

The International
JOURNAL
of **the HUMANITIES**

Volume 6

The Malay Historical Thought in the 15th Century
Malacca

Arbaiyah Mohd Noor

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES
<http://www.Humanities-Journal.com>

First published in 2008 in Melbourne, Australia by Common Ground Publishing Pty Ltd
www.CommonGroundPublishing.com.

© 2008 (individual papers), the author(s)
© 2008 (selection and editorial matter) Common Ground

Authors are responsible for the accuracy of citations, quotations, diagrams, tables and maps.

All rights reserved. Apart from fair use for the purposes of study, research, criticism or review as permitted under the Copyright Act (Australia), no part of this work may be reproduced without written permission from the publisher. For permissions and other inquiries, please contact [<cg-support@commongroundpublishing.com>](mailto:cg-support@commongroundpublishing.com).

ISSN: 1447-9508
Publisher Site: <http://www.Humanities-Journal.com>

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES is a peer refereed journal. Full papers submitted for publication are refereed by Associate Editors through anonymous referee processes.

Typeset in Common Ground Markup Language using CGCreator multichannel typesetting system
<http://www.CommonGroundSoftware.com>.

The Malay Historical Thought in the 15th Century Malacca

Arbaiyah Mohd Noor, University of Malaya, MALAYSIA

Abstract: Historical Writing in the Malay World is not a new field. In fact, history has been written since the 14th century or earlier. Some scholars are of the view that historical writings did not exist in the traditional period. They argue that such writings contain irrational matters and hence are more closely related to literary works. Because of that, they claim there is no historical thought among the Malays. This paper will examine the Malay historical thought in the 15th Century Malacca. The existence of Malay historical ideas could be seen after the coming of Islam in Malacca. Based on Sejarah Melayu (the Malay Annals) which is regarded as the Malay magnum opus, this study will discuss briefly about the Malay society before the arrival of Islam in order to compare them with the society in the 15th century. The arrival of Islam to Malacca has given a great impact to the society especially in educating them to the Islamic way of life which eventually has influenced their new historical framework.

Keywords: Historical Thought, Historical Writings

Introduction

THE ARRIVAL OF Islam in the Malay world brought with it the intellectual revolution to the society. Islam had spread a new path for the importance of knowledge to be deeply rooted in everybody's hearts. With the acceptance of this holy religion, the Malay community had changed their perceptions toward the world view (*weltanschauung*). They were more receptive of rational explanations with regard to the concept of god, prophethood and humanity unlike before.

This article will try to visualise the thought of the traditional Malaccan Malays after the arrival of Islam to this region. With that purpose, *Sejarah Melayu*¹ that represented the Malay Malaccan history of the 15th century will be used as the prime source since it is considered as the elements of thought of the society.

The Malay Society Before the Arrival of Islam

Before the arrival of Islam, the Malays did not have a fixed religion. Some of them were Hindus while others were Buddhists mixing together the ritual practices in their own states. The *Sejarah Melayu*

clearly portrayed how dominant was the Hindu religion in the lives of the Malays in its early chapters. The implementation of the Hindu-based names was a clear evidence of the particular religion to be deeply rooted as part of their lives. The names used were for the knights such as *Sang Sapurba*, *Seri Rakna Wikrama*, *Seri Teri Buana*, *Aria Bupala*, *Nila Pahlawan*, *Krisyna Pandita* and many others.

Besides that, a myth about Raja Suran who rode a *semerani* stallion out from the sea was also stated in *Sejarah Melayu*. This tale is similar to the one about Dewa Siva who appeared from the sea mentioned in *Turuvacakan*.² Another Hindu influence was the usage of a silver cow; a present from Raja Aktab'ul Ard to the children of Raja Suran to be rode before approaching Bukit Siguntang Mahamiru.³ This was because the Hindus believe on the sacredness of a horse and cow as the symbols of traditional myth and the Indian souls.⁴ The same goes to the tale of the three children of Raja Suran of Bukit Siguntang Mahamiru who descended on earth as a representation of three aspects of Dewa Siva as based in the Hindu religion. They are closely related to the functions of Dewa Siva such as the creation, preservation and destructions followed by his rechargeable power.⁵ These myths deeply influenced the lives of

¹ According to T. Iskandar, *Sejarah Melayu or Sulalatus Salatin* which means *Pertuturan Segala Raja-raja* (The Speeches of the Rulers) were documented and rearranged by Tun Seri Lanang on the 12th Rabi'ul-awal 1021H or 13th May 1612. Teuku Iskandar, 'Historiografi Melayu: Antara Nilai Sastera dan Sejarah; a paperwork presented in the International Conference on Malay studies, 21-23rd August, 1989, p. 2.

² M. Rajantheran, *Sejarah Melayu: Kesan Hubungan Kebudayaan Melayu dan India*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1999, pp. 93-94.

³ A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1996, p. 20.

⁴ M. Rajantheran, *Sejarah Melayu: Kesan Hubungan Kebudayaan Melayu dan India*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1999, pp. 93-94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.



the early communities thus adapting them as part of the lives.

In terms of beliefs and faiths, the society was more focused on the teaching that their ruler was the reincarnation of the gods. The ruler's position was based on the myth that placed them higher than the ordinary people. *Sejarah Melayu* supported the myth with the mentioning about the greatness of Raja Suran who went into the sea in a locked glass case to view the beauty under water until the case reached a country named Dika populated by the Bu Sum race where he later resided with his wife and children.⁶ Another myth was when the magical children of Raja Suran who descended on Bukit Siguntang Mahamiru transformed the paddy field of Wan Empuk and Wan Malini into gold; its stem into copper and its leaves into white gold.⁷ These tales proved that the rulers owned extraordinary magical powers similar to the gods and goddesses and cannot be defeated by ordinary beings. It strengthened the position of the rulers and the aristocrat at the top of the Malay society's hierarchy.⁸

Obviously, the Hindu influences had determined the myths elements related to the cosmos and their deity into the Malay society's view of lives. The domain of the ruler as a special being stood firm in the thought of the early Malays society inherited by the offsprings together with the various other cultural practices. Those beliefs were related to their way of life until the arrival of Islam in this part of the world.

The Arrival of Islam and the Islamic Education in Malacca

The arrival of Islam came together with the Muslim traders and changed the entire history for the people of the Malay archipelago.⁹ Several Malay works such

as *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*,¹⁰ *Sejarah Melayu*¹¹ and others inserted the episode on the coming of Islam, the islamization of the rulers whether in long or short elaborations that portrayed the actual situation undergone by the Malay society as soon as Islam set its foundation on the Malay soil. It was stated in their writing on the impact that Islam had brought with it especially to the government as well as the Malay world.

Based from the Malay works, Malacca was amongst the earliest government that embraced Islam after Pasai. The Muslim merchants were a plenty in both locations. They not just practised their tradings but also spreaded the holy religion to the inhabitants there.¹²

Besides tradings,¹³ they continued their missionary activities with the mix-marriage method to the local people.¹⁴ It later resulted to a more stronger Islamic communities that play the role in spreading Islam better. Some of them even married the royal family members and obtained special positions in the government such as the advisor to the ruler or sultan in managing religious matters as well as the country's law enforcements. These responsibilities aided facilitated their main motive; to spread Islam from the highest position (ruler) to the local people¹⁵ inclusive on the Islamic subjects and *tasawwuf*. Later, the Muslim preachers (*ulama*) gradually transformed the peoples' way of thinking to the actual Islamic ways.¹⁶

On the other hand, the *ulama* also did several changes in the Malay community. In the beginning, the Malay language was Islamised whereby the *ulama* brought in with them the Arabic-Persian writing that later became the Malay writing with the additional special letters that resulted to the formation of the Arabic-Malay script (*Jawi* lettering).¹⁷ In a

⁶ A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1996, pp. 14-15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

⁸ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kehidupan Melayu*, Selangor: ABIM, 1990, p. 12.

⁹ The Islamisation practises were not standardised in this region. The traders who came as early as the 7th century stationed in Western Sumatera in 674 and 878.; Java in 1082, Champa in 1039, the Malay Peninsular in 878 and 1302 had increased in quantity in the 15th century. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, "Raniri and the Wujudiyah of the 17th Century Aceh", *Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society (MBRAS) III*, Singapore, 1966, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰ *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* mentioned about a Muslim scholar named Syekh Ismail from Makkah came to Sumatera and Islamised Merah Silu. He was later elected as the Ruler of Pasai with the name Sultan Malikul Salleh. For further information, refer to *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, Russel Jones, Petaling Jaya:Fajar Bakti, 1987, pp. 12-17.

¹¹ A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1996, pp. 56-57.

¹² Luis Filipe Ferreira Reiz Thanaz, "Masyarakat Melaka Menjelang Penaklukan Portugis Yang Masih Ada Hingga Kini" in Ismail Hussein (et.al), *Tamadun Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur:Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1993, volume 1, p. 127.

¹³ The Muslim merchants who were the Arabs, Persians and Gujeratis monopolised the trading centre in the Hindi ocean. They met in large quantity in the business locations such as Malacca, Pasai and North Sumatera. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, Bandung:Penerbit Mizan, 2002, p. 40.

¹⁴ Syed Farid al-Alatas "Notes on Various Theories regarding the Islamisation of the Malay Archipelago", in the Muslim World, A Journal Devoted to the study of Islam and of Christian-Muslim Relationship in Past and Present, vol. LXXV, Hartford:The Duncan Black MacDonald Centre, 1985, p. 170.

¹⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, p. 31.

¹⁶ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamisation of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur:Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ The term '*jawi*' refers to the entire race staying in the Malay archipelago given by the Arabs. Refer to the elaborations on the jawi alphabets from the Arabic-Persian language in Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, pp. 41-43.

more conducive environment,¹⁸ the Malay-Islamic language was widely accepted and became a major writing that united the entire Malay race at that time. Eventually, the Malay language became a lingua franca that was used extensively in the archipelago especially in the field of commerce and knowledge.¹⁹

At the same time, knowledge was promoted as part of the culture whereby it can be visualised from what was written in the *Malay Annals*. There were at least three informations that mirrored the Islamic knowledge cultural values in Malacca. Firstly, was the mentioning of several Islamic scholars such as Sayyid Abdul Aziz, Maulana Abu Bakar, Maulana Yusuf, Kadi Yusuf, Kadi Munawar and others. They were said to have come to Malacca in the quest of spreading Islam which started from the palace occupants and later to the rest of the community. Secondly, was the locations of the Islamic studies that included the palace of Sultan Mansur Shah, the house of Maulana Yusuf and the house of Kadi Munawar. Lastly, was the materials used such as *Kitab Durr al-Manzum*, *Kitab Maklumat (al-Luma')*, *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *al-Quran* and others²⁰ by the *ulama* in their lessons.

Generally, the *ulama* owned a vast knowledge not merely in delivering the facts pertaining Islam to the higher rank people but to the commoners as well. From the Quran, the books of tasawwuf, Islamic history, tauhid and many more, the Malay community began to master the knowledge pertaining to the

characteristics of god, Islamic rules, the creation of men, the history of the prophets, the day of judgement, the tale of paradise, hell and others.

One will notice that the works and manuscripts that were extended in the Malay world arrived with the knowledge of tasawwuf that was brought in by the pious *ulama*. Amongst the famous works of tasawwuf identified and spreaded in the earlier days of Islam to the Malay world was *Bahr al-Lahut*²¹ by Abdullah Arif in the 12th century. It discussed on the doctrine of Nur Muhammad and *Umm al-Barahin*²² by Syekh Muhammad Sanusi that debated on the 20 characteristics (Sifat dua puluh).²³ All these works were applied by the *ulama* in educating the Malay communities including the Malaccans at that time which later resulted to the birth of the tasawwuf stream.

There were at least two streams of tasawwuf that developed in the golden era of the Malaccan empire. They were the *tasawwuf akhlaqi* stream and the philosophical stream (*tasawwuf falsafi*) as portrayed in the approached of *Wahdatul Wujud* Ibn Arabiy (m.1240 M).²⁴ This situation was clearly stated in *Sulalatus Salatin* with the existence of the Ibn Arabiy's philosophical tasawwuf teachings.²⁵ The contents included the situation of the occupants of heaven and hell; whether they remained forever as questioned by Tun Bija Wangsa when on a journey to Pasai as commanded by Sultan Mansur Shah. The queries were clarified by two tasawwuf members

¹⁸ Based on the Portuguese document, the Malay language is used in the trading activities in Malacca since it is a very easy language to be learnt. M.J Pintado (translator), *Portuguese Documents On Malacca 1501-1511*, vol.1, Document 6, Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara, 1993, p. 85.

¹⁹ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, p. 43.

²⁰ Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma'", paperwork presented in the International Malay Studies Conference, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 21st -23rd August 1989, pp. 3-4.

²¹ The doctrine of Nur Muhammad that was said to be created earlier before Allah created other beings. For further elaboration on the issue, please refer to Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, *Naskhah Jawi Sejarah dan Teks*, vol.1, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1994, pp. 6-10, 38-39.

²² *Tuhfat al-Nafis* mentioned on *Kitab Umm al-Barahin* that was taught by Raja Ali to EngKu Muda Raja Abdullah besides *Kitab Jawhrat al-Tawhid*, *Bidayat al-Hidayah*, *Minhaj al-Abidin* and others. Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, *Naskhah Jawi Sejarah dan Teks*, page 3. Refer as well to Virginia Matheson, *Tuhfat al-Nafis: Sejarah Melayu-Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991, p. 593.

²³ This book is known as *Pelajaran Sifat Dua Puluh* that stressed on the division of the law of the mind, elaboration on the level of faith, debates of the compulsory characteristics, the permissible and nothing which is impossible for Allah topics. Please refer to H.M Asywie Syukur LC (copied by), *Pemikiran-pemikiran Tauhid Syekh Muhammad Sanusi*, Surabaya: Pt. Bina Ilmu, 1994, the page in the preface chapter as well as 5-114

²⁴ The tasawwuf akhlaqi stream is based on good moral conduct as a reflection of obedience from the believers toward excellent Islamic attribute and worship based on the Quran, Hadith and the paths of the companions as well as the *tabi'in*. This was written in the *Kitab al-Luma'*. However, tasawwuf falsafi stream is influenced by the external sources known as *wahdat al-wujud*. This stream immersed deeply in the Islamic thoughts via the traditional Islamic intellectuals that translated the works from the Greek, Persian, Indian and others. The essence of teachings catered the Islamic thoughts as stated by al-Kindi (m. 958H), al-Farabi (m. 958M), Ibn Sina (985 M), Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma'", p. 16.

²⁵ The *wahdat al-wujud* stream isn't a new stream even though the term was started by as-Syeikh Muhyiddin Ibn Arabiyy. This philosophical tasawwuf was accepted well in Persia amongst the Shi'ah Ismailiyyah and Shi'ah Ithna 'ashriyyah. It later spreaded into the Malay world together with the other influences especially literature. Hence, the tasawwuf teaching was considered to be influenced by Shi'ah. In reality, the follower of this teachings were the committed suni group members. The teachings were based on al-Quran, Hadis, the Sufis (Muslim scholars) and previous *ulama* and did not derive from the neo Platonisme, Hinduisme and others as assumed by certain people. The teachings were on the knowledge of *hakikat* as taught by the Prophet, the companions and previous *ulama*; adapting signs and assumptions limited to the oral tradition. It was later elaborated in detail by Ibn Arabiyy. For further information pertaining to *wahdat al-wujud* and Ibn Arabiyy, please refer to Wan Muhammad Bin Wan Ali, *Suntingan dan Anotasi sebuah Kitab Tasawwuf Melayu Kurun Ketiga Belas Hijrah/Kedelapan Belas Masihi*: ad-Durrun-Nafis, p. 79. Siddiq Fadzil, "Pemikiran Melayu: Menyorot Tema-tema Utama Pemikiran Islam Serantau", in *Islam dan Isu-isu Ketamadunan*, Selangor: Kolej Dar- al-Hikmah, undated, p. 5.

of Pasai namely Tun Makhdam Mua and Tun Hasan²⁶ based from the verse in Surah al-Bayyinah from six to eight that stressed the fact that the occupants in both places will stay there for eternity.²⁷ That answers indicated the existence of Ibn Arabiy's tasawwuf thought that was delivered in Malacca and altered by his follower which was Abdul Karim al-Jili²⁸ in his book entitled *al-Ihsan al-Kamil* that was also studied in the same location around the mid 15th century.²⁹

Besides that, the teachings of theology (usuluddin) that became the basic foundation of morality (akidah) amongst the Muslims existed in Malacca.³⁰ The ahli sunnah wa al-jamaah stream was visible in the teachings of Abu Ishak, who was a great sufi originated from Makkah. His teachings were included in his book called *al-Dur al Manzum*; brought in by one of his students named Maulana Abu Bakar.

The book touched on the main topic of debate that included the existence and characteristics of Allah from the theological approaches. Maulana Abu Bakar

brought in the book into the palace and personally tutored Sultan Mansur Shah (1459-1477) as well as other royal occupants.³¹ The knowledge was later handed down to Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah during his reign. On the other hand, when Sultan Mahmud Shah ruled his kingdom, together with his son (Sultan Ahmad Shah) and other ministers were educated by Maulana Sadar Johan.³² Since the book entitled *al-Durr al-Manzum* was well known in Malacca, Aceh and Riau at that time, it was believed that Maulana Sadar Johan also used the same book to educate Sultan Mahmud Shah³³ besides another tasawwuf akhlaqi book named *Maklumat (al-Luma')*³⁴ that was also taught by Maulana Yusuf.³⁵

The studies on the law of fiqh (syariah) was also disseminated widely at that time until it influenced the views of certain Malay rulers. For example, with the publication of a book called *Hukum Kanun Melaka* (The Malaccan Law and Order) and *Undang-undang Laut Melaka* (The Malaccan Marine Law) indicated the influence of the teachings of fiqh was

²⁶ Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat*, Monograph 1, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia: Institut Bahasa, 1983, p. 20.

²⁷ Yusof Che Rose, *Peranan Kerajaan Melaka Sebagai Pusat Penyebaran Agama Islam di Asia Tenggara (1400-1511 M): Suatu Tinjauan Historis dan Pedagogis*, Palembang: Universitas Sriwijaya, 1992, p. 68.

²⁸ Abdul Karim al-Jili was born in 1365-6 and probably died between the year 1406-1417. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, "Raniri and the Wujudiyah of the 17th Century Aceh", *Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society (MBRAS) III*, Singapore, 1966, p. 7.

²⁹ Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma'", p. 17.

³⁰ It was said to be divided into two parts: the ahli sunnah wa al-Jamaah stream and another stream was influenced by the external philosophy. For example, the Mu'tazilah and jabariyyah streams were labelled as extreme in applying the rationals as compared to the ahli sunnah wa al-Jamaah. The Mu'tazilah believed that humans created their own actions and held responsible toward it. Allah gives them the ability to choose and react towards each actions. However, the Jabariyyah stream views men with no ability to create anything since everything is already fated or destined accordingly. *Sulalatus Salatin* recorded the Mu'tazilah stream to have existed since the Malaccan empire. For example, Sultan Mahmud Shah sent his mail headed by Orang Kaya Tun Muhammad to Pasai in the quest to seek the answer to a contradicting issue between the Mawarai'l Hartar ulama, Khurasan ulama and the Iraqi ulama. The delicate issues were to find out who declared that Allah gives the profit in the beginning (*azali*) is wrong and whoever mentioned that Allah does not create and give profit is also doomed. A.Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, page 247-248. Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma'", p. 18.

³¹ In the beginning, Kadi Yusuf was not taught by Maulana Abu Bakar since he considered highly of himself since he was the grandson of a famous preacher who converted the Malaccans into Islam. As Kadi Yusuf was about to perform his ablution for Friday prayer, he saw Maulana Abu Bakar who stood at the door circled by a ring of light like lighted candles circled by fire. Beginning from that day onward, Kadi Yusuf became Maulana Abu Bakar's student. He withdrew his position as a kadi and replaced by his son, Kadi Munawar. A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, pp. 157-158.

³² Besides Sultan Mahmud and his son Raja Ahmad, the palace ministers who also learnt tasawwuf from Maulana Sadar Johan were Bendahara Seri Maharaja, Tun Muiyid-Din (Tun Mai Ulat Bulu) and Orang Kaya Seri Rama. Orang Kaya Seri Rama came in a state of drunk to learn tasawwuf but was told by the Maulana that liquor is prohibited in Islam. The statement was negatively accepted and later caused an argument between them. For further elaboration, do refer to A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, page 246-247. Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat*, p. 20.

³³ Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, *Naskah Jawi Sejarah dan Teks*, p. 3.

³⁴ The *Maklumat* book was unknown whether in Arabic, the Malay language or in other languages. Shafie Abu Bakar predicted that, that was a book of tasawwuf based on the teacher who taught it who was well educated in the field. There is a possibility that this book mentioned in *Sulalatus Salatin* was kitab al-Luma' with the similarity in the pronunciation. It was believed to contain errors when it was rewritten as it was dictated orally. The title *al-Luma'* meant light, ray or lightning in the Arabic language. An example would be kitab al-Luma' written by Imam al-Ash'ari (m. 330 H/941) in the field of Usuluddin. A tasawwuf work written by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj that became the foundation for the spread of tasawwuf via group studies (halaqah) as well as public lectures. The production of more tasawwuf book was exemplified by its followers such as Ali Bin Uthman al-Jalabi, Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (m. 412H) who wrote *Kashf al-Mahjub*. His student, Abd Rahman al-Sulami (m. 412H) wrote *Jabaqat*, Al-Sulami's student; Abd Rahman al-Karim bin Hawazin Abu al-Qassim al-Qushairi (m. 465H) produced a tasawwuf book entitled *al-Risalat al-Qushairiyyah*. The same format of writing extended until al-Ghazali's era (m 505H) who was well known for his work; Ihya Ulumuddin and others. This form of al-Luma' emphasised on the concept of tasawwuf based on the Quran, uswah Rasulullah, the companions moral conducts, the tabiin and other pious servants of Allah. Generally, tasawwuf is a knowledge if applied is seen to cleanse oneself, upgrade the moral values and strengthen it with the akidah tauhid ahl al-sunnah wal-jamaah together with the practise of syariat. Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma'", pp. 9-13.

³⁵ Sultan Mahmud rode on an elephant to go to Maulana Yusuf's house with his escorts but his visit was declined with the closing of the door. Sultan Mahmud returned at night with two escorts together with the *Maklumat* book. After seeing that the Sultan came in humbleness than only Maulana Yusuf opened the door and taught him the content of the book. A.Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, p. 201-202.

widely spread until it was documented as a guide to the ruling government.³⁶ Emphasies on a just ruling based on syariah was highly considered by Sultan Mansur Shah. He even gave hand it down to his son, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah which included the following.

Indeed this is my heritage. My son, you ought to do justice and don't take what doesn't belong to you. By eating *haqu' l-adam* is a big sin that cannot be pardoned by Allah Subhanahu Wataala; except of allowed by the owner himself. Do not seek help from other since others depend on you. You need to give help to the needy as soon as possible. If one is unjustly treated, you ought to investigate thoroughly so that you wouldn't be burdened in the day of judgement...³⁷

These words were the indications that the ruler was well adapted to the syariah law when he emphasised to his son to be just. It also showed that the ruler wanted Malacca to be governed based on the syariah law for eternity.

The downfall of Malacca in the hands of the Portuguese in 1511 witnessed the stream of *tasawwuf wahdatul wujud* expanded successfully in Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). The main contributor to the thoughts were Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani. On

the other hand, the fiqh al-Shafie's stream became more concrete with Nuruddin ar-Raniri's work entitled *Sirat al-Mustakim* besides criticizing the wujudiyyah stream.³⁸ With Aceh's extended influences away from Sumatera, I was believed that it managed to leave behind a great impact especially in the field of religion in Johor (1613), Pahang (1617), Kedah (1619) and Perak (1620).³⁹

Around the 18th century, the al-Ghazali⁴⁰ *tasawwuf akhlaqi* stream developed rapidly and expanded in the Malay world especially in the Johor-Riau Lingga's government and its territories.⁴¹ It was said that this thoughts were brought in by the scholars (sufi-sufi) and influenced the views of the rulers as well as the Malay historians who were mostly the palace ministers such as Raja Ahmad, his son named Raja Ali Haji and many more.⁴² Even though it was stated that the *tasawwuf akhlaqi* grow stronger in the 15th and 16th century, the Malay Muslim scholars combined the two streams together to form al-Ghazali and Ibn 'Arabi supporters entirely.⁴³ They no longer differentiated the two thoughts instead accepted them together since the essence of *tasawwuf akhlaqi* and philosophy were still strongly maintained.

The Malay Historical Thoughts

The arrival of Islam was seen to be a major factor that created changes in the Malay Malaccan society's

³⁶ *Sejarah Melayu* only mentioned on the book of law that was written in the era of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. There is a big possibility for the book to be the Marine Law Book. A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin*, page 86-87. Shafie Abu Bakar, *Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma*", p. 20.

³⁷ A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, p. 172.

³⁸ For further elaboration on their *tasawwuf* beliefs refer to Syed Naquib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism: As Understood and Practised Among the Malays*, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd, 1963, page 21-29. Refer as well to Shafie Abu Bakar, "Kitab al-Durr al-Manzum and Kitab al-Luma", p.21.

³⁹ With a strong family bond between Johor and Terengganu together with the migration from Johor to the said state, Aceh empire expanded well in both territories. The Achehnese were said to have migrated to Terengganu as proven with the founding of tomb stones in Pasir Nering not far from the Terengganu river. They were believed to practise commerce with the people there. The best evidences would be the production of several hand-written books by the ulama from Aceh. For example, *Kitab Mukhtasar Pada Menayatakan Perbedaan Makhluq dengan Khaliq, Mukhtasar fi Bayani 'l Ma'rifah wa 't-Tawhid wa 'l-Imani wa 'l-Islami* and risalah *Umur Dunia* by Syakh Nuruddin ar-Raniri. Other works included the risalah containing the elements of *tasawwuf* pertaining *Sakrat, A'yan Thabitah, Usul Tahqiq, Nabi Sulayman's* tales, *Nabi Musa* and others. Buyong Adil, *Sejarah Johor* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1971, page 60-65. Shafie Abu Bakar, 'Institusi Shaykh 'Abdul Malik Bin 'Abdullah, Satu Corak Pengajian Tradisi di Trengganu dan Kitab-kitab padanya', Tesis Sarjana Persuratan, Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Kebudayaan, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1976, pp. 24-26.

⁴⁰ Al-Ghazali's works touched on the field of *tasawwuf* with an approximately 156 books spreaded in the Malay world in different languages such as Arabic, Malay and Achehnese. Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, *Naskhah Jawi: Sejarah dan Teks*, p. 24.

⁴¹ There are more or less 156 works pertaining to the field of *tasawwuf* that are known widespread. Amongst the popular works in the Malay world were *Ihya Ulumuddin, Bidayatul Hidayah* and *Minhaj al-Abidin*. They were later translated into the Malay language by the local writer. *Kitab Sayr al-Salikin* and *Hidayatul Salikin* translated into the Malay language by Syeikh Abdul Samad al-Palembani were based on Al-Ghazali's *Bidayatul Hidayah* and *Ihya Ulumuddin*. Syeikh Daud al-Fatani translated a book by Al-Ghazali entitled *Kitab Minhaj al-Abidin*. Shafie Abu Bakar, "Peranan Ulama dan kesannya Terhadap Sikap Antipenjajahan Dengan Rujukan kepada Pengajaran Tasawwuf Sayid Abdul Rahman bin Muhammad (Tuk Ku Paloh). Based from the writing by Ma'rij al-Lahfan in the Colloquium Committee, *Masyarakat Melayu Abad ke-19*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991 p. 192. Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, *Naskhah Jawi: Sejarah dan Teks*, p. 24.

⁴² The palace ministers who were close to the ruler were also encourage to learn *tasawwuf* from the Muslim scholars who came to the palace. For example, during the era of Yamtuan Muda Raja Jaafar, the act of learning was practised by the ruler himself from the great Muslim scholar such as Tuan Haji Abd al-Wahab. He also learnt the Quran from the qari (the reader) who came to Riau and enjoyed reading Malay books wuch as *Usual al-Din* and *Mirat al-Tullab* (written by Abdul Rauf Singkel) until he motivated his children and officers to follow suit. Virginia Matheson Hooker, *Tuhfat al-Nafis: Sulalatus Salatin Islam*, p. 497.

⁴³ Siddiq Fadzil, "Pemikiran Melayu: Menyorot Tema-tema Utama Pemikiran Islam Serantau", in *Islam dan Isu-isu Ketamadunan*, Selangor: Kolej Dar al-Hikmah, undated, p. 6.

way of thinking. After this religion was accepted by the people, the process of adapting the Islamic elements began in Malacca and could be seen by the usage of names such as Sultan Mansur, Sultan Mahmud, Sultan Muhammad, Sultan Ahmad, Mu-tahir, Tahir and others. Besides that, the society also adapted the Islamic calendar system replacing the existing ones. These practised were recorded in *Sejarah Melayu* that involved dates of birth, battles, marriages, deaths, coronations together with important happenings that adapted the dates in the Islamic calendar. For example, Tun Sri Lanang⁴⁴ applied the Hijrah calendar system in his piece of work that mentioned:

...hijratul nabiyi sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallama one thousand and twenty one years, on a Thursday, dhuha (sun rise) time, during symsu in the era of Paduka Seri Sultan Alaud-Din Riayat Syah zillullahu fil-alam....

From the extract, it is identified that the concept of time based on the Hijrah year was applied by the Malays of Malacca at that time. This practise occurred because of the influences from several writings that were produced by several *ulama* who came to the Malay world together with the existing local writers who had written religious books.

With the wide range of the Malay-Jawi writing, religious knowledge developed rapidly which later became a booster for the community to gain more information on other Islamic knowledges. These newly gained information made the Malay communities to be a race worthy of knowledge in various fields. The best example would be the birth of scholarly figures as stated by De Eredia when he was in Malacca in the 16th century.

The majority of the Malayos are cheerful, roguish and very wanton; ingenious and intelligent, but negligent and careless about studies

and arts; they spend their time amusing themselves, and so, as a rule, few literati, mathematician, or astrologers are to be found amongst them.⁴⁵

Based from the statements, the Malays were seen to be smart, skillful and able to read and write. They were rulers, mathematicians, astrologers and many more. With the consciousness of the importance of knowledge resulted to the production of books in the Malay-Jawi writing in the 16th and 17th century in the subject of religion, literature, history and others. Religious books dominated the market⁴⁶ since it fitted the main purpose of spreading Islam and strengthening the faiths amongst the Malays toward the religion.

The religious aspects were seen to influence the creation of literature and historical books. The best example would be *Sejarah Melayu* that was rewritten by Tun Sri Lanang with additional views in the forms of tasawwuf and Islamic philosophy. These newly structure writings were considered as a change in paradigm from the animisme and Hinduism-Buddhism beliefs to the Islamic way of thoughts. In other words, before the arrival of Islam, the main topic was based on magical abilities and the mystical world but later transformed to a more religious topics that preserved the ruler as an important person⁴⁷ in the country.

During that period of time, the people's thoughts from the ruler, the aristocrats to the commoners had completely changed to the Islamic way of life⁴⁸ and more rational in rejecting the previous superstitious animisme beliefs including the Hindu-Buddha. The people were seen to be more receptive of the concept of god (*Illahiyah*), prophethood (*Nubuwwah*) and humanity until these concepts became the foundation in their thoughts and lives. As Muslims they believe in Allah the Almighty, with great power to control humans' behaviours and the galaxy above. The position of god as the most powerful was stated in *Se-*

⁴⁴ According to Buyong Adil, Tun Seri Lanang or also known as Tun Muhammad was born in 1565 during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar shah (1564-1570) with a government in Seluyut. Based on *Sejarah Melayu*, he originated from Bendahara Melaka. His mother was Tun Ganggang, his father was Orang Kaya Paduka Raja (Tun Ahmad), his grandfather and greatgrandfather were Bendahara Seri Maharaja (Tun Isap Misai) as well as Bendahara Tun narawangsa (Tun Mahmud) who came from a country named Batu Sawar Darul Salam. Tun Seri Lanang was recognised as Paduka Raja; the Bendahara XIV of the Johor-Riau empire replacing his grandfather, Bendahara Tun Isap Misai. This great minister served two rulers during his lifetime. They were Sutan Ala Jalla Abdul Jalil Shah (1570-1597) and Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah III (Raja Mansur) (1597-1615) in Johor. Aceh attacked Johor and Pahang in 1617 that resulted to the defeat of Johor. Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah III together with his brother Raja Abdullah (later known as Sultan Abdullah Ma'ayah Shah) and Tun Seri Lanang (Bendahara Paduka Raja) as well as other knights were captured and taken to Aceh. Tun Seri Lanang did not remain as a prisoner; instead he was said to continue the works of arranging and modifying *Sejarah Melayu* that was started in Pasir Raja. He was later appointed as an advisor to Sultan Aceh and soon after that he was appointed as a ruler of the territory of Samalanga during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Sultan Iskandar Thani and Sultanah Safiatuddin. Buyong Adil *Sejarah Johor*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1971, pp. 26, 29. A. Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin*, pp. 198, 309. Dato' Sri Wan Haji Abdul Wahid Bin Wan Hassan, 'Kesultanan Melayu Pahang', Seminar Antarabangsa Kesultanan Melayu Nusantara: Sejarah dan Warisan, organised by Lembaga Muzium Negeri Pahang and Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (ATMA) Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Kuantan Pahang, 8-11 May 2005, p. 5.

⁴⁵ J.V Mills (trans.), "Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay", *MBRAS*, Reprint 14, 1997, p. 31.

⁴⁶ Siti Hawa Salleh, *Kesusasteraan Melayu Abad Kesembilan Belas*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2002, p. 234.

⁴⁷ Raja Hassan Raja Noor, "Pola-pola Historiografi Tradisional dalam Pensejarahan Melayu", *JEBAT*, no.2, 1972/73, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Preliminary Statemnt on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969, pp. 5-6.

jarah Melayu with highly regarded praises to Allah in its introductory chapter.

Alhamdulillah Rabbil alamin allazi.... All praises be to Allah, and no one else but He. He exists all by Himself and with no accomplice. *Wahuwal-abadinyu as-samadiyu mudabbiruhu biyadihi summa khalaqal-khalaiqa wala hajatalahu.* He is God for eternity. There is nothing before and after Him. He created all things, with purpose. *Wa lammu arad izhara...* Allah the Merciful, nothing else but He, His creatures are mere morals. He created them as well as take them back.⁴⁹

Based from the statement, Allah is the god who has the ultimate power to create, to give life as well as taking the lives back. With these in mind, the Malay-Muslims believed on fates that befall upon them and that only Allah knows best. The aspect of fate could be seen in *Sejarah Melayu* when the author often relate fate with everything that occurred to men be it good or bad. The phrase that was regularly used was “Whatever happen is fated by God”,⁵⁰ “Allah’s laws are reinforced on His creatures”,⁵¹ “God’s willing”⁵² and others.

Besides that, the concept of ‘caliphate’ existed as well in the Malay-Malaccan society. The ruler or Sultan was already accepted as a caliph; the one to rule the entire people. Rulers were related as legal heirs to the previous ones who had ruled the world earlier in time. From the muqaddimah (introduction) in *Sejarah Melayu*, it was mentioned that the concept of caliphate started from the first man who was Prophet Adam a.s as “the caliph on earth” until the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w who was known as the leader of all mankind.⁵³ The term and concept of caliph were extended to Raja Iskandar Zulkarnain who was hailed as the foundation to the Malay rulers. This was followed by the role of the rulers in the political ruling (siyasa) of the Islamic Malaccan state from the era of Sultan Muhammad Shah (Raja Kecil Besar) until Sultan Mahmud Shah. He was regarded as the heir of the caliph or ruler (*ulilamri*) to the people on earth. The Islamic concept of caliphate was instigated in *Sejarah Melayu* when the Malay rulers’ role as the head of the Malaccan government was pictured to have structured the palace norms; rules as well as implementing the syariah based laws.

The practised was exemplified during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah whereby he was said to be a just and smart ruler in implementing the Islamic law; such as cutting off the thieves’ hands if found guilty. Besides that, all belonging be it stolen or found are the ought to be submitted to the main hall at a junction so that the owners are able to claim them. With these practises, they were able to be curb and the state security was maintained successfully.⁵⁴

On the other hand, a significant change that occurred was the concept of humanity that existed in the Malay society’s point of view. They accepted their rulers as human beings without any magical power to lead them. The rulers were understood to have received a gift from Allah to govern the country all in the name of peace and harmony.

Similar to other people, a ruler ought to have a clear understanding pertaining to the Islamic ruling concept. It included a clear comprehension of the basic religion that enabled him to build a complete view of life as well as handling the responsibility wisely and just. With a good and solid foundation on religion, a ruler will be aware of his role towards Allah, human beings and other creations thus managed to handle the huge task as a caliph well and honest. Religion itself is able to shape a ruler to be of great virtue who can be exemplified by the people.

A noble personality will make a ruler to be loved by his people thus enabling unity to be shape easily. Besides that, the relationship amongst the rulers and the people will be blessed and rewarded generously by Allah with prosperity as well as harmony to the government. On the contrary, if the ruler acted otherwise, such as ignoring Allah’s commands and irresponsible, bad things will happen to the country.

These situations will lead to the nation’s downfall. All of the said scenarios were indicated in *Sejarah Melayu* as guidance for the future generations. For example, during the era of Sultan Mahmud Shah, the lack of Islamic practises resulted to the empire’s downfall. The ruler was said to be affected by his bad characters as well as his ministers until he committed sinful acts; against the religion. The ruler committed adulter with the wife of Tun Biajid⁵⁵ while he was away to Merba, intended to commit the same

⁴⁹ A.Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Slatin-Sejarah Melayu*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰ This word is widely used in *Sulalatus Salatin* text, pp. 20,39,70,144 and others.

⁵¹ A.Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, p. 63.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁵⁵ Tun Biajid was the son of Hang Tuah, the warrior of Malacca. He went to Merba that was under his supervision. During his stay in Merba, Sultan Mahmud seduced his wife and with rage against the ruler, he divorced his wife since he couldn’t disobey him, he stepped down from his position. Sultan Mahmud presented Tun Biajid with his concubine named Tun Iram Sendari whom he later married. Tun Biajid however stood firm in not attending any royal functions and later left Malacca. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

act with Tun Dewi,⁵⁶ took Tun Teja⁵⁷ away from her fiancée who was Sultan Abdul Jamal of Pahang⁵⁸ as well as stole the Sultan's elephant.⁵⁹ Sultan Mahmud was said to kill his own brother named Raja Zainal⁶⁰ out of jealousy due to his good looking face; loved by women and because of his good heart.⁶¹ The jealous ruler killed the family of Bendahara Tun Mutahir⁶² without investigating the real cause of the slanderous acts by Si Kitul and Raja Mendaliar.⁶³ However, because of the ruler's unwillingness in obeying his father's words as well as the commands of Allah toward his people from the law of syarak,⁶⁴ Malacca became the victim due to the ruler's corruptions.

Literally, the entire concepts that have been stated existed in the minds of the Malays in Malacca. Gratuities would definitely point its fingers toward

the *ulama* who had conveyed Islam via numerous interesting methods to depict the wholeness of the religion so that it can be accepted by the local people. Even though there was an assimilation between the old and the new Islamic culture the ethos succeeded in dominating the society's ways of thinking.

Conclusion

The arrival of Islam had resulted to the entire Islamization of the ways of thoughts as compared to the pre-Islamic era. The concepts that included god, the caliphs and humanity had superseded the Hindu myth gradually even though there exist some myths related to the Malay rulers. Today's new era is based on the concept of rationalism, knowledge and individualistic right that consisted of freedom, justice and virtues.⁶⁵

About the Author

Arbaiyah Mohd Noor

Education B.A in History & Civilization M.A. in History of Ideas Ph.D in History. My interest are on Malay Historical Ideas, Malay Historiography and Malay Sultanate.

⁵⁶ While Sultan Mahmud was on his way to Tun Dewi's house, he found out that Tun Ali Sandang was already there. He commanded Tun Isap Misai to kill Tun Ali Sandang. When Tun Isap Misai was caught and ready to be killed by Seri Wak Raja, Sultan Mahmud released him since he was the one who told Tun Isap Misai to commit the murder. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵⁷ Tun Teja Ratna Menggala was the daughter of Bendahara Pahang named Seri Amar Bangsa Diraja. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁵⁸ Hang Nadim paid a woman companion to talk Tun Teja into following him back to Malacca to be Sultan Mahmud Shah's wife. With his courage, Sultan Mahmud awarded him with many gifts inclusive of Capten Saiyid Ahmad who permitted him to board his ship on his way back to Malacca. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-231.

⁵⁹ An elephant named Ai Kening was stolen and brought to Malacca since Sultan Mahmud was afraid that the Sultan of Pahang would use the animal to attack Malacca. Sultan Mahmud commanded his knights to steal the elephant and the deed was done by Laksamana Khoja Hassan. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-233.

⁶⁰ According to Tom Pires, the kind hearted Raja Zainal Abidin (Raja Falim) was the father to Raja Abdullah (Raja Kampar). When Raja Mahmud saw that his cousin were went out with many escorts, he became jealous and fear that Raja Zainal would take over the government from him. He later poisoned Raja Zainal so that he can rule the government all by himself. On the other hand, *Sulalatus Salatin* stated that Raja Zainal was stabbed by Hang Berkat as commanded by Sultan Mahmud Shah. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁶¹ A.Samad Ahmad, *Sulalatus Salatin-Sejarah Melayu*, pp. 235-236.

⁶² Besides Tun Mutahir, Seri Nara Diraja, Tun Hassan Temenggung and Tun Ali who was the husband to Tun Fatimah were murdered by Tun Sura Diraja and Tun Indera Segara as commanded by Sultan Mahmud Shah. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-258.

⁶³ Si Kitul who owed money to Raja Mendaliar created a slander by telling Raja Mendaliar that the Bendahara had a pact with Nina Sura Dewana to murder him. Raja Mendaliar told the Laksamana of the plan and wanted to forward it to the sultan himself. But without proper investigation together with vengeance towards the Bendahara for not presenting Tun Fatimah before her marriage with Tun Ali, Sultan Mahmud commanded Tun Sura Diraja and Tun Indera Segara to kill the Bendahara and his family members. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-259.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

⁶⁵ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, p. 20.



EDITORS

Tom Nairn, The Globalism Institute, RMIT University, Australia.
Mary Kalantzis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Patrick Baert, Cambridge University, UK.
David Christian, San Diego State University, California, USA.
Bill Cope, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA; Common Ground.
Joan Copjec, Departments of English and Comparative Literature, and Center for the Study of Psychoanalysis and Culture, The State University of New York, Buffalo, New York, USA.
Alice Craven, American University of Paris.
Mick Dodson, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.
Oliver Feltham, American University of Paris.
Hafedh Halila, Institut Supérieur des Langues de Tunis, Tunisia.
Souad Halila, University of Tunis and Sousse, Tunisia.
Hassan Hanafi Hassanien, Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt.
Ted Honderich, University College, London.
Paul James, Globalism Institute, RMIT University, Australia.
Moncef Jazzar, Institut Supérieur des Langues de Tunis, Tunisia.
Mary Kalantzis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA.
Eleni Karantzola, Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean, Greece.
Bill Kent, Monash Centre, Prato, Italy.
Krishan Kumar, University of Virginia, USA.
Ayat Labadi, Institut Supérieur des Langues de Tunis, Tunisia.
Greg Levine, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
Hortensia Beatriz Vera Lopez, University of Nottingham, UK.
Fethi Mansouri, Institute for Citizenship & Globalization, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.
Juliet Mitchell, Cambridge University, UK.
Nahid Mozaffari, New York, USA.
Tom Nairn, The Globalism Institute, RMIT University, Australia.
Nikos Papastergiadis, The Australian Centre, University of Melbourne, Australia.
Robert Pascoe, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia.
Scott Schaffer, Millersville University, USA.
Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Stanford Humanities Laboratory, Stanford University, USA.
Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Columbia University, USA.
Bassam Tibi, University of Goettingen, Germany and
A.D. White Professor-at-Large, Cornell University, USA.
Giorgos Tsiakalos, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.
Siva Vaidhyanathan, New York University, USA.
Chris Ziguas, The Globalism Institute, RMIT University, Australia.

Please visit the Journal website at <http://www.Humanities-Journal.com>
for further information about the Journal or to subscribe.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS JOURNALS

International Journal of the Arts in Society

Creates a space for dialogue on innovative theories and practices in the arts, and their inter-relationships with society.
ISSN: 1833-1866

<http://www.Arts-Journal.com>

International Journal of the Book

Explores the past, present and future of books, publishing, libraries, information, literacy and learning in the information society. ISSN: 1447-9567

<http://www.Book-Journal.com>

Design Principles and Practices: An International Journal

Examines the meaning and purpose of 'design' while also speaking in grounded ways about the task of design and the use of designed artefacts and processes. ISSN: 1833-1874

<http://www.Design-Journal.com>

International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations

Provides a forum for discussion and builds a body of knowledge on the forms and dynamics of difference and diversity.
ISSN: 1447-9583

<http://www.Diversity-Journal.com>

International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability

Draws from the various fields and perspectives through which we can address fundamental questions of sustainability.
ISSN: 1832-2077

<http://www.Sustainability-Journal.com>

Global Studies Journal

Maps and interprets new trends and patterns in globalization. ISSN 1835-4432

<http://www.GlobalStudiesJournal.com>

International Journal of the Humanities

Discusses the role of the humanities in contemplating the future and the human, in an era otherwise dominated by scientific, technical and economic rationalisms. ISSN: 1447-9559

<http://www.Humanities-Journal.com>

International Journal of the Inclusive Museum

Addresses the key question: How can the institution of the museum become more inclusive? ISSN 1835-2014

<http://www.Museum-Journal.com>

International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences

Discusses disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to knowledge creation within and across the various social sciences and between the social, natural and applied sciences.

ISSN: 1833-1882

<http://www.Socialsciences-Journal.com>

International Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Change Management

Creates a space for discussion of the nature and future of organisations, in all their forms and manifestations.

ISSN: 1447-9575

<http://www.Management-Journal.com>

International Journal of Learning

Sets out to foster inquiry, invite dialogue and build a body of knowledge on the nature and future of learning.

ISSN: 1447-9540

<http://www.Learning-Journal.com>

International Journal of Technology, Knowledge and Society

Focuses on a range of critically important themes in the various fields that address the complex and subtle relationships between technology, knowledge and society. ISSN: 1832-3669

<http://www.Technology-Journal.com>

Journal of the World Universities Forum

Explores the meaning and purpose of the academy in times of striking social transformation.

ISSN 1835-2030

<http://www.Universities-Journal.com>

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT
subscriptions@commonground.com.au