The Islamization of The Malay Worldview
A Study of Malay Historical Literature Taj al-Salatin

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Abstract: The Islamization of the Malay Worldview: A Study of Malay Historical Literature Taj al-Salatin This paper attempts to examine Taj al-Salatin as one of proofs of the islamization of Malay worldview in classical literature. The method used in this article is historical method and content analysis. The study shows that Islam has major influence upon the Malay worldview even it appears in a work on genre of Mirror for Princess like Taj al-Salatin. Taj al-Salatin is a work written by Bukhārī al-Jawhārī and designed with the aim of advising future kings and their executive officers (e.g., viziers, judges) on statecraft, how to rule best their subjects and to lead a decent life in accordance with the stipulations of Islamic ethics (akhlāq). The book is arranged in twenty-four chapters, dealing with the role of viziers, royal justice, and the sacred authority of kings. The first four chapters is discussed the key elements in Islam; the nature of man, the nature of God, the nature of the world and the nature of afterlife. In conclusion, notwithstanding that the book on genre of Mirror for Princess, Taj al-Salatin elaborated the discussion of knowing God, the nature of man and the nature hereafter in first four chapters. Such elaboration proved that Islamization of worldview did take place and it also appeared in many other writings of the scholars in this part of archipelago.

Keywords: islamization, Taj al-Salatin, worldview

Introduction
The advent of Islam to the Malay world is a turning point for the history of this archipelago. Not only has Islam changed the material matters but it has also shaped the worldview of the Malays. In Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Syed Naquib Al Attas stated that Islam came to the archipelago couched in Sufi metaphysics. It was through tasawwuf that the highly intellectual and rationalistic religious spirit entered the receptive minds of the Malays, effecting a rise of rational-
ism and intellectualism not manifested in pre-Islamic times. This emergence of rationalism and intellectualism can be viewed as the powerful spirit that set in motion the process of revolutionizing the Malay-Indonesian worldview. Suffice it to say that Islam has greatly Islamized every aspect of the Malays. To attest that Islam has major influence upon the Malay Worldview, in this paper I have chosen a work on genre of Mirror for Princess i.e. Taj al-Salatin. Taj al-Salatin is a work written by Bukhārī al-Jawhārī and designed with the aim of advising future kings and their executive officers (e.g., viziers, judges) on statecraft, how to rule best their subjects and to lead a decent life in accordance with the stipulations of Islamic ethics (akhlâq). The book is arranged in twenty-four chapters, dealing with the role of viziers, royal justice, and the sacred authority of kings. The first four chapters is discussed the key elements in Islam; the nature of man, the nature of God, the universe and the nature of afterlife. The objective of the study is to elaborate the key elements which are mentioned and to scrutinize the significance of these elements to be included in the book.

Methods

The method that carried out in this article is historical method consisting of selecting a subject/topic for investigation, heuristic, critics, interpretation and historiography. After the author selecting a subject for investigation, the author applies the historical method namely heuristic; collecting and gathering evidence both primary and secondary sources. Next step is critics; it is examining these sources with the questions like is it primary or secondary sources? Is it authentic? Is it reliable? Is it objective/subjective? The following method is interpretation. Once the evidence has been carefully examined then the hypothesis can now become a thesis statement. The last is historiography; writing a historical account, the essay usually begins with the thesis statement and followed by the evidences. Taj al-Salatin is used as primary source in this article. Taj al-Salatin is a work written by Bukhārī al-Jawhārī and annotated by Khalid M. Hussain in 1992. The investigation of the islamization of the Malay worldview was interpretatively discussed through a content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic research method for analyzing and making inferences from text, in this case is the text of Taj al-Salatin.

The Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago

There are theories state that Islam came to Malay-Indonesian Archipelago from India, as Snouck Hurgronje stated in his book with regards to Acehnese literature;

“The South-Indian Islam, the oldest form in which Mohammedanism came to this Archipelago still survives in these works, not without a large admixture of native superstition. With its semi-pantheistic mysticism, its prayers and mysterious formularies, its popular works on sacred history which we have just alluded to it, it will long bid defiance to the orthodoxy of Mecca and Hadramawt, which is seeking to supplant it, and which has in theory driven it entirely from the field”

In his article, in line to Snouck Hurgronje, A.Hill argued that Islam came to South East Asia from India, not direct from Arabia. His argument is form which many Arabic words take in Malaysian language shows that they did not come by a direct route from countries west of India where Arabic was the mother tongue. Persian words, many of which are found in Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai in passage describing the life of the royal household, point to Muslim India where they were used at the ruler’s court. The title Malik al-Zahir for royalty is not found anywhere in Arabia. Vlekke is of the opinion that the arrival of the faith in Indonesia can be attributed to Gujarati and Indian spice traders. This is substantiated by the discovery of tombstones with Jawi inscriptions with the names of sultans who ruled the Mala-Islamic kindom. Vlekke also
finds that Islamization in Indonesia was somewhat unsystematic because it was in demand of an organization or body to specifically coordinate missionary work. He surmises that the spread of Islam in Indonesia happened by chance, and was therefore incomprehensively spread, because it only involved a small group who had economic interests primarily at heart.4

On the contrary, al-Attas asserts that: "The well-known theory that Islam came from India and was conveyed to the Archipelago by 'Indians' cannot be accepted. It is not intended to mean by this that there were absolutely no Indians proper involved, but to bring into proper perspective a more accurate picture of the provenance of Islam in the Archipelago on which subject the role of India and Indians has been unduly magnified. He states that most of the early missionaries were sayyids, many from Hadramawt, and the later missionaries of Islam in the Archipelago were the Malays themselves and the Javanese and other indigenous people.”5

It is crucial to assert that the origin of Islam is Arab where Allāh has revealed the Revelation to His Messenger, and it was brought by ‘ulama not trader to the Archipelago. In Some Aspects of Sufism: As Understood and Practised Among the Malays, al Attas states that the establishment of Islam in the Eastern Archipelago might not have been carried out by the merchants and traders as popularly held. Rather, he is inclined to believe that it was Sufis who actually propagated and finally made it possible for Islam to become well established among the Malays. To support his opinion, al Attas added the evidence that theologians of the Malacca Kingdom were already formulating the famous questions those of Pasai to solve.6

These questions were of a theological nature, although subtle metaphysical strains were also in them. It is not plausible for the questions to have been formulated and treated in this manner, had not Islam established in Malaya, introduced and propagated by the great ‘ulama.7

It has become a general opinion that the before the advent of Islam, the Malays embraced the Hindu and Budha as their belief. Regarding with Indonesia, Taufiq Rahman emphasizes that Indian period showed a big change in history of religion in Indonesia. Indonesia underwent so called indianization. Indianization, both Hinduism and Buddhism, succeeded in large part because they incorporated and adapted to indigenous religious beliefs, i.e. animism. In the religious field, Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism consider as spirtual practices dominantly in Indonesian society at the time of Indianization.8

India which brought either Hinduism or Buddhism upon Malay-Indonesia archipelago had been a major cultural influence in the Malay Archipelago in the pre-Islamic period and was responsible for the spread of Hindu beliefs and customs.9 The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia also wrought significant changes upon local art forms. This evident in the erection of candi and other monuments, as well as the creation of reliefs and arches inscribed with Hinda inscription and motif.10 It is crucial to be noted that the influence of Hinduism-Buddhism in Malay-Indonesia Archipelago have often been magnified.

With refer to Hinduism and Budhism, Al Attas asserted that both might not have had much effect in changing the essential character and worldview of the Malay-Javanese civilization. By nature, the Javanese civilization was more aesthetic than scientific. It was aesthetic and ritualistic Hinduism that was recognized and accepted; the scientific, with its emphasis and logical analysis, was rejected and even when accepted had first to be sifted through the sieve of art so that the worldview presented was that envisioned by poets rather than by thinker and philosopher.11

It was Islam, as a scientific religion and by means of its language has changed the essential element and worldview of the Malay. Since Islam came to the Archipelago, it underwent Islamization. As al-Attas defined Islamization:
“Islamization is the liberation of man first from magical, mythological, animistic, national-cultural tradition opposed to Islam, and then from secular control over his reason and his language. The man of Islam is he whose reason and language are no longer controlled by magic, mythology, animism, his own national and cultural traditions opposed to Islam and secularism”.

In addition to that, al-Attas asserts that Islam came to the Archipelago through tassawwuf that the highly intellectual and rationalistic religious spirit entered the receptive minds of the Malays, effecting a rise of rationalism and intellectualism not manifested in pre-Islamic times. This emergence of rationalism and intellectualism can be viewed as the powerful spirit that set-in motion the process of revolutionizing the Malay-Indonesian worldview.

As a historical and cultural process Islamization in the Archipelago underwent three phases:

Phase I: from approximately 578-805/1200-1400, jurisprudence or fiqh played the major role of interpreting the religious law (shari’ah) in the conversion of the Malays. The conversion was affected by strength of faith, not necessarily accompanied by an understanding of the rational and intellectual implication such conversion entailed. Fundamental concepts connected with the central Islamic concept of Unity of God (tawhid) were still vague in the minds of the converts, their old concepts overlapping and clouding or confusing the new ones. This phase can well be described as the conversion of the ‘body’.

Phase II: from approximately 803-1114/1400-1700, continuation of the process described in the phase I, but during this phase the major role of interpreting the religious law had passed on to philosophical mysticism and metaphysics (tawassuf) and other rational and intellectual element such as rational theology (kalām). During this phase, Sufism and Sufi writings primarily and the writings of the Mutakallimūn played the dominant role aimed at the conversion of the ‘spirit’. Fundamental concepts introduced according to the Islamic weltanschauung, some of which were still understood in the opaque sense, influenced by the old weltanschauung, were expounded and defined so that they were understood in both the transparent and semi-transparent senses.

Phase III: from approximately 1112/1700 onwards, continuation of Phase I and consummation of phase II which had been largely successful. To this phase must also be assigned to the cultural influences brought about by the coming of the West. What is generally known as “Westernization” is here conceived as the perpetuation of the rationalistic, individualistic, and internationalistic, spirit whose philosophical foundations were laid earlier by Islam.

By this Islamization process, it has changed the essential element of the Malay including worldview. To speak of the worldview of Islam, the concept of worldview refers to the thought that an individual thinks about the nature of his creation, the purpose of his existence in this world and the destiny of mankind within this world. The worldview of the Malays is greatly influenced by Islam. Al Attas defined the worldview of Islam:

“The vision of reality and truth that appears before our mind’s eye revealing what existence is all about; for it is the world of existence in its totality that Islam is projecting. The Worldview of Islam encompasses both al-dunya and al-akhirat, is which the dunya aspect must be related in a profound and inseparable way to the akhirat, and in which the akhirat aspect has the ultimate and final significance”.

With regards to the above definition, al Attas listed nine key terms that represent the worldview of Islam namely: the nature of God, the nature of Revelation (i.e. Qur’an); the nature of man, the nature of the psychology of human soul, the nature of knowledge, the nature of religion, the nature of freedom, the nature values and virtues and the nature of happiness.
Taj al-Salatin and the Islamization of Malay Worldview

In the next section, I will discuss the influence of Islamization worldview in the Archipelago, not only it can be found in tasawwuf or fiqh writing but it also can be traced even from historical Malay literature writing such as Taj al-Salatin.

Taj al-Salatin is a work written in Malay by Bukhārī al-Jawhārī in the early of seventeenth century. It might be a tribute of Bukhārī al-Jawhari to the Sultan of Aceh, ‘Alā al-Dīn Ri‘āyat Shāh. He reigned from 1589 to 1604; he was known as a Sultan who was interested in tasawwuf with title al-Mukammal. It was designed with the aim of advising future kings and their executive officers on statecraft, how to rule best their subjects and to lead a decent life in accordance with the stipulations of Islamic ethics (akhlāq). The book is arranged in twenty-four chapters, dealing with the role of judge, royal justice, and the sacred authority of kings, the sultan rank, the just acts, the just kings, the nature of just ruler of non-Muslim, the duty of vizier, the duty of letter man/messenger, the nature of the official of kingdom, the upbringing children and the others. The first four chapters is discussed the key elements in Islam; the nature of man, the nature of God, the world and the nature of afterlife. The work itself shows and represents the capability of the author as al-Jawhari was very good at elucidating and interpreting the matters in this book by referring to al-Qur’ān and Sunnah. The idea of tasawwuf also can be observed obviously in Taj al-Salatin, especially in the first four chapters. This work shows that Bukhārī al-Jawhārī was a great ‘ulama at that time.

It spelled out the duties and responsibilities of a ruler, the role of the court and the laws to restrict a king’s powers. The main function of the Taj al-Salatin is to set out the parameters and guidelines for good governance in Islamic terms. It thus inevitably reduces the ruler to the status of God’s servant on earth. Furthermore, it places great emphasis on the role of the king’s guardian, the king’s advisors, ministers and scholars to ensure that the ruler does not veer off the right path.

It is crucial to be noted that it is a book in the genre of Mirror of Princess; however, in the first four chapters it embodied the nature of Man and the nature of God, the nature of universe, the nature of the afterlife. The way how the author put it ahead shows its significance. These four elements mentioned are very important to be known for everyone in order for him to be a good vicegerent and aware of being in this world.

Only 2 chapters will be discussed in this paper, namely the nature of man and the nature of God. It is also worth noting some excerpts from Taj al-Salatin. Al-Jawhari begins with the first chapter which is on knowing self as he wrote:

“Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan peri mengenal dirinya manusia supaya mengetahui ia bahwa mulanya itu dari apa dan adanya betapa itu dengan berbagai-bagai peri siapa” (The first chapter on exposing the nature of knowing the very self in order to know the origin of his being and his very nature)

This hadith implies that one who truly knows himself has already come to know Allah, as if a man does not know himself nor he know his nature, he will not know the death of the things that exist

“Apabila demikianlah perinya, maka harus dahu membangsa daripada ma’rifat rawan diri. Bahawa dalam Kitab al-Hukum Idris demikian dibuat soal. Jika bertanyakan daripada am bahawa yang dahu mengenal dirimu atau mengenal Tuhanmu jawab katakan al-hukum pertama. Aku mengenal diriku, kemudian men-
genal Tuhanku”. (If this is so, then the nature of knowing self shall be explained. As it is mentioned in Kitab al-Hukum Idris. If you were asked whether knowing your very self or knowing your God come in the first place, you should reply the first law (al-hukum pertama). I know my very self therefore I know my God)

In this chapter he elaborated the creation man that one has to know his self in order for him to know the beginning of his life, of his existence in this world and so forth. He begins with the hadith of Rasūlullah “Whosoever knows his self, knows his God”. Of first importance to be known and to be aware of by human is that he is created from ex nihilo and that he is a creature created from the clay and that he has a Creator who is the Creator of the entire universe. In line with the creation of human, al-Attas elaborated the meaning of the concept of din as being indebted, because indeed human is indebted to God, his Creator and Provider, for bringing him into existence and maintaining him in his existence. Man was once nothing and did not exist, and now he is.

Still with concept of indebtedness of human to his God, al-Attas added that the man who ponders seriously his origin will realize that a few decades ago he did not exist, and the whole of mankind now existing neither existed now knew of their possible present existence. The rightly guided man realizes that his very self, his soul, has already acknowledge God as his Lord, even before his existence as a man, so that such a man recognizes his Creator and Sustainer. The nature of the debt of creation and existence is so tremendously total that man, the moment he is created and given existence, is already in a state of utter loss, for he possesses really nothing himself, seeing that everything about him and in him and from him is what the Creator owns everything. Seeing that he owns absolutely nothing to ‘repay’ his debt, except his own consciousness of the fact that he is himself the very substance of the debt, so must he ‘repay’ with himself, so must he ‘return’ himself to Him Who owns him absolutely. He is himself the debt to be returned to the Owner and ‘returning the debt’ means to give himself up in service, or khidmah, to his Lord and Master; to abase himself before Him and so the rightly man sincerely and consciously enslaves himself for the sake of God in order to fulfill His commands and prohibitions and ordinance and thus to live out the dictates of His law.

With regards to advices for human, this is the advice for the rulers in order for them to be very aware of being a human that he came from nothing. In addition, once he knows his self he would aware of his very attitude toward his God and His creatures. Al-Jawhari put the emphasis on the end of this chapter lest the human whoever becomes ruler will govern arbitrarily. He wrote;

"Adapun barang sesiapa membaca sesuatu fasal yang pertama ini dan tahu bacanya dan mengerti segala katanya dan dalam pengetahuan itulah usahanya inshā Allāh Ta‘ālā dengan kurnia Tuhan sarawa sekalian alam pintu ma’rifat itu terbukalah dan jadilah arif nannya dan mengenal jua adanya, dan mengetahui Tuhan itu Yang Maha Besar kuasaNya. Maka nyalah padanya bahawa adanya itu hamba juga yang hina tiada berupaya yang daif tiada berkuasa yang lemah tiada berkuat yang segala adanya itu aib dan kecelaan jua adanya itu suci kerana perinya yang keji dan tiada terpuji. (Whoever reads this first chapter, comprehend reading it and know every word in it, inshā Allāh Ta‘ālā with the gift of God the door of intuitive knowledge will be exposed to him and he be an intuitive knower (arif) and eventually he knows that God is Powerful and Mighty. Once he knows that everything existing in the universe is under His throne and the throne is under His Power, he will realize that man is just a weak and despicable creature that has a Creator).

"Maka ia dengan pengetahuan ini tiada melihat mudah akan segala makhluk dan tiada member mudarat akan segala hamba Allāh dan tiada menganiayai atas segala hamba Tuhannya, sedang dari-
Thus, by having this knowledge he will not belittle other human beings neither he will tyrannize the other creatures as he knows his nature and God that his self will be perished and God is Eternal).

In the second chapter he begins with one ayat of al Qur’ān;

“Tiada Aku jadikan segala jin dan segala manusia melainkan supaya mereka itu sembah akan Daku”. (And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me).

“Bermula peri’at zat dan sifat Tuhan dan makrifat yang ada pada-Nya tiada la berkemulaan dan tiada kesudahan seperti mengatakan perinya azal, dan abad dan eri azal itu tiada kemulaan-Nya dan abad itu tiada kesudahannya dan zat dan sifat Tuhan itu demikian. (Know that God has always existed, for His being has commencement; and He will always exist, for His being has no end. His existence since eternity and in perpetuity is axiomatic)

After explaining the nature of man, in the following the chapter al-Jawhari elaborated the nature of God, which both are crucial to be known. After knowing self that one comes from The Creator, he is also obliged to know Who is his creator.

These Islamic credentials are of crucial importance. For Al-Jauhari they serve as a security measure to ensure that the loyalty and obedience of the courtiers to God before the ruler. The duties of these advisors include the need to educate the king and to instruct future monarchs; the need to present without fear all detailed information, that the ruler may require; and the need to approach the ruler if and when he or she transgresses the law.

Similarly, al-Ghazali in his treaties Nasihat al-Mulūk begins with the explanation of God. As al-Ghazali wrote:

“You should understand, O King, that you are a creature and that you have a Creator Who is the Creator of the entire universe. All that exists in the universe is from Him, and He is One, for He has no equal. He has always existed, for His being has no end, His existence since eternity and in perpetuity is axiomatic because non-existence is of Himself. He needs no cause, but there is nothing which does not need Him, while His being is through Himself. The being of all things is through Him”

“You should understand that He has no face, body or form. His descending into any form is inconceivable. Size, manner, and quality cannot be predicted of Him, because He resembles nothing and is resembled by nothing”.

With regards to the nature of God, al-Attas elaborated so “The conception of the nature of God in Islam is the consummation of what was revealed to the Prophet according the Qur’ān. He is One God; living, self-subsistent, eternal and abiding. Existence is His very essence. He is one in essence; no division in His essence, whether in the imagination, in actuality or in supposition is possible”.

What can be concluded from the explanation of al-Jawhari in his treatise pertaining to the nature of God that while symbolic power is allowed to remain in the hand of the ruler, the true center of attention is thus relocated on a higher metaphysical level, beyond the reach of people and kings alike. It is clear that for Al-Jauhari it is God, and not the ruler, who is truly supreme and that it is God’s will and commandments that are to be obeyed and followed before the kings’.

In the following chapter namely on the nature of the world, he initiates the chapter by mentioning surah Yunus:24 with translation like below:

The example of the worldly life is but like rain which We have sent down from the sky that the plants of the earth absorb which from men and livestock eat. Even when the earth clads in its adornments and is beautified, its people think that they have all the powers of disposal over it. Our Command came to it, by night or by day, so We rendered it as reaped seed-produce (a
clean-mown harvest) as if it had not flourished yesterday. Thus, do We explain the Verses in detail for a people who reflect.

Ketahui olehmu bahawa barang siapa yang ada dalam dunia datang itu musafir juga adanya dan gharib juga Namanya dan bahwa dunia itu tempat perhentian juga pada antara jalan yang lalu juga sentiasa dan pergi juga pada tempat yang kekal ia duduk akhirnya di sana. (You should understand that every man is a traveler or stranger in this world as this world is just a transit while hereafter is eternal abode).

In chapter four he writes sekalian yang bernyawa itu merasai maut juga akhirnya dan sekalian yang ada dalam dunia ini ada-lah fana kesudahannya. Yang baqa itu Tuhan sarwa sekalian alam jua seperti firman Allah Ta’ala Yang Maha Mulia. (Every soul shall have a taste of death. Every being on earth is bound to perish. Only your Lord Himself, full of Majesty and Honour, will endure in existence).

Bermula seharus segala raja-raja dan segala orang kaya-kaya ingatkan maut dan kubur dan nafas kesudahannya itu manakala Malaikal Maut datang mengambil nyawanya dan dibinaskan adanya kerana mereka itu ada tersangat masygul dengan dunia dan harta dunia dan jika dalam masygul itu datang Malaikal Maut ada teramat sukar jalannya daripada orang lain. (It is imperative for every king and the have to always remember of the death, the grave and the last breath whenever the angel of death comes to separate the body from the soul as they (the king and the have) have always been busy with the world and wealth. If the angel of death comes in that particular state (busy) it will be more difficult way for them than to others.

Chapter three and four elaborates on the nature of this world and the nature of the afterlife as reminder for man that this life on this earth is just temporary. This elucidation has also been mentioned by Imam al Ghazali in his work Nasihat al-Muluk;

The universe which He created has been produced by Him from two sort (of substance): soul and (bodily) form. He made the bodily form the abode of the human soul, so that it may take from this world the provision for the world to come. For every soul He has predestined a period during which it may exist in the bodily form; and the end of that period will be its term, which does not admit of extension or reduction. When the term comes, He separates the soul from the body; but when (deceased) is laid in the tomb, He lets it pass together with the bodily form so that (the deceased) may answer the interrogation by Munkar and Nakir

The message to be conveyed in Taj al-Salatin consists of the origin of man, his relationship with God, the nature of this world and the nature of afterlife. In the following chapter it also elaborated on the duties and responsibilities of the king of ministers and heads of state, including officials and commissioners. The issues of ethics and child upbringing are also elucidated. The structure of Taj al-Salatin is based both on the description of the verses of the Qur’an/Hadith and on stories and events that have occurred in the past. Its purpose is none other than to convince all human beings, especially the kings, to act justly in their respective ruling and governments. Although the structure of this work is in fatwa form, the literary elements which is in metaphorical form and story still have a literary aesthetic value that is sufficient to meet the requirements of a good literary work.

Conclusion

As al-Attas stated that the coming of Islam to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is the most momentous event in the history of the Archipelago for Islam has transformed both the soul and the body of the Malay-Indonesian society. The process of Islamization can be observed obviously from the very aspect of the Malay society life, including from the literature. Taj al-Salatin as the earlier work of the genre Mirror for Princes in Malay Archipelago consists of the important key term in Islamic Worldview which precedes the main
discussion related to the counsel for the rulers. From the elaboration that al-Jawhari presented shows that he was a great ‘ulama at that time, in supported his explanation by referring to al-Qur’ān and Sunnah. From his elaboration of the nature of man, of God, of the world and of the afterlife can be concluded that a man must be insan kāmil or it is also known as ‘arif (intuitive knower) first before he becomes a ruler. The main function of the Taj al-Salatin is to set out the parameters and guidelines for good governance in Islamic terms. It thus inevitably reduces the ruler to the status of God’s servant on earth. Furthermore, it places great emphasis on the role of the king’s guardian, the king’s advisors, ministers and scholars to ensure that the ruler does not veer off the right path.

Endnotes

1Kuntowijoyo, Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah,69.
2Snouck Hurgronje, The Achelense, 165
3A.H. Hill, The Coming of Islam to North Sumatra, 16
6see Malay Annals, trans. By John Leyden, London, 202-206 or see Sulalatus Sala\text{\textbar}tin Sejarah Melayu, by A. Samad Ahmad, 156-160.
7Syed Muhammad Naquib al Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism: As Understood and Practised Among the Malays, 22.
8Taufiq Rahman, Indianization of Indonesia in an Historical Sketch, 56-57.
12Syed Muhammad Naquib al Attas, Islam and Secularism, 44.
16V.I. Braginsky, Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamāl: Sejarah Šastra Melayu dalam Abad 7-19,322.
17The other of work Malay Literature which is also well-known and in the same genre of Tāj al-Salā\text{\textbar}tin is Bustān al-Salā\text{\textbar}tin, composed by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rā\text{\textbar}nī\text{\textbar}rī, a prominent scholar of seventeenth century Aceh. In the beginning of his treatise, in the first chapter, he elaborated the creation of heaven and Earth, the creation of Nūr Muḥammad, the nature of the Angel, and of Jin and Iblis.
18Bukhārī Jawhari, Tā\text{\textbar}j al-Salā\text{\textbar}tin, annotated by Khalid M.Hussain, 9.
19Syed Muhammad Naquib al Attas, Prolegomenan to the Metaphysics of Islām: an Exposition of the Fundamental Element of the Worldview of Islām, 45.
21Knowing self in the level of ma‘rifah as al-Jawhari begins his chapter with the hadith of Rasūlullāh: ﷺ نُبَيَّةُ مَلَائِكَةِ مَرَيْمٍ مَّرْيَمَ بْنَ مَلِكَ ﷺ
22Bukhārī Jawhari, Tāj al-Salā\text{\textbar}tin, annotated by Khalid M.Hussain, 24-25.
23Bukhārī Jawhari, Tāj al-Salā\text{\textbar}tin, annotated by Khalid M.Hussain, 26-27.
24Sūrah al-Jinn, 7:56.

Reference