

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 13, Number 1, 2006



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STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 13, no. 1, 2006

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 23a/DIKTI/2004).

Kerajaan-Oriented Islam: The Experience of pre-Colonial Indonesia

Abstraksi: *Di Indonesia masa pra-kolonial, juga di Asia Tenggara secara umum, hubungan erat antara ulama dan raja merupakan fenomena umum. Di Samudra Pasai, kerajaan Islam pertama pada abad ke-13, hubungan ulama-raja terbangun secara kokoh. Ibnu Battûta, pengembara yang mengunjungi Samudra Pasai pada sekitar 1345, menginformasikan bahwa penguasa kerajaan tersebut, Sultan Malik al-Zahir, sangat bergairah belajar Islam kepada ulama. Dia juga mencatat bahwa pusat studi Islam telah didirikan di lingkungan kerajaan, di mana ulama dan elit kerajaan terlibat dalam diskusi intensif mengenai ajaran-ajaran Islam. Hal serupa juga berlangsung di kerajaan Malaka pada abad ke-14. Para ulama dan kadi menempati posisi penting di kerajaan, mengabdikan kepada raja yang memang menjadi patron mereka.*

Hubungan erat ulama-raja di atas tentu memiliki landasan historis yang kuat, yang bisa dilacak pada proses Islamisasi, di mana ia berlangsung sejalan dengan pembentukan kerajaan dan perkembangan ekonomi perdagangan. Terletak di lokasi strategis dalam “perdagangan jarak jauh” antara Lautan Hindia dan Cina Selatan, sejumlah wilayah di Indonesia tumbuh menjadi pusat perdagangan. Para pedagang Muslim mancanegara, sebagai satu segmen penting dalam perdagangan jarak jauh, menetap dan membentuk komunitas dagang di Indonesia. Akibatnya, dari kota dagang itulah proses Islamisasi berlangsung, yang kemudian mencapai puncaknya pada abad ke-13 seiring transformasi kota-kota dagang menjadi kerajaan-kerajaan Islam.

Dengan pola perkembangan demikian, maka bisa dipahami bahwa Islam di Nusantara pra-kolonial menempati posisi sangat sentral dalam sistem sosial-politik dan budaya yang berlaku; Islam sejak awal menjadi bagian penting dalam proses pembentukan kerajaan. Begitu juga bisa dipahami bahwa ulama menjadi bagian dari elit kekuasaan. Para ulama senantiasa berada di samping raja untuk memberi nasehat-nasehat spiritual keagama-

an, dan sekaligus memberi legitimasi bagi praktek-praktek politik penguasa di tengah rakyatnya yang beralih menjadi Muslim. Dari sinilah, para ulama menempati jabatan kadi, penghulu, bahkan syaikhul Islam, khususnya di kerajaan Aceh. Mereka termasuk salah satu elit kerajaan dengan sejumlah keistimewaan karena pengetahuannya di bidang ilmu-ilmu keislaman. Dengan demikian, 'ulama menjadi salah satu agen terdepan yang bertanggungjawab dalam penterjemahan Islam di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, yang selanjutnya melahirkan satu perumusan "dimensi Islam Indonesia yang orisinal".

Di samping itu, peran penting ulama di atas juga didukung budaya politik Melayu-Nusantara yang memang memandang raja sebagai pusat dari seluruh aspek kehidupan rakyat di kerajaan, termamsuk kehidupan keagamaan. Raja tidak hanya diyakini sebagai pemilik wilayah dan rakyat kerajaan, tapi juga sebagai pribadi yang tercerahkan (*bodddhisatva*), yang membawa warganya ke arah kemajuan dan peningkatan spiritual. Dengan demikian, kerajaan diartikan sebagai "kondisi memiliki raja". Raja dianggap sebagai penjelmaan dari eksistensi kerajaan, dan rakyat hidup di bawah sang raja. Budaya politik inilah yang menjadi dasar dari pembentukan wacana intelektual Islam yang berkembang, yang di sini disebut sebagai "berorientasi-kerajaan". Kehadiran Islam di dunia Melayu melahirkan proses reorientasi budaya politik pra-Islam. Dan dalam reorintasi inilah peran ulama bisa dijelaskan. Mereka menjadi aktor intelektual dalam penterjamahan Islam dalam kerangka budaya politik Melayu yang berorientasi raja.

Artikel ini menghadirkan satu kajian tentang wajah Islam berorientasi kerajaan, yang didasarkan pada dua naskah Melayu, *Taj us-Salatin* dan *al-Mawâhib* (*al-Mawâhib al-Rabbâniyah 'an al-As'ilah al-Jâwiyah*). Dua teks tersebut dikarang oleh masing-masing Bukhari al-Jauhari di Aceh pada ± 1603 dan Muhammad ibn 'Alâ ibn 'Alân (1588-1647), seorang ulama Mekkah yang, atas permintaan penguasa kerajaan Banten Sultan *Abû al-Mafâkhir 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jâwî al-Shâfi'i* (r. 1626-1651).

Meski lebih banyak mengacu pada *Taj us-Salatin*, pembahasan artikel menggali pemikiran yang terkandung dalam dua naskah tersebut. Artikel ini menunjukkan bagaimana Islam diterjemahkan ke dalam kerangka politik kerajaan dunia Melayu. Pemikiran politik Islam sebagaimana ditulis oleh al-Ghazali (w. 1111) ditampilkan sedemikian rupa menjadi terintegrasi ke dalam budaya politik Melayu. Karena itu, Islam sebagai legitimator atas politik kerajaan, yang bersifat absolut, menjadi sesuatu yang tidak bisa dihindari. Dan itulah inti dari Islam-berorientasi-kerajaan.

Kerajaan-Oriented Islam: The Experience of pre-Colonial Indonesia

الخلاصة: وفي عصر ما قبل الاستعمار بإندونيسيا، و جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة، قد اعتبرت العلاقة الوثيقة بين العلماء والأمراء ظاهرة تسود تلك المناطق. وفي "سامودرا باساي" هي أول ملكة إسلامية في القرن الثالث عشر لها علاقة قوية ومتينة بين الملك والعلماء. وابن بطوطة هو رحالة العرب الذي زار سامودرا باساي حولي سنة ١٣٤٥ حكي لنا أن سلطان الملك الظاهر هو ملك هذه المملكة كانت له رغبة شديدة في طلب العلم على أيدي العلماء. من تسجيلات ابن بطوطة أن في ضواحي المملكة أنشئ مركز للتعليم الإسلامي حيث كان يجري فيه الحوار المكثف بين العلماء ورجال الدولة في العلوم الإسلامية. وكان نفس الأمر يحدث في مملكة "مالاكا" الإسلامية في القرن الرابع عشر، إذ كان يحتل العلماء والقضاة مناصب كبيرة في الدولة وكانوا يخدمون الملك الذي يوقرونه.

لاشك أن هذه العلاقة الوثيقة بين الملك والعلماء لها أساس تاريخي يرجع إلى انتشار الإسلام في المنطقة حيث يواكب تأسيس المملكة زمن تطور الحركة التجارية. وتقع المناطق الإندونيسية المختلفة على الممر الاستراتيجي للتجارة عبر الدول التي تحولت إلى مراكز تجارية. قد استقر التجار المسلمون الذين هم من عناصر مهمة في التجارة عبر الدول في هذه المنطقة وكونوا تجمعا تجاريا فيها. من هذه التجمعات يبدأ انتشار الإسلام الذي بلغ إلى قمته في القرن الثالث عشر حيث تحولت المدن التجارية لتصبح ممالك إسلامية.

بهذا التطور والتحول لا غرابة فيه أن يحتل الدين الإسلامي موقعا مركزيا مهما في النظام السياسي والاجتماعي في أرخبيل إندونيسيا قبل بداية عصر الاستعمار. ومنذ البداية كان الإسلام من عناصر مهمة لتأسيس الدولة. كذلك لا غرابة أيضا أن يصبح العلماء من كبار الشخصيات في المملكة. وهؤلاء العلماء يقفون جنب الملك لنصحه في امور الدين ويفتون له شرعية لممارساته السياسية تجاه رعيته التي أسلمت وصارت مسلمة الذين تحولوا مسلمين. من هنا

كانت بداية تولية العلماء مناصب قضاة الدولة ورجال الدين، بل شيخ الإسلام في مملكة "أشيه". وهم من كبار شخصيات الدولة الذين كانوا يتمتعون بامتيازات مختلفة بفضل جهودهم في العلوم الإسلامية. فالعلماء كانوا يعتبرون من أهم المسؤولين الأولين عن التوجيه الإسلامي في البيئة الملايوية الإندونيسية التي تلعب دورا في تكوين إطار "أصالة البعد الإسلامي الإندونيسي".

بالإضافة إلى ذلك الدور المهم الذي يلعبه العلماء والذي تدعمه الثقافة السياسية الملايوية الإندونيسية التي تعتبر الملك مركزا لجوانب مختلفة لحياة الشعب في مملكته، بما فيها الجانب الديني والروحي. وكان لا ينظر إلى الملك كصاحب السلطة والولاية لشعب مملكته فحسب، بل إنه كان يمثل شخصية منورة تنهض بشعبه إلى التقدم والسمو الروحي. لذلك كانت تعني المملكة بـ "حالة تملك الملك"، وكان يمثل الملك تجسدا لكيان الدولة والشعب يعيش تحت سلطته بالولاء. وهذه هي الثقافة السياسية التي قام على أساسها تكوين الفكر الإسلامي المتطور الذي يطلق عليه "التوجيه الملكي". وانتشار الإسلام في أرض ملايوية يخلق طريقة التوجه إلى الثقافة السياسية قبل الإسلام. ومن هذا المنطلق يمكن أن نفهم دور العلماء البارز المذكور الذين كانوا مثقفين وممثلين لتعريف الإسلام للثقافة السياسية الملايوية ذات الصبغة التوجيهية الملكية.

يقدم هذا البحث دراسة عن صورة الإسلام ذات التوجيه الملكي وهي مبنية على الكتابين الملايويين، هما "تاج السلاطين"، للمؤلف بخارى الجوهري (١٦٠٣م) و"المواهب (المواهب الربانية عن الأسئلة الجاوية)" للمؤلف محمد بن علي بن علان (١٥٨٨-١٦٤٧م)، من علماء مكة الذي ألف كتابه المشار إليه بناء على طلب السلطان أبي المفكر عبد القادر الجاوي الشافعي (١٦٢٦-١٦٥١م) من المملكة "بانتين" الإسلامية.

رغم أن هذه المقالة تعتمد على أكثر من كتاب "تاج السلاطين"، إلا أنها تدرس الأفكار المتضمنة في الكتابين وتصف لنا حول التعريف الإسلامي على الصعيد السياسي للممالك الملايوية. كما أنها تضمن آراء الإمام الغزالي (ت ١١١١م) السياسية بطريقة خاصة في سياق اندماجها مع الثقافة السياسية الملايوية. لذلك أن الإسلام كمشروع رسم لسياسة الدولة الذي يتسم بصفة الشارع المطلق أصبح أمرا ضروريا للقبول. هذا هو صلب الإسلام ذي التوجيه الملكي.

In the seventeenth century, in line with intensifying Islamization that was in part due to the influence of the intellectual networks with the Middle East (Azra 1992), Islam in Indonesia underwent dramatic developments. In terms of politics, this period marked the emergence of political ideas that were gradually melded with Islamic tradition. Here, such Islamic political texts as *al-Mawâhib* and *Taj us-Salatin* — the texts I will discuss in this paper — are evidence this development. For the reasons I will elucidate below, these two texts had a special importance in the Islamic political discourse of pre-colonial Indonesia.

About the Texts

Al-Mawâhib — or *al-Mawâhib al-Rabbâniyah ‘an al-As ‘ilah al-Jâwiyah* in full — was written by an ‘âlim of Mecca, Muhammad ibn ‘Alâ ibn ‘Alân (1588-1647) at the request of the ruler of the Banten kingdom, Sultan Abû al-Mafâkhir ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Jâwî al-Shâfi‘î (r. 1626-1651). The manuscripts of this text are preserved at Leiden University Library (Or. 7405 [4]) and the National Library of Indonesia (A 105, Rol 527.01).¹ Here I will refer to the National Library text; while the Leiden manuscript is a compilation of several texts on different subjects the Jakarta manuscript appears to be one single text. This text examines Islamic political ideas that became the main focus of attention of the ruler of Banten, that is, the political ideas in the *Nasîhat al-Mulûk* by al-Ghazali (d. 1111).

This text provides us with just one of many examples of the how the Middle East, in particular Mecca, has helped shape Indonesian Islam. *Al-Mawâhib* focuses in particular on currently debated issues of politics of seventeenth century Indonesia. The Javanese translation of this Arabic text confirms that *al-Mawâhib* was addressed to the Javanese especially. In addition, what is also of note is that *al-Mawâhib* is rendered in the form of fatwa giving. Each subject of its contents is presented as an answer to a request for a fatwa from the ruler of Banten. Like other texts of *kerajaan* ideology, this 157 page text consists of ten questions and their answers, and is related to the political affairs and rulers’ political exercises. Hence, *al-Mawâhib* reinforces the important role of Mecca as the spiritual centre for rulers’ political legitimacy. Travelling

(*rihla*) to Mecca, including for the *hajj*, was a sign of having proceeded under the domain of, and thus enhanced the *kerajaan*'s political power (Matheson and Milner 1984: 12).

Banten, to which *al-Mawâhib* was primarily addressed, was one of the most prominent kingdoms of seventeenth century Indonesia to have a close relationship with the Middle East (Schrieke 1957: I, 242). The above-mentioned ruler of Banten, originally known as Pangeran Ratu, was the first ruler in Java to gain the title sultan from Mecca, which most likely inspired Sultan Agung of Mataram to follow suit (Ricklefs 2001: 55)². This relationship with Mecca provided the sultan with the strategic means of gaining religious legitimacy for his political power in much the same way as a relationship with the European powers has economic purposes (Gallop 2003: 418-33).³

In addition, what is also of special importance to explain here is that the questions in *al-Mawâhib* were formulated in reference to the mentioned work of al-Ghazali, *Nasîhat al-Muluk*. This indicates that the fatwa seeker (*mustafti*) of Banten was not only familiar with *Nasîhat al-Muluk*, but also showed a desire to see the book integrated to the *kerajaan* politics of Banten, and finally to the Islamic political discourses of seventeenth century Indonesia (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977: 120). The period of which the Banten ruler sent questions to ibn 'Alân parallels with the rise of "mirror for prince" in Indonesian literature history (Marrison 1955: 61), to which such text as *Nasîhat al-Mulûk* belongs (Lambton 1981: 117). Although this text is not mentioned, it can be said that *Nasîhat al-Mulûk* sourced the mirror for prince of Indonesia, the *Taj us-Salatin*. Both texts presented the discourse directed to providing the rulers with the Islamic moral exhortation, guiding them with "practical advice on the right behavior" (Rosenthal 1958: 69).

Written by Bukhari al-Jauhari in Aceh, possibly in 1603, *Taj us-Salatin*⁴ has been one of the most important texts in Islamic political discourse in Indonesia. This text was specifically written to provide religious guidance for the rulers. "Here is the great book", so the *Taj us-Salatin* begins its discussion, "to explicate the etiquette of the rulers (*rajas*), court dignitaries (*menteri dan hulubalang*), all great people (*orang besar-besar*), the subjects (*rakyat*), and everything related to the kingdom" (Hussain: 1992: 6). *Taj us-Salatin* has been acknowledged

as the most important political text in the seventeenth century Malay and Indonesia world. This text was used not only in Aceh, to which the text addressed its advice, but also in Java and South Sulawesi.⁵ Winstedt (1969: 97) therefore credited the *Taj us-Salatin* as having “great influence on Malay ideas”. It became the core element in the formation of political tradition in the Malay and Indonesian world (Abdullah 1993: 35-58).

These two texts, *al-Mawâhib* and *Taj us-Salatin*, further had similarities in terms of both language and their substances. In this paper, *al-Mawâhib* will be discussed in its relation to *Taj us-Salatin*. But before we come to the discussion, I will pay attention to several texts which preceded *al-Mawâhib* in creating the initial discourse on Islamic politics. As I will show below, both *al-Mawâhib* and *Taj us-Salatin* contributed to shaping Islamic political ideas in the land below the wind, that is, what are now referred to as Indonesia and Malaysia.

Contextualizing Islamic Politics:

The Beginning of the Cultural Encounter

Let me begin with *Sejarah Melayu*.⁶ This text is without doubt of great significance to the Islamic intellectual discourses of pre-colonial Indonesia. Considering both the period of its composition — at the time when Islam was already established as a social and political phenomenon (Braginsky 1993: 7-10) — and the nature of its contents that reveals strong familiarity with Islamic terms, *Sejarah Melayu* presents clear evidence of the translation of Islam into the Indonesian society and culture (Errington 1975: 53; Day 1983: 141). Here, *Sejarah Melayu* is taken as the first Malay classical text to present the Islamic discourse.

“... Not from the breed of genies (*jinn*) or fairies are we. We are descended from Raja Iskandar Dzulkarnaen” (Winstedt 1969: 56). This quote from *Sejarah Melayu* deals with the genealogy of Malay rulers. It claims that they were descendents of Iskandar Dzulkarnaen, the great Muslim ruler who held political power from the West to the East; he ruled on the basis of Islamic principles and contributed greatly to the Islamization of every part of the world he conquered. *Sejarah Melayu* narrates the story of Iskandar with such detail that its first part is regarded as the “Iskandar episode” (Ras 1968: 129).

Sejarah Melayu is not the only text to include the story of Iskandar. Almost all Malay classical texts, especially those belonging to the court literary genre, narrate the genealogy of Malay rulers as going back to Iskandar Dzulkarnaen.⁷ There even exists the specific story of *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnaen* (Winstedt 1969: 92-5).⁸ Here, what is of importance is that the *Sejarah Melayu* incorporates the story of Iskandar as an effort to provide the Malay rulers with a religion-based political legitimacy. The genealogy in the Malay political tradition has been preserved as a regalia of the rulers (Milner 1982: 83). The story of Iskandar enabled the rulers to build an heroic image, which was needed as a means of establishing the *raja*-centred politics in the Islamized society (Renard 1993: 261-4). The story of Iskandar indeed emphasizes the supernatural characters of the sacred and omnipotent Muslim ruler.

In pre-colonial Indonesia, the heroic image in fact formed one important feature in the political and literary tradition (Winstedt 1969: 92-134). To mention but a few examples, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah* emerged as counterparts of the story of Iskandar (Brakel 1975). In a comparison with *Hikayat Iskandar*, these two texts also tell the stories of Muslim heroes with attributes which parallel those of Iskandar. Amir Hamzah is depicted in the text as a wandering warrior long before the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Winstedt 1969: 96). The same is also true with the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*. This text is purported to magnify the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the sons of the Caliph Ali, in the battle of *Karbala* against the Umayyad Dynasty, in this case the ruler Yazîd ibn Abî Şufyân (Brakel 1975: 1-6). To put it in other words, the heroic story of Iskandar and those contained in the two texts mentioned have provided the Malay rulers with a strong foundation for the establishment of the Malay royalty and ultimately for political power.

However, such a phenomenon was not exclusive to the Malay world. *Babad Tanah Jawi*, one of the most important Javanese texts, also describes the genealogy of the Javanese rulers in the first part of its content. It begins with the Prophet Adams and his two sons, Sis and Sultan Kanyumarat. Sis succeeded his father as prophet, while Sultan Kanyumarat became the ruler of Kusniya Malebari, inheriting Adams' kingship. The genealogy is then divided

into two branches: the first one representing the prophetic line — mentioning the Prophet Muhammad, Fatimah, and Hassan and Husain as ancestors — and the second one that represents the pre-Islamic Javanese royal line from the Hindu-Buddhist kings. These two lines come together through the Mataram kingdom.⁹

Further to the genealogical claim, the *raja*-oriented politics of Indonesia was also expressed through the religion-based political authority of the ruler. The concept of *daulat* is a good example. Derived from the Arabic root 'd-w-l' with the meaning "to turn, to alternate", the term *daulat* has evolved as an Islamic political concept to signify the power of a dynasty and ultimately a state (Lewis 1988: 35-36). In the Malay political tradition, the term *daulat* has also been employed to denote the power of state, with of course containing local elements attached to the use of the term. *Daulat* in the Malay tradition basically means "the divine elements in kingship" (Wilkinson 1932a: II, 261). It refers to the elements of politics which are supernatural in character, and in consequence are associated to the sacred sovereignty of the rulers.

The term *daulat* was introduced into the Malay political tradition to give new meaning to the concept of *andeka* of the earlier Buddhist kings, a word that refers to "the ghostly forces that lived around sovereign and smote with evil any reckless person who blasphemed their majesty" (Wilkinson 1932b: 80). Thus, *daulat* enunciates the religious aspect of politics which functions to reinforce the position of the rulers, that they have religious sanction to exercise their authority. The *daulat* therefore cannot be sufficiently interpreted by such words as "sovereign" or "power". It is the divine quality which is inherent in the rulers of the Malay world (Errington 1975: 118). As to a divine quality, the concept of *daulat* regards the rulers as having a sort of "divinely-endowed power or gift" which enabled them to exercise political power over the subjects (Khalid-Thaib 1981: 309).

The magnification of the rulers in the concept of *daulat* is supported by the fact that the term is used in conjunction with the royal Islamic title, *zill Allâh fi al-âlam*, "God's Shadow on Earth". The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, a Malay classical text on the history of Samudra Pasai, provides us with a good illustration of this. The text relates that Merah Silu, the pre-Islamic name of Malik al-Sa-

lih, the first ruler of Samudra Pasai, assumed the title “Sultan” immediately after he converted to Islam. He was also bestowed with a famous epithet in the Muslim world, “God’s Shadow on Earth” (Hill 1960: 57-58). And the term *daulat* was used together with the above epithet. The text states, “*Daulat dirgahayu Shah Alam zill Allâh fi al-‘âlam*, O King, Lord of the Realm, God’s Shadow on Earth, may you live for ever” (Hill 1960: 58).

Thus, the *daulat*, together with the honorific titles, clearly mark a claim to divine right by the rulers, that their power is derived from God (Lewis 1988: 45-6).¹⁰ The adoption of these royal Islamic titles by the Malay rulers certainly had a significant impact on the power establishment. These titles signified that the rulers possessed divine attributes, credited them as having religious legitimacy to rule their subjects, endowed them with many rights and privileges, and placed them well above the rest of society (Wahab 1983: 102).¹¹

Growing Islamization in Seventeenth Century Indonesia

In the seventeenth century, Indonesia experienced a period of intense Islamization both institutionally — with the establishment of the offices of the *kadi* (*kadi*) and *shaikh al-Islâm* — and in political views and thought. This period witnessed the growing influence of Islam on the political culture of Indonesia.

The Islamization of seventeenth century Indonesia was marked by the establishment of the legal institution, *kadi* (chief of the court). The office of the *kadi* constituted one leading Islamic institution in the kingdoms, which provided the ‘ulamâ with a location for having religious authority amongst the Muslims. Through the office of the *kadi*, Islamic law (*shâri‘a*) was formulated and legal opinions (*fatâwa*) were issued by the ‘ulamâ, which then contributed to strengthening the Islamic identity of the kingdoms, as well as the role of religion in Muslims daily lives (Gullick 1965: 139).¹²

The existence of the *kadi* in the Indonesian and Malay world seems to have first appeared in the Malaccan state of the fifteenth century. *Sejarah Melayu* mentions the chief of the court (*kadli*) several times, denoting his religious importance within the court. Sultan Mahmud Shah, the Malaccan ruler, is described in *Sejarah*

Melayu as having learned from Kadli Munawar Shah the Islamic precept concerning social affairs (*mu'âmalat*) (Winstedt 1938: 157). *Sejarah Melayu* also credits Kadli Yusuf — the father of Kadli Munawar Shah — as the person who “effected the conversion of the people of Malacca to Islam” (Winstedt 1938: 129). The *kadi* of the Malaccan state is also mentioned in the travel accounts of Tome Pires, in which he states that “the kashises and their mollahs telling him [the Malaccan ruler] that he should not make peace; for as India was already in the hands of the Portuguese, Malacca should not pass to the infidels” (Pires 1944: II, 280).

The office of the *kadi* became more firmly established in seventeenth century Aceh. The *kadi* in Aceh played a major role not only in the limited sense of converting the Indonesian people to Islam, as in the case of Malacca, but also in implementing Islamic law in the kingdom. The Acehnese *kadi* came to prominence during the reign of Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), the greatest ruler of Aceh who ruled the kingdom through its golden age (Lombard 1986). He created the office of the *kadi* as a part of his project of Islamizing the kingdom (van Langen 1986: 54). The office of the *kadi* was designed as an institution responsible for religious affairs, in addition to other legal offices of civic, criminal and economic affairs (Lombard 1986: 106-9; Ito 1984: 159-60). The offices of the *kadi* were divided into two different levels of administration. The first was the central and upper level. It was directly under the authority of the ruler, whose representatives were *Kadi Malikul Adil* (*Qâdî Mâlik al-‘Âdil*) and the leading *Orang Kaya* — the economic elite of the *kerajaan* (Katirithamby-Wells 1986: 256-67) — in the capital. The second was the local or regional level, *nangroe*, which was under the authority of the local ruler, mostly the *Orang Kaya*, who acted on behalf of the ruler (Ito 1984: 156-7).

With the offices of the *kadi*, Aceh under the reign of Iskandar Muda had a relatively established legal system, and consequently some notions of the Islamic law (*shari‘ah*) were performed. Basing on both the local and European sources, Ito (1984: 167-88) provides us with ample evidence Islamic law being practiced in Aceh. In terms of crime, the kingdom prohibited — and made punishable — having alcoholic drinks, unlawful intercourse, theft, and

blood money. Although punishments were carried out for breaking the Islamic laws, according to Ito (1984: 173) at times those punishments were carried out in a manner, "as to have been savage to a degree far beyond that provided by Islamic law". The Acehnese legal codes, such the *Adat Meukota Alam*, stated that the *shari'ah* (described as *hukum Allah*) formed one of the sources of law, in addition to *adat*, the customary law that had been established in the kingdom before Islamic law (van Langen 1986: 52; Ito 1984: 189-9).

Other examples of *shari'ah* being implemented in Aceh can also be found. The kingdom for instance prohibited usury, which is in fact in line with the teachings of the Holy Qur'an, which categorizes it as one of the gravest sin. The kingdom did, however, permit interest-bearing loans, but on the condition that the interest was of no more than 12% per annum and without security (Ito 1984: 184). This exception of interest-taking, also forbidden in the Qur'an, was most likely due to economic necessity.

In the cases of marriage and divorce, the legal practices of the kingdom also show its strong familiarity with Islamic regulation. Here, the practices of *mahr* (bridal gift), the *talâq* (repudiation of a wife by the husband), and the *'idda* (prescribed period of waiting before remarriage), were common to Acehnese Muslims (Ito 1984: 185-6). The familiarity with Islamic legal terms was also true with the cases related to inheritance, about which van Langen (1986: 51) stated that the Acehnese followed the advice of 'ulamâ whom they consulted to distribute properties of the deceased according to the provisions of Islamic law regarding inheritance.

In addition to the *kadi*, the kingdom of Aceh also had *shaikh al-Islâm*, an institution that was especially designed for providing the rulers with religious advice through Islamic scholars. *Shaikh al-Islam* was directly under the ruler, and therefore had direct access to the heart of political development of the kingdom. Here, what is of special importance of *shaikh al-Islâm* is that it emerged as a leading 'ulamâ institution of the Acehnese kingdom, besides the *kadi*. The leaders who were in charge of this institution were the leading 'ulamâ of Aceh, and Indonesia at large. During the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Ri'ayat Shah (r. 1588-1604), the office

of *shaikh al-Islâm* was led by Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1607). He was an outstanding Sufi ‘âlim (Islamic scholar) well known for his ideas on *wahdat al-wujûd* (Azra 1992: 347-8).¹³

Therefore, although religious in its form, the *shaikh al-Islâm* held great influence in the making of social and political policies of the ruler. The travel accounts of the British special envoy to Aceh in 1602, Sir James Lancaster, confirmed such role of an ‘âlim of *shaikh al-Islâm*. Lancaster (1940: 96) described that the ‘âlim, termed as “the chiefe bishope”, was appointed by the ruler as to lead a discussion concerning a treaty of peace and friendship between England and Aceh. At the same time, he also wrote that the ‘âlim was “a man of great estimation with the king and all the people; and so he well deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate”.

The next ‘âlim of *shaikh al-Islâm* was Nuruddin al-Raniri (1641-1675), the great ‘âlim who was to be the icon of the neo-Sufi movement in Indonesia and Southeast Asia at large (Azra 1992: 373-81). Al-Raniri was appointed to the office of *shaikh al-Islâm* in 1637 not long after Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1636-1641) came to power, replacing Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani (d. 1630) who had been in the office during the reign of the previous ruler, Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). Here, while establishing his intellectual career as the proponent of neo-sufism — the *sharî‘ah* — oriented Sufi thought opposing the ideas regarding *wahdat al-wujûd* of Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani¹⁴ — al-Raniri was also involved in the political affairs of the kingdom. He was for instance reported to have mediated a dispute between the ruler and the Dutch, who fiercely protested the ruler’s trade regulation that was favourable to the Gujarat traders. With his authority as “the Moorish Bishop” (so the Dutch named him) al-Raniri successfully persuaded the ruler, Safiyyat al-Dîn (r. 1641-1675), to withdraw the regulation (Azra 1992: 361).

Concerning the office of *shaikh al-Islâm*, it is worth noting that Aceh was the only kingdom in Indonesia to have a formal institution for the ‘ulamâ besides the position of *qâdî*. While the main duties of *shaikh al-Islâm* can not be outlined here, it can be said that with the office of *shaikh a-Islâm*, the rulers of Aceh provided

the *'ulamâ* with opportunities to become involved in fields beyond the Islamic legal affairs of the kingdom. Here, Aceh seems to have adopted the same office of *shaikh al-Islâm* as the Ottomans. Intensive contact and cooperation between Aceh and the Ottomans in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in terms of politics, economics and religion, seems to point to this (Reid 1969: 395-414; Azra 1992: 99-115).

Another Islamic kingdom that is also important to pay attention to here is Banten. As with the kingdoms mentioned above, the *kadi* in Banten played a crucial role in the religious affairs of the kingdom. In term of Islamic legal practices, the kingdom of Banten, together with Aceh, was an exception in the sense that the office of the *kadi* was well established with the tasks of implementing Islamic law throughout the kingdom (Miner 1983: 26-7). For instance, the Islamic penalties that prohibit the use of opium and tobacco were put into effect (Schricke 1957: II, 241; Azra 1992: 81). The court chronicle *Sejarah Banten*, from about 1662/63 (Djajadiningrat 1983: 7-8), moreover, describes the important role of the *kadi* beyond purely religious affairs in the kingdom. For example, the *qâdi* is reported to have been involved in endorsing the succession of the child Muhammad to following the death of Maulana Yusuf (1580), the third ruler of Banten, as opposed to backing Pangeran Jepara, Yusuf's brother and the natural choice to succeed (Djajadiningrat 1983: 42-4).¹⁵

For the Javanese, the position of the *qâdi* had a specific term. It was (and still is) *penghulu*. The *penghulu* came into existence about the time of the establishment of the Javanese Islamic kingdoms in the sixteenth century. It traced back to Demak, the first Islamic kingdom in Java. The first ruler of Demak, Raden Patah, appointed Pengeran Bonang — one of the Javanese *waliis* who introduced Islam to the area — to become the first *penghulu* of the kingdom in 1490. He was replaced by Makdum Sampang (1506-1515), and then Kiayi Pembayun (1515-1521). When Pangeran Sabrang Lor came to power, as the second ruler of Demak, he appointed Rahmatullah to the position of *penghulu*, replacing Kiyai Pembayun. Rahmatullah continued as *penghulu* until 1521, after which Sunan Kudus took

his position (Hisyam 2001: 20-1; de Graaf and Pigeaud 1989: 53-55).

However, we have no sufficient information on the Islamic legal practices of the *penghulus* of the Demak kingdom, nor do we have information on the *penghulus* from other Islamic kingdoms of Java.¹⁶ What is perhaps most important to explain here is that they became Islamic spiritual advisors for the rulers of newly emerging kingdoms, while their duties related to legal practices were limited to the ritual practices and personal affairs (de Graaf and Pigeaud 1989: 77). It is not a surprise, therefore, that the title *penghulu* of Demak was closely associated with the position of mosque leader, or *imâm* (de Graaf and Pigeaud 1989: 52).

A good deal of information, however, can be found regarding the *penghulu* of the Mataram kingdom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here, the *penghulu* became the leaders of what came to be known as the *surambi* court of justice. In the veranda of the great mosque, *surambi* — from which the name of the court was possibly derived — the *penghulu* presided over the court administering justice (Hisyam 2001: 27). The tasks of the *penghulu* of the Mataram kingdom were more encompassing than those of Demak, ranging from family matters to criminal matters, amongst others. Basing on a Javanese historical account, Hisyam (2001: 19) stated that a *penghulu* was in charge of various tasks, “to judge family disputes, inheritance and *wasiyat* (testament) cases, to decide the death penalty, to pray to God asking for His blessing on the king and his family, the army, and the people as a whole. He was an expert on astronomy and master of religious books, the *imâm* of the great mosque, preacher, and religious teacher”.

Similar to *kadi*, the *penghulu* was an officially appointed position by the ruler to carry out the religious duties of the kingdom. As such, the *penghulu* formed part of state administration, which had its own structural hierarchy following the territorial levels of the kingdom. In nineteenth century Mataram, there existed the *penghulu* in the palace, that is, *penghulu ageng* (great *penghulu*), who was appointed by the ruler. Below him were *penghulu ketib* and *penghulu lurah naib* who oversaw matters in regions and districts respectively. The lowest level was *kaum*, who was responsible for

the Islamic administration in the village (Hisyam 2001: 29-30).¹⁷ Holding such a position, the *penghulu* belonged to the ruling elite, the *priyayi* and thus became the head of *abdi dalem pamethakan*, a group of *kraton* officials who were responsible for implementing the Islamic elements of the kingdom affairs (van den Berg 1886: 31). At the same time, he also formed a crucial element in the making of religious life and performance within the kingdom. Amongst his main duties was to appoint, on behalf of the ruler, the '*ulamâ* who would be chosen as heads of *desa perdikan*, which was regarded as the seed of the *pesantren*.

The authority of the *penghulu* was established on the basis of his extensive knowledge of Islamic law (*sharî'ah*). It constituted the most important consideration for his being appointed *penghulu*; administrative skills, loyalty to the ruler, and family networks with the senior *penghulu* or the *priyayi* class in general were also important considerations (Hisyam 2001: 42-3).¹⁸ Well-known Islamic law books (*kitab hukum fekih*) became the main reference in deciding legal cases. Notojoedo (1956: 49) listed the *fiqh* books that were used in the *surambi* court of Yogyakarta, including *al-Muḥarrar* by Abû al-Qâsim 'Abd al-Kârim bin Muḥammad al-Râfî'î (d. 623 H), *al-Maḥallî* by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Maḥallî (d. 864 H), *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtâj* by ibn Hajr al-Haytamî (d. 973 H), *Fatḥ al-Mu'în* by al-Malabârî, and *Fatḥ al-Wahâb* by Abû Yahyâ Zakariyâ al-Anîarî (d. 926 H).

Hence, the *penghulu* had a highly respected position in both the political world of *priyayi* and the religious one amongst the '*ulamâ*. *Kauman*, the village in which the *penghulu ageng* lived (along with his *abdi dalem pamethakan*), became the Islamic corner of the royal palace in which the religious practices of devout Muslims (*kaum santri*) could be observed. This was very much similar to a *pesantren* in the village community. With this, it has to be said here that the *penghulu*, as the case of *kadi*, emerged as an established institution of the '*ulamâ* in the Islamic kingdoms of Indonesia.

Islamizing Political Power: *Taj us-Salatin and al-Mawâhib*

In the discussion which follows, I will focus mainly on *Taj us-Salatin*. This work conceives political power as being an inherent part of religion. Political power (*hukumah*), the matter of governing the society, is juxtaposed to the prophetic duties (*nubuwah*), the matter of guiding the people on the right path. These two kinds of duties must be carried out by the political authorities. They are described as “two jewels in one ring” (Hussain 1992: 46-7). *Taj us-Salatin* further describes political power as being divine in character. That is to say that God is the source of the rulers’ political authority and the ultimate sovereignty of the kingdom. In this regards, *Taj us-Salatin* gives an illustration derived from story tale about the Prophet Adam. The text describes Adam as the first prophet who was appointed by God as the first king on earth. “It is on you to know”, the text states, “that it is the prerogative of God to create Adam on this earth, on whom was bestowed the title *khalifah* (vicegerent) and was appointed as the king among all His servants” (Hussain 1992: 43). The text then stresses that the Prophet Adam ruled the community on the basis of the commands of God (Hussain 1992: 44-45).

The above quotation from *Taj us-Salatin* conveys the basic idea of political thought in Islam, that is that Islam believes in and emphasizes the divine origin of government. The starting point in Islamic political tradition is the assumption that rights and obligations are determined and revealed by God as the ultimate sovereignty. Being divine in origin, the state, within which the life of the community runs its course, is presupposed to guarantee the maintenance of Islam (Lambton 1981: xiv-vi; Kerr 1966: 4). Therefore, the text emphasizes the application of Islamic principles to the state.

At the same time, *Taj us-Salatin* emphasizes the Islamic moral obligation of the rulers, that if the state is ruled on the basis of Islamic principles, then social prosperity and welfare certainly will come. In this respect, *Taj us-Salatin* takes a story from the life of the Prophet Moses (Musa), who struggled against Pharaoh (Fir‘aun), the great tyrannical king. Here, the text relates that Fir‘aun was ultimately punished by God — not by Moses — by drowning him in the sea. Moses was then made a ruler on top of his prophethood, thus en-

dowing him with the duties of both *hukumah* and *nubuwwah* (Hussain 1992: 49).

It must be said that *Taj us-Salatin* confirms the politics in accord with the intellectual discourses of political thought that is deeply-rooted in the Islamic tradition. *Taj us-Salatin* is “more Islamic” than the other Malay texts already discussed, especially *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu*. In *Taj us-Salatin*, the idea of politics is formulated and conveyed in a way in which the efforts of disassociating with pre-Islamic influence — which forms an important element in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* — can easily and clearly be observed. In the context of political authority, instead of emphasizing the Islamic notion, *Sejarah Melayu* invokes the crucial role of royal genealogy, claiming that the Malay rulers were descendants from Iskandar Dzulkarnain. Moreover, the text places great emphasis on the prominence of pre-Islamic political tradition. *Sejarah Melayu* stresses the importance of Bukit Siguntang Mahameru, the sacred place in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, as the place where the descendants of Iskandar Dzulkarnain came down from heaven. “And it was then noised over the whole country”, *Sejarah Melayu* relates, “that the descendents of Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain were now in Palembang, having come down from Bukit Siguntang Mahameru. Thereupon every ruler from every part of the country came to pay his respect to them” (Winstedt 1938: 54-5; Brown 1970: 13-4).

It is worth explaining here that Bukit Siguntang Mahameru, Palembang’s hill, is an important aspect in the association with Srivijaya, an exemplary Hindu-Buddhist state, especially famed for its Mahayana-Buddhist school (Coedes 1968: 84). This state was well-known as the centre for Buddhist learning. Chinese records mention that in the seventh century there were more than a thousand Buddhist priests who studied in Srivijaya, and they performed ritual ceremonies which were identical to those in India (Coedes 1968: 81). In term of politics, Bukit Siguntang Mahameru contains a symbolic meaning of a ruler’s existence as a divine king. It is perceived to be the centre of the universe, the cosmic mountain, and the king is identified with the axis of the world. This means that the king is the reincarnation of the deities and representative of God in the world. He is described sitting on

the throne symbolizing the mount Mahameru (Heine-Geldern 1963: 2-5).

The prominence of Islamic elements in the *Taj us-Salatin* can also be viewed from its using the Islamic royal titles, *khalifah* and *zil Allâh fi al- 'âlam* (the shadow of Allah on earth). In this text, these titles are used with clear reference to Islam. The text delineates the titles in the light of the basic Islamic teachings. For the title *khalifah*, as explained above, *Taj us-Salatin* uses the title referring to the creation of Adam as cited in the Qur'an (2: 30), in which Adam is appointed by God to become vicegerent (*khalifah*) on earth (Hussain 1992: 43-4). The same is also true with the title *zil Allah fi al-alam*. The text uses the title for the rulers who ruled based on Islamic principles. The text presents examples derived from the history of the Prophets and the four rightly-guided caliphs (*al-khulafâ al-râsyidîn*), who are regarded as having exercised their power in accordance with the Islamic prescriptions. Tyrannical rulers who mislead the country, on the other hand, are the shadow of evil (*iblis*) or the *khalifah* of Satan (Hussain 1992: 49-57).

The text places emphasis on the titles so as to stress the importance of rulers exercise their political power within Islamic teachings. Here, again *Taj us-Salatin* is different from both the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu*. In these later mentioned texts, the royal titles are merely bestowed upon the converted rulers without giving any emphasis to their religious duties.

Stressing the importance of Islamic conduct on the part of the rulers, *Taj us-Salatin* suggests that the political duty (*pekerjaan hukumah*) as much more difficult than the prophetic duty (*pekerjaan nubuwwah*), because the rulers, the holders of *pekerjaan hukumah*, are responsible for both religious and political duties at once. In this regards, life stories of six prophets are told as examples; these six are regarded as having fully executed the two kinds of duties: the Prophet Adam, Musa (Moses), Yusuf (Joseph), Dawud (David), Sulaiman (Solomon) and Prophet Muhammad (Hussain 1992: 47-53). They are described as having demonstrated exemplary behaviour both as the prophets and the kings. They were not only faithful and devout servants of God, but also just and righteous kings who treated their subjects well. *Taj us-Salatin* relates as follows:

...that there are in this world nothing greater and more difficult than these two kinds of duties: the first is the prophetic duties (*pekerjaan nubuwwat*), the duties of the prophets, which had greatness, dignity, jeopardy, love, misery, rewards and many other things, all of which are included in the prophetic duties. And the second is the political duties (*pekerjaan hukumat*), which are the most difficult of all other duties, since even the political duties are more difficult than the prophetic duties, in that they [the rulers] are also to protect every servant of God (*hamba Allah*), to take care with the humble and poor people, to demand and show them the right path, and to rule among every servant of God on the basis of justice. They are the political duties (Jusup 1979: 29; Hussain 1992: 46).

Adil: The Concept of an Ideal Raja

In conjunction with moral political leadership, *Taj us-Salatin* also sets criteria to determine qualified rulers in executing both political and prophetic duties. Here, the text introduces the concept of *adil*. Derived from the Arabic, *‘adil* — literally meaning “just” or “fair” — *adil* is used here to describe moral and religious perfection, in which “the truth (*kebetulan*) exists in both speech and acts” of the *rajas*. Together with *ihsan* (virtue), *adil* is defined as “the best thing for the *rajas*, so that those of the *rajas* who have not these two conditions (*adil* and *ihsan*) can not be qualified as the true *rajas*” (Hussain 1992: 64).

Taj us-Salatin enumerates ‘*adil*’ into several qualities that a ruler must possess in order to be recognized as a legitimate ruler. The *adil* ruler, the text relates, is he who is always in pursuit of knowledge, is concerned with the social condition of his subjects, exhorts righteousness and forbids evil, protects the subjects from every crime, and strives to follow the example of the prophets and saints (*wali*) (Hussain 1992: 71-91). In addition, the text recommends the *raja* to understand and be able to distinguish between — based on reason — goodness and badness, happiness and peril, and justice and injustice (Hussain 1992: 156-7). “It is absolutely necessary for the *raja*”, so the *Taj us-Salatin* emphasizes, “to have reason because he has to know the voices of the subjects, so that he can rule them on the basis of truth” (Hussain 1992: 159). The text also accentuates the importance of the *raja* having some understanding of the science of physiognomy (*ilmu kirafah dan firasah*), by which the *raja* will be able to comprehend precisely the basic characters of the people, especially for those who will be appointed as court officials (Hussain 1992: 174).

So important is the concept of *adil*, that it is considered the source of social stability. In *Taj us-Salatin*, the importance of *adil* is expressed in an illustration on the *raja* who intends to go to Mecca for the pilgrimage. It is said that the *raja* who rules in a just manner is tantamount to sixty pilgrimages to Mecca (Hussain 1992: 65-6). Similar examples can also be found in the illustration of praying (*sembahyang*). The text states that the *adil* ruler who prays once will be rewarded by God for praying one thousand times (Hussain 1992: 66).

In a number of respects, the concept of *adil* in *Taj us-Salatin* is similar to the *daulat* in the *Sejarah Melayu*, which is defined as a divinely-endowed quality of the ruler and therefore assurance of the kingdom. However, with the concept of *adil*, *Taj us-Salatin* strongly emphasizes the Islamic elements in both political thought and practices. As in the case of royal Islamic titles, the text makes Islamic teachings out to be the ethical foundation of the ruler's reign. *Kerajaan-oriented* politics — especially in the kingdom of Aceh — therefore operated within the confines of religious (Islamic) teachings.

Concerning the concept of *adil*, *Taj us-Salatin* without doubt shares the same political notion that was firmly established in the intellectual discourses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Indonesian Islam. Although in different terms, the spirit of *adil* can be found in Javanese tradition. It was articulated in the terms "*witjaksana*" and "*kawitjaksanaan*". Like *adil*, the meaning of *witjaksana* also denotes a perfection of a ruler in governing the kingdom. *Witjaksana* is defined as "a rare and highly esteemed capacity, which not only endowed the holder with widest possible range of knowledge but also the deepest awareness of realities and a sense of justice" (Moertono 1968: 41). Also like *adil*, the term *witjaksana* evolved as a Javanese political concept to signify the ideal ruler who had "the greatest skill not only in weighing subtly the possible advantages or disadvantages of one's decision but also a keen sense of judgment in the handling of situations, primarily to preserve the cosmic order" (Moertono 1968: 41).

It is perhaps due to its prominence in the Islamic political discourse that the concept of *adil* became the main focus of attention of the ruler of the Banten kingdom, as recorded in *al-Mawâhib*. Five from ten questions the ruler asked to the Mufti of Mecca deal with the political affairs and the rulers' political power in the kingdom,

of which the concept and the practices of *adil* form the most leading issue. For example, the third question in *al-Mahawib* concerns the way in which the ruler leads the kingdom. Referring to the work by al-Ghazali (d. 1111), *Nasihat al-Mulûk*, the ruler asked the meaning of *adil*, which is stated in the book as one foundational aspect in governing a kingdom. The mufti responded through his fatwa by stating that *adil* is to follow the Prophet Muhammad, both in his deeds and political practices, and to further follow the example of the Prophet's Companions.¹⁹ The question on *adil* is also taken to be the substance of the next request for a fatwa by the ruler. Here, in the fourth question, the ruler asks whether or not *adil* constitutes a necessary component of the political practices of the ruler (*sultân*). In this regards, the Mufti responds that as the "*khalîfah Allâh fi 'Arḍ*" (Allah's representative on Earth) the ruler is obliged to lead the kingdom on the basis of *adil* principles.²⁰

As "moral and religious perfection", the concept of *adil* is somewhat similar to the Sufi notion though of "the perfect man" (*al-insân al-kâmil*). In Indonesia, the idea of "the perfect man" in fact constituted one of the main substances of the Islamic intellectual discourses (Johns 1957: 21). And *Taj us-Salatin* gives many indications of the writer's familiarity with Sufism. For example, the text begins with citing a Prophetic tradition often referred to by Sufis, that is, "*Man 'arafa nafsahu 'arafa rabbahu*", (those who know themselves know their God).

In a broader context, Sufism played an important role in the early development of Islam not just in Indonesia, but in Southeast Asia in general. Sufism greatly contributed to the process of Islamization in the area.²¹ In *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, for instance, the Islamization process is conveyed as greatly being a result of a mystico-spiritual experience of the rulers. They are described as having had dreamt about meeting the Prophet Muhammad who asked them to cite the words of the profession of faith (*kalimah syahadah*), as the basic indication of their conversion to Islam.²² Despite the fact that this account in some respects is mythical and legendary in nature, in the wider context of Islamic tradition, however, the dream has been widely recognized as an integral part of the conversion

process. A leading Sufi al-Ghazali (d. 1111), for example, believes that what appears to the dreamer is a likeness, a symbol (*mithâl*). It is regarded as a means to elucidate the transmission of Islamic knowledge, more in particular in the mystico-spiritual sense.

In seventeenth century Aceh, the time and place in which *Taj us-Salatin* was composed, Sufism grew in popularity, which coincided with the kingdom's rise as the centre of Islamic learning, further to becoming an economic and political power. The leading 'ulamâ of Aceh, who presided in the offices of the *kadi* and *shaikh al-Islam*, were generally considered to be Sufi 'ulamâ. Hamzah Fansuri and Nurud-dîn al-Raniri — both of whom were in the office of *shaikh al-Islâm* during the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-Dîn Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1602) and Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) respectively — were known for their Sufi teachings, such as with regards to *al-a'yân al-thâbitah* (fixed essence). Hamzah Fansuri, together with Shamsuddîn al-Sumatrani, was labelled as a "heretic" for his Sufi teachings. Both were the leading proponents of the mystical interpretation of *wahdât al-wujûd* (the state of being in man and God are one). They consider, for example, this universe in the light of neo-Platonic emanation stemming from God. Al-Raniri, on the contrary, is considered as belonging to the orthodox stream of Sufi doctrine, neo-Sufism. He therefore not only emphasizes the importance of *shari'ah*, but also discredited the Sufi teachings of Hamzah Fansuri as being pantheistic and going astray from Islamic principles (Azra 1992: 353-4).

Leaving aside the polemics, it is suffice to say here that *Taj us-Salatin* was composed in the period during which Sufi doctrine emerged as salient feature of Islamic intellectual discourse. And the Prophetic tradition cited above is only one example of the Sufi elements in the *Taj us-Salatin*. In certain points, the text adopted the Sufi idea of *wahdat al-wujûd*. Dealing with man's relationship with God, for instance, *Taj us-Salatin* treats it as being "one in two forms of existence", that the transcendental aspect God emanates, through His pure light, in the essence of man as His creature. The text describes it as follows:

Oh the wise man (*yang berbudi*), look at and do not ignore yourself since every branch of your body is the essence and acts of God and in every behaviour of yours is the existence of God the Almighty, as is every behaviour

wonderful from the power of God Himself and it is God the only one who creates them. Thus it takes the form in its appearance that your existence is like a mirror so that everyone who looks at the mirror and he finds himself in it is nothing indeed but the existence of God Himself in the very real sense (Hussain 1992: 13-4).

From this quotation, it is clear that *Taj us-Salatin* contains Sufi teachings which resemble the notion of mystico-religious interpretation developed by Hamzah Fansuri. The illustration of the “mirror” as just quoted, in fact constitutes the main essence of the concept *wahdat al-wujūd*.

Another thing which is important to stress is that the *Taj us-Salatin* uses this Sufi teaching to provide an ethical basis for the political conduct of the rulers. Therefore, after explaining the creational process of human beings, the text demands that the ruler and his court officials always remember that all things, including life, must come to an end. “It is every *raja* with his dignity and greatness”, so the text relates, “and his chief minister (*menteri penggawa*), police commander (*panglima hulubalang*) and the witness subjects which are great in number, will certainly obliterate” (Jusup 1975: 18; Hussain 1992: 22).

Adil and Realpolitik of the Kingdoms

This section deals with how *Taj us-Salatin* deals with the *realpolitik* of the kingdom. For this discussion, let me begin with a rather long quotation from the *Taj us-Salatin* (Jusup 1975: 29-30)²³:

It is obligatory for us to obey the *raja* who follows the commands of God and His Prophet.

Question: If the *raja* does not follow the commands of God and the tradition of the Prophet, how could we obey the *raja* with treason (*durhaka*), ignorant (*jahil*) and unbeliever (*kafir*) in his own.

Answer: What we obey from every *raja* who follows the commands of God is two matters: first, we obey his words (*perkataan*), and, second, we obey his deeds (*perbuatan*). And to the wrong *raja* we obey his words only in his throne (*tahta*), and do not we obey his wrong deeds.

Question: To the wrong *raja* do we have to deny every his words and deeds, so how could we obey his words only.

Answer: We obey his words because we want to avoid disorder (*fitnah*) in the country. If there is no difficulty, we do not have to obey his words and his deeds. We do not even have to look at his face. Because the *raja* is wrong, he has turned his face from God. Those who deviate from the commands of God and rejects the *shari'ah* are enemies of God and enemies of the God's Prophet. So it is obligatory for us to treat the enemies of God as our enemies.

Back to the concept of *adil*, it is obvious that the ideal ruler is described in *Taj us-Salatin*. However, as the above quotation reveals, political pragmatism is also an important consideration. In terms of Islamic tradition, what is advised in the above quote is certainly not without an historical precedent. The text generally adheres to the political theory of the Sunni school of thought. His presence in the throne, despite his shortcomings remains necessary for the sake of maintaining stability in the kingdom.²⁴ Here, I would argue that the *raja*-oriented politics of Indonesia is to be the reason for the pragmatism of the text. And the above quotation confirms such political standing of the *Taj us-Salatin*. While presenting the ideal *raja*, as formulated in the concept of *adil*, the text at the same time emphasizes the central position of the ruler.

As I have explained above, *raja*-oriented Islam constitutes the main Islamic intellectual discourses of pre-colonial Indonesia. The Islamization of Indonesia is described by Milner (1983: 30) as “to have occurred in the idiom of rajaship”. Islam appears to have been integrated into the existing system of politics that focused on the ruler (*raja*). In accepting Islam, the rulers were by no means threatening the ideological bases of their kingdoms (Milner 1983: 45). Instead, Islam contributed to enhancing the political notion of omnipotent rulers. The rulers’ conversion narrated in both the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu*, as shown above, is not without political significance, and through the stories of the conversion the rulers gained religious legitimacy to rule the kingdoms. Moreover, the two texts mentioned describe the rulers of the kingdoms of Samudra Pasai and Malacca as having spiritual powers (Milner 1983: 39-40).

The political meaning of Sufism becomes more evident considering the fact that the idea of “the perfect man” discussed above was the most celebrated Sufi teaching in the early development of Islam in Indonesia. The works of the leading Sufi *‘ulamâ* of Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Jili, to whom the Sufi idea of “the perfect man” has been credited, were frequently referred to and therefore influential in the Islamic intellectual discourses during the early stages of the Islamization of Indonesia.²⁵ The idea “perfect man” paralleled with the *raja*-oriented notion of politics of Indonesia, both of which supported the idea of omnipotent rulers, which then resulted in the formulation of the “Sufi

king” (*raja sufi*). Here, the rulers were depicted in Sufi terms, and were believed as having “fully realized his essential oneness with the Divine Being” (Milner 1983: 39).

In the kingdom of Aceh, the politics of “the perfect man” was articulated in a poem by Hamzah Fansuri, in which he projected the ruler of Aceh, Alauddin Ri’ayat Shah (1588-1604), as having achieved the highest station in the Sufi path. He credited the ruler with the titles “*wali*”, “*kamil*”, and “*kutub*”, all of which indicated the last stages of the spiritual experience (Milner 1983: 41-2). Moreover, Sufism was also taken to be the foundation of the construction of kingdom’s royal palace. As Brakel (1975: 60-1) shows, a garden within the royal palace that was built during the reign of Iskandar Thani, the so-called Taman Gairah, was constructed with specific arrangement to become the centre of spiritual energy. The *Bustan us-Salatin* by Nuruddin al-Raniri (Iskandar 1966: 48) — from which the information of Taman Gairah is sourced — mentions one site right in the middle of the garden, *gunongan*, which is viewed to be a sacred place where the ruler meditated in order to reach the highest level of spirituality as the “Sufi king”.

Considering the Sufi element of the concept of *adil*, it has to be said that *Taj us-Salatin* launches an Islamic political notion, which was in harmonious compromise with the *raja*-oriented political culture of Indonesia. Hence, the above mentioned political standing of this text can be understood. The emphasis on implementation of *shari’ah* by the rulers — most likely influenced by the neo-Sufi movement of seventeenth century Indonesia (Azra 1992) — is delivered in the same spirit of political ideas that focused on the *raja*. As in the case of *Sejarah Melayu*, and other Malay classical texts, loyalty and obedience to the rulers constitutes the main substance of the *Taj us-Salatin*, and essentially insinuates that obedience to the rulers is akin to following the commands of God Himself. The rulers (*rajas*) are credited as having religiously-legitimate political authority (*ulil amri*) which the Muslims have to obey (Hussain 1992: 61-2).

The same idea in fact can also be found in the *Bustan us-Salatin* by Nuruddin al-Raniri. Here, al-Raniri strongly urged the Muslims to obey the rulers and regarded it as a religious obligation. The text states:

Thus every treason-committing man (*yang khianat*) is indeed condemned by God the Highest and does come to them a penalty for their such behaviour, and so are the men who commit treason to the *raja*, (there) will certainly come to them the condemnation of God (*murka Allah*)...Oh every servant of God, do not commit to treason to the *raja* (Iskandar 1966: 46).

Thus, the concept of *adil* in *Taj us-Salatin* is very much presented in the same spirit as the “ruler-subjects covenant” in *Sejarah Melayu*, which is symbolically expressed in the illustration of an agreement between Sri Tri Buana, the first ruler, and Demang Lebar Daun, the ancestor of the Malay commoners (Winstedt 1938: 57). Like *adil*, the covenant expects the rulers, on the basis of oath of allegiance, to treat the subjects well. Also similar to the concept of *adil*, the covenant relinquishes the final decision in the hand of the rulers. *Sejarah Melayu* relates, “that your descendants shall never for the rest of time be disloyal to my descendants (Sri Tri Buana), even when my descendants oppress them and behave evilly” (Winstedt 1938: 57). Both the concept of *adil* and the covenant emphasize the very same point, the absolute and central position of the *raja* above his subjects.

Conclusion

On the basis of the above discussion, it is evident that the concept of *adil* in *Taj us-Salatin* is formulated in the framework of a political notion that gives emphasis to the omnipotence of *rajas*. Although *adil* is a yardstick of sorts for determining the ideal *raja*, it nevertheless can not be conceived of as an evaluation for the political conduct of the rulers. The concept does not, however, encourage the subjects to question the *raja*. Instead, the *adil* served a religious justification for the rulers of the absolutist kingdoms of Indonesia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As studied by Reid (1993a: 208-14), the period during which the *Taj us-Salatin* was composed witnessed the rise and development of absolutist kingdoms of Indonesia, both in theory and practice. These included kingdoms in Aceh in Sumatra, Banten and Mataram in Java, and Makassar in South Sulawesi. The rulers of these kingdoms are credited as having “proclaimed supernatural status”, and further “claimed the right to dispose of the land and the wealth of their subjects”, while the “arbitrary killing and dispossession of vassals who got in their way” was not uncommon (Reid 1993a: 251).

In *Taj us-Salatin*, the religious legitimacy for royal absolutism is clearly established. This work states a number of times that God is the ultimate sovereignty of the state, and it is God who punishes the tyrannical rulers. The rulers, being credited as “the shadow of God on earth”, are responsible for effecting the will of God in their respective kingdoms. Hence, *Taj us-Salatin* leaves all the burden of responsibilities on the rulers. Efforts to limit the royal power of rulers in void in *Taj us-Salatin*, and all of the affairs of the kingdoms are defined as being under the rulers’ authority.

Therefore, it is not a paradox, as Reid (1993b: 84) assumed, that Islam contributed to the formation of absolutist kingdoms in pre-colonial Indonesia. Nor is it a surprise that the ‘*ulamâ* formulated religious legitimacy to enhance the royal absolutism. During the period when Islam emerged as an established political ideology of the kingdoms, and the ‘*ulamâ* were institutionalized in the offices of *kadi* and *shaikh al-Islâm*, the royal absolutism gained its momentum in Indonesian history.

Endnotes

1. For further information on this text, see Benhrend (1998: 468); and also Azra (1994:173).
2. In 1641, an ambassador for Sultan Agung (sent to Mecca in 1639) returned with authority to give him the title sultan.
3. In addition to Mecca, the rulers of Banten had an intense relationship with the Western countries, as they frequently sent letters to their kings. For this discussion, see also Pudjiastuti (2002).
4. There are now two romanized versions of the *Taj us Salatin*: one is transcribed and edited by Khalid Hussain (1992), and the other is by Jumsari Jusuf (1979). For the purpose of this study I refer to the Khalid Hussain version.
5. Peter Carey (1975: 344) mentions that *Taj us Salatin* was copied in Yogyakarta Kraton in Java in 1831, and used by Sultan Hamengkubuwana I, the ruler of the Javanese Mataram kingdom. *Taj us Salatin* was also popular in the Makasare Islamic state, South Sulawesi, where it influenced the composition of a political literary work to legitimize the newly-converted royal aristocrats in the state, "Budi Istirahat Indra Bustanil Arifin". See Christian Pelras (1993: 149).
6. *Sejarah Melayu*, or the Malay Annals, is considered to be the best and the most important Malay literary work (Winsedt 1969: 111). This text was most likely written by a member of the Bendahara family in the Malaccan state, perhaps Tun Muhammad or Tun Sri Lanang (Roolvink 1967: 301-12). This opinion is based on the introduction to the manuscript which was romanized by W.G. Shellabear (1967), in which Tun Sri Lanang is mentioned as its author — and on a statement found in the *Bustan as-Salatin*, Book II Chapter 12, which deals with the genealogy of the Malacca, Johor, and Pahang royal families (Iskandar 1967: 40; Grinter 1979: 38). Regarding the date of its composition, it has been agreed that this text was finished in 1612 (Winsedt 1969: 158).
7. The story of Iskandar can also be found in for instance *Misa Melayu*, *Hikayat Palembang*, *Hikayat Andalas*, *Hikayat Aceh*, and *Undang-Undang Malaka*. See Khalid-Thaib (1981: 227-229).
8. In her introduction, Soeratno (1992: xiii) assumes that this text was most likely composed in Malay in the fifteenth century, like other Malay classical texts, the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and the *Hikayat Sri Rama*. She then also identifies this text is an appreciation by Malay society of the same story which originated from the Greek romance, *Pseudo Callisthenes*. For the date of composition of this text see Brakel (1979: 18), and for textual studies on this text see Soeratno (1991).
9. See for instance the edited version of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* by J.J. Meinsma (1884), which was translated by M. Ramlan (1975: 1-5). For the discussion on this *babad*, see for instance Ras (1992: 174-213), Ricklefs (1979: 443-54), and Wieringa (1999: 244-263).
10. For the title sultan, perhaps it is important to explain that this title was — prior to the eleventh century — used only for independent rulers and potentates who had subjected themselves to the effective authority of the central powers. See Lewis (1988: 51-3).
11. In the Malay world, the term *daulat* was therefore used in the opposite direction to the concept of *durhaka*, the state of disorder that threatened the power of the *raja*. Moreover, having credited the rulers with divine

qualities, with the *daulat*, the Malay political culture signified every attempt to rebel against the rulers as not only being *durhaka* to the raja, but is also associated with the traitorous actions against God Himself (Kratz 1993: 68-97).

12. In his study on Malay states, Gullick is of the opinion that because "there were no Kathis... until the era of British protection", he concluded that Islam was "not to any significant extent a 'state religion'... and the "Islamic legal doctrine" never became "effective law". See also Milner (1984: 23).
13. For the discussion on the intellectual life and thought of Hamzah Fansuri, see for instance Al-Attas (1970).
14. For the neo-sufi works and thought of al-Raniri, see for instance Azra (1992: 367-73).
15. See also Van Bruinessen (1994: 170), Azra (1992: 81).
16. The other kingdoms of Java included in the category of de Graaf and Pigeaud (1989) were those established along the north coast of Java during the sixteenth century. In addition to Demak, among others were Banten, Cirebon, Kudus, Surabaya, and Giri-Gresik. These kingdoms were "the transition" from Hindu-Buddhist Majahit to the Mataram kingdoms in the seventeenth century.
17. For the discussion on the hierarchy of the *penghulu*, see also van den Berg (1886: 31).
18. It is of importance to explain here that the offices of the *penghulu* in the Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Cirebon kingdoms, became a heredity position passed from the father to son. Tapsir Anom V (1873-1936), for instance, was the fourth generation of the *penghulu ageng* family of the Surakarta kingdom. And his position later passed to his son, Tapsir Anom VI. For further discussion, see also Darban (1980: 205).
19. *Al-Mawāhib*: 75-6.
20. *Ibid*, 84-5.
21. For further discussion on the importance of Sufism, see A.H. John (1961: 143-160). See also Naguib al-Attas 1969.
22. For the complete description, see Winstedt (1938: 83-84) and Hill (1960: 118). See also Russel Jones (1979: 133-137).
23. See also Hussain (1992: 47-8). For the translation I follow in some parts Abdullah (1993: 45).
24. *Taj us-Salatin* also tells the story of another *raja* who intended to go to Mecca for pilgrimage. The dignitaries, to whom the raja asked advice, objected to the raja not being present in the state, even in order to perform the pilgrimage. "The raja in state", so the text relates "is like soul in the body". It follows that his presence in the state is absolutely required, otherwise disorder will result. See Hussain (1992: 65); Jusup (1975: 39).
25. See for instance Rinkes (1909: 39); Winstedt (1947: 30); al-Attas (1970: 406, 455); Drewes (1971: 299-300).

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