

Chapter 13

Melaka: A Model of Malay Islamic States

NISHIO Kanji

Introduction

After accepting Indian civilization, 'Indianized' states flourished in various parts of Southeast Asia during the ancient and medieval times. In the early modern period, however, Malay port-polities mushrooming along the Melaka Strait played a very significant role in developing Islamic civilization within insular Southeast Asia. During this period, Pasai, Melaka, Aceh, Johor, and Riau-Johor (or Johor-Riau) in this order grew to be the centre of trade and also functioned as the centre of Islamic learning in Southeast Asia. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Melaka became an exemplary model of Islamic state to the neighbouring states and spread Islam through its trading network to the eastern islands like Java and Borneo. From the second half of the sixteenth century to the first half of the next century, strongly opposing the Portuguese power, Aceh tried to materialize a more Islam-oriented state. While opening diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, Aceh was zealous for inviting Muslim scholars (of both foreign and local origins) who studied in West Asia to its court. Some of them were appointed to the top post (*syarif al-Islam*) in the Islamic administration and played a very active role in Islamic administration and foreign affairs there [L.Y. Andaya 2001].

As the case of Aceh suggests, the seventeenth century is regarded as a turning point in the Islamic history in Southeast Asia. Local Muslim people came to be loyal to Islamic norms from this century onward, although the waves of Islamization there had already started in north Sumatra around the middle of the thirteenth century. Their awakening occurred, due to the increase of European visitors and some other factors in that century. While giving up eating pork and drinking, many local Muslim people obeyed the Islamic norms about fasts and pilgrimage [Reid 1993a: 181-186]. Such a tendency was intensified by the growth of Arab inhabitants in the Malay states from the eighteenth century. By the end of this century, the shift in image of good rulers occurred and the soft qualities like *bermukamanis* (sweet face) and

lemahlembuh (graceful) came to be highly appreciated as requirements for rulers in the Malay society¹ [Nishio 2001a: 33].

Surely, Melaka used to be an exemplary model of Islamic state to the neighbouring states in the second half of the fifteenth century. Yet, Melaka had not been an Islamic state until then. Melaka was founded around AD 1400 on the basis of the pre-Islamic (native and Indian) cultural traditions and then it accepted the Islamic faith in the middle of the fifteenth century. In other words, Melaka had been a non-Islamic state for about half a century. Therefore, it is not surprising that both Islamic and pre-Islamic (indigenous and Hindu) elements were found in state formation of Melaka. What were then the characteristics of the formation of Malay Islamic states in the pre-seventeenth century?

It may be helpful here to go over some of the arguments on pre-colonial Malay political culture. Most of the past studies have focused on the traditional concepts such as *daulat* (divinity or supernatural power of Malay rulers), *derhaka* (treason against Malay rulers) and *nama* (fame of Malay rulers or titles of their subjects that were conferred on them by their rulers).² Malay historians usually claim that people in the Malay sultanates were always very loyal to their rulers for they believed in *daulat* and its destructive effect on those who committed *derhaka* [Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Wahid 1983], though J.M. Gullick thinks that such traditional concepts were no longer influential in the nineteenth century [Gullick 1958]. The argument made by A.C. Milner has certain similarities with that of Malay historians in that the pre-colonial Malay polity was characterized by the ruler-centred polity reflecting the above-mentioned traditional concepts to some extent. He claims, however, that *nama* has been the most important concept in the Malay political life during the Islamic period [Milner 1982].

These arguments on the pre-colonial Malay political culture suggest the following four points for our examination of Melaka style of state formation.

¹ The *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Melaka Laws) edited in the late Melaka period mentions *ampun* (merciful), *murah* (generous), and *perkasa* (brave) as the requirements for rulers [Liaw 1976: 66] and the late eighteenth-century edition of the *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu* (Malay Royal Customary) gives *tuahati* (mature heart), *bermukamanis* (sweet face), *berlidahfasih* (fluent tongue), and *bertanganmurah* (generosity) as the four requirements [Panuti H.M. Sudjiman 1982: 133].

² According to A.C. Milner, fame of Malay rulers or titles of subjects that were conferred on them by their rulers were highly regarded and the same Malay term *nama* was used to refer to both of them in the Islamic Malay society. In the Islamic world-view, Malay Muslims recognized fame and titles as evidence for accumulated good deeds in this world. In other words, *nama* came to be the key concept that was linked to the life in the world to come. Therefore, seeking *nama* was the most important activity for both Malay rulers and their subjects. Milner stresses *nama* as the reason why the Malay polity had been the ruler-centred even in the Islamic period [Milner 1982].

1. Melaka model may be linked to a pair of traditional concept of *daulat* and *derhaka*.
2. At the same time, however, *nama* and its influence should also be considered, when we examine Melaka model of state formation.
3. Whether Melaka model should be regarded as a ruler-centred polity or not?
4. Did the transformation of Malay political culture occur during early modern times in relation to the increasing interest in Islamic values within local society?

Recognizing the above-mentioned four points, the present study discusses the case of Melaka in order to examine the state formation of Malay Islamic states before the seventeenth century. For this purpose, we will approach the *Sejarah Melayu* (a Malay court history of Melaka Sultanate compiled in the early seventeenth century) and try to analyse those factors that legitimize the position of the ruler. Our main interest here is to explicate pre-Islamic elements (either indigenous or Hindu elements) and their relations with Islamic factors.

1. Political Contract between Seri Teri Buana and Demang Lebar Daun

The *Sejarah Melayu* is the most famous Malay court history and is considered as a masterpiece of Malay classical literature. This work has about thirty variants that were edited and owned by other Malay states.³ It is likely that these versions, though variants, made a great contribution to the standardization of the Malay culture and the formation of the Malay world during the early modern period. This work covers the history of Melaka and early Johor period and records various features of traditional Malay culture. Among these features, however, the top significance is given to the following political contract made between rulers and their people prepared for the generations to come [Nishio 1999: 211-215; 2009: 8-12].

According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, Seri Teri Buana and Demang Lebar Daun made a political contract in Palembang by taking a mutual oath (*bersumpah-sumpahan*). Seri Teri Buana claimed that his genealogy is traced back to a legendary Islamic

³ The *Sejarah Melayu* was edited in the early seventeenth century Johor. This court history tells a Malay history of the Melaka Sultanate and the earlier period of the Johor Sultanate. Although this work is usually called the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay History), its real title is *Sulalatus Salatin*, which means the genealogy of rulers. Among around thirty versions of the *Sejarah Melayu*, this study mainly refers to the Raffles version (SMr), which is considered to be the oldest extant edition of the seventeenth century. In addition, this study refers to the Shellabear version (SMs) and the DBP version (SMd). While the Shellabear version seems to be considered the eighteenth century edition, the DBP version seems to have been edited in Riau-Lingga during the nineteenth century. For the detail of its edition, see [Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail 1998] and as for its variant versions, see [Roolvink 1970].

hero, Raja Iskandar D'zulkarnain (Alexander of the Two Horns, or Alexander the Great) and the Melaka royal family derives from Seri Teri Buana. On the other hand, Demang Lebar Daun had been the ruler of Palembang, and after abdicating throne in favour of Buana, Daun became his subordinate.⁴ This political contract contains the following four conditions [SMr: 57; Brown 1970:16]:

1. *Regarding rulers*: Malay rulers should treat their people well. No matter how grave their offences, they shall not be bound or hanged or disgraced with evil words. They shall be sentenced to death only when they have committed offences deemed so in accordance with Islamic law.
2. *Regarding people*: Malay people shall never be disloyal or treacherous to their rulers (*derhaka*), even if those rulers have behaved badly or inflicted injustice (*aniaya*)⁵ upon them.
3. *Regarding nullification*: If any ruler fails to uphold the conditions of this contract regarding him, then his people will not have to uphold the conditions regarding them.
4. *Regarding punishment*: Allah will punish those who depart from the conditions of the contract. In particular, any ruler failing to uphold the conditions regarding him shall be a sign that Allah will destroy his kingdom.

This political contract included both traditional and Islamic values. The *derhaka* in the conditions regarding people is a traditional concept closely connected to another traditional concept, *daulat*, which means the supernatural power possessed by Malay rulers and the divinity Malay kingship [Wilkinson 1932: part 1, 261]. As will be stated below, such a concept is traced back to the indigenous value system and it developed with the influence of Indian culture. It is said that Malay rulers received this supernatural power during the enthronement ceremony. Some studies state that

⁴ The *Sejarah Melayu* tells the process of making this political contract as follows. One day Seri Teri Buana asked Demang Lebar Daun for his daughter's hand in marriage. Fearing that his daughter would contract a skin disease (*kedal*) like other girls, Daun requested that Buana make a contract with him prior to the marriage. Buana agreed. After the contract was made by them, the wedding between Buana and Daun's daughter was conducted. Then, Buana lived together with her, but she never contracted a skin disease [SMr: 56-58; Brown 1970: 13-17]. This story can be interpreted in the following way. At first, Buana was not able to give birth to his descendants, since his girls contracted a skin disease. This is because his supernatural power (*daulat* or *tulah*) affected their bodies. Yet, Buana got the ability to give birth to his descendants after making a contract with Daun. As I will analyse below, the contract is based on the Islamic framework. This suggests that Islamic norms were set above the supernatural power of Malay rulers. It also points to the importance of the genealogy of rulers.

⁵ The Arabic-derived term *zalim* is used in the Shellabear version, the eighteenth-century edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* [SMS: 20].

Malay people believed that those who committed *derhaka* would suffer retribution from *daulat* [Gullick 1958: 44-45; Skeat 1965: 24], which enabled Malay rulers to act as they wished. The *Sejarah Melayu* stresses the concept of *daulat* with phrases such as 'It is the custom of the Malay people that they never commit *derhaka*' [SMr: 125, 154, 186-187, 193, 214-215]. Moreover, it contains some stories showing the power of *daulat*.⁶

At the same time, however, Islamic concepts are included in the conditions regarding rulers and punishment in this political contract. The conditions of punishment, in particular, suggest that Allah is the guarantor of the contract. Moreover, the *Sejarah Melayu* states that Allah is witness to this contract [SMr: 57]. It is certain that this contract is based on the Islamic framework and the power of rulers is limited by the condition that ask them to respect Islamic law. Thus the contract clearly shows us that Islamic norms were set above the traditional view on rulers in statecraft of Melaka. As stated earlier, the story on this political contract can be also interpreted as showing it.

2. Criteria for Good Rulers

At the end of the description of the reigns of rulers, the *Sejarah Melayu* inserted brief comments on them. Criticism is meted out to Sultan Iskandar of Singapura,⁷ Sultan Abu Syahid, Sultan Mahmud Syah, and Sultan Ahmad Syah, during whose reigns the kingdom suffered decline or downfall because of the ill treatment of their people [SMr: 81, 90-92, 150-151, 190]. On the other hand, the *Sejarah Melayu* praises Sultan Muhammad Syah, Sultan Muzaffar Syah, Sultan Mansur Syah, and Sultan Alauddin Syah with the adjectives *adil* (just, fair), *murah* (generous), and *saksama*

⁶ For example, the supernatural power of the ruler can be seen in the following stories:

- [a] When appearing at the Bukit Si Guntang hill, Seri Teri Buana (Sang Saperba in the Shellabear version) turned the rice field into gold and silver [SMr: 35; SMs: 18; SMD: 21].
- [b] In Palembang, Seri Teri Buana wished to have a wife and he tried about forty girls. Yet, all of them contracted a skin disease (*kedal*) before making a political contract with Demang Lebar Daun [SMr: 56-57; SMs: 19; SMD: 25].
- [c] Then, Buana showed his power to turn sea water into fresh water on his way from Palembang to the Bentan Island [SMr; SMs: 25; SMD: 31].
- [d] A certain Chinese emperor contracted a skin disease, since he did not respect the letter of Sultan Muzaffar Syah of Melaka. He recovered from the disease only after he bathed in the special water with which Sultan Mansur Syah washed his feet [SMr: 122-123; SMs: 97; SMD: 136].

⁷ According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, Seri Teri Buana set up his kingdom in Singapura (present-day Singapore) before his descendant reached Malacca (Melaka) and founded a state there [SMr: 61].

(fair, careful), emphasizing that the Melaka Sultanate developed and enjoy prosperity during their reigns [SMr: 88, 92, 100, 139-140]. Certainly, these comments reflect the conditions of the contract.

It should also be noted that the Arabic-derived term *adil* was referred to as one of the criteria for good rulers. As shown in the *Taj al-Salatin* (a Malay translation of several Persian texts on statecraft of Islamic states), *adil* is considered as the most essential requirement of rulers in statecraft of Islamic states⁸ [Bukhari al-Jauhari 1992: xvii-xxiv]. The *Sejarah Melayu* even states that *adil* rulers and the prophet are like two jewels on the same ring, which means that just/fair rulers are as good as the prophet for their people⁹ [SMr: 144] showing clearly the influence of Islamic statecraft idea.

3. What Measures Can be Taken by their People against the Zalim (Unjust, Unfair) Rulers?

As shown in the phrase ‘the shadow of Allah on the earth’, the position and roles of rulers are considered very important in Islamic states. The Islamic ruler must take good care of their people so that they uphold Muslim duties. This is why in Islamic statecraft *adil* is considered the most essential requirement of rulers. The question now arises: What measures can be taken by their people against the unjust (*aniaya*, *zalim*) rulers? In fact, as mentioned in the *Taj al-Salatin*, this is a very important question for Muslim people. The answer of the *Taj al-Salatin* is as follows:

Since we do not want disorder in our state, we follow his [the unjust ruler’s] words. Yet, we do not have to follow his words and actions, if it is not difficult to do so. We do not even have to look at his face, because he turned it from the law of Allah. Those who depart from the law of Allah and reject the Shari’a are both enemies of Allah and enemies of Allah’s Prophet. We should treat enemies of Allah as our enemies. [Bukhari al-Jauhari 1992: 48]

⁸ The *Taj al-Salatin* (or *Taj us-Salatin*) was edited by Bukhari al-Jauhari in Aceh in 1603. This work consisted of quotations from no less than nine Persian texts, and it discusses the ideal ruler of an Islamic state. The main purpose of the *Taj al-Salatin* is to show that *adil* (just, fair) is the most important attribute of any Islamic ruler. This work is probably the first among the classical Malay works that discuss Islamic rulers. The *Taj al-Salatin* was popular and influential in Malay and Java societies [Bukhari al-Jauhari 1992: xvii-xxiv; Teuku Iskandar 1995: 420; Taufik Abdullah 1993: 40-47; Hooykas 1947: 167-173].

⁹ This phrase appears in the dying message of Bendahara Paduka Raja in the reign of Sultan Mansur Syah. His personal name is Tun Perak who was the most famous *bendahara* (prime minister), known for his political skill [Brown 1970: 263].

Moreover, the *Taj al-Salatin* warns rulers that tyrannical behaviour will result in the loss of *daulat* and their states [Bukhari al-Jauhari 1992: 70]. These views of the *Taj al-Salatin* have certain similarities with the political contract described in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

The *Sejarah Melayu* does not directly answer this question, but its view on this point can be seen in the above-mentioned political contract itself. The conditions of nullification of the contract suggest that their people do not have to obey the *zalim* rulers. At the same time, however, the conditions of punishment say that Allah will punish those who depart from the conditions of the contract. In other words, this political contract does not allow their people to inflict any punishment on the *zalim* rulers. Though both the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Taj al-Salatin* agree that their people do not have to follow the *zalim* rulers, the *Sejarah Melayu* simply allows their people to offer passive resistance against the *zalim* rulers, while the *Taj al-Salatin* seems to permit them to take more active measures [Taufik Abdullah 1993: 35-58].

Another important Malay document on Melaka, the *Undang-Undang Melaka* (Melaka Laws) also stresses that the ruler's orders shall be obeyed even if the ruler is unjust [Liw 1976: 66]. In fact, whereas Aceh court history mentioned a lot of conflicts between rulers and *orang kaya* (noblemen), other Malay court histories hardly recorded *derhaka* incidents until the end of the seventeenth century when the regicide of Sultan Mahmud occurred in Johor. A similar view with the *Taj al-Salatin* can be seen in Malay documents of the eighteenth century. For example, the *Adat Istiadat Raja-Raja Melayu* (Malay Royal Customary) of Riau-Johor says that the deposition of a ruler shall be done on the basis of consensus only when he is either mad or *zalim*, or he departs from Islam¹⁰ [Cod. Or. 1999: 11]. This customary shows that Islamic norms were set above the traditional norms of rulers in that century. Melaka model, however, simply permits their people to offer passive resistance against the *zalim* rulers showing respect to the position of rulers and/or the royal genealogy (*silsilah*).

4. Divinity of Malay Rulers

The divinity of Malay rulers is expressed in the Arabic-derived term, *daulat* and this term also means the supernatural power possessed by Malay rulers. Malay

¹⁰ This regulation is found in the *Aturan Raja Melayu, Temengung, Bendahara apalagi Raja Muda* (Regulations on Ruler, Director of Police Agency, Prime Minister, and Vice-Ruler) that is included in the above-mentioned Malay royal customary of Riau-Johor. For the detail of the *Adat Istiadat Raja-Raja Melayu*, see [Tol and Witkam 1993]. It seems that Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Syah (r. 1841-57) of Riau-Lingga (a successor of Riau-Johor) was deposed according to this regulation. It is said that he was interested in neither politics nor Islam but he often went to Singapore in order to indulge in debauchery there [Raja Ali Haji 1991: 618, 624-630].

people believed that *daulat* always sat on a Malay ruler's shoulder and hit those who committed treason (*derhaka*) against him. They also said that its effect was like an electric shock or thunderbolt. Some of the past studies assume that the concept of *daulat* dates back to pre-Hindu Malay society. According to them, this concept was expressed in the Sanskrit-derived word *sakti* (a supernatural power associated with the Hindu gods/goddesses) during the Hindu period and was later replaced by the Arabic-derived term *daulat* [Winstedt 1947: 129-139; Gullick 1958: 45; B.W. Andaya 1975: 25-26; L.Y. Andaya, 1975b: 8]. We may safely say that the concept of *daulat* was altered to fit the Islamic mould after Islamization.

Since *daulat* is a supernatural power connected to divine kingship, its effect on people has two aspects. The *Sejarah Melayu* uses another Arabic-derived term, *tulah* (a calamity consequent upon a curse or sacrilege) [Wilkinson 1985: 203] when it mentions the calamity caused by the supernatural power of Melaka rulers and their ancestors [SMr: 122-123]. On the other hand, with regard to the good aspect of *daulat*, a Malay document edited in the eighteenth century states that *daulat* is the most powerful *tuah* (good fortune) that is conferred on Malay rulers by Allah¹¹ [Panuti H.M. Sudjiman 1982: 133]. We may say that *daulat* is composed of the two sub-concepts, *tuah* and *tulah*.

Another remarkable point is that the *Sejarah Melayu* confines the source of supernatural power to Islam by limiting those who possess supernatural powers to the following two groups. One group is the *Saiyid* and *Syarif* people whose genealogy originated from the Prophet Muhammad, and the other group is the Melaka rulers whose genealogy went back to Raja Iskandar D'zulkarnain. While the supernatural power of the *Saiyid* or *Syarif* people is expressed with the Malay word *sumpah*, which also means 'oath', a Malay term of Arabic origin, *daulat* is used to that of Melaka rulers. Although the idea of supernatural power itself dates back to the pre-Islamic local society, such a pre-Islamic view is modified to accord with the Islamic values. It should be also noted that the royal genealogy of Melaka is underlined by a Sanskrit-derived term, *bangsa* (noble pedigree). The *Sejarah Melayu* makes use of this term only for the genealogy linked to Raja Iskandar D'zulkarnain, while *asal* (origin) is applied to other genealogies. The good genealogies or pedigrees function as significant element in the Malay view on supernatural power.

¹¹ The eighteenth-century edition of the *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu* (Malay Royal Customary) classifies supernatural powers *tuah* into three categories: *untung*, *tuah*, and *daulat*. It goes on to tell that *tuah* is a supernatural power possessed by people while *untung* is possessed by high officials. It explains that *daulat* is the most powerful *tuah* and this supernatural power is only possessed by rulers [Panuti H.M. Sudjiman 1982: 133]. Thus, the strength of supernatural powers was thought to differ according to the social status of its possessor even in the eighteenth century reflecting the indigenous people's view.

5. Enthronement Ceremony

The *Sejarah Melayu* states that the enthronement ceremony of Seri Teri Buana was conducted after he made a political contract with Demang Lebar Daun. It mentions that a *pancapersada* (a seven-layered stage for enthronement ceremony) was used in his ceremony, though it does not describe the ceremony in detail. Unfortunately, it does not mention other enthronement ceremonies either and we have to refer to some Malay documents written in later years for about the details of Malay enthronement ceremony. We shall take up here the enthronement ceremony which took place in late twentieth century; the case of Sultan Azlan Muhibbudin Syah, the 34th sultan of Perak,¹² whose enthronement ceremony was conducted in December 1985. The memorial books for the enthronement of Sultan Azlan Muhibbudin Syah mention that the ceremony was made up of the following four parts [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 27-50; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1991: 65-78]:

- [A] *Tabal Adat* (Customary Enthronement) Ceremony (9 December 1985)
- [B] Taking Water for *Bersiram Tabal* (Bathing in Enthronement) Ceremony in Seven Mouths of the Perak River (11 December 1985)
- [C] *Tabal Pusaka* (Inherited Enthronement) Ceremony (11 December 1985)
- [D] Visit to Graves of Sultans of Perak (12 to 17 December 1985)

[A] *Tabal Adat* and [C] *Tabal Pusaka* seem to be the main parts of this enthronement ceremonies. [A] *Tabal Adat* is performed inside the court. In [A] *Tabal Adat* the royal sorcerer (*Pawang Diraja*) gives the regalia of Perak to the new sultan, followed by the congratulatory speeches by three people of Perak; the prime minister (*Orang Kaya Bendahara Seri Maharaja*), the crown prince (*Raja Muda*), and the chief minister (*Menteri Besar*) [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 27-38; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1991: 65-70].

[C] *Tabal Pusaka* consists of two ceremonies performed in different places. The first ceremony is called the *Bersiram Tabal* ceremony that is performed at night time on the top of *pancapersada*. In this ceremony, the sacred water is poured out for both the new sultan and his partner in order to purify them [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 41-44; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1991: 70-72]. As shown in [B] Taking Water for *Bersiam Tabal* ceremony, this sacred water is the water taken from seven mouths of the Perak River on the same day. As its photos show this ceremony looks like the *abhiseka* ceremony in the Indian civilization. Moreover, it is said that the

¹² The royal family of Perak goes back to Sultan Muzaffar Syah, an elder prince of Sultan Mahmud Syah of Melaka. He came to Perak and ascended throne at Tanah Abang in the early sixteenth century [B.W. Andaya 1979: 19-20]. Therefore, Perak directly inherited the royal traditions of Melaka Sultanate.

pancapersada is the replica of Mt. Meru (the holy mountain towering at the centre of the Indian cosmology) [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 41-44; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1991: 71-72]. While performing this ceremony, the royal sorcerer (*Pawang Diraja*) keeps on going around the *pancapersada*. The second ceremony is done inside the court. Though enough information is not available on this ceremony, it is certain that all the participants offered an Islamic prayer (*doa*) at the end of the ceremony [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 41-42, 44; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1991: 74-77].

The pre-Islamic (native and Indian) view on supernatural power is very influential in the case of Perak, although the Islamic factor is also incorporated. The following case of Negeri Sembilan¹³ is very interesting in showing that the ceremony is related to conferring *daulat* on the new ruler. This ceremony is called the *Menurunkan Daulat* (taking *daulat* down) and it took place on the last (3rd) day in a series of the enthronement ceremonies there. At the beginning, ten court officials stand up and four of them say Muslim greeting words, ‘al-salām ‘alaykum’ to four Islamic angels (*malikats*). Then, they utter an incantation to ask four Islamic angels to tell Allah to take *daulat* down for the new ruler, while six court officials draw their short swords (*kris*). The head of the ceremony officials says, ‘*Daulat Tuanku*’ (*Tuanku* means my ruler) and all the participants say the same words in chorus. This is repeated three times. Then, local chiefs start the *Menjungjung Duli* (having an audience with the new ruler) ceremony. At the end of the ceremony, the *mufti* (Islamic law official in high rank) offers an Islamic prayer together with all the participants there [Tomizawa 1987: 43-45; 2003: 146-148].

It is true that Islamic factors play a crucial role in the *Menurunkan Daulat* ceremony. None the less, I would like to add here that the *Bersiram* ceremony, similar to Indian *abhiseka* ceremony, took place on the previous day [Tomizawa 2003: 145-146]. Therefore, the case of Negeri Sembilan also shows that certain Indian factors have been kept in the enthronement ceremony of Islamic Malay states. Combination of two different cultural elements in one ceremony is also observable in Thailand and

¹³ Description of the enthronement ceremony of Negeri Sembilan here is based on the case in April 1968. A few more cases from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, however, are also referred to for the better understanding of the ceremony. According to Tomizawa, the ceremony of Negeri Sembilan underwent major changes in 1898 when the seventh ruler, Muhammad performed it on the advice of local chiefs and the British colonial officials. Since then, however, its basic formation has remained stable. The case of 1968 is consisted of the following four parts:

the 1st day: *Istiadat Menurunkan Alat-Alat Kebesaran Diraja* (ceremony for taking out the regalia)

the 2nd day: *Istiadat Bersiram* (ceremony for purifying bodies with water)

the 3rd day: *Istiadat Pertabalan* (ceremony for enthronement) and *Mengadap Menjungjung Duli* (ceremony for audience).

Myanmar according to the study of Buddhism in these countries made by Tamura.¹⁴ In conformity with his study, we may say that Hindu rituals like the *Bersiram* ceremony remained as a sub-system in Islamized Malay enthronement ceremony.

6. Posts and Role of Ulama (Muslim Scholars)

The *Sejarah Melayu* does not tell various activities of *ulama* in the bureaucracy of Melaka, although it describes in detail those of four ministers such as *bendahara* (prime minister), *penghulu bendahari* (financial minister), *temenggung* (director of the police agency), and *laksamana* (admiral). The first two are names of Sanskrit origin and the last one is named after the character of *Ramayana*. Further, this four-post system in bureaucracy is based on the Indian cosmology and other Malay states imitate this system of Melaka.¹⁵

As for the posts offered to the *ulama*, the *Sejarah Melayu* mentions the *katib* (scribe) and the *kadi* (judge of Islamic court). It describes briefly the scenes in which the *katibs* read out letters from other states [SMs: 80, 223]. On the other hand, the *kadi* gives advice to the sultan in his marriage [SMs: 232-234].

Although their information is rather limited, it is certain that those *ulama* of foreign origin (from either India or West Asia) played a significant role in the Melaka Sultanate. Those *ulama* who bore titles such as *maulana* (a title for brilliant Islamic scholars) and *makhdum* (an honorific for Islamic intellectuals) in particular were invited to the court as religious teacher or adviser, and the sultans and the dignitaries (*orang besar*) deepen their understanding on Islam under their guidance. The *Sejarah Melayu* tells us that Sultan Mansur in the golden age of Melaka acquired Islamic knowledge from Maulana Abu Bakar (or Abu Ishak), and even the last two sultans in the decline and fall period of Melaka, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Ahmad also studied it under the instruction of Maulana (or Makhdum) Sadar Jahan [SMr: 127-129, 177, 190-191].

The *Sejarah Melayu* also suggests that those *ulama* sometimes play an active role in political scenes. According to it, Maulana Jalaluddin advised Raja Kasim to stage a *coup d'état* during the reign of Sultan Abu Syahid who had controlled Melaka with support of a foreign power. Then, Raja Kasim carried it out and ascended the throne as Sultan Muzaffar Syah [SMr: 91]. Although it is doubtful that the *ulama*

¹⁴ Finding some elements of Hinduism in Buddhism there, his studies suggest that some knowledge and technology from old culture are used in the new cultural style of ritual. Moreover, he stresses that such old cultural factors remained as a sub-system in a new cultural system [Tamura 1991: 25-26].

¹⁵ According to this system, the number of officials double as the rank goes down. For example, the highest ranking officials number 4, the second 8, and the third 16. This system can be seen in the bureaucracy of contemporary Perak [Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas 1986: 101-102].

really gave advice to Raja Kasim, since no other such stories of *ulama*'s active role are found in the *Sejarah Melayu* for Melaka, some scholars suggest that this story is fabricated to justify the enthronement of Sultan Muzaffar Syah whose reign is regarded as the starting point of the prosperous period of Melaka¹⁶ [Wake 1983: 149-150].

7. Concept of Nama

The concept of *nama* of is not clearly seen in the *Sejarah Melayu*, while frequently mentioned in the *hikayats* (court histories, stories) compiled from the eighteenth century and after. For example, *nama* means 'fame of rulers' [Kashim Ahmad 1991: 3, 7, 18, 45, passim] or 'titles of their subjects that were conferred on them by their rulers' [Kashim Ahmad 1991: 248-249, 252, 253, passim] in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (The Story of Hang Tuah). Besides, *nama* usually appeared in the context of highlighting the Islamic worldview in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. This work mentions in many places that this world is not eternal and only the *nama* of the ruler remains after his death [Kashim Ahmad 1991: 504].

On the other hand, titles are usually referred to by the Malay word *gelaran* (titles) in the *Sejarah Melayu* and other pre-eighteenth century *hikayats*. As far as I know, there are only two cases where fame is referred to by the term *nama*. Yet, in those cases, *nama* does not mean fame of rulers but that of their people. Moreover, it is not clear whether those cases are connected to the Islamic world-view [SMr: 86-87, 215].

Since the edition of these works dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, it is reasonable to think that the concept of *nama* grew to be popular in the

¹⁶ While re-examining the royal genealogy of Melaka, C.H. Wake gives his view on Islamization as follows: 'Melaka's reception of Islam was a gradual process extending over a period of decades, from the first cautious step in 1414, when the second ruler adopted a Muslim regal name, to the final conversion of the ruling class and the stabilization of Muslim political power in the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Syah.... Islam's final triumph was the outcome of a protracted struggle which revolved around the major issues of Melaka's foreign policy and domestic politics' [Wake 1983: 140]. He points out that Raja Kasim's *coup d'état* resulted from the factional struggle between the conservative group and the progressive group. While the conservative group was the Hindu-Buddhist group that had connection with Hindu-Buddhist traders, the progressive group was the Islamic group linked to Muslim traders [Wake 1983: 143-154]. Sultan Muzaffar Syah finally decided to accept Islamic civilization in the middle of the fifteenth century. He was called Sultan after he extended his sway along the west coast of the Malay peninsula, having wrested control of the Singapore Strait from the east coast states and converted neighbouring rulers in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra to Islam. A Chinese history work records that he visited China in 1456 and he was the first ruler of Melaka that used the title of sultan [Wake 1983: 150].

Malay society, with the growth of interest in Islamic norms there. Although A.C. Milner focuses his attention to this concept in his study [Milner 1982], it is likely that the concept is not duly applicable to the Melaka model.

Conclusion

From the above examination of the seven conspicuous aspects of statecraft seen in the *Sejarah Melayu*, we may be able to enumerate the following four points as the characteristics of state formation of Melaka:

1. It is likely that the main point of state formation of Melaka lies in the Malay political contract between rulers and their people. This contract is based on the Islamic framework as clearly seen in the criteria for good rulers, although it includes pre-Islamic (native, Indian) traditional concepts.
2. As for supernatural powers, the *Sejarah Melayu* connects them only to the Islamic framework, though both Hindu and Islamic factors must have remained just as a hidden sub-system.
3. Malay states in the pre-seventeenth century, however, were not the same as those in the eighteenth century and after in that the latter respect the Islamic norms far more than the former. Melaka people in the pre-seventeenth century were required to follow the unjust rulers and *nama* did not seem to be a popular concept yet in society.
4. Melaka model played an active role in showing that the Islamic norms are not contradictory to the respect for the position of rulers and their genealogy. Therefore, the ruler-centred policy had been maintained in the Malay society until the seventeenth century, the strengthening of Islamicization having occurred only afterwards.

As the reason for the intensification of Islamization in the seventeenth century in the Malay states, I have suggested in the beginning the increase of European visitors and growth of Arab population. On this point, however, further studies will be required in relation to the issues of broader aspect, such as the development of 'the age of commerce' in Southeast Asia. Moreover, for the clarification of the social integration in the Malay states of the pre-seventeenth century, we have to search for materials other than the *Sejarah Melayu* in future studies. To elucidate changing perceptions of Islam among the Malay during the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries continues to be an important theme in order to examine relationships between Malay rulers and their people.

Abbreviations

- Cod. Or. 1999: *Mukhtasar Tawarikh al-Wusta*. Leiden University Library.
 DBP: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
 JMBRAS: *Journal of the Malayan/Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
 MBRAS: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
 SMd: A. Samad Ahmad (ed.) 1986 [1979] *Sulalatus Salatin: Sejarah Melayu*. KL: DBP.
 SMr: Winstedt, R.O. (ed.) 1938 'Sejarah Melayu'. *JMBRAS* 16(2)(3).
 SMs: Shellabear, W.G. (ed.) 1975 *Sejarah Melayu*. Petaling Jaya: FajarBakti.

Bibliography

- Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail. 1998. 'Sulalat Us-Salatin: Naskhah Raja Bongsu—Beberapa Persoalan'. In Cheah Boon Kheng and Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail, *Sejarah Melayu, the Malay Annals*, Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, pp. 7-20.
- Andaya, B.W. 1975. 'The Nature of the State in Eighteenth Century Perak'. In Reid and Castles 1975, pp. 22-35.
- . 1979. *Perak: The Abode of Grace: A Study of an Eighteenth Century Malay State*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Andaya, L.Y. 1975a. *The Kingdom of Johor 1641-1728*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- . 1975b. 'The Structure of Power in 17th Century Johor'. In Reid and Castles 1975, pp. 1-11.
- . 2001. 'Aceh's Contribution to Standards of Malayness'. *Archipel* 61: 29-68.
- . 2004. 'The Search for the "Origins" of Melayu'. In *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity across Boundaries*, ed. T.P. Barnard, Singapore: Singapore University Press, pp. 56-76.
- Brown, C.C., tr. 1970. *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Bukhari al-Jauhari (Khalid. M. Hussain, ed.). 1992. *Taj us-Salatin*. Kuala Lumpur: DBP.
- Gullick, J.M. 1958. *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*. London: Athlone.
- Hooykaas, C. 1947. *Over Maleiseliteratuur*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas, ed. 1986. *Kenangan Pertabalan Raja Kita Ke 34*. Taiping: Jawatankuasa Panel Penulis Khas & Pejabat Orang Besar Jajahan Larut Matang and Selama.
- Kashim Ahmad, ed. 1991 [1964]. *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. Kuala Lumpur: DBP.
- Liaw, Yock Fang, ed. 1976. *Undang-Undang Melaka*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhof.

- Milner, A.C. 1982. *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Nishio Kanji 西尾寛治. 1995. 'Muraka ōken no keisei: Kaijōmin no yakuwari no bunseki o chūshin ni ムラカ王権の形成：海上民の役割の分析を中心に [The formative process of the Melaka Sultanate: Analysis of roles of the Orang Laut]'. *Nampō Bunka* 南方文化 [Tenri bulletin of South Asian studies] 22: 23-43.
- . 1999. 'Cheah Boon Kheng, The Rise and Fall of the Great Melakan Empire: Moral Judgment in Tun Bambang's Sejarah Melayu, *JMBRAS*, vol. 71, Part 2, 1998'. *MANU (Journal of the Centre for the Promotion of Knowledge & Language Learning, Universiti Malaysia Sabah)* 2: 207-218.
- . 2001. 'Kinsei Murayu ōken no rekishiteki tenkai: Muraka, Johōru, Johōru Riau no bunseki kara 近世ムラユ王権の歴史的展開：ムラカ，ジョホール，ジョホール・リアウの分析から [The transformation of Malay political culture in the early modern period: Melaka, Johor and Johor-Riau]'. *Tōnan Ajia: Rekishi to Bunka* 東南アジア：歴史と文化 [Southeast Asia: History and culture] 30: 25-45.
- . 2003. 'Political Contracts in the Early Modern Malay-Indonesian World: Analysis of Malay Historical Materials'. *AJAMES (Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies)* 19(1): 75-96.
- . 2009. 'Political Strategy for Coexistence in Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Concept of *Orang Melayu* in the 18th Century Johor-Riau Sultanate'. In *The Changing Self-Image of Southeast Asian Society during the 19th and the 20th Centuries*, Toyo Bunko Research Library, vol. 11, ed. Y. Ishii, Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, pp. 3-26.
- Panuti Hidimurti Mohammad Sudjiman, ed. 1982. *Adat Raja-Raja Melayu*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Raja, Ali Haji (B.M. Hooker, ed.). 1991. *Tuhfat al-Nafis* [The precious gift]. Kuala Lumpur: DBP.
- Reid, A. 1993a. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. Vol. 2. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1993b. *The Making of an Islamic Political Discourse in Southeast Asia*. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.
- Reid, A., and L. Castles, eds. 1975. *Pre-colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS.
- Roolvink, R. 1970. 'The Variant Versions of the Malay Annals'. In Brown 1970, pp. xv-xxvii.
- Skeat, W.W. 1965 [1900]. *Malay Magic*. London: Frank Cass.
- Tamura Katsumi 田村克己. 1991. 'Kisō bunka to Hindūizumu 基層文化とヒンドウイズム [The indigenous culture and Hinduism]'. In *Kōza Tōnan Ajia gaku 5: Tōnan Ajia no bunka* 講座東南アジア学5：東南アジアの文化

- [Lecture series Southeast Asian studies 5: Cultures in Southeast Asia], ed. Maeda Narifumi 前田成文, Tokyo: Kōbundo, pp. 21-48.
- Taufik Abdullah. 1993. 'The Formation of a Political Tradition in the Malay World'. In Reid 1993b, pp. 35-58.
- Teuku Iskandar. 1995. *Kesusastraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* [The Malay classical literature during centuries]. Brunei: Universiti Brunei Darussalam.
- Tol, R., and J.J. Witkam, eds. 1993. *Mukhtasar Tawarikh al-Wusta: A Short Chronicle of the Riau Region*. Leiden: Indonesian Linguistics Development Project and Legatum Warnerianum in the Library of Leiden University.
- Tomizawa Hisao 富沢寿男. 1987. 'Shakai kouzou to kokka 社会構造と国家 [Social structure and state]'. In *Gendai no shakai jinruigaku 3: Kokka to bunmei e no katei* 現代の社会人類学3: 国家と文明への過程 [Social anthropology in contemporary times 3: The process for state and civilization], ed. Itō Abito 伊藤亜人 et al., Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, pp. 35-56.
- . 2003. *Ouken girei to kokka* 王権儀礼と国家 [Royal rituals and state], Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press.
- Wake, C.H. 1983. 'Melaka in the Fifteenth Century: Malay Historical Traditions and the Politics of Islamization'. In *Melaka, the Transformation of a Malay Capital c.1400-1980*, ed. K.S. Sandhu and P. Wheatley, 2 vols, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, vol. 1, pp. 128-161.
- Wan Hashim Wan Teh. 1991. *D.Y.M. M. Sultan Azlan Shah: Biografi Bergambar*. Kuala Lumpur: DBP.
- Wilkinson, R.J. 1932. *A Malay-English Dictionary*. 2 parts. Mytilene: Salavopoulos and Kinderlis.
- Winstedt, R.O. 1947. 'Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya'. *JMBRAS* 20(1): 129-139.
- Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Wahid. 1983. 'Power and Authority in the Melaka Sultanat: The Traditional View'. In *Melaka, the Transformation of a Malay Capital c. 1400-1980*, ed. K.S. Sandhu and P. Wheatley, 2 vols, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, vol. 1, pp. 101-112.