

THE NATURE AND INTERNATIONAL STANDING OF JAWI-MALAY MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS BEFORE 1900

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Abstract

There has been a staggering interest in the study of indigenous knowledge or products of local geniuses within this millennium. This includes Jawi-Malay manuscripts in the field of medicine. The main focus of this study is to number of Malay medicines recorded in manuscripts. Thus far, the most comprehensive report on this matter is found in Harun (2019). It was noted that there are two categories of manuscripts in which the subject can be found - the *tibs* and the *mujarobats*. Interestingly, the subject matter was also found in manuscripts that are categorised as *Ramalan* (Prediction) by Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM). As such, it can be assumed that the majority of Jawi-Malay manuscripts are made up of Jawi-Malay Medical manuscripts (JMMM). Thus far, there are no comparative studies on the nature and international standing of the JMMM before 1900, as well as the knowledge and practice of Malay medicine. The existence of Malay medical manuscripts has been traced back to a hundred years earlier than the English medical manuscripts. Naturally, many basic medical terms and diseases are in Malay. Findings also show that Malay or more general Malayonesian medical knowledge was internationally known between the 15th and early 20th centuries. There are many potential research areas in the study of the JMMM which have yet to be explored, one of which is the knowledge of medicinal floras and faunas. Three research fields have been identified. Firstly, to identify the scientific reasons behind successful treatments using flora and fauna as stated in the manuscripts. It could also be extended to some, if not all, spiritual treatments. Secondly, to identify scientific names or even local names for many unidentifiable medicinal flora and fauna; and lastly, to resolve a few unknown diseases mentioned in the manuscripts. The study shows that, unlike previous studies on the philosophy of Malay medical knowledge, the philosophy of knowledge concerned is neither fully Hindu-Buddhism nor fully Islamic philosophy of knowledge. This is because Islamisation, ethnicisation, indigenisation or generically self-moulding medical knowledge before 1900 were not entirely successful or completed.

Keywords: *tib*, *mujarobat*, Malay history, medicinal Malayonesian, Malay medical knowledge, jawi, traditional medicine.

Introduction:

A Jawi-Malay manuscript is an article or a book written in Malay using the Jawi alphabets. The writings can be found on papers, leaves (particularly, palm leaves known as *tars* or *lontars*, the sea coconuts or palmyra palms), barks, and bamboos alike. Writings found on rocks or stones are not included and are categorised as inscriptions. To date, only one inscription of Jawi-Malay, which is the Terengganu inscription dated 1303 AD or 1308 AD, has been discovered. This research concentrates only on manuscripts written before 1900 AD, as local and indigenous knowledge are believed to slowly diminish, get neglected and dismissed beyond this date. Thus, we assume that Jawi-Malay writings after 1900 are not as important and no longer a unique Malay knowledge.

Interest in Jawi-Malay medical manuscripts among scholars started in the 1990s, all of which will be reviewed in this research paper. It was during the Islamic revivalism in the 1970s when scholars found weaknesses in Western knowledge, resulting in them seeking an alternative. The knowledge revivalism, as it is called, was started by the three Islamic scholars, al-Attas (1972, 1978); al-Faruqi (1982); and Nasr (1964, 1968). These scholars initiated the comparative studies of the history and philosophy between Islamic and Western knowledge. As a result, the movement known as the Islamisation of knowledge (translated as *pengislaman ilmu* in Bahasa Malaysia and *Islamisasi ilmu* in Bahasa Indonesia) led to the

formation of the Islamic Academy of Science Malaysia (ASASI) in 1978. Later, the movement expanded to the indigenisation of knowledge (*pemeribumian ilmu*), initiated by Shahrir (1995) and then ethnicisation of knowledge (*pengetnikan ilmu*), also by Shahrir (2000). These movements brought about the start of realising and consciously excavating heritage knowledge beyond Islamic knowledge. At about the same time period, the term ethnoknowledge and products of local geniuses (*kearifan tempatan*) were popularised. A few research groups were formed such as *Kumpulan Kajian Etnomatematik Melayu* in 1996 at Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu (Institute of the Malay World and Civilization, ATMA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM); *Kumpulan Penyelidikan Etnomatematik Melayu (KuPELEMA)* at Institut Penyelidikan Matematik (Institute for Mathematical Research, INSPERM), Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM) in 2005 (a continuation of the research group at ATMA, UKM) led by the author of this article, and *Kumpulan Kearifan Tempatan* at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), also in 2005. The latter has published more than 20 books in the last 15 years, including Malay ethnomedicine books by Nazarudin *et al.* (2013) dan Darlina *et al.* (2017). The research group, *Kumpulan Penyelidikan Warisan Sains Malayonesia (KuPELARIS)*, was recently formed and headed by the author at Pusat Dialog Peradaban, Universiti Malaya (UM) in 2011. This group had embarked on a quest to research the contents of Jawi-Malay manuscripts, including medical manuscripts related to the ethnicization and Islamization of knowledge. Earlier, the author had formulated a new method of the Islamisation and ethnicization of knowledge by generalising the works of D'Ambrosio (1978, 1979, 1985a, 1985b, 1989, 1990) on indigenous knowledge into a new concept of ethnoscience and ethnomathematics (Shahrir 2000) and contemporarising historical perspectives. Thus, the expressions "our mould of knowledge", "knowledge in our mould", or "self-moulded knowledge" (*ilmu dalam acuan sendiri* or *ilmu swa-acuan/swacuan*) were coined, as described in Shahrir, 2012, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020a).

A general belief is that The Malay Civilisation ("*Tamadun Melayu*" or "*Peradaban Melayu*") was great where all knowledge, particularly that of medical knowledge or medical sciences, was quite advanced. However, this has yet to be proven. The question is what the international understanding was of how different the *tib* and *mujarobat* (or *mujarabat*) and their practitioners known as *tabibs* were compared to traditional medical practitioners known as *bomos* or *bomohs*, *dukuns*, *pawang*s and others in the early 20th century, as listed in Winstedt (1957). This paper intends to prove the validity of the claim that The Malay Civilisation was great. There will be a discussion on the history of the subject, including the unique etymology of the Malay word "*perubatan*" (medical knowledge); proof that there is a great number of the Jawi-Malay medical manuscripts (JMMM); the presence of medical manuscripts dated earlier than the corresponding manuscripts in English; and the international standing of *tib* and *tabib*.

Harun (2012, 2015) listed seven scopes of the Jawi-Malay medical sciences (or *ilmu "Kitab Tib Melayu"*) as the objectives of studying the manuscripts. However, a few of the scopes are not only redundant but looks only at the elements of medical knowledge, leaving out philosophy, potential research, particularly that of unknown diseases and medicinal floras and faunas, and comparative studies of the subject in other civilisations. These aspects and a few more not mentioned in Harun's list are discussed in this paper. However, the methods of disease diagnosis as initiated by Fairuzah *et al.* (2020) are not included.

Discussion of the Findings

The Origin of Present Malay Terminology, Perubatan

The word *perubatan* (or *perobatan* in Bahasa Indonesia), according to us as explained below, comes from the word *ubat* or *obat*, and might also be originated from the Arabic word *mujarobat* or *mujarabat*. The word can be traced back to the 12th century, when the Malayonesians (people of the Southeast Asian) used *Jawi*, which is modified Arabic alphabets, in the British East Indies territory (now Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore) and Sumatera. *Jawi* is known as "*tulisan Melayu-Arab*" (Malay-Arabic writing) or *Arab Dogol* or *Pegon* among the Buginese (*Bugis*) in Indonesia. The oldest *Jawi* was discovered on the Terengganu Inscription (*Batu Bersurat Terengganu*) with the words "*Bag[in]da Rasul al-Lah telah lalu [t]u[j]uh ra[t]us dua{lapan}*" (the last line of the first side of the inscription), which means 702 Hijrah (=1303 AD), as read by al-Attas (1970) and the last word "*lapan*" which was read by Ahmat Adam (2017).

The combination was read as “*dualapan*”, resulting in the date 708H (=1308 AD). The following is the reason behind our proposal that the origin of the word *obat* or *ubat* is from *mujarobat*:

Before Islam came to the Malay World the Malays have their own word *sikitawidya* for *perubatan*, as discussed below and in Section 2.11. Therefore, we do not believe that the word *obat* or *ubat* is a Proto-Malay(-Polynesian) word as stated in the Wiktionary (<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ubat>); besides there were also other pre-islamic Malay words for special *ubat* as discussed in Section 2.11. In the latest *kamus* (dictionary) published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, “*Kamus Dewan Perdana*” 2020, which is the only etymology Malay dictionary, there is no information on the etymology of this word *ubat*. Thus, it is plausible that the word *ubat* or *obat* (romanised version of *اوبت*) came from *mujarobat*.

Mujarobat is a form of healing or a medical practice which makes use of both physical substances (mostly floras and faunas) and spiritual materials (largely some mantras or incantations (*jampi serapah*, *jampi-mantera*), either in Malay, Sanskrit or Arabic, or a local ethnic language) and emulates (*tangkal*, *azimat*, *wafaq* and *wahinah*). This is explained further below. A more popular medical term equivalent to present-day *perubatan* or medical science is *tib*, from the Arabic *طب* and transliterated or Romanised (Latinised) as *tdib*, *tibb*, *tibb*, *tib* and *thib*. This appeared concurrently with the word *mujarobat* or *mujarabat* *مجرابت*. The general medical words in Malay, *mujarab* and *mustajab*, means “rightly and quickly affected” or “suitable as a medicine for curing and healing”. These words are believed to come from the same root word as *mujarobat* and *tib*. It raises an important question regarding the existence of a Malay word before the 12th century, equivalent to the present-day word *ubat* or *obat*, or the earlier words *tib* or *mujarobat*. The present Malay word “*sakit*” (*pain, painful*) was originally in the form of *sikit* or *sikita* and existed since the 7th century in a compound word, *sikitawidya*, which literally means the science of pain. The word *widya* means knowledge or science and can be found in the Indonesian dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI). Unfortunately, the word is not found in *Kamus Dewan* despite being consistently used in a semi-academic magazine entitled *Widya*, a monthly publishing by Adabi, until the 1980s. The word *sikitawidya* was recorded by a Chinese monk named I-Ching, I-Tsing or Yijing (or many other versions), who stayed in Palembang for seven years between 671-678 AD (during the Sriwijaya Kingdom), to study Buddhism. His records were later translated into English by Takakusu (1966).

People in Southeast Asia, who used Malay as their *lingua franca* before the 20th century, call their medical experts (“*pakar perubatan*”) (in singular form) as *bomo* or *bomoh*, *dukun*, *pawang*, *belian*, *cenayang* (Kelantan?), and *poyang* (Sumatera), *dayas* (de Eredia, 1613), *orang seri* (*Hikayat Raja Pasai* in the 14th or 15th century) and *aceh rasi* (Pou, 1992), which is perhaps the earliest word (before the 7th century). Almost all these words have been translated into English as a generic term, *shaman* (Winstedt, 1957: under the entry *doctor, medical, shaman*), *Malaya doctor* (de Eredia, 1613; Bontius, 1630; Hamiton, 1727) or *medicine-man* (Winstedt, 1957, under the entry *medical*). Noticing the importance of the Malay language in knowledge and intellectual expressions of the people in Southeast Asia at that time, 18th century European scholars were inspired to name the region as *Malasia* or *Malaisia* (by the French voyager and scholar, D’Urville, 1832); *Malayunesia* and *Indunesia* (by a British ethnologist, Earl, 1850); and Malay Archipelago (by a British naturalist, Wallace, 1869). *Malaysia* is the English transcription of *Malaisia* in French. Local scholars (especially Petani/Patani scholars) named the region as *Malayuwiyyah* in the 19th century. The word *Malayunesia* has been popularised as Malayonesia since the beginning of this millennium, and will be used it here appropriately.

As mentioned earlier, the Jawi-Malay word for medical knowledge (*ilmu perubatan*) is *tib* *طب* and is believed to have existed since the 15th century. The word *طب* is used in the well-known Malay book *Sulalaht al-Salatdin* or popularly known as *Sejarah Melayu*. This book is said to have been written in 1612 by Tun Sri Lanang. However, he mentioned in the introduction, that he was asked by the king to update an existing 15th century book. The word was then transliterated into Rumi (Latin) alphabets as *tib* in early 20th century. The word *tib* is defined in *Pusat Rujukan Persuratan Melayu* (PRPM, <https://prpm.dbp.gov.my/>) as “knowledge or science concerning medicines” (“*ilmu berkenaan dengan ubat-ubatan*”), and in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) as “knowledge or science concerning medication and health” (“*ilmu mengenai obat-obatan dan kesehatan*”, as well as “concerning mantras and incantations” (“*mengenai jampi-jampi atau mantera*”). The additional explanation in KBBI is undoubtedly incorrect (the additional meaning is regarding *mujarobat*, not *tib*, as we elaborate it below). I-Raniyriy, Al-

Raniri or Ar-Raniri defined *tib* as “a knowledge regarding all matters on human body and keeping the body healthy and healing all diseases” (“*pengetahuan akan segala ehwal badan insan dan memelihara sihat tubuh lagi menyembuhkan segala penyakit daripada segala wujud*”) in his manuscript dated 1047 H (=1638/9 AD). The manuscript is available at *Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia* (the National Library Malaysia, PNM), with the code MSS 1076, entitled *Bustan al-Salatdin* (or *Bustan al-Salatin*, *Bustanus Salatin*, or *Bustan us-Salatin, Bab* (Chapter 7). The term *tabib* (from the Arabic word *tdabib*, *thabib* or *ṭabib*) generally refers to the practitioner of *tib* up to the middle of the 20th century. However, the term was later replaced by the word *doktor*, *doktor perubatan* in Malaysia, or *dokter* in Indonesia. The title for a physician was given the acronym Dr, differentiating them from those who were not from the medical field with the acronym D. Fal, S3 or PhD. The word *tabib* is also found in PRPM and *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI).

Mujarabat or *Mujarobat* is not equivalent to *tib* since the former includes the knowledge of spiritual healing by combining pre-Islamic and Islamic medical practices using methods known as supplications (*do'a*) and emulates (*tangkal*, *'azimat*, *wafaq* dan *wahinah*). Pre-Islamic spiritual methods originated from their animism and Hindu-Buddhism heritage, known generically as shamanism where incantations (*jampi-serapah*), mantras (*mantera*), and pre-Islamic emulates (*tangkal*) are practised. These practices are associated with spiritual beings (*makhluk halus*), devas (*dewa-dewi*), ghosts (*hantu*), genies (*jins*), Satan (*syaitan/setan/iblis*), and the invisibles (*orang bunian, orang halus*). Based on the manuscripts that we have studied and reported in this paper, in particular the manuscript entitled *tib [dan] azimat* discussed in Section 2.6, and *Taj al-Muluk* in Section 2.7, and the only manuscript entitled *mujarobat* discussed in Section 2.8, these practices were not quite compatible with that of Islamic teachings as discussed more below. The practitioners of such *mujarobat* were similar to traditional healers of diseases, namely shamans (such as *bomoh*, and *dukun*), which have existed before Islam. *Wahinah*, for example, is an Islamised *tangkal* or an emulate with some spiritual mystical symbols, words, or expressions and worn as a bracelet, ring or chain. It is believed that the *wahinah* or emulate has the power to safeguard the wearer from the pain of any disease. The bracelet, ring, or chain are called “*gelang bajang*” (PRPM; see also Razak, 2002). A *Wafaq* is also an emulate but uses Arabic alphabets or numerals and alike, or diagrams and characters from foreign and old civilizations, such as the Egyptian, Syrian, and even Qur'anic verses or Islamic expressions and chants (*zikr*), which they believe has protective powers. Perhaps these forms of *Tangkal*, *'Azimat*, *Wafaq* and *Wahinah* or generic emulates are regarded by al-Ghazaliy (1966) as forbidden. The practice is even regarded as heresy (*syirik*), which is discussed at length by Razak (2002); but this *fatwa* is valid only if all the conditions stated by him are valid. A moderate Islamic opinion is that “it is advisable to avoid it” (see, for example, Darulmanzil, 2011); and a comprehensive and balanced *fatwa* on this matter is available in the website of the Malaysian Prime Minister's Department (Mufti of Federal Territory, Malaysia, 2018). The same thoughts apply to astrology, such as the horoscope and the likes, which is found in *mujarobat*. According to Mat Rofa (2006, 2011), *mujarabat* or *mujarobat* is a field of Malay knowledge and can be classified as Malay wisdom knowledge (*ilmu hikmah Melayu*). It is a combination of pure Islamic wisdom knowledge (*hikmah murni Islam*) and deviational elements (*khurafat*) from the Malayonesian culture. He classified almost all the *mujarobat* manuscripts that were categorised by the PNM as “*Ramalan dan Taabir*” (Predictions and Dream Inferences) and collected by Shaharir (2003). Similar characterisation of *mujarobat* was done by Norhalim (1997), Charles (2003), Arba'iyah (2014) and Nizam (2015). This is further discussed in a separate section.

It is true that apparently *mujarobat* contains many knowledges such as building houses, and farming but it is not a technical knowledge in each of such field. In actual fact it is all regarding taboos or “*pantang-larang*”, *petua*, *azimat* and alike in hindrance of “diseases” or for “facilitating” the work in the field concerned. The famous manuscript, *Taj al-Muluk*, perhaps is the best example of this aspect of *mujarobat*.

The books on *mujarobat* are often promoted in Indonesian as “*amalan-amalan manjur*” which means healing or curing; and also commonly described as a compilation of *wafaq*. *Mujarobat* is also translated into English as “medication” such as in the translation of the title of a manuscript *Primbon Mujarobat Lengkap* (Complete Medication Primbon) published by Hra Studio (2018); *Kitab al-Mujarobat* by al-Dairobi al-Kabir is translated as “The Book of *Mujarobat*: A Complete reference to Islamic medicine and healing”, published by Library Guardian; and *Kitab Mujarobat*, a manuscript which was translated as “The Book of Useful Medicines” as written in page 1 of the book that was edited by Budianta et al., (2018).

The root word of *mujarobat* could be *jaraba*, but it could have various other meanings and one of them must be or should be related to curing or healing. After all the word *mujarab* is certainly comes from or related to *mujarobat*. However, it is noteworthy to point out that there are some manuscripts with the *mujarobat* title, but do not contain any medical elements in them. We then exclude these manuscripts from our *mujarobat* by simply stressing the term into medical *mujarobat*, whenever necessary.

The Abundance of the Tib, Mujarobat and Related Manuscripts

The international presence of the JMMM was first reported by Shaharir (2003). He found that the number of manuscripts was the second highest amount after other fields, based on data found in a series of catalogues up to 1997. A total of 115 manuscripts was found, out of which 70 manuscripts were at PNM, Malaysia; 7 in Indonesia (2 at Jakarta, Department P&K, and 5 at Koleksi Yayasan Kebudayaan Indera Sakti, Riau dan Aceh: Museum Negeri Aceh, Perpustakaan dan Museum Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy & Pesantren Tanoh Abee); 1 in the USA (at LC, Washington); 25 in Holland (at Leiden & Amsterdam, Royal Tropical Inst Library); 10 in Britain (at Cambridge Univ., Royal Asiatic Soc. & SOAS); and 2 in France (at Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, BNP). Surprisingly, Harun (2012/2015) reported that there were only 100 *tib* manuscripts in the world, which includes 40 manuscripts at PNM Malaysia with most of them dated between the 1820s and 1870s.

The manuscripts, which are classified by the author as Prediction and Dream Inferences (*Ramalan dan Taabir*), include astrology (*ilmu nujum*, and *ilmu bintang*), emulates (*azimat* and *wafaq*), secret and mystical signs or premonitions (*firasat*), mystical wisdom (*hikmat*), horoscope and zodiac (*raksi* or *rasi*), rules (*petua*), and other predictions known as *ketika* or *kuteka*, *primbon*, *rejang*, and *tilik*. These manuscripts contain not only elements of *mujarobat* as mentioned by Mat Rofa (2006, 2011) and other authors mentioned in the previous section, but also *tib*, surprisingly, and is shown by our study on two manuscripts from this category that were randomly selected and reported in Section 2.10. It was found that these manuscripts make up the largest number among all categories of manuscripts. Of the total found, 278 were found by Shaharir (2003) where 149 were found at PNM, 50 in Indonesia (3 in Sumatera, and 47 in Jakarta); 49 outside Malaysia and Indonesia (41 in Holland, 2 in Britain, 3 in Germany and 3 in France).

Islamic Civilisation Heritage in the Jawi-Malay Medical Manuscripts

A Jawi-Malay translated version of any of the famous medical treatises during Islamic Civilisation such as by Ibn Sina (Avicenna), *al-Qanun al-Tdib* written in 1025 AD, and *al-Mansuriy_o* and *al-Hawiy_o* by Abu Bakar al-Razi_o (Rhazes or Rasis) in the 10th century AD have yet to be found. Nevertheless, the books were studied and referred to during the 17th century by Malayonesian *tabibs* and medical students at *Dar al-Tib* (Medical Faculty) at the University in Aceh, *al-Jama'iyah Bayt al-al-Rahman* situated in present day Bandar Aceh (it was destroyed during the war between Aceh and Dutch in the 19th century). This was indirectly indicated by the presence of such references in al-Raniyriy_o / al-Raniri / Ar-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatdin*, Chapter 7 dated 1047 H (=1639 AD) and was Romanised by Naseer (2017). This is discussed separately in Section 2.5. Perhaps the more known scholar who gained medical knowledge during the Islamic Civilisation period is Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatdaniy / Fatdany (or Sheikh Ahmad al-Fathani / al-Fatani). He left behind his JMMM, *Tdayyib al-Ihsan fi Tdib al-Insan/ Thaiyib al-Ihsan fi Thibb al-Insan* dated 1312 H (= 1894 AD), which was Romanised by Affendi (2018). Prior to that, the manuscript was studied by Faisal and Helwana (2007), and introduced by Wan Mohd Shaghir (2008a, 2012a, 2012b, Internet MS. 2015). Another well-known JMMM with elements of medical knowledge from the Islamic Civilisation, and translated by 'Abbas Kutakarang 1270 H (= 1854 AD) is *al-Rahmah Fi al-Tibb wa al-Hikmah*. It was recently Romanised by Affendi and Hermansyah (2017). However, it has yet to be studied. A few *tib* manuscripts written in the 19th century, believed to contain medical knowledge from the Islamic Civilisation, are listed in the internet (see Wikipedia PM). Meanwhile, manuscripts which have been translated or adapted from Arabic manuscripts are understood to be medical knowledge from the Islamic Civilisation. Examples are the manuscript by al-Raniyriy_o (discussed in the later section), *Mujarobat Melayu* (discussed in Section 2.9), *Hikayat Nurul-Lisan Menjawab Masalah*, and *Siraj al-Zulam* by 'Abbas

Kutakarang 1266 H (=1850 AD). *Siraj al-Zulam* is one of the most cited manuscripts in Jawi-Malay astrology-astronomy but is rarely cited for the elements of *mujarobat*.

Harun (2006, 2012/2015) and Arba'iyah (2014) highlighted the most number of medical elements found in several *tib* and *mujarobat* manuscripts. However, the number of medical elements from the Islamic Civilisation are less than the examples mentioned above, except for a manuscript entitled *Hikayat Nurul-Lisan*. Most manuscripts studied so far belong to the same category. The contents of the manuscript entitled *Tib Azimat* (by the PNM) are found to be mostly local or original and is further discussed in Section 2.7. It is, however, difficult to find a JMMM free from the influence of medical knowledge from Islamic Civilisation.

The Oldest Jawi-Malay Medical Manuscript

According to Wan Mohd Shaghir (1419 H/1999 AD, 1421 H/2002 AD, 2012a, 2012b), the manuscript entitled *Sia-Sia Berguna* by Syaykh/Sheikh Shafiyuddin al-'Abbasi written in the early 15th century, is the oldest medical manuscript in Jawi-Malay. It is believed that the word *sia-sia* is a less accurate Romanised Kelantanese-Patanis word originally in Jawi. The more accurate spelling should be *siya-siya*, which means healed repeatedly, unlike the common Malay word (*sia-sia* means wasting or non-beneficial). According to Wan Mohd Saghir who owns a copy of the manuscript, it contains various types of Malay medicines originated from the following substances:

- i) Substances originating from animals such as bones, skin, blood, meat, liver (*hati*), biles (*hempedu*) etc.
- ii) Several types of plants in the form of roots, leaves, barks, stems etc.
- iii) Quranic verses (*Ayat-ayat al-Qur'an*), prayers or supplications (*doa-doa*), emulates (*azimats* and *wafaqs*), Malay incantation and mantras (*jampi-mantera*), and the likes

The manuscript falls under the category of *mujarobat*, and therefore, not fully compatible with Islamic teachings. Unfortunately, this manuscript has yet to be located despite numerous attempts. The closest titled manuscript found at PNM is entitled *Kitab Sia-Sia Berguna* (MSS 2228). However, the name is stated Tilmiz, al-'Alamah signifies not readable as a copyist and dated 1351 H (=1933 AD). The manuscript, studied by Zahrin (2016a), is 75 pages long. Only three pages (64-66) discuss medicinal floras and faunas. Therefore, this is not the oldest medical manuscript described by Wan Mohd Shoghir.

Later, another manuscript entitled *Kitab Siam Berguna* by an unknown was found at PNM and is claimed to be copied from Syaykh 'Afiy, al-Diyn Raja Faqih al-Fatdaniy, or Sheikh Afiyuddin Raja Faqih Patani/Fatani) 1230 H (=1815 AD), the same name as the author of *Sia-Sia Berguna* (the oldest known manuscript). The manuscript is coded as MSS 927(a) and was also studied by Zahrin (2016b). The manuscript was found to contain two parts, with the medical part found only on pages 1-7 and 20. The rest is on the history of how Siam (now Thailand) defeated Petani (Patani/Fatani). Again, the medical part is different from the content in *Sia-Sia Berguna* as described by Wan Mohd Shoghir.

It was only recently came to light that Wan Mohd Shoghir (1421 H/2002 AD) mentioned the existence of a copy of the manuscript by Hj. Mahmud bin Muhammad Yusuf from Terengganu dated 1235 H (= 1819 AD at PNM coded MSS 1292. Thus, the long standing issue of the oldest JMMM is settled even though this manuscript could be dated later than the version with Mohd Shoghir himself. Another manuscript entitled *Sari Segala Ubat* was retrieved in 1813 by the British Library Coded MSS B15 and said by some to have the elements of the oldest medical manuscript *Sia-Sia Berguna* but it is not mentioned in the analysis of the manuscript by Aiffendi (2019) who had also Romanised the manuscript.

The Second Oldest Jawi-Malay Medical Manuscript: A Pure Tib Manuscript

The second oldest JMMM is Chapter 7 of *Magnus opus* by al-Raniyriy, / al-Raniri / Ar-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatdin*, or *Bustanus Salatin*, *Bustan us-Salatin* (available at PNM, MSS 1076), dated 1047 H (= 1639 AD), and was recently Romanised by Naseer (2017). Chapter 7 is entitled *Bab Ketujuh Fashal Ketiga: Pada Menyatakan 'Ilmu Tashrih dan 'Ilmu Tdib*. The manuscript contains the earliest medical theory at the time, based on the four basic elements of matter and termed in Arabic followed by the Malay translation:

turab (tanah), earth; *ma'* (air), water; *nar* (api), fire; and *hdawa'* (angin), air. The manuscript is full of Arabic terminologies, indicating that al-Raniyriyo must have taken or translated the materials from Arabic. At that time, there was a fifth basic element known *al-Athir* (from Greek, aether) and in Malay, *akasa* (from Sanskrit) and *langit* in the old Javanese (Shaharir 2011). This should have been incorporated in theory but the source that Naseer referred to did not consider this possibility. He also discussed human physiology for the first time, for which he again used Arabic terminology, *tashrih*. Even though he used many Arabic terminologies in his discussion, such as *balad al-hayy*, *ma'idah*, *mathanah*, *shafra'*, *sawda'*, and *unthayan*, he introduced some interesting Malay terminologies such as *ari-ari*, *perut seni*, *buah hati*, and *kembung-kembungan*. The manuscript is a strong proof that the Malay language has been an effective language of knowledge in physiology and medicine since the 17th century. He explained that the knowledge he described is from Greek scholars, *ulama*, *hukama* by mentioning the Greek scholars in Arabic version Aristotalis (=Aristotles), Buqarat al-Hakim (= Hipokrates), Jalinus al-Hakim (= Galen), and Suqrat al-Hakim (=Sokrates). It is interesting to note that not a single Islamic scholar during the Islamic Civilisation was mentioned.

His commitment to Islamic teachings restricted him from using un-Islamic materials and substances as medicine. However, he allowed the use of *afyun* (opium), which is considered by *ulamas* to be forbidden in Islam similar to other drugs such as cannabis, marijuana, heroin and alike, but clearly subject to a state of *dharuraht* as discussed by Sabir *et al.* (2014). He also disallowed the consumption of food with the same degree of hotness or coldness and dry or wet at the same time because he thought it would be unhealthy. Of course, none of the spiritual medicine in the form of emulates (*tangkal*, *azimat*, *wafaq* or *wahinah* etc.) are available in his manuscript because these are forbidden in Islam. As such, his medical knowledge is not in the category of *mujarobat* but purely *tib*.

Since the manuscript is heavily in Arabic, it must have been due to a translation or, at best, an adaptation of Arabic writings of the medical knowledge from Islamic Civilisation. This is seen by the use of Arabic terminologies and the role of the four essential elements in the theoretical foundation of his medical knowledge. Furthermore, he gives examples of medical practices based on stories from the Middle East and Rome. Nevertheless, he successfully identified 57 local medicinal floras and faunas in Malay, some of which are very unfamiliar nowadays such as '*afs*=manjakani, *aqar qarha* =akarakar, *fujl* =mula, *halilaj*=kedekai, *hil*=kapulaga, *hilitit*=inggu, *himmas*=kadalai, *kababah*=kemukus, *kummun* =jira putih, *nankhwah*=jemuju, *narjil* =kelambir, *qarabful* = bunga laung, *raziydnaj* =jira manis, and *za'faran* =kumkuma. These words are unfamiliar because they are not available in the Big Three Malay Dictionaries: PRPM, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) and *Kamus Besar Bahasa Melayu Nusantara* (KBBMN). However, the floras and faunas have been identified by Naseer (2017). Out of 57 types of medicinal floras, 10 are taken from the 12 *hadiths* (the saying of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (they are in Malay: *mawar*, *anggur*, *bawang merah*, *beras*, *delima*, *halba*, *hentimun*, *jintan putih*, *labu*, and *terung*). Thus, about 17% of the medicinal elements in the manuscripts can be categorised as *tib nabawiy* (Medicine during the Prophet Muhammad SAW), which are highly regarded as original and most efficacious by the Muslims. About 16% of the medicinal floras and faunas are solely for the enhancement of male sexual potency. There are many diseases (about 30) that can be cured or healed by the use of floras and faunas, including diseases known in Malay as "*salah air*" (not fully understood) e.g Naseer, (2017).

The Third Oldest Jawi-Malay Medical Manuscript: The Oldest Ethnomedical Knowledge

The third oldest JMMM is believed to have been written by an unknown Malay traditional doctor (*bomoh*) in 1210 H (= 1795 AD), and mainly based on a Big Traditional Malay Doctor (*Bomoh Besar*) at that time, Syaykh 'Abd al-Rahman. The manuscript, entitled (by PNM) "*Tib [dan] Azimat*" (MSS 1073) is available at PNM. The manuscript was Romanised and studied by Muhammad Idris (2015). This is believed to be the first JMMM written by a local writer and based on local or indigenised medical knowledge. As such, the product is a true Malay ethnomedicine. This is based on the assumption that the oldest JMMM, *Sia-Sia Berguna*, was influenced by Arabic medical knowledge since the writer is an '*ulama*' of Arabic descent. Although there are 77 types of medicinal plants and 11 medicinal animals listed in this manuscript for curing nearly a hundred diseases, but many were, unfortunately, not legible. There are medical treatments that he referred to as *hikmah* (covered in half of the 14 pages of this manuscript), which are mystical and involved the unseen world (*alam ghaib* and *alam halus*). The methods include the wearing

of emulates (*azimat, tangkal* etc.), reciting supplications (*doa*) and uttering and whispering incantations and mantras (*jampi-mantera*). We believe, many of the 77 floras are not identifiable since the words are not available in the Big Three Malay Dictionaries (KBBI, KBBMN, and PRPM) mentioned in Section 2.5, Harun's Glossary in Harun (2006, new ed. 2019), and authoritative references on Malayonesian floras and faunas, such as by a group of Malaysian scholars who published their findings in the *Journal of Science & Technology in the Tropics* 6(1), Jun 2010; Khatijah group (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009), and some websites on Malaysian and Indonesian floras and faunas (WSMIFF). We were told that these floras and faunas could have been identified by others who studied JMMM such as Abdul Ghani Hussain and Mohd Affendi Mohd Shafri but so far we have yet to obtain such information. Examples of those unidentifiable floras, we believe, are *akar badang minyak, akar sita, menalu kepala rimau, ru[m]put pega lunthung*, and *saga batu*. Similarly, 7 types of medicinal faunas were not identifiable for the same reasons, such as *hudang getah, kuda laut ibu nunuk* نونوق, *ketam gembadak, telur kunal* كونل and *telur kujar* كوجر. This manuscript falls under the category of *mujarobat* and therefore, most likely not fully compatible with Islamic teachings.

A Review on Some Other Tib Manuscripts

Harun is probably the most prolific researcher and he and his team of researchers have produced several publications, mainly books. The books are Harun (2006 with its new ed. 2019), Harun (2017), Harun and Naseer (2019) and Harun and Zawiyah (2015). The book by Harun (2006, new ed. 2019) is based on his study on 10 *tib* manuscripts at PNM and reference to about 40 other *tib* manuscripts at PNM, Leiden, London, Aceh, Jakarta, Sri Lanka and Brunei Darussalam. Chapters 2 and 5 of the books are based on only two manuscripts, one of which was used for both chapters; whereas Chapter 7 (the last chapter) was based on MSS 1792 only. The other chapters used seven manuscripts, namely MSS 300, MSS 489, MSS 1078, MSS 1291, MSS 1292, MSS 1653, and MSS 2515. Other manuscripts used only as references were MSS 218, *Taj al-Muluk*, "*Kitab Perubatan Koleksi PNM*", "*Teks Kitab Koleksi DBP*"; and in particular, "*Teks Khas Versi Johor, Koleksi Yayasan Warisan Johor*". These were used for writing "*Catatan Teks*" of the book. Almost all manuscripts were undated and by nameless authors, assumed or estimated to be written in the 19th century. It can be said that Harun (2006) made 2 big contributions. Firstly, his description of diseases in the 1960s and the corresponding medicines using floras and faunas (discussed in two chapters), where one chapter focuses on nine diseases that can be healed using spiritual methods (*doa, jampi, azimat* etc.). The other significant contribution is his glossary of general words and the medicinal floras dan faunas from the manuscripts. According to Harun 2012/2015, there were more than 1,500 entries with each meaning and scientific name explained. The glossary is important because many of the words are not available in the Big Three Malay Dictionaries. However, he did not list the plants that were unidentifiable. The presumed objective of the book is to summarise each of the manuscript concerned, even though he mentioned the discussion of philosophy of *tabibs* (practitioners of *tib*) in the introduction of his book. That discussion, however, is found to be flawed and is discussed further in Section 2.14 of this paper.

Harun (2012/2015) discussed his previous work, Harun (2006), along with new findings in a few more manuscripts, namely MS 747, MS 758 (dated 1312 H = 1895 AD), MS 2219 (a copy dated 1325 H = 1907 AD) and a manuscript entitled *Ilmu Warisan Perubatan Melayu*. The scope of his study remained the same as his previous publication, Harun (2006). He claimed to have focused his study on *Taj al-Muluk*, more than what he had already discussed in his earlier work, Harun (2006). However, this is not reflected in his writing which covered all manuscripts mentioned above without any emphasis on *Taj al-Muluk*. His writing on *Hikayat Nurul-Lisan*, MSS 1792 (undated), is not only a repeat of his earlier publication, Harun (2006: Chapter 7), but he overlooked the presence of the earlier studies of the manuscript by Che Rabihah (2005), and Noorita (2008). This *Hikayat* contains a dialogue between the main character, Nurul-Lisan, 14 years old servant (*jariah*) and a group of scholars, including expert physicians (*tabib-tabib pakar*). It is clearly a translation from Arabic since it heavily contains Arabic terminologies. The corresponding Malay terminologies were given in brackets, including trivial terminologies such as *asal* (*air madu*), *bazinjan* (*buah terung*), *batil* (*bawang merah*), *bunga babasah* (*bunga pala*), *hardal* (*biji sawi*), *khasyhasy* (*biji piun*), *qarnafal* (*bunga cengkih*), and *salit and samsim* (*lenga*). The *Hikayat* is estimated to have been translated in the 19th century, based on the style of writing. It is, therefore, somewhat puzzling as to why this *Hikayat* is popularly studied.

Harun (2017) successfully described all JMMM available at Muzium Terengganu where many medicinal plants are highlighted. The work was later published by the *Institut Penyelidikan Perhutanan Malaysia* or FRIM. The book discussed 35 types of diseases with their complementary medicines. This includes diseases which are associated with satanic disturbances etc. There are also some interesting diseases such as *cericik* (a type of skin disease, 1-page explanation), *restung* (6 pages), *sanglar* (42 pages), *barah batu di dalam dada* (15 pages), *sapan* (8 pages), *pirai senak* (6 pages), and *haus air sangat gerahnya* (2 pages). There is also an unknown unit of liquid measurement (for medicine) referred to as *aria*.

Harun and Naseer (2019) concentrated on manuscripts covering sexual potency. This topic is popular and often discussed in *tib* and *mujarobat* manuscripts, particularly in the famous manuscript, *Taj al-Muluk* (elaborated below), and *Kitab Mujarobat Melayu* (further discussed in Section 2.9). The presence of this topic in almost every JMMM covered thus far had led to a hypothesis that sexual potency is the most popular and influential field of medical knowledge among the Malayonesians.

Harun and Zawiyah (2015) discussed *Kitab Tib MSS 2515*, which was also studied by Arba'iyah (2014), and is in fact, an extension of the work of Harun (2006, 2012/2015).

A relatively thick medical manuscript at PNM, MSS 1292 (without title, undated and nameless author), was studied by Roziah (2009) at the Universiti Malaya. Based on this manuscript, she strengthened her hypothesis that there was indigenisation and Islamisation of Malay medical knowledge. This is further discussed in Section 2.14 of this paper. She also highlighted more than 20 types of unfamiliar medicinal floras such as *air kumpai minyak*, *air sumbu dara*, *air pecan*, *air kumpai*, *apin*, *nabat misri*, *minyak kasabi*, *samambiri* and *sarang-sarang minang*. We believe these floras are still unidentified for reason as mentioned later in this article.

Taj al-Muluk, edited by Isma'il Aceh 1306 H (=1888 AD), became one of the bestselling manuscripts, considering it has been reprinted several times in Malaysia (Pulau Pinang), Singapore and South Thailand. The manuscript is suitably categorised as a *mujarobat* manuscript. As mentioned earlier, this manuscript was studied by Harun (2006, new ed. 2019; 2012/2015) but that study does not provide sufficient information needed for this study. The manuscript listed healing solutions for 52 diseases (Harun 2006 said 53 diseases) which is believed to include 18 interesting diseases such as *karangan* كراغن or *sakit buah aruan* ارون بوه, *kudal purawara* كودل فوراور, *saban* سبان, *sariawan* سرياون, and *sakit mata dagang-dagangan* داغ داغ. Upon referring to the Big Three Malay Dictionaries and Harun's Glossary, we are unable to identify these diseases. Meanwhile, among the prescribed medicines listed in the manuscript, there are more than 100 types of local plants which are mostly believed to be unfamiliar (for the same reasons as stated in Section 2.6) such as *akar bayam rusa* روس, *akar cekurwali* جكروال, *akar sari-sari* ساري, *akar uradang* اوردانغ, *biji jarmuli* جرمولى, *biji kamka* كمكا, *biji penjelang* فنجلانغ, *buah najan-najan putih*, *daun kal-kal/kali-kali* كل, *daun langai-langai/lengai-lengai* لانغي, *daun arang-arang/orang-orang/urang-urang*, *daun terung purut kelusak* كلوسق, *daun titian bangau*, *terung pungur* فونغر, and *tuba hitam* تبا hitam. Of course, this assumption may lead to controversy and a challenge to those who are working in this field such as biologists, biochemists and biotechnologists. The error is probably due to the incorrect reading of the Jawi words. In addition, many chapters touched on spiritual healing (on *azimat*, *doa*, *tangkal*, and *wafaq*). In fact, an estimated 40% of medical materials in the manuscripts are on spiritual healing, such as the healing of headache (*sakit kepala*), body pain (*sakit tubuh*), stomachache (*sakit perut*), lumbar pain (*sakit pinggang*), thigh pain, and pain all over the body (*sakit barang* برانغ *seluruh tubuh*). All of these were treated by supplications (*doa*) and emulates (*tangkal*). Some diseases were treated with a mixture of physical and spiritual healing such as for poisoning (treated with herbs and *wafaq*); some with purely mystical numbers treatment using a method known as *berbuang baris* برس برونغ. Others were by dream inferences and a protective measure known as *buang celaka* or *malang*.

Arba'iyah (2014) studied *Kitab Tib MSS 2515*, even though the manuscript had already been studied by Harun (2006). Nevertheless, she highlighted the presence of 4 expert *tabibs* (physicians) on the disease known as *balgham*. It was a common disease in the 18th century, resulting in many *tabibs* writing about it. This is evidenced by the many manuscripts containing treatments for the disease. Arba'iyah (2014) also studied *Kitab Tib Leiden* coded Cod. Or. 1714 (undated and nameless author), and *Kitab Tib* dated 1824 (also a nameless author) in which *balgham* and coughing are discussed in seven pages. She also

studied *Kitab Ilmu Tabib* (date and author of the original manuscript are unknown but a copy was made by an unknown writer in 1872), which discussed *balgham* over 4 pages. A treatment for *balgham* was stated as (we believe for reason stated in Section 2.6) an unidentifiable plant, *rumpun kepala lalat*. In addition, Arba- 'iyah (2014) found that *Kitab Tib MSS 2515*, *Kitab Tib Leiden Cod. Or. 1714*, *Kitab Tib* and *Kitab Ilmu Tabib* also discussed the curing and healing of constipation (*sembelit*), faint (*pitam*), eyes and ears diseases (*sakit mata dan telinga*), sinusitis (*restung, resdung, or sedung*) and stones (*karang*). *Kitab Tib* also discussed a variety of fevers at length. Again, for reason stated in Section 2.6, we believe there are unidentifiable medicinal plants noted for curing fevers, such as *gelang sambar dara*, *pinang muda yang belum bertemu hatinya*, and *putik bira (bebaru yang dibembam)*. Spiritual treatments using emulates (*tangkal* atau *azimat*) were also presented in *Kitab Tib Leiden Cod Or 1714* and *Kitab Tib MSS 2515* but used concurrently with herbal treatments. As such, these manuscripts belong to the category of *mujarobat*.

Only one manuscript has been found justifiable to be discussed separately below as it provides the true nature of *mujarobat*. The title of this manuscript is *Mujarobat Melayu*.

A Concrete Manuscript on Mujarobat: Mujarobat Melayu

A *mujarobat* manuscript entitled *Mujarabat Melayu* (according to Mat Rofa transliteration) by Ahmad al-Diyar/al-Dayr bin Shafi'iy in 1300 H (= 1882 AD) was studied by Mat Rofa (2006). According to its introduction, the manuscript is also referred to as *Mujarobat al-Dirbi*; and appeared to be very popular as it was reprinted in 1981 by al-Maktabah al-Sha'biyah dan Dar al-Ma 'arif, Pulau Pinang. A statement on the title page reads that it contains "varieties of medical treatments of curing and healing from *asma' al-Lah al-Husnay*, *ahadith nubuwwiyah*, and Qur'anic verses, as well as a collection of emulates (*wafaq* and '*aziymaht*")". It also stated that the manuscript is the product of a translation and adaptation ("*tarjumah*") of *Fawa'id al-Bahdiyyaht Kitab Mujarobat al-'Arabiyaht* (undated and nameless author) "into Malay by some of the pious religious scholars ('*alim 'ulama' al-Shoolihiyn*) supported by *nash*". The original title of the main source of the manuscript *Fawa'id al-Bahdiyyaht fi al-Tdib al-Badaniyaht* is translated as "*Pada Membicarakan Mengubatkan Badan Laki-Laki dan Perempuan*". The manuscript contains at least 13 references in Arabic, which include *Tdib al-Nabawiy* (undated and nameless author). The above shows that the manuscript, *Mujarabat Melayu*, is an authoritative and Islamic manuscript in *mujarobat*. Ironically, some of its contents are incompatible with Islamic teaching, as shown below.

The *Mujarabat Melayu* has recorded the detailed knowledge on sexual potency and related fields, seen in all are on spiritual treatments (using *wafaq* and '*azimat*). About 30% of the contents are on medical treatments on sexual potency, which according to us, its Islamic relevance could be questionable.

The manuscript also substantially describes the use of medicinal floras and faunas. We believe, some are unidentifiable (for reason stated later), such as *burung beragi*, *daun kayu emas*, *kayu camar*, *kematu kulit jambu hutan*, dan *sena Makkah*. The manuscript also contains unusual medicinal substances such as blood, animal biles (*hempedu*), frogs, small bats (*kelawar*), and specific parts of wild animals.

Medicinal Elements in Manuscripts Categorised as Predictions and Dream Inferences

Mat Rofa (2006) mentioned that *mujarobat* contains elements similar to manuscripts categorised by Shaharir (2003) as predictions and dream inferences. Harun (2006, new ed. 2019, pp. 25) had made an even more general statement than that "the contents of *tib* are not restricted to medical knowledge and healing of diseases but also covering other knowledge including astrology and predictions, sexual potency, mystical prediction or premonition (*firasat*), dream inferences, marriage compatibility (*rasi jodoh*) and alike". Harun (2006 in its new ed. 2019, pp. 27) also mentioned the presence of *tib* manuscripts "which incorporate other fields such as *rejang* (a kind of prediction), horoscope and zodiac (*raksi*), prediction based on climate and weather, astrology, general prediction and knowledge of farming". All these "other knowledge" or "other fields" that Harun mentioned are additional elements of knowledge in the *tib* whereas we would classify them as elements of *mujarobat* genre. Harun is simply does not want to highlight *mujarobat* as a category of JMMM but instead want to incorporate all the spiritual healings in *mujarobat* as a part of *tib*. Meanwhile, according to Shaharir (2003), these manuscripts are categorised as Prediction and Dream Inferences (*Ramalan dan Taabir*). However, other than mentioning titles of

manuscripts by Mat Rofa (2006), Harun (2006) and his later publications did not present a single manuscript in this genre with elements of *tib* or *mujarabat*. To fill this gap, 2 manuscripts in the category of *Ramalan dan Taabir* (Prediction and Dream Inferences) in PNM, that are, *Petua Padi* and *Kitab Firasat dan Akal*, were randomly chosen and studied.

The 34 pages of *Petua Padi* MSS1785 (undated and nameless writer) was studied by Shafik (2015a) and contains the description of *padi* diseases: yellow *padi*, red *padi* and unhealthy and black *padi* (*padi layu dan hitam*). The treatments for these diseases are the use of herbs and spiritual methods (*doa dan jampi*). We believe, for reason stated in Section 2.6, that there is an unidentifiable medicinal plant listed known as *bangau*. Also described are mystical rules for rice cooking, opening and closing boxes (*petis*), and mystical rules for farming and building a house using the following well-known magic square (but using the Middle East Arabic numerals, *al-Arqam al-Hindiyyah*):

٤	٩	٢
٣	٥	٧
٨	١	٦

There are mystical rules for when the *padi* is just about to bear seeds, harvesting season, and the storing of *padi* at *belebar* (believed to be a storehouse - the word is not available in the Big Three Malay Dictionaries, or Harun's Glossary). There are also rules for processing *padi* to become rice, and rules for measuring rice (*mencupak*). All these rules are preventive health measures.

Another manuscript within this genre, *Kitab Firasat dan Akal* PNM, MSS 1741 (undated and nameless author), was also studied by Shafik (2015b) and contains many medicinal floras dan faunas for 58 types of diseases. One of the plants, akar *geraha*, is not easily identifiable, according to our knowledge, along with three diseases: *indung-lindungan*, *salah air*, and *sejuk hati*. The manuscript also contains elements of physiology (*tashrih*), knowledge on *tabib*, and practices for health preventive measures similar to that of al-Raniyriy's work (discussed in Section 2.6). There are the four-things lists: 4 things which destroy liver (*hati*), four things which destroy bodies, four things which improves eyesight, four things which make bodies fat (*tambun*) and healthy, four things which make liver alive, four things which reduce the eyesight (*cahaya mata*), four things which make bodies dangerously thin, four things which make bodies healthy, and the exceptional list, 10 things which guard the health. This manuscript also contains four pages of knowledge on sexual potency.

Stories on Tib, Mujarobat and Tabibs in Jawi-Malay Great Books

It is exciting to note that various scholars have reported that some of the great Malay literature contain information on the extent of the existence of Malay *tib*, *mujarobat* and *tabibs*. The international standing of *tib* and *tabibs* between the 15th and 18th centuries in the Malay kingdoms are recorded in some of the Malay great books. These findings are presented below.

According to one of the greatest Jawi-Malay books, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (HRP) which was written in the 15th century by a nameless writer, there were many experts in the field of making poisons and naturally their antidotes (*racun dan penawar*) in Pasai (present day Aceh, Sumatera, Indonesia). These experts were referred to as "*orang seri*" (Shaharir 2010).

Zakaria *et al.* (2014) presented teens of medicinal plants species found in *Hikayat Hang Tuah/Tuha* (written in the 18th century). Hang Tuah himself was portrayed as an expert in producing love portions and its antidotes.

Arba'iyah (2014) highlighted some of the great achievements of *tib* and *mujarobat* in *Sulalat al-Salatdin*; *Hikayat Patani*; *Misa Melayu*; *Riwayat Kelantan*; and *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. The achievements are briefly as follows:

Sulalat al-Salatdin or *Sulalat us-Salatin*, popularly known as *Sejarah Melayu* (rewritten by Tun Sri Lanang in 1612), tells a story of how a Chinese king received medical treatment for a strange skin disease

(*kedal*) from a *tabib* in Melaka during the reign of Sultan Manshur Syah. This demonstrates the international standing of the Malay *tib* or *tabib* in the 15th century. Other stories, albeit less dramatic, are the treatments of two high ranking army officers in Melaka, Tun Hamzah and Seri Udani, who suffered injuries against the Portuguese. Both were successfully treated by a Melakan *tabib*.

Hikayat Patani (1690-1730) tells the story of Raja Phaya Tu Naqpa, King of Patani (now Southern Thailand), who suffered a disease which could not be cured by any of the *tabibs* in Patani. Finally, he was promised a cure by a *tabib* from Aceh on the condition that he embraced Islam after he is cured. The king was cured and converted to Islam.

In *Misa Melayu* (1784), Sultan Muzaffar Syah of Perak (1728-1756) felt sick, and several *tabibs* treated the Sultan using herbal treatments, while *dukuns* used spiritual treatments, including genies or *jins*. Similarly, Sultan Iskandar Syah (1756-1770) suffered from a disease and received treatments from both male and female *tabibs*.

Riwayat Kelantan (written in the 19th century by an unknown author) tells the account of how the King of Siam (now Thailand), Seri Maharaja, invited a Malay *tabib* from Kelantan to cure his disease after all the well-known doctors in Siam failed to treat him. The *tabib* agreed to treat the King provided that the well-known queen of Kelantan, Puteri Sakdung (Sa'adung/Saadung) who was held captive, was released. The king agreed and was successfully treated. This proves that the Malay *tabibs* of the 18th century were internationally recognised.

In *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (written by Raja Ali Haji in 1866-1870), Putera Sultan Sulaiman of Johor arrived in Selangor and fell ill. Several *dukuns* (traditional Malay doctors) treated the Sultan back to health. The manuscript also reported that *dukuns* were used to treat Yang Dipertuan Muhammad Ali, Siak, Sumatera, who suffered from psychological, psychopatic, or psychosis (*gila*) diseases.

Che Rabiah (2005), Noorita (2008), and Harun (2012/2015) linked the many characteristics of the main character in *Hikayat Nurul Lisan Menjawab Masalah* (originally nameless author, undated but republished in 1924, 1943), Nurul Lisan, to a *tabib*, based on the depiction of several diseases and their treatments. Although a story from the Middle East, it has some local historical background and links to the ability of local *tabibs* given that the *Hikayat* is an adaptation or translation.

Affendi (2015) pointed out a story in *Hikayat Aceh* (written before 1638 M) in which a royal delegation from Turkey (*Uthmaniyyah* or Ottoman Sultanic period) was sent to Aceh to bring back a mixture of medicinal elements to treat Turkey's Sultan, Sultan Muhammad III (governed in 1595-1603). This is proof of the international standing of Malayonesian *tabibs* in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Malayonesian Medical Knowledge in Comparison with the British Medical Sciences Before the 20th Century.

Some Malayonesian medical knowledge, particularly those in Malay, were ahead of the knowledge written in English before the 20th century. Firstly, this can be established by studying the terminologies in the medical field by comparing the general medical terms in Malay with the corresponding terms in English like medicine, medical, doctor, healing, health, and curing. It can be shown that the terms in Malay appear much earlier than in English. For example, general medical terminologies in English (heal, health, and cure) existed six centuries later than that in Malay (during the Sriwijayan Malay kingdom in the 7th century) or at least three centuries later during the Campan Malay kingdom. (See details below in Shaharir 2020b). Although the word *ubat* or *obat* in Malay existed a century later than the word "medicine" in English, it should be noted that it was a new Malay word due to the Arabisation of the Malay language which began in the 12th century. There existed a Malay word before *ubat* or *obat* since the 7th century, as shown below.

Medical knowledge in Malay and its practitioners have existed since the 7th century as depicted in two inscriptions, the Talang Tuwo and Kota Kapur inscriptions in Palembang, Sumatera. At the time, disease in Malay was known as *wyadhi*. Two interesting diseases concerned the Sriwijaya government at that time, namely *swapnawighna* (amnesia) dan *ajara* (old age). Other diseases of concern were, *gila*

(psychosis), and the other an unidentifiable disease known as *saramwat*. The inscriptions stated that the medicine-men at that time knew how to make someone *gila* or suffer from an unknown disease through the use of spiritual and mystical procedures known as *mantera* (translated as mantras and incantation). They were famous for making poison from plants known as *upas*, *tuba*, and *tamwat* (translated by Coedes and Damais 1992 as *hemp*, which means *ganja* or *kecubung berulam ganja* in present Malay according to Winstedt 1957). They were also experts in *kasihan* (translated by Coedes and Damais 1992 as *philtres*. Winstedt 1957 called it charm portions - *ubat guna-guna in present Malay*). Meanwhile, the term for *perubatan* or *tib* and *mujarobat* in 7th century Malay was *sikitawidya* (literally means knowledge on pains and diseases) and was recorded by I-Ching / I-Tsing / Yising during his seven-year stay in Palembang in the 7th century (see Takakusu 1966). In contrast, the term medical knowledge in English only came about in the 14th century (see Etymology Dictionary).

Another proof that the medical field existed earlier in Jawi-Malay than in English is by considering the first writing (manuscript) in the field. The first Medical Jawi-Malay medical Manuscript, *Sia-sia Berguna*, was written in the early 15th century (see Section 2.5), whereas according to Nur or Noori (2008) the first English medical books were by Andrew Boorde in 1547 entitled *Breviary of Helthe*. However, this is in the period of the Early Modern English which corresponds to the Early Modern Malay or the Early Classical Malay. Indeed Robbins (1970) shows that there are medical manuscripts in the period of the Middle English (late 15th century, to the mid-17th century). This shows that the Jawi-Malay medical knowledge is written much earlier than in the Middle English. However, in 2013 the British Library found that an Old English medical manuscript dated the 9th century AD written by Walker (9th century) nullified the assumption that the Malay medical knowledge exists earlier than the English. This is indeed true in terms of the Jawi-Malay manuscripts since the oldest Jawi writing is dated only in 1303 AD on the Terengganu inscription. However, in terms of the Malay medical knowledge written in other characters such as the *Pallawa* and *Rencong* there are Malay medical knowledge on the inscription dated 7th century AD described in the above paragraph of this section. In addition, according to Tee (2021) there was an Old Malay medical manuscript written in the 6th century AD and translated into the Old Chinese in the 7th century AD and it is available in the Beijing Library, Republic of China. The original Malay manuscript is lost but the translated version is stated in the Sui Dynasty Catalogue (511-618 AD) entitled (if retranslated into the present Malay) "*Pedoman Mengubat Penyakit Hantu Negara Kandali*" (The Directory of Treatments of Ghostly Diseases in Kandala). This Malay manuscript is not only about 300 years older than the oldest English medical manuscript but had also attained its international recognition.

In any case, traditional medical practice in English was found to be very much later than that of the Malay World as explained earlier and more explicitly, in the Andrew Boorde 1547 review by Guthrie (1944). Despite being a hundred years later than Malay medical practices, the nature of traditional English medical practices were more or less similar in terms of the use of floras and faunas. For example, medicine for the deaf is a mixture of rabbit bile and fats of a wolf, a fox and a black wolf; medicine for the squint-eye (*juling*) is the blood of a pigeon; a small piece of pork or bacon tied to a strong string is swallowed and quickly pulled repeatedly for throat disease; and placing lettuce on the temple of amnesia patients. English medicine in middle 16th century was less comprehensive than Malay medicines in the 15th century.

The first known great Malay doctor, "*Bomoh Besar*", Syaykh 'Abd al-Rahman, was reported in the Jawi-Malay manuscript dated 1210 H (= 1795 AD) entitled "*Tib [and] Azimat*", PNM, MSS 1073. The presence of *bomohs* or *dukuns*, and other names for traditional Malay doctors, are recorded in *Sejarah Melayu* 1612, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and *Hikayat Petani in the 15th century*, and *Hikayat Aceh* before 1638. This shows that the existence of such doctors is undoubtedly earlier than that of doctors in Britain since the word "doctor", used to refer to a physician, only came about in the late 16th century. Prior to that, the word used was *medicin* (ED 2001-2021).

Medical knowledge in English at university level was implemented later than that in Malay. The first university that offered the study of medicine in the United Kingdom is *Edinburgh University* in 1732. However, lessons were conducted in Latin until 1833, after which English was used. Meanwhile, universities in England offered medical studies in English at a much later date, i.e., in the late 19th century, starting with the University of London. (Singer dan Holloway 1960; Wikipedia UE). In Aceh, it

is possible that medical studies in Malay-Arabic was offered in the 17th century at which the manuscript by al-Raniyriy, 1639 AD (Section 2.6) could have been used as one of the primary reference. Medical books studied or used in Europe during the Middle Ages up to the 18th century were, in fact, translated versions (in Latin) of books from the Islamic Civilisation. These were the same sources used by Malay scholars in the 17th century but, unlike the British scholars, the Malay scholars quickly translated or adopted in these into Malay as mentioned in section 4. Perhaps the existence of quite advanced medical materials in the JMMM mentioned above may well be used to support the existence of a medical faculty known as *Dar al-Tibb* as reported by Koharuddin (2004), as there is no other strong evidence given by Koharuddin himself. However the presence of a university in Aceh, at the *Bayt al-Rahman* Mosque, in the 17th century is perhaps more difficult to dismiss as its existence is described in a thesis at McGill University by Luthfi (1993), a recent paper by Hadi (2011) dan more recently, a thesis by Widya (2019). In the last reference, the existence of many faculties including *Dar al-Tib* is also mentioned.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that there is an English translation of a JMMM done at the end of the 19th century, demonstrating that the Malay medical knowledge was sought after by the British. The JMMM was originally from what was then known as the Peninsula of Malacca or Peninsula of Indo-China and was translated into English in 1886. It was entitled *The Medical Book of Malayan Medicine* and currently belongs to The Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. (At the time, Malayan referred to the people of Southeast Asia. See Lam, 1919; van Rosenburgh, 1908, for examples). According to Balwi (2003), the manuscript's editor, the translation of this manuscript into Jawi-Malay was done by Ismail Munsyi before 1886 (the original manuscript is undated, without title, nameless author, and lost). The medical knowledge in this manuscript was well received by the Malays. It has indeed benefited and is practised by modern medical practitioners, as stated in the edited version of the translation. An example given by Balwi is the use of one of the prescriptions in the book (no. 99) as medicine for relieving weary (*lelah*) and bronchitis in Europe in 1915. This is the most concrete example of international standing of the Malay *tib* (Malay medical knowledge) at the end of the 19th century. The Malay *tib* has seen outstanding international recognition, with repeated stories of the Malayonesian *tib* travelling to Mainland China in the 15th Century, Siam (now Thailand) in the 17th century and then Turkey (*Uthmaniyyah* or Ottoman) in the 16th century, as described in section 11. Moreover, this claim is strengthened by the recognition by a Dutch physician, Bontius, who wrote one of the most influential books in Europe on Malayonesian medical knowledge during the 17th century. This is discussed below.

Malayonesian Medical Practices in the 17th Century in Comparison with the European Counterparts: Bontius Observation

Interestingly, Dutch physician, Jacob Bontius, wrote of comprehensive medical practices in Java and other places in the Dutch East Indies territories in 1630. His book was entitled *Tropische Geneeskunde* and published in Amsterdam. The book was obtained by Dr Alinor (a UKM staff at that time) in the 1990s while he was studying in the UK. Recently, it has been studied by one of the author's research assistant, Zahrin (2015). The materials in this section are based on his report. In his book, Bontius stated that the medical knowledge and practices of local physicians (in East Indies) during his service to the Dutch East Indies Company in the 1620s were more advanced than those in Europe. On page 367 of the book, Bontius wondered and lamented to his people (the Europeans), who were ignorant, negligent, and careless in calling the natives (of the East Indies) barbarians, how backward they were in terms of botanical knowledge and the entire economic administration compared to the natives. He gave an example of how the Malays and other Malayonesian natives knew of a tree, which they called *Oubat Matta* (Ubat Mata, literally means medicine for eyes), as a potent medicine for various eye diseases, asthma and lungs diseases with severe coughing. The tree was also used to treat kidney diseases, urinary bladder problems, and gonorrhoea. They also knew how to use particular leaves for the treatment of foot and leg ulcers.

Bontius discussed 19 diseases found in the East Indies (the name referred to the Southeast Asia region in 1500-1945, but referred to here as Malayonesia), 82 types of medicinal floras and 88 types of faunas found in the region. Bontius served as a physician and researcher (in 1628 until his death at the end of 1631), in Jawa, Maluku, and Ambon. He found that these floras and faunas, along with Javanese therapy that were very effective and potent were unknown to European physicians and scholars. The indigenous medical treatments were most effective on orient diseases, which were easily afflicted, such

as dysentery, cholera, spasms, and diseases related to bile (see the introduction of his book). He highly regarded the skill of *bomohs* (traditional Malay doctors), especially female *bomohs*, and indigenous culture, which he opined is generally better than the European culture. Bontius stated that many local medicinal mixtures or *materia medica* were not known to European pharmacists at the time. The mixtures were as sound, if not better than European pharmaceutical products at the time. This opinion is in line with the story found in *Hikayat Aceh*, as discussed in section 11, where Turkish doctors travelled to obtain medicinal herbs in Aceh in the 16th century.

Bontius' book was naturally translated into various European languages, including English. Published in London in 1769, the book carried the title *The Tropical Medicine*. This is another concrete proof of the progressive nature of Malayonesian medical knowledge and in turn, recognising the greatness of the Malay Civilisation. It is never too late for the ITBM (the Malaysian Institute of Translation and Books) to translate the book.

Bontius included many research materials related to medical knowledge since many local names of the floras and faunas in the book are still not known and remain in Latin or native languages or both. For example, Bontius recorded only 10 of the 88 types of faunas in local names, and many of the names have yet to be verified such as *ican cabosh*, and *ican setang*. Some of the animals Bontius did not know of or noted actually have local names, except *Nautilo Pisces* (Latin)/*Nautilus* (English), *Holothuriis* (Latin)/*Holothurries* (English), *Squillis Indicis* (Latin)/*Indian lobster* (English), *Cercopothecos* (Latin)/*Grivets* (English), *Purpurae* (Latin)/*purple snail* (English), *Astaci* (Latin)/*Crawfish* (English).

There are three types of plants not found in Latin, with the local name of one of the plants not known but lengthily described by Bontius. There were 45 medicinal plants with no local names. However, Bontius listed the Latin names and later translated them into English in 1769, using the English translator of the book. An example of a plant without a Latin name is *Wild Fockii* (English)/ *Datura* (native). Meanwhile, plants without both the English and local names are *Frutex Indicus Incognitus* (Latin) and *Gutta Gemou* (native).

The Philosophy of Jawi-Malay Medical Knowledge (Tib And Mujarobat)

Skeat (1965) asserted that the philosophy of Malay Medical knowledge (*tib* and *mujarobat*) is based on animism, and Hindu-Buddhism. Whereas Nornizam (2018a) and Pisol and Nor (2014) emphasized that the fundamentals of Jawi-Malay Medicine philosophy is *wahyu* (revealed knowledge—*al-Qur'an* and *Sunnah*), which is the heritage of Islamic Civilisation. The latter three scholars concentrated on *tib* philosophy found in the second oldest JMMM, a manuscript by al-Raniyriyo (1407 H = 1639 AD b) (discussed in section 5). On the other hand, Skeat, a British scholar, studied Malay folklores and the traditional practices of *bomohs*, *dukuns*, *pawang*s and the likes during his time to establish the influence of Hindu-Buddhism on Malay culture. On the contrary, Haliza (2005) studied *perubatan perbomohan* (medical knowledge of *bomohs*) based on the practices of present day *bomohs* and surprisingly found that the philosophy and the principles of Malay Medicine are all based on Islamic teachings. Nornizam (2018b) discussed the *tib* philosophy based on four JMMM: *Bustan al-Salatdin*, Chapter 7, PNM, MSS 1076, by al-Raniyriyo (1047 H = 1639 M), *al-Rahmah fi Tibb al-Hikmah* by 'Abbas Kutakarang (1853), *Tayyib al-Ihsan ...* by Ahmad al-Fatdaniy (1894), and *Khazinat al-Insan* 1951 by Hakim. The biased selection of such manuscripts naturally led to the conclusion that the philosophy of Malay Medical knowledge is the philosophy of Islamic medicine. Nornizam (2018a) discussed only the Malay-Islamic medical knowledge in his *Bab* (Chapter) 3, even though he discussed the influence of animism and Hindu-Buddhism on the Malay society in earlier *babs* (chapters). Given the historical background of Malay medical knowledge, one could suggest that there is a certain degree of non-Islamic philosophies and practices which influence its development.

After studying the various JMMM stated in the previous sections, it was discovered that the philosophy of the knowledge in the JMMM is not as purely Islamic or purely un-Islamic as described in the paragraph above. First of all, the manuscript by al-Raniyriyo is a translation or an adaptation from the Arabic medical knowledge during the Islamic Civilisation. Thus, it is not the product of the Malayonesian Civilisation. Qayyum *et al.* (2020) tried to present the *tib* philosophy in a more

comprehensive manner by asserting that the nature of Malayonesian Malay medical knowledge is “the need for the physical need, emotional and spiritual needs”. He quoted a passage from al-Raniyriy_o (1047 H=1638/39 AD) and a study by Norhissam (2015), which are not based on specific manuscripts, and Nornizam (2018a).

Previous studies by local scholars mentioned above only aimed towards establishing the presence of Islamic philosophy in the JMMM. Some conclusions were unsubstantiated and overstated such as by saying that “The Malay medicine is inherently perfect and holistic, and having a perfect and absolute source of references, i.e. *Al-Quran, As-Sunnah, Ijmak* and *Qias* besides books of *tib* produced by *ulama’* and great religious man sometimes ago”. (A translation of a statement in the conclusion of the article by Qayyum *et al.*, 2020)

Harun (2006 in his new ed. 2019, pp. 21-23), in his “Philosophy of knowledge and Malay Medical Practices”, even produced a list of 10 subjects on “philosophy and belief of all *tabibs*”, which he says is based on teens JMMM (discussed in section 8). However, he has not only overgeneralised the aspects of epistemology, but also made a self-contradictory statement regarding the role of Allah and Satan in Malay medical knowledge. Furthermore, his concentrated only on *tabib* ethics. His conclusion contradicted his list of 10 subjects on philosophy, similar to all the writers mentioned above, by saying that “The traditional Malay medical philosophy always hold to the fact that Allah implements everything, man only chose (*berikhtiar*) to handle what is given by Allah. And for that aim, a man, in particular, a *tabib*, must complete himself with knowledge related to disease, treatment and medicines for curing or healing any disease and sickness.” (Harun, 2006, new ed. 2019).

It was noted that the implicit philosophy in JMMM in the aspect of the philosophy of knowledge, i.e., the nature of knowledge, epistemology, ontology and axiology, fall between the two extremes: non-Islamic and Islamic philosophy. These have been discussed by Shaharir (2021a), including epistemology aspects (tawhidism, authoritarianism, dreamism and Islamisation), and the nature of the knowledge (metaphysicism, mysticism, nondeterminism, sacralism, and hambawanism). This research studied the extent the writers in JMMM had internalised all Islamic methods in obtaining knowledge, as described in ‘*Aqa’id al-Nasafi* (al-Attas 1988), and compared it with similar methods practised during the Islamic Civilisation by highlighting their differences based on Nasr (1964).

Therefore, only one nature of knowledge, angkawidyawanism and two types of epistemologies known as *ilham* (inspiration) and self-moulding knowledge are discussed here (below).

Angkawidyawanism

The philosophical terminology, angkawidyawanism, means a belief in knowledge based on numerals. The nature of this belief is more general than numerologism and number mysticism, which are discussed in Shaharir (2021a). It includes the belief of the role of numerals in *Taj al-Muluk* and all healing and curing nature using numerals and predictions, which involve numerals in *Lawh al-Hayat*, and *Lawh al-Mamat* as discussed in *Taj al-Muluk*.

Firstly, an adoption of the *jumal* system of numerals typically used in Arabic astronomy (*‘ilm al-falak* and *hay’ah*) and specific pages of a book, i.e. one is denoted by the first Arabic alphabet \aleph , two by \beth , (See Shaharir 1987/2020 for a complete list of these numerals). These were used in various mystical and spiritual healing methods in *Taj al-Muluk*. Secondly, a belief that the mystical values of numerals or alphabets are arranged in a square, such that the sum of them horizontally, vertically, and diagonally are the same (the magic squares). A famous is the total of fifteen below; and used as an emulate (*azimat*):

٤	٩	٢
٣	٥	٧
٨	١	٦

This was found in *Petua Padi* and is discussed in section 10. Al-Ghazaliy_o/al-Ghazali (1966; pp. 50) discussed in his famous book, *al-Munqidh min al-Dhalalahd*, the magic squares, together with an arrangement of Arabic alphabets in a square as follows:

د	ط	ب
ج*	ه	**ز
ح	ا	و

Notes: * = originally ح = **; originally ز, both are assumed to be typographical errors

Both figures were used as emulates for the ease of giving birth. In principal, the use of both of these emulates (*‘azimats*), together with the belief of horoscope (*rasi* or *thali’* were regarded as *harus*, as mentioned by e-fatwa issued by the Mufti Wilayah, but can also lead to *haram* if they contain *shirk*, such as worshipping *jinn* and *shaytan* (Mufti of Federal Territory, Malaysia, 2018). The second figure above is not a magic square of the *jumal* numeral system but a mystical arrangement. In *Taj al-Muluk*, there are more than ten figures like this, such as the following arrangement:

٤	٢	٤
٢	٨	١
٤	٢	٨

It was believed to be an emulate for preventing the destruction of farms by all animals. Again, this is not a magic square.

Many emulates, predictions, inferences and premonitions (*firasat*) were based on a calculation of these numerals or numbers, excluding the above examples, can be found in *Taj al-Muluk*. These were used for medical purposes known as *“berbuang baris”* (determining the compatibility of future husband-wife) (pp. 61), the chapter on numeral *‘azimat* (pp. 96), and medical purpose via *“buang celaka/malang”* (pp. 121). Moreover, a calculation on numbers that corresponded to the names of people competing were used to determine the winning or losing side. This is also a part of a mystical practice known as *ghalib dan maghlub*. Examples are given in the Internet G-M.

Ilham (Inspiration)

Ilham or Inspiration is the sudden arrival of an idea or opinion in our hearts. Usually this happens when there is self-reflection on something of deep interest, and usually happens at a lonely and serene place without any disturbances. It is different from intuition which comes spontaneously anywhere. Inspiration is usually associated with literary figures, but this has found to be untrue; inspiration occurs to workers, writers, and scholars all the time. Hamka (1965/1984, pp. 147), in his interpretation of *Surah al-An’am* (*Surah* 6), *ayat* 7-9, described the ability to achieve *Ilham* “by cleaning of nafs or soul and emptying *sarirah* (inner soul) from the influence of others and by accumulating good deeds” (*“dengan membersihkan jiwa dan mengosongkan sarirah (kebatinan) dari pengaruh yang lain dan dengan memperbanyakkan amalan yang baik”*). He claimed this could “raise the soul” of a potential receiver of *ilham* “to a higher level, nearing the World of Angels”. Hamka emphasised that the giver of *Ilham* is an angel. He continued that the angel will come down to give assistance to those who verbally and heartily admit that his/her God is Allah and holds firmly to that stand and conviction, as stated in *Surah Haamim Sajadah* (*Surah* 41), *ayat* 30.

Every original writer of a manuscript in any field, and without exception in the JMMM, must have been directed by some *ilham*. Examples are Syaykh Syafiyuddin al-'Abbasi in the early 15th century for *Siya-Siya Berguna*, Haji Zainal 'Abidin 1824 for = *Kitab Tib Leiden*, Ibrahim bin Muhammad Fabian 1829 for *Kitab Tib*, 'Abbas Kutakarang 1853 for *Kitab al-Rahmah*, Ahmad al-Fatdaniy^o 1894 for *Kitab Tdaiyyub al-Ihsan*, and a nameless author in collaboration with Syaykh 'Abd al-Rahman 1795 for *Tib [and] Azimat*.

Construction of Knowledge in Our Mould

Construction of knowledge in our own mould (*Penswacuan ilmu*) is an extension of Islamisation of knowledge (al-Faruqi 1982), indigenisation of knowledge or *pemeribumian ilmu* (Shaharir 1995), and ethnocisation of knowledge or *pengetnoilmuan* (Shaharir 2000, 2015a, 2021b). It is the activity of criticising foreign knowledge (especially modern knowledge, i.e., the Western knowledge) from the perspective of another culture (language, religion or ideological system of belief, and heritage of knowledge). It means to innovate or even construct new knowledge that is more compatible with his/her own culture compared to the present knowledge (Shaharir, 2012a, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020a).

Jawi-Malay knowledge is a product of the Islamisation, ethnocisation and indigenisation of knowledge from Indian culture (Hindu-Buddhism), such as the medical knowledge written in *Taj al-Muluk* and *Tib Azimat*, as discussed in the sections above. In short, Jawi-Malay manuscripts are the product of self-moulding knowledge, i.e., the Malayonesian-mould knowledge. The construction of knowledge can be seen from the use of both pre-Islamic and Islamic medicinal materials and the presence of spiritual and mystical medical treatments through prayers and supplications, incantations and mantras and emulates generically categorised as *angkawidyawanism*, as discussed in Section 2.13.1. The self-moulding knowledge from the Hindu-Buddha knowledge was not fully achieved. Going forward, researching on present-day knowledge would be a challenging subject.

Conclusions

This research reviewed the etymology of the Malay words *obat/ubat* and *perubatan* for medicine and medical, respectively, as well as their relation to the earlier words, *tib* and *mujarobat*. It has been shown that Malay medical knowledge before Islam was known as *sikitawidya*. However, since the 15th century, the Arabic name *tib* dan *mujarobat* were adopted for medical subject, which later became *perubatan*. The pure *tib* manuscript found thus far was written by al-Raniriy^o in 1638, entitled *Pada Menyatakan 'Ilmu Tashrih dan 'Ilmu Tdib*. Meanwhile, the only manuscript on *mujarobat* found so far is *Mujarabat Melayu*, written by Ahmad al-Diyar in 1882. These two manuscripts have provided the exact definitions of *tib* and medical *mujarobat*. A *tib* manuscript contains only medical treatments using floras and faunas and related medical products, whereas medical *mujarobat* manuscript contains a mixture of *tib* and spiritual healings (*doas*, *manteras*, *azimat*, *wafaq* and alike). Next found were two manuscripts randomly selected from a group of manuscripts categorised by the PNM as Prediction (*Ramalan*) but actually belonging to JMMM. Since this category of manuscripts constituted the biggest number of Malay manuscripts, it is concluded that the JMMM makes up the largest number of Malay manuscripts. Prior to this, the JMMM was believed to be the third largest number of Malay manuscripts. It has also been established that the JMMM were heavily influenced by Islamic medical knowledge and almost all pre-Islamic Malay medical knowledge had undergone Islamisation. The oldest JMMM was written in the 15th century by an 'Ulama' of Arabic descent and as such, naturally contained some Arabic medical knowledge. Even the oldest JMMM, written in the 18th century by an indigenous traditional Malay doctor, *Bomoh Besar*, Syaykh 'Abd al-Rahman, contained many methods of Islamic spiritual healing.

Almost all JMMM have been studied in this research. Many diseases have been highlighted, out of which more than 60 diseases were explained by Harun (2006 and its Rev. ed. 2019), though a few remain unknown. It was found that the treatments used floras and faunas or spiritual methods or both. To our knowledge, many medicinal floras and faunas were found to be unidentifiable as they are not listed in the Big Three Malay Dictionaries, the Glossary by Harun and also not available in authoritative sources on knowledge of Malayonesian floras and faunas mentioned earlier.

This paper has shown that the Jawi-Malay medical manuscript is earlier than in the medical English writing during the Middle English period (the late fifteen to the 17th century AD), and in the Old English period, the Old Malay medical writing in *Pallawa* and *Rencong* (not *Jawi*) characters were also had existed much earlier than the 9th century AD. This research has established that the Malay or, more generally known as Malayonesian Medical knowledge was internationally recognised between the 15th to early 20th centuries. It was not only known in Thailand (Siam then), Mainland China, and Turkey (the 'Uthmaniyah Kingdom then) but also in the Europe, as evidenced by the book written by the Dutch physician and scholar, Bontius in 1630. The book was written during his service in The Dutch East Indies Company and was soon translated into various European languages in the 17th-18th century. Other proof of the international standing of the Malay medical knowledge is a translation of a JMMM in 1886, published by the British Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. In our view, this research has also demonstrated that the philosophy of the Jawi-Malay Medical knowledge is not fully compatible with the Islamic philosophy of knowledge as claimed by many scholars before. It is also not true that the philosophy of Malay medical knowledge is Hindu-Buddhism, as claimed by many Western scholars earlier.

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