

A BRUNEI SULTAN OF THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A Study of an Arabic Gravestone

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Introduction

As a Chinese scholar, I was lucky to be able to join the Maritime Silk Routes Expedition organized by UNESCO. As a member of the international team of scholars, I sailed on the the expedition ship, the Fulk-al-Salamah, from Oman to China, stopping in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, and the Philippines. I took part in the international seminars held in each of these countries during the expedition. I cannot describe here all the events from which I benefited during this scientific expedition, so I shall confine myself to those that particularly concerned my own studies and which took place in Brunei Darussalam.

Along the portion of the Maritime Route Expedition I followed, Brunei, which is not a Member State of UNESCO, was also the only country which did not have official diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. There is, however, a very long history of relations between the two countries. The earliest Chinese records of Brunei date back to the period of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 503-557). Since that time, various names for Brunei can be found in different Chinese documents, such as Po-li, Bo-ni, Fo-ni, Po-lo, and Wen-lai among others. Most scholars agree that all these names refer to the north-western part of Borneo Island and the region around Brunei Darussalam.¹

My interest in Islamic inscriptions on the gravestones of Brunei had been aroused for sometime, due to the discovery of a Chinese gravestone

of A.D. 1264.² This was the earliest evidence of Chinese Muslim remains in South and Southwest Asia and particularly attracted my attention as it is the gravestone of a certain “Mr. Pu,” who had gone to Brunei from Quanzhou, the town where I myself lived from 1976 to 1985. (During those years I worked in the Foreign Maritime Museum, and since then I have been studying the Arabic and Persian inscriptions and Islamic history of that region).

During my stay in Brunei, I visited five Muslim cemeteries in Bandar Seri Begawan with Mr. Hâjî Abdul Rahîm bin Hâjî Aḥmad, curator of the exhibition section of the Brunei Museum, and his colleagues PG. Hâjî Moḥd Yamîn PSJ and PG. Hâjî Abd Momîn. Professor Liu Ying-sheng from Nanjing University (China), also a member of the UNESCO International Expedition, accompanied us. We visited the sites of the Jalan Residency cemetery (which is the site of the Chinese gravestone of A.D. 1264), the Royal Grave Yard, the Jalan Brunei Tutong cemetery, the Mausoleum of Sultan Bolkiah, and the tomb of Sultan Sharîf Alî at Kota Batu.

Identification of a Brunei Sultan Gravestone

While I was visiting the Brunei Museum and glancing through the contents of the *Brunei Museum Journal*, I came across two photographs of an Arabic gravestone. I was struck by the similarity of that gravestone to those I had frequently seen in Quanzhou. At first I was surprised and wondered why the *Brunei Museum Journal* would publish an Arabic inscription excavated in Quanzhou. However, after I had read it in detail, I was even more surprised because the gravestone in question was not found in Quanzhou, but in Brunei. The paper was entitled “Tomb of Maharaja Brunei” and presented by Metassin bin Hâjî Jabah and Suhaili bin Hâjî Ḥassan.³ They mentioned that the gravestone was found at the Residency/Dagang cemetery near the town center and that it was made of granite. However, although I could only judge from the photographs in the *Journal*, my experience suggested that the gravestone was made of diabase, not granite, and that the inscription was carved in Quanzhou, not in Brunei. In order to confirm this first intuition I asked to see the gravestone itself. Thus, the day before I left Brunei, thanks to the aid of Mr. Awang Sumadi bin Sukaimi, chief cultural officer of Brunei, I was able to see the gravestone in an underground storeroom of the Brunei Museum. The gravestone was indeed made of diabase, not granite. I was also told that no such mineral exists in Brunei.

The gravestone measures 68.5 cm in height, 39 cm in width, and 9 cm in thickness; the top is in the shape of a pointed bow; the bottom has

a rectangular tenon which is easily erected upon a stone base with a mortise; both sides are polished and decorated with a band in concave relief and are engraved with Arabic inscriptions: seven lines on the front and four lines on the back.

Mr. Jibah provided a full text of the Arabic inscriptions on both sides, except for one word at the end of the third line of the front. The text was transcribed by two Egyptian scholars, Mr. Abdulla Abdul Hamid al-Attar, Director of the Coptic and Islamic Antiquities Secretariat, Ministry of Culture, and Mr. Yehiya Abdul Alim, Secretary at the Museum of Islamic Art, Division of Stones, Welfare and Proofs, Bab el-Khalk, Cairo. Mr. Jibah also presented an English translation of the text by Mr. Hâjî Muḥammad Siraj, senior religious propagation assistant, Dakwah and Tabligh Centre, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam. Most of the text in Arabic was correctly transcribed except for a few words. As regards the front, I suggest that the word at the end of the third line missed by Mr. Jibah is “yusamma,” meaning “he was called.” The word “al-Alm” in the second line should be “al-Ālim” meaning “a learned man.” On the back, the last line was wrong. In order that the reader may understand the text better, I shall give a full version of the Arabic inscriptions, as well as a complete English translation as follows:

The Arabic inscriptions

Front:	Back:
(١) ا هذا قبر المرحوم الشهيد	ب (١) كل نفس ذائقة
(٢) السلطان العالم العا	(٢) الموت وانما توفون
(٣) دل المويد المظفر يسمى	(٣) اجوركم يوم القيامة
(٤) مهاراجا برنى تغمده	(٤) فمن زحزح عن النار
(٥) الله بالرحمة والر	
(٦) ضوان وصللى الله	
(٧) على محمد وآله اجمعين	

English translation:**Front:**

- 1, This tomb belongs to the late martyr
- 2, Sultan, a learned and just man
- 3, a protector and conqueror. He was called
- 4, Mahârâjâ Brunî. Forgive him
- 5, Allâh with His grace and pleasure.
- 6, May Allâh bless
- 7, Muhammad and all his descendants.

Back:

- 1, Every soul must taste
- 2, of death; and ye shall only be paid your hire
- 3, upon the resurrection day.
- 4, But he who is forced away from the fire⁴

Neither the date nor the name of the deceased was given in the inscription, although there were several titles for the person, such as “Mahârâjâ” meaning “great king” and “Brunî” meaning “Brunei.” Mr. Jibah pointed out that “history tells us that there is no such name as ‘Mahârâjâ’ for a Sultan in Brunei.” What does the term “history” mean here? I believe it might mean “the Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tarsilah) of the Sultans of Brunei.”⁵ One could argue that if the real name of the deceased was not engraved on the stone, it could hardly be verified with the Genealogical Tablet of the Sultans of Brunei. In addition, the Genealogical Tablet of the Sultans of Brunei only covers twenty-nine generations of the Sultans of Brunei and the earliest rule of Sultan Muhammad Shâh only dates back to A.D. 1363.

Situation of Arabic Stone Carvings of Quanzhou

Before we go to the heart of the discussion I wish to present some essential information pertaining to the study of the stone carvings of Muslims in Quanzhou. In earlier times, Quanzhou used to be a major trading port, especially from the mid-ninth century to the mid-fourteenth century. Foreigners came to Quanzhou from all over the world and settled there. Among them, Muslims were the most numerous. They built mosques and cemeteries in the city and around the suburbs. When the ancient city wall of Quanzhou was demolished during the 1920s and 1930s a great number of stone carvings in Arabic and Persian were excavated. In 1957, photos of seventy-seven Arabic and Persian inscriptions were published by Wu Wen-liang, of which seven were fully

translated and eighteen were partially translated into Chinese.⁶ In the 1970s and 1980s a number of other stone inscriptions in Arabic and Persian were found and deposited in the Foreign Maritime Museum of Quanzhou. In 1984 the author published *Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou*, which catalogued 168 Arabic and Persian stone inscriptions found in Quanzhou up to 1981, with full translations and appropriate textual research.⁷ Recently, in a new book entitled *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine: Vol. 1, Province de Fujian*, I increased the number of inscriptions by twenty, covering those found at Quanzhou since 1982.⁸

Most of the Arabic and Persian stone inscriptions in Quanzhou date from the Song and Yuan Dynasties (A.D. 961-1368). Most were excavated at the foot of the ancient city walls built between A.D. 1352 and 1398 and the remainder were found among the Muslim cemeteries in the south and east suburbs. They are divided into two categories according to their use: mosque structures and tomb structures. The former include lintel stones, decorated stones, and historical recorded stones of mosques. The latter include gravestones, grave-carving-stones, facing-stones, and lintel-stones of qubba. The inscriptions are mainly in Arabic and a few are mixed with Persian and Chinese. They indicate the names of mosques; the founders or renovators and dates of establishment and renovation of mosques; the names and dates of the dead; and the origins and status of the deceased and quotations from the Korân and Hadîth. These stone inscriptions provide material which is particularly valuable for the study of the history of Islam and the foreign maritime trade of Quanzhou. The collection of Arabic and Persian stone inscriptions of the Quanzhou Foreign Maritime Museum is the richest of all the museums in China.

A Comparative Study of Brunei Sultan and Quanzhou Fâtimat Gravestones

Generally, when faced with the fact that there is no date and name of the deceased, epigraphers have to identify a gravestone using methods of comparison. Here I suggest a comparison with the gravestones found in Quanzhou.

Regarding the material of the gravestone, as I mentioned above, the one found in Brunei was made of diabase. Brunei does not have such a mineral, while diabase is common in Quanzhou. Of the 111 gravestones with Arabic inscriptions found in Quanzhou, 91 were made of diabase and the other 20 of granite. The former date from around A.H. 670-764 (A.D. 1272-1362).⁹

Regarding the shape and style of the gravestone, the pointed bow on the top, the bands in concave relief, and the rectangular bottom tenon were exactly the same as those of gravestones found in Quanzhou. As in Brunei, the carving techniques used on the gravestone were similar to those found in Quanzhou. The proportions of the height, width, and thickness too were similar to those in Quanzhou. Below is a comparative list of the gravestone in Brunei and the dated gravestones in Quanzhou:

Table 8.1 Comparative list¹⁰

Site	Height	Width	Thickness	Material	Date
Brunei	68.5	37.5	9.5	diabase	
Quanzhou					
No. 32	69	42	10	diabase	A.H. 689/A.D. 1290
No. 33	72	39	9	diabase	A.H. 698/A.D. 1299
No. 34	61	39	9	diabase	A.H. 700/A.D. 1301
No. 35	61	39	12	diabase	A.H. 701/A.D. 1301
No. 37	83	44.5		diabase	A.H. 702/A.D. 1302
No. 38	56	36		diabase	A.H. 704/A.D. 1304
No. 39	91	49	9	diabase	A.H. 703/A.D. 1303
No. 41	62	36.5	8	diabase	A.H. 704/A.D. 1304
No. 43	75	50	10	diabase	A.H. 715/A.D. 1315
No. 45	74	43	9	diabase	A.H. 721/A.D. 1321
No. 46	56	36.5	8	diabase	A.H. 722/A.D. 1322
No. 48	53	30.5	7.5	diabase	A.H. 725/A.D. 1325

As regards paleographic identification, I believe the inscription on the gravestone in Brunei to be similar to that on the gravestone of Fâṭimat bin Nainâ Ahmad, who died in Quanzhou on the 13th of Ramaḍân, A.H. 700 (22 May A.D. 1301. see No. 34 in above table).¹¹ I also believe that both the Brunei Sultan gravestone and the Fâṭimat gravestone were inscribed by the same people. The gravestone of Fâṭimat is also made of diabase, the top is in the shape of a pointed bow, both sides are polished and decorated with a band in concave relief, and both sides are engraved with Arabic inscriptions: seven lines on the front and four on the back. All the characteristics mentioned for the Fâṭimat stone are the same as those of the Brunei gravestone, except that in the case of the former, the bottom was broken. However, from the broken bottom we can see it was a rectangular tenon which is similar to that of the bottom of the Brunei gravestone. If the words of the two inscriptions are compared the writing is identical. For example:

Table 8.2

Words in Arabic	In Lines of Stone	
	Brunei	Quanzhou
هذا قبر المرحوم	1	1
الس	2	2
تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان	4-6	3
وصللى [الله على محمد وآله اجمعين	6-7	7

Compared with other Muslim gravestones found in Brunei, one particular feature has attracted my attention—though no gravestone of either the first or the second Sultan has been found in Brunei, all inscriptions on the gravestones of the Sultans of Brunei since the third generation of the Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tersilah) were written mainly in Jawi except for quotations from the Korân, Hadîth, or some very common Islamic verses. Moreover, those inscriptions have not provided any explanation of the meaning of Mahârâjâ. However, not only was this Sultan's gravestone inscribed wholly in Arabic, but it also gave a special explanation of Mahârâjâ as "He was called Mahârâjâ Brunei."

This thorough comparison of the style, shape, and proportions of the Brunei and Quanzhou gravestones, reinforced by the Arabic paleographic study, leads me to believe that the Brunei Sultan Mahârâjâ gravestone of diabase was engraved in Quanzhou about A.H. 700/A.D. 1301, then transported to Brunei for a Brunei Sultan.

Further Supporting Evidence

There were two other relics found in Brunei concerning the relations of Brunei and Quanzhou. One I mentioned above, the Chinese gravestone of a Muslim, Mr. Pu in A.D. 1264, which was made of granite. Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan said: "The tombstone is not made from local material and the Chinese inscription can only have been engraved in China. Even in the nineteenth century, inscribed tombstones were shipped from China to South-East Asia."¹² Shariffuddin and Hâjî Ibrahim pointed out that granite gravestones were used by the Chinese.¹³ In fact, it appears that although granite is also one of the minerals to be found in Brunei, the Malay do not like to use it to make gravestones. I agree with Wolfgang Franke that the gravestone of Mr. Pu was engraved in Quanzhou and shipped to Brunei.

Another relic is a top-stone of a tomb-cover lying on the northern side of the tomb of Sultan Muḥammad Jamalul Alam in the royal graveyard. It is like a stone erected upside-down. Unfortunately, it was too late and quite dark when I found the top-stone. I had no time to measure its size nor to identify the material it was made of. I could merely take photos of it, but I believe it to be made of diabase or granite, not sandstone as was usually the case with the Malay. One cross section faces the sky and is cut out in the shape of pointed bow with a motif of a full moon floating upon a cloud. Both ridge sides of the stone are polished without any inscription. The other cross section is deeply covered. When I inquired as to whether they had seen similar top-stones before, both Hâjî Abdul Rahîm and Mohd Yamin replied in the negative. Indeed, they had never come across similar top-stones during their visits to the ancient cemeteries of Brunei, nor were there any in the collections of the Brunei Museum.

However, this type of top-stone is very familiar to me, as I have seen many similar ones in Quanzhou. Many examples can be found in my publication entitled *Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou*.¹⁴ They are all of the same shape with the same decorative motif and all belong to the period before A.D. 1352 when the ancient city wall was built.

Here I should like to introduce the Ispâh Rebellion and to explain its importance as far as the Muslim population of the region was concerned. Towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty, Muslims in Quanzhou raised an army of Ispâh which was involved in a war among the local powers of Han nationality in Fuzhou, Xinghua (Putian), Huian, and Quanzhou. The war lasted ten years (A.D. 1357-1366) and was called the Ispâh Rebellion by historians.¹⁵ In 1366, the army of Ispâh was wiped out by the army of Chen You-ding (Han army of Fujian province) in two military engagements at Xinghua City and Quanzhou City. After the capture of Quanzhou, the army of Chen You-ding closed the city for three days, wantonly robbing and killing the Muslims among the population. It was recorded that "in the fight all foreigners ['Xi-yu-ren'] were wiped out, some Chinese were killed by mistake because of the colour of their hair and high noses, and the tombs of Muslims were plundered."¹⁶ Only a few Muslims who lived outside the city escaped to remote places, mountain areas, or coastlands and hid their identity in order to survive. From then on foreign merchantmen ceased coming to Quanzhou because the seaport activity was at a standstill. Furthermore, Muslims in Quanzhou subsequently went through a difficult period. As a result it is not easy to find any Arabic inscriptions dating from later than A.D. 1366 in Quanzhou. A few Arabic gravestones from after A.D. 1366 have been found in the villages where the Muslim descendants now live, but they are different in style, shape and paleography and have different motifs from those of the period before A.D. 1366.

Genealogy of the Sultans of Brunei

In Brunei I was given some information on the genealogy of the Sultans of Brunei: "A Family Tree of the Sultans of Brunei Darussalam"¹⁷ and "Sultan-Sultan Brunei."¹⁸ According to the genealogy the present Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah is the 29th Sultan of Brunei and has ruled since 1967. Sultan Muḥammad Shâh was the first Sultan to establish a Muslim kingdom in Brunei in 1368.

The genealogy of the Sultans of Islamic Brunei is based on several historical sources and legends.

Chinese sources

A Chinese record in *Ming-shi* mentioned that in the fourth year of the Hong-wu Era (A.D. 1371), two Chinese envoys, Zhang Jingzhi and Shen Zhi, visited Brunei and met the Brunei King who was called Mahe-mo-sha (Maḥmûd Shâh).¹⁹ Huang Xing-zeng (A.D. 1490-1540) mentioned that in the fourth year of the Hong-wu Era (A.D. 1371), the King of Brunei Ma-mo-sha (Maḥmûd Shâh) sent an envoy named Yi-si-ma-yi (Isma'îl) to the Ming court. He presented credentials and a letter which were decorated with gold and silver and brought local products from Brunei as a tribute.²⁰

Jawi inscription

The Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tarsilah) of the Sultans of Brunei was engraved in the 2d Zu-l-ḥijjah A.H. 1221 (10 February 1807). Mr. Shariffuddin and Mr. Ibrahim did textual research on it and pointed out that some sentences on the tablet "seem to suggest that it is either Sultan Muḥammad or Sultan Aḥmad who took a Chinese wife from Chinabatangan. Another version has it that Sultan Muḥammad took a Johore princess while Sultan Aḥmad, the second Sultan, was a Chinese who came down from Chinabatangan."²¹

Legend among local Muslims

During the early 1360s, Raja Awng Alak Betatar, ruler of Brunei, married Puteri Johor, the daughter of Seri Teri Buana Sang Nila Utama, King of Temasik (Old Singapore) known in Brunei as the Kingdom of Johor. It was during the visit to Temasik that the Raja converted to Islam. The ruler of Temasik invested him with the title, Paduka Seri Sultan Muḥammad Shâh.²²

The Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tarsilah) of the Sultans of Brunei was made late in A.H. 1221/A.D. 1807 and it would appear that the author also referred to the Chinese records and legends of the local Muslims. Ostensibly Brunei scholars took the Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tar-

silah) as the Genealogy of the Sultans of Brunei because they lacked earlier documents or evidence. In fact no other record dating from before the period of Sultan Muḥammad Shâh has been found in Chinese, Jawi, or Malay pertaining to the establishment of the Muslim kingdom in Brunei. It is a recognized fact that many countries in Southeast Asia trace their own history from Chinese documents. I checked two very significant Chinese works entitled *Zhu-fan-zhi* and *Dao-yi-zhi-lue*. The former was written by Zhao Ru-kuo in A.D. 1225²³ and the latter by Wang Da-yuan in A.D. 1349.²⁴ Both authors lived in Quanzhou and both books recorded information on Brunei, in particular on local traditions, customs, products, and Chinese traders in markets. However, no information was given on the religion of the country. The author would argue that the situation of Islam in Brunei before Sultan Muḥammad Shâh is not clear because of the lack of Islamic records on the subject, but we cannot state that a Muslim kingdom had not existed in Brunei before Sultan Muḥammad Shâh.

Regarding the advent of Islam in Brunei, Hâjî Matussin bin Omar, director of the Brunei Museum, pointed out that he preferred a much earlier date, perhaps around the thirteenth century.²⁵

Some names of Muslims in Brunei are mentioned in an earlier Chinese document *Song-shi* (Chronology of Song) recorded in the "Chapter of Bo-ni (Brunei)" that in the second year of Tai-ping-xing-guo (A.D. 977), King of Brunei, Xiang Da sent an envoy, Shi-nu (Sina ?), an assistant envoy Bu-ya-li (Abu 'Alî), and Judge Ge Xin (Kâsîm) to China. They brought a letter from the king for the court of China which mentioned a Chinese merchant named Pu Lu-xie who arrived in Brunei that year.²⁶ According to Purcell, Pu Lu-xie stands for Abu Alî.²⁷ Hâjî Matussin bin Omar pointed out that the above extract suggests that Muslim traders from China were visiting Brunei, and may have been subsequently responsible for the introduction of Islam.

Monumental evidence for the acceptance of Islam in other parts of Southeast Asia has been found in Phan-rang (Champa) dated A.D. 1039,²⁸ Leran (near Surabaya in East Jawa) dated A.D. 1082, Pasai (Sumatra) dated A.D. 1297, and Trengganu (the Malay Peninsula) dated A.D. 1303.²⁹ Besides the above evidence, Dr. Othman Mohd Yatim in his book quoted a study conducted by Abdul Latif Hâjî Ibrahîm in 1979. Ibrahîm identified a gravestone discovered in one of the cemeteries, near Jalan Residency, in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei. It marked the grave of a woman named Makhdarah, who died in A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048). Yatim also indicated that the importance of this woman has yet to be ascertained.³⁰ Yatim has not published the photo of the gravestone since and the author has not seen the paper written by Ibrahîm.³¹ Surprisingly, Mr. Matussin bin Omar did not mention this in his book in

1981, and nobody told me about it during my visit to Brunei. Nothing more can be said about this gravestone at this juncture.

Conclusion

What is the significance of the discovery of the Arabic gravestone of Sultan Mahârâjâ Brunei? It has provided very important evidence concerning the history of the Muslim Kingdom established in Brunei during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. As mentioned above, there are sources in Chinese that record names of Muslims in Brunei. There is also some monumental evidence of the presence of Islam found in the countries of Southeast Asia around Brunei between the late tenth and early fourteenth centuries. However, this only attests to the presence of Muslim traders, and to the fact that Islam had spread to Brunei and the countries around it before the rule of Sultan Muḥammad Shâh. It does not mean that Muslim kingdoms actually existed. The Arabic gravestone of Sultan Mahârâjâ Brunei presented evidence that a Muslim kingdom already existed in Brunei about A.H. 700 (A.D. 1301). It sheds new light on the study of the early history of the Muslim kingdoms established in Brunei, and even in Sumatra if we take into consideration the Arabic gravestone of Sultan Malik al-Salleh of A.D. 1297 found in Pasai (Sumatra). Scholars agree, in general, that the first Muslim kingdom established in Southeast Asia was in Pasai (Sumatra) because of the discovery of the gravestone of Sultan Malik al-Salleh in A.D. 1297. However, this new identification raises some old questions: Where was the first Muslim kingdom established in Southeast Asia? Was Islam introduced from Johor into Brunei or from Brunei into Johor? Were Peninsular Malaysia and the Indonesia Archipelago influenced by Islam mainly from Arabia, Persia, and India, or from China, or from both? What role does Brunei play in the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia?

Professor Lombard believed that the discovery of the Arabic inscriptions in Quanzhou will not only enrich our knowledge of Islam in China, but also renovate our knowledge of Islam in the Orient.³² The author would like to say that the finds of Arabic inscriptions in Brunei obliges us to acknowledge the history of Islam in Brunei and, furthermore, in Peninsular Malaysia and the Indonesia Archipelago.

Notes

1. Zhou Nan-jing, "Hui-gu zhong-guo yu ma-lai-xi-ya wen-lai wen-hua jiao-liu de li-shi" (A Study of the History of the Cultural Exchange between China and Malaysia and Brunei), in *Zhong-wai wen-hua jiao-liu-shi* (History of the Cultural Exchange between China and the Rest of the World), edited by Zhou Yi-liang (Zhengzhou: He-nan ren-min chu-ban-she, 1987), p. 399.
2. Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan, "A Chinese Tomb Inscription of A.D. 1264, Discovered Recently in Brunei," *Brunei Museum Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1973): pp. 91-99.
3. *Brunei Museum Journal*, vol. 6, no.1 (1987): pp. 10-15.
4. The text stopped here and this sentence was not complete. The completed text is a quotation from the Qu'ran 3:185, and the following text is "and brought into Paradise is indeed happy; but the life of this world is but a possession of deceit."
5. A. Sweeney, "Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol., 41, no. 2 (Dec. 1968): pp. 1-82; and P. M. Sharifuddin and Abd. Latif Hâjî Ibrahim, "The Genealogical Tablet (Batu Tersilah) of the Sultan of Brunei," *Brunei Museum Journal*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1974): pp. 253-64.
6. Wu Wen-liang, *Quan-zhou zong-jiao shi-ke* (Religious Inscriptions in Quanzhou) (Beijing, 1957). Wu's book included inscriptions of other religions.
7. Chen Da-sheng, *Quan-zhou yi-si-lan-jiao shi-ke* (Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou) (Fuzhou, 1984).
8. Chen Da-sheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine: Tome 1, Province de Fujian* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1991).
9. Chen Da-sheng, *Quan-zhou yi-si-lan-jiao shi-ke*; Chen Da-sheng, "Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Communauté Musulmane de Quanzhou (Fujian-Chine)" (M.A. thesis at E.H.E.S.S., Paris, 1989), 204 pages and 30 plates.
10. The numbers in the list follow those given by Chen Da-sheng, in *Quan-zhou yi-si-lan-jiao shi-ke*.
11. Chen Da-sheng, *Quan-zhou yi-si-lan-jiao shi-ke*, pp. 16-17, fig. 34-1, 2.
12. Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan, "Chinese Tomb Inscription," p. 94.
13. P.M. Sharifuddin and Abd. Latif Hâjî Ibrahim, "The Genealogical Tablet," p. 253.
14. Chen Da-sheng, *Quan-zhou yi-si-lan-jiao shi-ke*, figs. 89, 97, 118, 120, 121.
15. Chen Da-sheng, "Guan-yu Yuan-mo Quan-zhou Yi-si-lan-jiao yan-jiu de ji-ge wen-ti" (On the Several Problems of the Study on Islam in Quanzhou towards the End of the Yuan Dynasty) in *Yi-si-lan-jiao zai Zhong-guo* (Islam in China) (Yinchuan, 1982), pp. 140-5, 168-74.
16. "Li-shi" (An Amorous Story) in *Qing-yuan Jin-shi zu-pu* (Genealogy of the Jin Lineage in Quanzhou), manuscript edited by Jin Zhi-xing (Quanzhou, 1555).
17. *Selamat Datang! Welcome*, edited by Broadcasting & Information Department, Brunei Prime Minister's Office (Brunei Darussalam, 1987), p. 9.
18. Disusun Dan Diterbitkan Oleh Jabatan Pusat Sejarah, Kementerian Kebudayaan Belia Dan Sukan (Negara Brunei Darussalam, 1990).
19. Zhang Ting-yu, *Ming-shi* (Chronology of the Ming Dynasty) (Beijing, 1739; reprinted in 1974, vol. 325: "Wai-guo liu" [Foreign Countries 6], "Bo-ni" [Brunei]).
20. Huang Xing-zeng, *Xi-yang chao-gong dian-lu* (Tributes from the Western Countries), c. 1520 (Reprinted in Beijing, 1982), p. 56.
21. P.M. Sharifuddin and Abd. Latif Hâjî Ibrahim, "The Genealogical Tablet," pp. 254, 257, footnote 9.
22. William L.S. Barrett, *Brunei and Nusantara: History in Coinage* (Brunei, 1988), p. 2.

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25. Matussin bin Omar, *Archaeological Excavations in Protohistoric Brunei* (Brunei, 1981), pp. 1-2.
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27. V.W.W.S. Purcell, *The Chinese in South-East Asia* (London, 1951), p. 25.
28. Paul Ravaisse, "Deux inscriptions coufiques du Campa," *Journal Asiatique* Series II, vol. 20 (Paris, 1922): pp. 247-89.
29. S.Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), pp. 38-50, 64-68. The gravestone of Leran belongs to a Muslim woman named Fâṭimah. The gravestone of Pasai is at the grave of Sultan Malik al-Salleh.
30. Othman Mohd Yatim, *Batu Aceh—Early Islamic Gravestones in Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1988), p. 62.
31. Abdul Latif Hâjī Ibrahim, "Penemuan Batu Nisan Bertarikh 440 Hijrah (1048 Masehi) di Brunei," *Dewan Budaya* Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Oct. 1979), pp. 6-9.
32. Denys Lombard, "Compte-rendu de CHEN Da-sheng, Quanzhou Yisilangjiao shike (Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou [Zaitun])," in *Archipel*, no. 31 (Paris, 1986): pp. 195-96.