage archaeology exercise were also conducted by Adi Haji Taha earlier in the 1980's at Sungai Pemandi, Kota Tinggi in order to save important archaeological data on the banks of Pemandi River. The archaeological site of Sungai Pemandi is an archaeological site accidentally uncovered by the Jabatan Parit dan Saliran Johor in the 1980's. There are a lot of different artefacts found here that suggests the existence of a traditional Malay settlement at Kampung Makam. This site is believed to have been settled since the 16th century C.E. because of the dating of the artefacts found there including an old type of fishing hook, Chinese porcelain fragments, Dutch porcelain fragments, and earthenware.

The objectives of archaeological research along the banks of Johor River is never-ending. During the middle and later stages of the 1990's, several archaeological researches were conducted including surveys and excavations at the various sites including di Sayong Pinang, Panchor, Seluyut, Johor Lama, Batu Sawar and Kota Tinggi. Some of the most recent research was conducted at Sayong Pinang, Panchor and Johor Lama.

The archaeological excavations at Sayong Pinang were conducted by the writer along with Nik Hassan Shuhaimi, Kamaruddin Ab. Razak, students from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia as well as officers from the Yayasan Warisan Johor (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 2000: 99). The first phase of this research started on 8 June and continued until 11 July 1998 with the purpose of conducting surveys in areas that are considered to be suitable for further excavations. It was also meant to enable the researchers to formulate a schedule for archaeological research at Sayong Pinang. A schedule of work was then formulated for excavations there from 13 November until 21 November 1999 focusing on the area of Makam 12 at Sayong Pinang.

The main objective of the latter research was not just to obtain information that would enable a

reconstruction of the history of Sayong Pinang, but also to relate the data with other data obtained from other archaeological sites along the Johor River banks. The concurrent ongoing research along the river banks were for the purpose of identifying forts, settlements, harbours, palaces, and graveyards. The research is hoped to produce information that would enable a chronological reconstruction of the events at Sayong Pinang, especially the with regards to the functions of space during the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga. At the end of the research, a plan for developing the entire area would be formulated so that Sayong Pinang can be developed as a product of archaeological tourism along the banks of the Johor River.

The archaeological researches at Johor that was started roughly about 150 years ago has been successful in finding prehistorical archaeological sites, historical sites from the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga and also other Malay kingdoms. There are some assumptions that suggest a link between the Roman beads found by Gardner at Kota Tinggi with the presence of a proto-historic element. Scholars who have made this assumption include Quaritch-Wales, who found a *candi* (Buddhist temple) at Kota Tinggi, who believes that there was a pre-Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom on the banks of the Johor River as late at the 15th century C.E. These scholars believe that the kingdom in question might be the kingdom of Wurawuri that was mentioned in Sanskrit inscriptions dan Jawa Kuno (old Javanese) dated 1006 C.E. This inscription is kept at the Museum of Calcutta, India. According to the inscription, Wurawuri wrought natural disasters to Jawa. According to a Thai written source, *Kot Monthierabon* or The Laws of Thai, which was penned in 1360, a king that ascended the throne in 1435 stated that Wurawuri was under the sovereignty of the Thai kingdom. In the language of Jawa Kuno, Wurawuri means clear water. Additionally, in *Sejarah Melayu* there exists the name of a place that has almost the same meaning, *Ganggayu* or *Gangga Ayu* which means peaceful waters in Jawa Kuno. *Sejarah Melayu* tells the story of how Raja Suran, after successfully defeating *Gangganagara*, had set sail to *Ganggayu*, a large kingdom with a fort made from black stone. Up until today, this fort is still standing in the upper reaches of Johor River. The original name of the kingdom was *Klang Kio*, but pronounced as *Ganggayu* by the Thais. On the basis of the name in the inscriptions, *Wurawuri*

and *Ganggayu* in *Sejarah Melayu* have almost the same meaning in Jawa Kuno, present-day scholars have placed *Wurawuri* dan *Ganggayu* in the same location, Johor. Because Raja Suran in *Sejarah Melayu* was identified as Raja Chola by Wolters, therefore this event would have probably occurred in the 11th century C.E., around the same time with the date on the inscription of *Wurawuri* i.e. 1006.

The probability of the existence of a proto-historic kingdom in Johor can also be referred to a name list of kingdoms in Johor and Singapore compiled in *Nagarakertagama* that was produced in 1365. In this list, it was mentioned that the nearby kingdoms are Ujong Medini dan Ujong Tanah, Muar, Pahang dan Tumasik. Ujong Medini might also be the kingdom of *Ganggayu* or *Wurawuri*. The presence of the kingdom of Tumasik at Singapore has been authenticated with the discovery of archaeological remains at Fort Canning that has been dated between the 10th and 14th century C.E. It is not impossible if there existed a kingdom in the area of Johor River at around the same time. In the written Chinese sources, *Chao Ju-kua* that was produced in 1225, there is mention of a place called Ji-li-tong. In present-day Johor, there is a place called Jelutong. Furthermore, the modern name for the river close to the area of *Ganggayu* is called Sungai Lenggiu, which is a tributary of the Johor River.

There is a large possibility that the mystery of the proto-history kingdom of Johor can be solved with additional attention being given to a place called Candi Bemban at the upper reaches of Sungai Madek in subsequent future archaeological researches. Other than that, it should also be good to include other places such as Gajah Mina dan Pasir berhala because there is some connection with the civilization of Hindu and Buddha influences on the banks of Sungai Lenggiu. There is a probability that the existence of a pre-Malay Sultanate Johor-Riau-Lingga kingdom with the discovery of a Bronze Dongson Bell at Muar. This is because Muar has been known as an area and also settlement for a long time. During his travels to Melaka, Parameswara stopped over at Muar for a while. Muar also is a key point in the overland route of Jalan Penarikan, which connects Pahang and the east coast to the west coast during the proto-historic times. Among the more important places that is connected to Muar is Tasik Cini and Sungai Tembeling. The discovery of a bronze Dongson bell also shows the existence of relations between mainland southeast Asia and the Malay peninsula during the metal ages, and

maybe even the earlier first and second century C.E. A similar bell was also found in Kelang, Selangor as well as in Morib, Selangor and in Besut dan Kuala Terengganu, in Terengganu. All of these places have interior lands that are rich with tin and gold. These centuries are also during the peak of the Funan empire up north. Therefore, Muar might be connected with the network of maritime trade of the Funan empire.

CULTURAL REMAINS OF THE JOHOR-RIAU-LINGGA MALAY SULTANATE FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY C. E.

Among the existing cultural remains from this sultanate are the royal graveyards, forts, fortifications, weaponry, coins, and ceramics. This paper will focus on the cultural remains of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga that were obtained through previous archaeological researches.

FORT OR FORTIFICATIONS

At Kota Sayong Pinang, there is an area measuring approximately 18 hectares that is extremely rich with the cultural remains of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga. In this area, there is also a fort or fortifications. Even so, proving the existence of a fort or fortification at Kota Sayong Pinang has eluded previous researchers. This is because there is no physical evidence for any walls even though there are several pieces of coral rock present that have been said to be part of the fortified walls. The latest survey has uncovered some new evidence that shows the remains of fortifications. There is some evidence of the wall fortification in the southeast corner of Makam 12. Its location extends from the southeast direction to the southwest direction of Makam 12. In the southwest portion of 12, there is also some evidence for a trench measuring around 20 meters wide and 50 meters long. The walls of this fortification are made from earth (earth piling) (Asyaari 2005: 112).

Kota Johor Lama is located at the peak of a hill in an area at Johor Lama which is an obvious landmark to anyone coming into the area. Kota Johor Lama is also known as Kota Batu (or Stone Fort) which is probably taken from the name of the nearby Tanjung Batu. This fort faces the Johor River. It is actually made from granite rocks that is covered by earth. The overall length of this fort is estimated to be approximately 1012.7 meters and the depth of

its walls varies between 2 and 4 meters. Even so, the fort area that is a landmark for Johor lama is approximately 60 meters long and 30 meters wide. It has been well-maintained, clean and covered with short grass. The actual shape of the whole fort is angular and runs around a portion of Johor Lama. Outside the fortified wall is a moat or trench.



PHOTO 1. Frontal view of Kota Johor Lama
Source: Asyaari 2012



PHOTO 2. Internal view of Kota Johor Lama (Main site) and present condition of walls
Source: Asyaari 2012



PHOTO 3. Kota Johor Lama wall fortification made from earth and granite rocks
Source: Asyaari 2012



PHOTO 4. Moat surrounding the walls of Johor Lama
Source: Asyaari 2012

MAUSOLEUMS (AND GRAVEYARDS)

In the state of Johor, there are approximately 211 graves bearing an Aceh-type tombstone (batu nisan Aceh) (Daniel and Kamarudin 1999). Othman Mohd. Yatim, a local researcher has identified a total of 102 such tombstones (Othman 1988) while earlier, Winstedt identified another 137 (Winstedt 1992: 33-54). From the 211 tombstones identified in Johor, a total of 195 were found along the Johor River, primarily in the district of Kota Tinggi. The largest number of tombstones (24) were found at the Kompleks Makam Ulu Sungai Che Omar (ULU), with another 22 found at Kompleks Makam Bendahara Tun Habab (BEN), 21 at Kompleks Makam Tauhid (THD), 20 at the Kompleks Makam Sultan Mahmud Mangkat in Julang (SMAH) and 18 at the Kompleks Makam Kampung Makam (KMAK). The Aceh-type tombstones identified by all four researchers can be divided into 16 categories that have been labelled Type A through Type Q. This paper will only touch upon the tombstones discovered during archaeological excavations at Kota Sayong Pinang and Kota Johor Lama.

At Kota Sayong Pinang, there are several graveyards for the royal family and officials. These are Makam 12, Makam 7, Makam To Hang D'Jumat, Makam 1 dan 2, Makam 2 dan 3 dan Makam 6.

Makam 12 is located at N1° 48' 05.4" dan E103° 39' 21.5". It is situated in the fort or fortification area. It consists of 11 graves with Aceh-type tombstones and 2 graves with non-Aceh-type tombstones. One particular tombstone is made from coral stone which is a copy of the Aceh-type tombstone (Perret and Kamarudin 1999: 7-8). Even though the total number of graves in this graveyard is 13, it is still known as Makam 12.

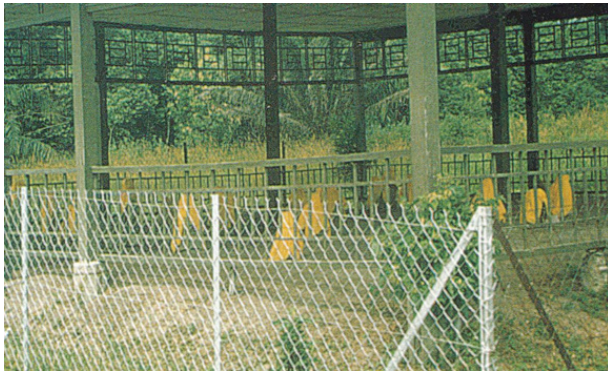


PHOTO 5. Makam 12 at Sayong Pinang.
Source: Asyaari 2012

Normally the graves found in this area are reserved for state officials. There are a total of 4 graves from the whole site whose tombstones have been extensively studied by previous researchers (Perret and Kamarudin 1999). These tombstones are known as Makam Dua Belas Sayong Pinang SPDB 3, SPDB 4, SPDB 5 and SPDB 10. For tombstone SPDB 3, Engku 'Abdul-Hamid' suggests that the carving on it is taken from the al-Quran. The present state of carving is less than perfect and barely legible. The date on this tombstone is 857 Hijrah (or 1453 C.E.). The carving on SPDB 3 has been translated as follows:

- (1) *Fatihah bagi Almarhum yang patut diampuni.*
- (2) *Pada hari Isnin bulan*
- (3) *Sha'ban tahun lima puluh tujuh*
- (4) *Dan delapan ratus (=857) (bulan Ogos-September 1453), telah meninggal dunia si puan, nenanda*
- (5) *kepada Almarhum Mansur;*
- (6) *yang memerlukan kesayangan Allah Yang Maha Tinggi*

This is the grave of the grandmother to Sayid al-Marhum Mansur.

Another graveyard found here is the Makam To Hang Djumat. It is located at N1° 47' 53.8" dan E103° 39' 27.9". The location of Makam To Hang Djumat is approximately 100 meters to the east of Makam 12. According to Engku Abdul-Hamid, the name of the deceased should be read as "Tu'han" which means "Tun" or "To Hang". This name has not been mentioned by any written sources. This tombstone is similar to SPDB 10. It is also similar to another tombstone found outside the state of Johor, the grave of Sultan Muhammad Syah Pahang. Based upon the similarities of this tombstone with the others at Pahang and SPDB 10,

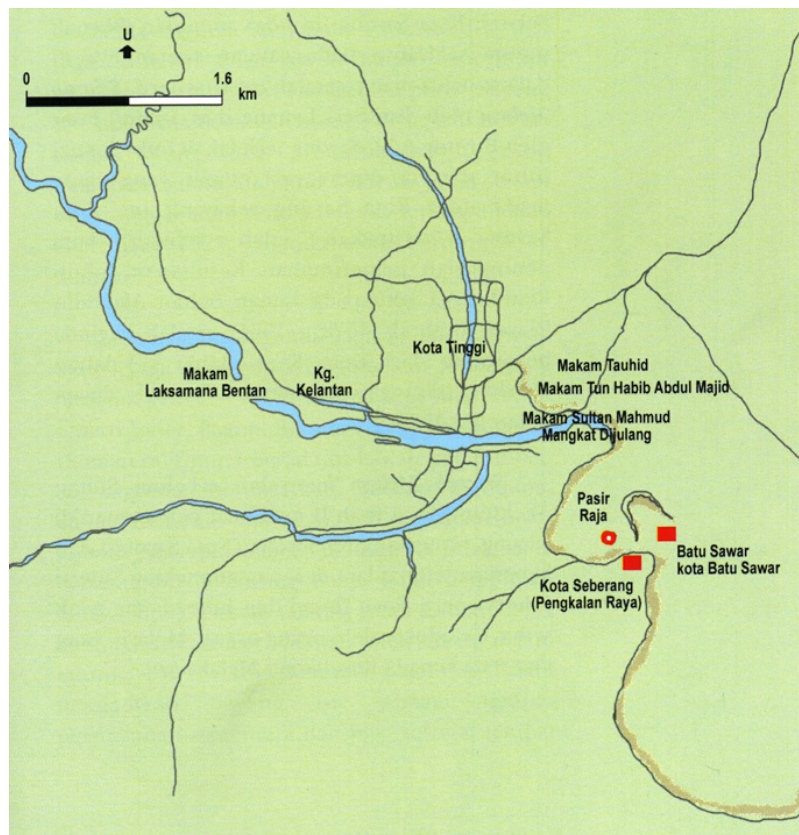
and taking into consideration that SPDB 10 has been dated to be at the end of the 15th century C.E., it has been suggested that this tombstone can be dated to belong to the latter part of the 15th century C.E. This dating is based upon the day and date found on the epitaph stating "hari Rabu hari kesembilan bulan Rabiulakhir". The years that correspond to the date falling on a Wednesday are as follows: 860 H. (17 Mac 1456), 868 H. (21 Disember 1463), 876 H (25 September 1471), 884 H (30 Jun 1479), 892 H (4 April 1478), 900 H (7 Januari 1495) dan 905 H (13 November 1499) (Perret and Kamarudin 1999) (see also map 2). This tombstone is labelled as SAY 1.



PHOTO 6. Makam to Hang Djumat at Makam 12
Source: Field report, Asyaari 1999

In addition to Makam 12, there is another graveyard named Makam 7. It is located at N 1° 48' 02.9" dan E 103° 39' 34.2", approximately 300 meters from Makam 12. This graveyard has 8 graves, which includes two graves located outside the building area towards the east. The other six graves are located in the building area. One of the tombstones is made from coral stone.

At Kota Johor Lama there are two royal graveyard complexes. The location of these two graveyards is far from each other. One is located near to Kota Johor Lama while the other is located in a rubber estate next to the road leading towards Kampung Johor Lama (Johor Lama Village). The tombstones found in both graveyards are clearly Aceh-type. One of these tombstones is believed to mark the grave of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah while another is believed to be that of Mak Bidan. Presently, both graveyard complexes have a new temporary shelter as well as excellent access by road.



MAP 2. The distribution of graveyards along Johor River
Source: Asyaari 2012



PHOTO 7. Grave believed to be of the late Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II
Source: Field report, Asyaari 1999



PHOTO 8. The grave of Mak Bidan at Kota Johor Lama
Source: Field report, Asyaari 1999

There is also a traditional graveyard for commoners at Johor Lama. In this graveyard, there are numerous types of tombstones. Among these are a pair of Aceh-type tombstones that is cylindrical in shape and approaching 1 meter in height.

At Seluyut, there is a group of three grave that might be related to several historical events mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu*. According to this text, Sultan Muzaffar Syah II passed away at Seluyut was subsequently buried at Bukit Seluyut. Thus, he was given the title “Marhum mangkat di Seluyut”. According to *Sejarah Melayu*, his nephew, Sultan Abdul Jalil I, passed away at the age of nine years old, not long after ascending the throne. He was also buried close to the grave of Sultan Muzaffar Syah II. This historical text also states that Raja Fatimah, the daughter of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II and the sister of Sultan Muzaffar Syah II, was also buried at Seluyut close to the grave of her brother. This occurred before the death of Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II in 1597. Thus, the three persons buried close to each other, which the writer identifies as the graves of Seluyut 1 (SELU 1), Seluyut 2 (SELU 2) and Seluyut 3 (SELU 3) are probably the graves of the Sultans mentioned above while in the group of two graves identified as Seluyut 4 (SELU 4) and Seluyut 5 (SELU 5), one of them is probably the grave of Raja Fatimah.

WEAPONRY

Weapons such as keris, lembing (spears), and tombak (lances) are rarely found during excavations at the archaeological sites along the Johor River. According to several informants from Sayong Pinang, some inhabitants from Felda Sungai Sayong found several keris, that were believed to have been made during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II, during the 1970's. At that time, the Felda area was just being opened and settled; during the process of clearing the forest and the planting of palm oil seedlings, the settlers found several artefacts including weapons. Even so, they were scared to declare their discoveries to the researcher because they were afraid that the artefacts would be taken away and further legal action will be taken against them. Luckily, the author was able to look at several keris, swords, lances and spears that were in the collection of a local inhabitant. During the archaeological excavations nearby, several keris, lances and rusted arrow-points were uncovered.



PHOTO 9. Weapon made from iron.
Source: Field report, Asyaari 1999



PHOTO 10. Arrow-point made from iron
Source: Field report, Asyaari 1999

JEWELLERY

In the history of archaeological research on the sites of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga, especially along the Johor River, there has been no discovery of any jewellery such as necklaces, rings, earrings, bracelets and anklets. The closest thing to jewellery found thus far are golden dinar coins dated between 1623 and 1677 C.E. i.e. during the reign of Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Syah III (at Kota Panchor). Even so, one site associated with this Sultanate that has not been mentioned in this paper is located at the Fort Canning Hill in Singapore. At this site, a pair of golden rings and a golden necklace bearing the motif of *Javanese Kala Head* were uncovered (Miksic and Low 2004: 17). It cannot be denied that the royal jewellery made out of gold has rarely been found. This might be because such artefacts have been lost, destroyed or even hidden by those associated with the royal family.



PHOTO 11. Golden Dinar Coin with the name of
Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah III
Source: Asyaari 2012

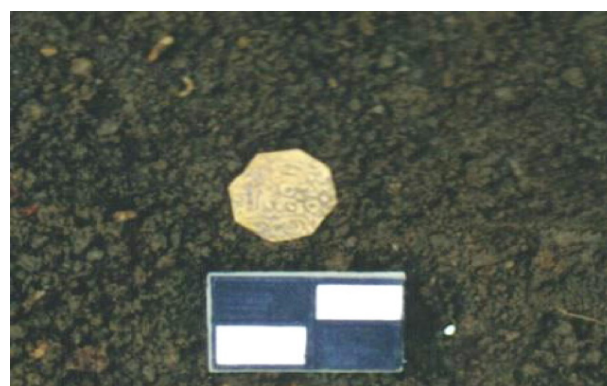


PHOTO 12. Golden Dinar Coin found *in-situ*
Source: Asyaari 2012



PHOTO 13. Jewellery found at Fort Canning, Singapore bearing the motif *Javanese Kala Head*
 Source: Asyaari 2012

CERAMICS

Close to 95% of the archaeological (excavation) finds along the Johor River valley are primarily ceramics. This suggests that each of the sites associated with the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga had ceramics. Most of the ceramics found were fragmentary and only a few were found complete. There were various types, colours, motifs, shapes and sizes, that came from all over, not just the southeast Asian region, but also Europe and China. Even so, most of the ceramics came from China and was dated between 15th and 19th century C.E. After extensive qualitative and quantitative analysis, it was discovered that the ceramics fragments that came from Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Khmer and locally were dated earlier than 15th century C.E.

The presence of thousands of ceramic fragments at each site associated with the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga suggests numerous possibilities. These possibilities include the existence of an earlier kingdom in Johor, the existence of two-way relations between the locals and the world outside, for example with China, Thailand, and Europe, the existence of an extensive trading network, and the existence of diplomatic relations suggested by the possibility of ceramics being a token of appreciation sent by the Chinese emperor to the Sultan.

An important observation on the ceramics at the site of the Johor kingdom found that some ceramic specimens were dated between the 9th to 14th century C.E. along the valley of Johor River. Even so, there were also ceramics dated later from 17th to 19th century C.E. Among the ceramics found were Song Celadon plates from the 11th to 13th century C.E., Song Celadon ceramics, Swatow ceramics,

Kiangsi ceramics, Ming Xuande ceramics from the 15th century C.E., Siamese ceramics from the 13th to 15th century C.E. and blue and white Vietnamese ceramics from the 15th century C.E.

OTHER ARTEFACTS

Artefacts such as state regalia, royal clothing, royal jewellery, and weaponry such as the royal keris have not been found during excavations. It cannot be denied that some of the artefacts mentioned might still exist today and is in the safe keeping of certain individual with strong ties to the royal family. There are also certain items that are in display at local museums such Muzium Sejarah Kota Tinggi and Muzium Pulau Penyengat in Riau.



PHOTO 14. 13th century C. E. Song Celadon Plate
 Source: Muzium Sejarah Kota Tinggi

Monumental remains or features that are large such as the palace, houses of officials, and forts (with the exception of Kota Lama dan Fort Canning Hill) are no longer in existence. This is partly due to the age factor and also maybe because the building



PHOTO 16. 13th century C. E. Song Closed Vase (with Dragon)
 Source: Muzium Sejarah Kota Tinggi

materials used for these monuments are not strong enough to withstand the numerous attacks by enemy forces, thus ending up being destroyed. The factor of shifting from one capital to another might also be a reason why monuments associated with this Sultanate no longer exists. The constant shifting of capitals also creates a situation where there is little time for the various Sultans to build a palace that is big, strong and beautiful.



PHOTO 17. 15th century C. E. Ming Plate
Source: Muzium Sejarah Kota Tinggi

CONCLUSION

A lot of important historical events occurred during the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga especially starting with the fall of Melaka in 1511 until 1699. This rich period in history would have generated a lot of cultural remains, some of which can still be seen today. A total of ten Sultans have been at the helm of this kingdom during that time. The various

researches on the cultural heritage of this Sultanate especially on the royal mausoleums with Aceh-style tombstones, ceramics, coins, weaponry and the remains of fortifications have achieved a lot in expanding our understanding of this era.

One particular item observed as a result of this study is the existence of a pre-Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga, uncovered with the discovery of a Aceh tombstone (batu nisan Aceh) dated 1453 C.E. (equivalent to the Islamic calendar of 857 Hijrah). In addition to this discovery, a lot of ceramics dated between 11th and 15th century C.E. were uncovered at these sites, also supporting the existence of a kingdom prior to the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga.

The existence of an earlier kingdom is not only proven by the discovery of artefacts; some written sources also mentions its existence. These written sources include Siamese sources i.e. a Siamese book on laws entitled *Kot Mont'ien Ban* (1358), Javanese book entitled *Negarakertagama* that was penned by Prapanca in 1365 and a Malay document entitled *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* by Raja Ali Haji (Buyung Adil 1980: 1-3). These sources mention the existence of an earlier kingdom in Johor before the 16th century C.E.

During the time of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga in the 16th century C.E., there was such a lot of internal and external political strife that it caused the capital of the Sultanate to shift places a number of time. The chronology for the shift of capitals (or place of abode for the various Sultans) is as follows:

TABLE 1. The Malay Johor-Riau-Lingga Sultanate Monarchy

SULTANATE AND KINGDOMS	DATE
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Muar, Pahang	08/1511 -1512
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Pekan Tua	1512 ?
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Pulau Bintan	<= 1513-1518
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Pagoh	1518 - 1520
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Pulau Bintan	1520 - 11/1526
(Sultan Mahmud Syah I) Kampar	11/1526 - 1528
(Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II) Pahang	1528 - <=1533
(Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II) Pekan Tua	<=1533 - 1535
(Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II) Sayong Pinang	1535 - 1536
(Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah II) Johor Lama	1536 - 1564
(Sultan Muzaffar Syah II) Johor Lama	1564 - <= 1569
(Sultan Muzaffar Syah II) Seluyut	1564 - <= 1569
(Sultan Abdul Jalil I) Seluyut	<= 1569

continue ...

continued ...

(Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II) Seluyut	<= 1569 - <= 1582
(Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II) Johor Lama	<= 1582 – 08/1587
(Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II) Pulau Bintan, Tanah Putih / Batu Sawar	08/1587 - <= 1589
(Sultan Abdul Jalil Syah II) Makam Tauhid / Batu Sawar	1589 - 1597
(Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah III) Makam Tauhid / Batu Sawar, Pasir (Pasar?) Raja / Batu Sawar	1597 - 1613
(Sultan Abdullah Ma'ayat Syah) Makam Tauhid / Batu Sawar	1613 - 1617
(Sultan Abdullah Ma'ayat Syah) Pulau Bintan	1617 - 1618
(Sultan Abdullah Ma'ayat Syah) Pulau Lingga	1618 - 1623
(Sultan Abdul Jalil III) Pahang/ Bintan/ Patani	1623 - 11/1641
(Sultan Abdul Jalil III) Makam Tauhid / Batu Sawar	11/1641 - 07/1642
(Sultan Abdul Jalil III) Batu Sawar / Seberang Sungai	07/1642 - 04/1673
(Sultan Abdul Jalil III) Pahang	04/1673 - 11/1677
(Sultan Ibrahim I) Pahang	11/1677 - 1678
(Sultan Ibrahim I) Riau	1678 - 1683
(Sultan Ibrahim I) Batu Sawar	1683 - 02 / 1685
(Sultan Mahmud Syah II) Riau	02 / 1685 ? - 07/ 1688
(Sultan Mahmud Syah II) Makam Tauhid / Kota Tinggi	07/ 1688 – 08/1699

Source: Asyaari 1999

During the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga, there also existed several settlements and traditional harbours in this area. Some of these sites have been identified as Kota Johor Lama, Kota Sayong Pinang, Kota Panchor, Seluyut, Batu Sawar and Kota Tinggi. The remains of an ancient harbour are still present at Kota Johor Lama.

The cultural remains of this Sultanate is no less great even though most traces of it has been lost or destroyed. Therefore, it is hoped that in the future, the Yayasan Warisan Johor in conjunction with local universities and the Department of Heritage will intensify their research efforts on the sites associated with this Sultanate. This is because during the period from 1998 until 2001, excavations could only be undertaken at three main areas, Kota Sayong Pinang, Kota Panchor and Kota Johor Lama. It is hoped that in the future, archaeological research to trace the history and heritage of Johor in particular can be expanded and intensified. Among the sites most suitable for additional research is at Kota Seluyut, Kota Batu Sawar, Kampung Makam, Kota Tinggi and Kota Johor Lama itself. With more research throughout the area of the Malay Sultanate of Johor-Riau-Lingga, it is hoped that we can achieve more meaningful discoveries especially in the efforts to save the heritage of the nation.

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