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LEADERSHIPS OF LEADERS IN SULALATUS SALATIN TEXT

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Abstract

As a caliph, a Muslim leader has noble characters that people should emulate. Those noble characters include all aspects of faith, worship and morals that adhere to one main concept Tawhid, emphasizing the oneness of Allah S.W.T. Therefore, Sulalatus Salatin text was studied based on the Islamic guidelines to identify the Islamic values presented through the behaviours of its leaders. The qualitative method was employed in this study focusing on a descriptive text analysis using the Takmilah Theory. The second principle of the Takmilah Theory which is used in this research, defines the aspects of values from the perspective of Islam as a standard measure for humans to consider whether a matter, their behaviour or word is good, beneficial, harmful, or blemished. Within the scope of Islam, each area of human need is tied to the concept of Tawhid. The Prophetic Principles by Shafie Abu Bakar is based on the nature of Kamil in Rasulullah S.A.W. As human beings are the best of creations, thus a leader should be a person who can fulfil the commands of Allah S.W.T. These principles make Rasulullah S.A.W. a perfect human model because his soul is the closest to Allah S.W.T. Sulalatus Salatin contains procedures for moulding a leader; it is loaded with leadership knowledge and other related knowledge such as administration. Literature is seen to serve as a tool to propagate these guidelines and thus educate readers.

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1. Introduction

Sulalatus Salatin (*Genealogy of Kings*) is also known as the *Sejarah Melayu* (the *Malay Annals*). This work was written by Tun Sri Lanang when he was the Bendahara Paduka Johor from 1580 to 1615. He was born in Bukit Seluyut, Johor in 1565. This work is classified as a historiographical text that contains fifteen chapters. This masterpiece tells the story of the Melaka Sultanate era up to the time of the fall of the capital, Kota Melaka. This work is produced so that future generations could learn from the mistakes of their ancestors.

Although this work focuses on the reign of the Melaka Sultanate kings, this work can still be used as a guide to life and to educate the public nowadays. A variety of Malay values are depicted in this work such as the philosophy of values and ethics, leadership, *waadat* (of understanding between the ruler and the people), aesthetics, language, religion and others. The Malay community is described as intelligent people who emphasize education and religion, and aesthetic values are prioritized in terms of manners cultures, rhetoric and others. In addition, there are also Malay values on ethics and leadership in the Malay community.

The importance of *Sulalatus Salatin* has been explained by Zakaria (2017) in her study, who stated that it has to be “The Mirror to mirrors”, which is the main scripture that is cited and referred to repeatedly in the Malay traditional literature system. The research findings indicated that *Sulalatus Salatin* has been used as the main reference for Malay epics. The content as well as the philosophy of *Sulalatus Salatin* have greatly influenced other texts such as the Malay Saga, which tells a story about the continuity of Malay kings’ genealogy such as Raja Kecil Siak and other historical literary texts.

Zakaria (2012, 2014), and Zakaria et al. (2020), Noor Muhammad (2014, 2018), Nordin (2015) all have conducted studies on the *Sulalatus Salatin*. Zakaria et al. (2020) in their paper, *Malay authors strategies in displaying the intelligence of the figures and its effects in traditional Malay literary text*; had discussed the historiography text from the perspective of authorship; while Nordin (2015) looked at the war strategies presented in the text. Noor Muhammad (2018) discussed the aspects of diplomatic relationship presented in the Malay historiography texts during the Melaka Sultanate era.

One of the past studies that raised the *Takmilah* Theory as the axis of evaluation was a study by Ali (2010) in his doctoral thesis, *The Concept of Integrated Aesthetics: Application and Analysis of Ahmad Kamal Abdullah’s Poems*. This study was conducted to analyse poems written by Ahmad Kamal Abdullah with the application of Integrated Aesthetics approach. On the other hand, Ibrahim and Maniyamin in 2009 conducted a scientific analysis *Citra Takmilah: an analysis of Islamic Poems Collections* that discussed the image of humans in Malay poems, particularly Islamic poems by Abham T.R. using the *Citra Takmilah* Model which is the combination of *Taklimah* Theory and human images.

Kamarudin (2011) researched and wrote her findings as *Islamic-based Novels: An Analysis based on the Takmilah Theory*. She also studied and discussed the effectiveness of Malay authors in delivering the Islamic concepts in their works. It discussed in detail the authors’ thinking and philosophy in dealing with their texts that were relevant to the Islamic concepts of faith, worship, da’wah, caliph and jihad. Kamariah detailed the concepts by elaborating on the relevant aspects. Among the aspects were the connection between human and Allah S.W.T., honesty as worship, *takwa* which demands patience in a Muslim, gratefulness upon receiving perfect luxury, penitence as the key to a Muslim victory, the

relationship between humans and human morals that is the root of human behaviors, mercy which is the efforts to do good (*amal makruf*) and avoid sins (*nahi mungkar*).

Thus, based on the literature review, the *Takmilah* Theory has helped to evaluate the messages implicitly written and is able to analyse the messages of what perfect human beings are in the genre of poetry. These findings can assist future studies in using the *Takmilah* Theory to evaluate messages in other literary works, such as historical literature.

2. Research Methods

This study employed a qualitative descriptive analysis method using the *Takmilah* Theory to analyse the data. This theory, based on the principles of perfection in Islam, was introduced by Abu Bakar (2000). This theory is based on the Uluhiyyah and Rubuhiyyah nature of the divine. According to Abu Bakar, this theory can be used to identify the values of Islam in all literary works. The basis of this theory is the perfection of beauty. It should be emphasized that beauty is an attribute of Allah S.W.T. The *Takmilah* Theory is not built separately, but has a close relationship with the philosophy of Islamic principles itself. This theory has outlined seven principles to refine the *Takmilah* Theory as follows:

1. Divine Principles which are guidelines to understanding the Creator's Kamal (Perfection).
2. Prophetic Principles as the guidelines to being Kamil (Perfection).
3. Islamic Principles which are guidelines to being Akmal (Complete and Perfect)
4. Principles of knowledge and of literature of which is Takamul (Integrated and Consummate)
5. Principles of literature itself that is aesthetic and *Takmilah* (Perfect and Consummate).
6. Author's literary principles of which one has to istikamal oneself, an effort towards self-actualization (self-perfection).
7. Principles of the public, of which the aim is to cultivate them towards becoming Kamil (Perfection)

In this study, only the second principle, the Prophetic Principles as the guideline to being Kamil (Perfection); were used because they were linked to the morals of leaders. Other principles are less suitable in analysing the moral aspects of leaders. *Sulalatus Salatin* was produced during the reign of the Melaka government ruled by Islamic kings. As Muslims, the government actions must be based on Islamic teachings. Therefore, the government actions recorded in *Sulalatus Salatin* should be studied based on an Islamic theory.

This study focused on the second Principle of *Takmilah* Theory, the Prophetic Principles as a perfect human. Abu Bakar, S. produced the theory of *Takmilah* aiming to provide a platform for text analysis, not only unraveling more comprehensive aesthetic elements, but also to elevate 'rewarding' texts that are accepted by Allah as one of the worship deeds.

Every human being is born is destined by Allah S.W.T. to play a role as a dai (preacher) in spreading Islam in the world. This requires human beings to be the caliphs of Allah S.W.T. who uphold Islam and spread it to the world. Therefore, a ruler should be the main pillar and play a role in spreading Islam throughout the world.

As a caliph, it is necessary for a Muslim leader with noble characters to be an example and is followed by the people. The noble characters encompass all aspects of faith, worship and morals that

adhere to one main concept of monotheism, believing in oneness of Allah S.W.T. Therefore, Sulalatus Salatin text was studied based on the Islamic guidance to identify the Islamic values presented. Values according to the Islamic perspective are defined as a standard measure for human beings to consider whether a thing, behavior or word is good, beneficial, harmful, or blemished. Within the scope of Islam, each component of human needs is tied to the concept of monotheistic. The Prophetic Principles outlined by Abu Bakar is based on the nature of Kamil in Rasulullah S.A.W. believing that human beings are the best creation, thus having a leader who can fulfil the commands of Allah S.W.T.

According to Abu Bakar (2000), these Prophetic Principles present the idea of a perfect human being (perfect, complete). Referring to literature, it plays a role to uplift the quality of humanity. Therefore, literature becomes a catalyst to form caliphs (leaders) who uphold the rabbani (close to God) principle. Literature is seen as a tool to educate readers. These principles make Rasulullah S.A.W. a perfect human model, because his soul is the closest to Allah S.W.T. It is necessary to look at the three concepts of ideal human beings in Rasulullah S.A.W. One of them is the perfect human being, by referring to the personality of the Prophet who is acknowledged to be the best example of an individual that ever existed. Caliphs refer to human beings as the Caliph of Allah S.W.T. on earth. Rabbani human beings, on the other hand, refer to the increase in human piety as the caliph of Allah S.W.T. Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. has very noble morals and traits. Therefore, the traits of the Prophet such as Siddiq (Truthful), Amanah (Trustworthy), Fathonah (Wise) and Tabligh (Advocacy) should be discussed. It is by understanding the traits that will guide us to know Rasulullah S.A.W. more closely. This is necessary to understand the second principle of Takmilah Theory, which is the Prophetic Principles.

3. Findings

3.1. The Leadership of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah

Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was the seventh sultan of Melaka. He was mentioned in Sulalatus Salatin as the spark for the rise of the glory of Melaka. His reign had always been equally compared to the reign of Caliph Umar Al Khatab. He is known as a ruler who acted alone in carrying out his responsibilities as a leader. His Majesty was a sultan who was very concerned about the conditions of his people. His extraordinary story is documented as the Reign of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah and Steps to Eradicate Thieves (Ahmad, 1996). When the news of many cases of theft in the country spread, he went out on a patrol with Hang Isap and Hang Ishak. He always disguised himself as an ordinary citizen and patrol the city streets. He was successful in apprehending the thieves and was able to restore peace. His actions had caused Temenggung Seri Maharaja to tighten the control in the country. Anyone found walking at night was killed, resulted in the theft cases successfully eradicated. A station was built at a crossroad in the middle of the country and was guarded by a chief. Whoever found a person's property should be returned because otherwise his hands would be amputated. Every item found would be sent to the station. This story illustrates the firmness of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah as a ruler. He is also described as a person who did not abdicate his responsibility to others.

The story of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah catching the thieves himself is often used as an example of how a government needs to communicate closely with the people to know the people and

understand the problems they face. His actions were based on the Prophetic Principles and can be classified as being advocacy because it is an example to leaders of the new generation, namely leaders who are appointed by the people. The story of a sultan who was willing to catch the thief with his own hands, while having his best army in the days of the Malacca sultanate evidently indicated the sultan was very humble and always adhered to the trust he held.

The firmness of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was recorded again in a story "Killing without informing Melaka" (Ahmad, 1996). Sultan Ibrahim in Siak had ordered the killing of an offender without informing Melaka in advance. At that time, the death penalty was not allowed in the conquest of Melaka except with the knowledge of the Sultan of Melaka. When this incident was known to Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah, he sent Hang Tuah to 'rebuke' Sultan Ibrahim's actions. Realizing his mistake, Sultan Ibrahim sent a letter of apology to Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah. This incident according to the Prophetic Principles indicated that Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was a man rich with Rabbani. This story indicated that though he was assertive, Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was also a forgiving person.

According to the Prophetic Principles, he was also rich with the traits of a Khalifah because he had fulfilled his responsibilities by taking actions even if those who had committed the murder were the nobles. His Majesty had fulfilled his responsibilities in taking care of the people. Killing is a big crime in Islam and cannot be done arbitrarily. As a leader, he held the trust to protect the lives of his people. By ensuring that all murders were reported to Melaka, baseless killings can be curbed. He had ensured that human lives are valued as stated in Islam.

The nature of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah leadership was also told when he continued the policy of power expansion initiated by Sultan Muzaffar Shah and his father Sultan Mansur Shah. Among the countries that became his colony were Aru and Kampar. Under his rule, the government of Melaka was more transparent and guided by Islamic law. The Hukum Kanun Melaka initiated by Sultan Muzaffar Shah was implemented strictly, seriously and comprehensively under his rule.

The last story about Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was the ending of 'Killing Without Telling Melaka' in which he left a will for his son. Upon the death of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah, he was replaced by Raja Mamad. At that time, Raja Mamad was still a child. His will for Raja Mamad to replace him was presented in front of the King's Treasurer, Kadi, Paduka Tuan, Seri Nara Diraja, Temenggung and Laksamana Hang Tuah.

The traits of Rabbani are clearly possessed by Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah. A Muslim is obliged to leave a will so that there is no confusion after his death. The will of Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was also addressed to the dignitaries, because at that time, Raja Mamad was still a child and needed their guidance. The contents of his will reminded his son to be patient and not to take revenge on the people. He bequeathed that his son should prioritize the afterlife and surrender to the One. He also reminded his son not to persecute or embarrass the people. This evidently showed that the messages were loaded with Islamic morals.

At the same time, Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah instructed Raja Mamad to be patient and forgive the mistakes of the servants. Priority should be given to works related to the afterlife than works of the world. King Mamad must surrender or trust in Allah S.W.T. Raja Mamad was advised not to humiliate offenders, if he had to kill them, he could. Finally, Raja Mamad was ordered to obey the will to receive

blessing from Allah S.W.T. Like Sultan Mansur, Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah was far-sighted and a advocate of peace. The events involving Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah should be taken as an example for a leader who prioritized the welfare of the people more than himself.

3.2. Leadership of Sultan Mansur Syah

Sultan Mansur was mentioned in Sulalatus Salatin as the best sultan in the history of Melaka, and can only be seconded by his son, Sultan Alau'd-Din Riayat Syah. He is also listed as one of the conquerors who appeared in French history. During his reign, the glory started by his father Sultan Muzaffar Syah was continued. The story of Sultan Mansur is recorded a lot in Sulalatus Salatin, which started from Chapter 5 in the section entitled 'The Rule of Sultan Mansur Syah' until Chapter 8 in 'The Will of Sultan Mansur' (Ahmad, 1996).

Among the stories that portrayed Sultan Mansur Syah is in the story 'Kisah Anak Raja dihantar ke Pahang' (the Prince who was sent to Pahang). This event is recorded in Chapter 7 in the section entitled 'Ditolak Bumi Melaka' (Sent Away From Melaka); (Ahmad, 1996). The story began with the event of the then heir to the throne, Raja Muhammad; of how he caused the death of Tun Besar, the son of Paduka Raja, the Bendahara (Chief Minister, akin to a Vizier). The incident referred to, was when Raja Muhammad stabbed Tun Besar in anger; because Tun Besar had by accident kicked a takraw ball too high, which then fell upon the prince's royal headwear and it dropped to the ground. This incident caused men from the Bendahara's clan to gather and rallied to take revenge in retaliation. The Bendahara opposed this in order to keep the peace in the city, but he made a solemn decreed that Raja Muhammad should not ascend to the throne as king.

His Majesty Sultan Mansur considered the proposal of the Bendahara, and Raja Muhammad was sent to Pahang to be the king there, a secondary position as Pahang was part of the Melakan Empire. He was conferred the title of Sultan Muhammad Syah. The arrangement of sending Raja Muhammad was given to Seri Bija Diraja. In Pahang, Raja Muhammad was married to Mengindera Puteri, granddaughter of Sultan Iskandar, Sultan of Kelantan. He had three children, Raja Ahmad, Raja Jamil and Raja Mahmud. The action of 'punishing' his son by Sultan Mansur evidently showed that he did not practice nepotism even with his family members.

In the event of sending Raja Muhammad to Pahang after stabbing the Bendahara's son, Sultan Mansur made a wise and fair decision. He had acted after he listened to the explanations from all parties involved. He accepted the Bendahara's proposal without objection because as a responsible leader, he was aware that the Bendahara's advice was well-founded. When he took the action after consulting with the dignitaries, he had shown the attitude of an Islamic leader. Indeed, he had patterned his decision after Rasulullah S.A.W.; who conducted discussions and meetings when making important decisions.

His Majesty had displayed the trait of listening to the views of dignitaries in considering the effects and consequences between following the Bendahara's proposal by allowing Raja Muhammad to remain as the future Sultan. He actually loved Raja Muhammad so much that he decided to make Raja Muhammad the future sultan. However, he admitted that if his wishes were continued, there would be a possibility of unrest among the people because he did not act fairly. Other stories related to Sultan Mansur include the story of the introduction of the Scripture of Duri'l Mazlum by Maulana Abu Bakar.

Sultan Mansur had glorified him and learned from him (Ahmad, 1996). His efforts to obtain this scripture reflected that he was a lover of knowledge.

The actions of Sultan Mansur Syah in this event revealed that he upholds the principle of Rabbani, and acted as a responsible Muslim. He also displayed willingness to learn as according to the hadith that every Muslim must seek knowledge. He was aware of the need to equip himself with religious knowledge to be able to evaluate from a religious point of view and be able to make fair decisions. He was aware that, although he was the ruler, there were some things that he had not fully mastered, namely religious knowledge. He had fulfilled his responsibilities as a leader who needed to spread knowledge to the people when he asked to bring the Duri'l Mazlum scripture to Melaka.

With the presence of Maulana Abu Bakar and also the Duri'l Mazlum scripture, he had fulfilled his responsibility to spread knowledge among his people. He was far-sighted when he put in a lot of effort to get the scripture. He set an example by glorifying the Duri'l Mazlum scripture because he was aware of the necessity of a scripture which can explain religious matters to the masses, thus fulfilling the responsibility of spreading knowledge among the people of Melaka. This was a catalyst which helped form an educated society, thus raising the civilization of Melaka.

One of the Islamic morals according to the Prophetic Principles is upholding Rabbani. As a Muslim, the Sultan must respect teachers. The incident of how he glorified religious teachers should be emulated because his action was in the form of preaching to the people of Melaka on the importance of religious knowledge. This story should be used as an example for a leader who strives to convey the preaching.

Sultan Mansur had taken the initiative to establish diplomatic relations with Siam in the story 'Hubungan Baik-baik Melaka Siam' ('Good Relations between Melaka and Siam' – Ahmad (1996). The task of conveying the sultan's envoy was assigned to Tun Telanai. He was well received by the Siamese, and returned with a positive response from them. The continuation of international diplomatic relations was told in the story Memohon Jajahan Sebelum Kembali dan Perhubungan dengan Negeri China (Applying for Colony before Returning and the Relations with the State of China – Ahmad (1996). Sultan Mansur Shah was also said to visit Majapahit and led the soldiers and the Malay warlords.

Although the arrival of Sultan Mansur Shah was just a visit, the strength of the army displayed by Sultan Mansur had impressed and somehow diminished Majapahit's confidence. Therefore, the Maharaja of Majapahit at that time presented his daughter named Raden Galoh Candra Kirana; to Sultan Mansur as a bride. The Maharaja also gave several districts under the power of Majapahit. such as Indragiri, Jambi, Tungkal and Siantan as gifts to Melaka.

Among the results of diplomatic relationship, Sultan Mansur married the princesses of the Majapahit and Chinese governments. This symbolizes that the strata of Sultan Mansur were equivalent to both rulers of the government. This story also reveals how Sultan Mansur prioritized diplomatic relations over using military force. The Prophetic Principles emphasize that a person must be able to shoulder the responsibilities of a Caliph. His wisdom in establishing diplomatic relations with other powers had protected Melaka from attacks from the outsiders. His Majesty's action should be used as an example for a leader who is tolerant and strengthens friendship.

Stories about Sultan Mansur Syah narrated a lot about how the strength of the Melakan army was matchless under his rule. The authority of Sultan Mansur as a conqueror was narrated in the story 'Sesudah Kampar, Siak Pula' ('After Kampar, Now Siak' – Ahmad, 1996). The commander of Melaka fought for Siak and managed to capture the district. Sultan Mansur Shah also continued the policy of expansion of power started by his father by sending a troop of army with 200 ships to Pahang (Inderapura) which was then ruled by Maharaja Dewasura, a puppet leader of Siam King to rule Pahang. 200 ships sent by Sultan Mansur Shah were led by the Bendahara Tun Perak and 12 warlords of Melaka.

A pitched battle took place between Melaka and Pahang and finally Pahang surrendered to the rule of Melaka. Siam, which at that time was colonizing Pahang, was successfully humbled by Melaka. Other Malay states were surprised by the success of the Melaka government, thus some of the states willingly came to Melaka to become the tutelage of Sultan Mansur Shah. After the capture of Pahang, among the kingdoms that were successfully placed under the Melaka Empire by Sultan Mansur Shah were Bernam, Kampar, Siak, Rupert, Singapore and Bintan. From this war, Sultan Mansur Shah married Puteri Onang Seri. The story of this war gave the impression that Sultan Mansur was able to plan a war strategy, playing the role of a brave commander. The courage displayed by Sultan Mansur Syah was in line with the traits of Caliph in the Prophetic Principles, stating that a leader should lead in any field, including the military.

The last story related to Sultan Mansur Syah was 'The Will of Sultan Mansur' (Ahmad, 1996). When Sultan Mansur Syah was about to die, he bequeathed that Raja Ahmad or his nickname Raja Hussain to be appointed as the sultan to replace him. Apart from bequeathing a successor, he left several messages to Raja Hussain for guidance. Sultan Mansur had advised Raja Hussain that the world was not eternal, everyone who lived would die. Therefore, the faith must be strengthened to be perfect and maintain good characters so our names are remembered and always mentioned by the people. Raja Hussain must be fair and justly. Raja Hussain should refrain from taking the rights of people without permission, and did not neglect the task assigned. Every hardship or pain of the people must be helped, and those victimised should be investigated. A government should agree with ministers and dignitaries. This will be kept in order to be blessed.

The person who upholds the Rabbani trait pertaining to intelligence, refers to an individual who ensures that after his absence, there will not be disruptive affairs; by preparing a will. This will which he prepared has shown that Sultan Mansur Syah was a far-sighted man. He was aware that by bequeathing who his successor was, power struggle could be avoided among his heirs in the future.

The action of Sultan Mansur Syah who left a will in a form of advice for his successor, namely Sultan Alaud'din Riayat Syah indicated that Sultan Mansur Syah was aware of the need to leave the guidelines of reign for his son, a future ruler.

4. Conclusions

Sulalatus Salatin is a text under the genre of synthesis that has reciprocal elements of Hinduism and Islam. During the Hindu-Buddhist era, kings were considered a deity to be worshiped and fully obeyed that is the concept of 'King with Absolute power'. The arrival of Islam has reaffirmed the concept of sovereignty and rebellion; however, it should follow Islamic rules and not be based on the principles of

absolute obedience or blind obedience. The royal institution is interpreted as a trustee and the rule of the king must be just and sovereign. The idea of waadat referring to a fair king is a worshipped ruler; a tyrant king is an argued ruler has become the main principle in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

The responsibility of the ruler according to Islamic guidelines has eroded the concept of the divinity of a king; it was replaced with the concept of a king as the caliph in the world who holds the responsibility of the head of a country. Due to this, a king should not be questioned or punished, but his rule should be accepted as fair and based on the principles of Islam. These principles are important because they are the source of reference and the foundation base of the Malay Sultanate.

Based on the waadat, a government is given the mandate to rule the people of its colony. The government or royal institution now serves as the protector of the people who is not only accountable to its Creator, but also as the trustee of its Creator on earth. The enthroned king must exercise the trust to protect the people by ensuring that the welfare of the people is given priority. An ideal ruler must be responsible and always care about the welfare of his people. As recorded in the book *Adab as Salam* (as-Salam Manners), a just king needs to know the affairs of his state and the actions of his ministers, warlords and the characters of his people. Personally, a king must be firm in his religion, uphold justice, and wise in decision-making.

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