

Intellectual Discourse

Volume 28

Number 1

2020



International Islamic University Malaysia
<http://journals.iium.edu.my/intdiscourse/index.php/islam>

Intellectual Discourse

Volume 28

Number 1

2020

Editor

Ishtiaq Hossain (Malaysia)

Associate Editors

Anke Iman Bouzenita (Oman)
Khairil Izamin Ahmad (Malaysia)
Saodah Wok (Malaysia)

Book Review Editor

Mohd. Helmi Bin Mohd Sobri

Editorial Board

Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu (Nigeria)

Badri Najib Zubir (Malaysia)

Daniel J. Christie (USA)

Habibul H. Khondker (UAE)

Hazizan Md. Noon (Malaysia)

Hussain Mutalib (Singapore)

Ibrahim M. Zein (Qatar)

James D. Frankel (China)

Kenneth Christie (Canada)

Nor Faridah Abdul Manaf (Malaysia)

Rahmah Bt Ahmad H. Osman
(Malaysia)

Serdar Demirel (Turkey)

Syed Farid Alatas (Singapore)

Thameem Ushama (Malaysia)

International Advisory Board

Anis Malik Thoha (Indonesia)

Chandra Muzaffar (Malaysia)

Fahimul Quadir (Canada)

Habib Zafarullah (Australia)

John O. Voll (USA)

Muhammad al-Ghazali (Pakistan)

Muhammad K. Khalifa (Qatar)

Redzuan Othman (Malaysia)

Founding Editor

Afar Afaq Ansari (USA)

Intellectual Discourse is a highly respected, academic refereed journal of the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). It is published twice a year by the IIUM Press, IIUM, and contains reflections, articles, research notes and review articles representing the disciplines, methods and viewpoints of the Muslim world.

Intellectual Discourse is abstracted in *SCOPUS*, *ProQuest*, *International Political Science Abstracts*, *Peace Research Abstracts Journal*, *Muslim World Book Review*, *Bibliography of Asian Studies*, *Index Islamicus*, *Religious and Theological Abstracts*, *ATLA Religion Database*, *MyCite*, *ISC* and *EBSCO*.

ISSN 0128-4878 (Print); ISSN 2289-5639 (Online)

<http://journals.iium.edu.my/intdiscourse/index.php/islam>

Email: intdiscourse@iium.edu.my; intdiscourse@yahoo.com

Published by:

IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia

P.O. Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Phone (+603) 6196-5014, Fax: (+603) 6196-6298

Website: <http://iiumpress.iium.edu.my/bookshop>

Intellectual Discourse
Vol. 28, No. 1, 2020

Contents

Editorial

Ishtiaq Hossain 1

Pathways of Becoming Political Party Activists:
The Experiences From Malay-Muslim Grassroots Party Activists
*Wan Rohila A. Ganti Bt. Wan Abdul Ghapar &
Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid* 5

Mediation and Interreligious Discourse: Prospects and
Challenges in Resolving Interreligious Skirmishes in Malaysia
Haslina Ibrahim & Ainul Jaria bt. Maidin 35

Examining the Role of ‘Ulama in the
Islamization Process of the Malay World
Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil & Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor 61

Role of Judaism, Christianity and Islam
in Promoting Human Values in the Strife-Torn World
Israr Ahmad Khan 77

Mathematics Anxiety and Performance among College Students:
Effectiveness of Systematic Desensitization Treatment
Najihah Akeb-urai, Nor Ba’ Yah Abdul Kadir & Rohany Nasir 99

Faith and Practice: Islamic Perspectives on Robert Browning
Rehnuma Bint Anis & Md. Mahmudul Hasan 129

Syariah Criminal Law Enforcement in
Hisbah Framework: Practice In Malaysia
*Alias Azhar, Muhammad Hafiz Badarulzaman,
Fidlizan Muhammad & Siti Zamarina Mat Zaib* 149

Imperialism, Colonialism and their Contribution to the Formation of Malay and Chinese Ethnicity: An Historical Analysis <i>Khauthar Ismail</i>	171
Removal of Despotic Political Regime: The Abū Dharr's Legacy and Its Legitimacy <i>Mohd. Shah Jani & Raudlotul Firdaus binti Fatah Yasin</i>	195
Nigeria's Foreign Policy Goals in Peacekeeping Operations in Africa <i>Sani Safiyanu, Roy Anthony Rogers, Wan Sharina Ramlah Wan Ahmad & Amin Jaffri</i>	215
Ecological Modernization in Malaysia: A Review of Pakatan Harapan's Manifesto During the 14th General Election Within the Context of Ecological Modernization Framework <i>Noor Asyhikin Binti Abd Razak & Nor Azlin Binti Tajuddin</i>	241
Education for the Production and Re-Production of Docile Civic Bodies: The Problems of Civic Education in Thailand <i>Siwach Sripokangkul</i>	261
Revisiting Southeast Asian Civil Islam: Moderate Muslims and Indonesia's Democracy Paradox <i>M. Khusna Amal</i>	295
Conceptualizing Islamic Ethics for Contemporary Muslim Societies <i>Fethi B. Jomaa Ahmed</i>	319
<i>Book Reviews</i> States of Separation. Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East. By Laura Robson. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2017, pp. 247. ISBN 9785229215427 Reviewer: <i>Kaoutar Guediri</i>	345

Our Constitution. By Shad Saleem Faruqi. Subang Jaya,
Malaysia: Sweet & Maxwell, 2019, pp. 425.
ISBN 9789672187059 (paperback).
Reviewer: *Ramizah Wan Muhammad*

349

Metodologi Penyelidikan Dalam Pendidikan:
Amalan dan Analisis Kajian. By Ghazali Darusalam &
Sufean Hussin. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2019,
pp. 630. ISBN: 978-967-488-009-5.
Reviewer: *Khairil Husaini Bin Jamil*

353

Examining the Role of ‘ulamā in the Islamization Process of the Malay World

Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil*

Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor**

Abstract: This article analyses the roles of ‘ulamā’ in propagating the message of Islam in the Malay world. Islam managed to reach many corners of the Malay world in the 17th century. Evidence has indicated that ‘ulamā’ were among those who had participated actively in propagating the messages of Islam to the local people. Classical Malay texts served as the best available records to understand the roles of these ‘ulamā’ at that time. Hence, analysis are made on selected classical Malay texts in order to understand the actual roles played by the ‘ulamā’ in the Malay world at that time in transforming the understanding of the local Malay people from the beliefs in Hindu-Buddhist and animism to Islam. Three significant roles of the ‘ulamā’ at that time have been identified namely propagating knowledge to the local people, religious advisors to the rulers as well as engaging with the non-Muslims.

Keywords: Islam, ‘Ulamā’, Islamization, Malay world, Malay texts

Abstrak:

Artikel ini mengkaji peranan para ulama di dalam menyebarkan kefahaman Islam di Alam Melayu. Pada kurun ke-17, agama Islam telah disebarkan ke pelbagai pelosok Alam Melayu. Bukti-bukti yang ada telah menunjukkan usaha terus menerus para ulama di dalam usaha menyebarkan agama Islam

* Assistant Professor, the Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion, and Deputy Dean (Student Development and Community Engagement), Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). Email: mohdnoh@iium.edu.my

** Professor and Head, Department of Islamic History & Civilization, Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, Email: m_roslan@um.edu.my

kepada penduduk tempatan. Bukti bertulis daripada teks-teks klasik Melayu ini telah banyak membantu untuk memahami lebih lanjut mengenai peranan ulama pada masa tersebut. Oleh yang demikian, kajian ini menjalankan analisa ke atas sebahagian teks-teks klasik Melayu yang terpilih bagi memahami peranan sebenar yang dimainkan oleh para ulama di dalam mengubah kefahaman penduduk tempatan daripada kepercayaan berkaitan Hindu-Buddha dan animisme kepada Islam. Kajian ini telah mengetengahkan tiga peranan penting para ulama pada masa tersebut iaitu sebagai bertindak sebagai penyebar ilmu pengetahuan kepada masyarakat setempat, penasihat agama kepada para pemerintah dan juga penghubung dengan masyarakat bukan Islam.

Kata kunci: Islam, ‘Ulamā’, Islamisasi, dunia Melayu, teks Melayu

Introduction

When Islam was introduced into the Malay world in the 13th Century, it came right into the lap of the Hindu-Buddhist environment. As such, the focus and concern of the early *dā’ī* and ‘*ulamā*’ were to address the prevailing Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and practices, and to translate Islam to a mindset that was completely different from that of Islam. It is enlightening to note that in general, these early *dā’ī* and ‘*ulamā*’ were sensitive to the people’s beliefs and feelings, as seen in the wise — and even gentle — approaches that they applied in spreading and promoting Islam to the locals. Thus, as history shows, Islam spread steadily and peacefully in the Malay world; a tradition that continues until today.

From the voluminous and rich works of Muslim scholars on faith related matters, it is obvious that they were concerned with the faith of the Muslims of their time. Based on evidence from selected 17th century Malay texts, the roles of the ‘*ulamā*’ then were mainly three-fold, namely: (1) to propagate and teach the correct knowledge of Islam; (2) to act as the custodians of the religion and of the faith of the Ummah; and (3) to address and confront teachings of other religions that confused and challenged the Ummah. To carry out the first role they became teachers and prolific writers; for the second they became officers and advisers to the rulers and socio-political authorities of the time; and for the third they conducted comparative studies on theologies and doctrines and came up with discursive works on other religions. Evidence for these roles is gathered from selected 17th Century Malay texts. In this article, all original quotations from the Malay texts are

included together with its English translation. The translations are the author’s.

Propagation of Knowledge

As stated above, one of the major roles of the ‘*ulamā*’ in this region, if not the very main role, was to propagate and teach Islam. Not only was their role to teach Islam to Muslims in the region but they also perceived themselves, and likewise were perceived by the Muslims, as custodians of Islam and the authority over the religion. Such was their status and the respect given to them that even the rulers stood humble in front of their authority, like a student to a teacher.

The 17th Century Malay text, *Sejarah Melayu*, narrates some examples of the earlier centuries on this type of relationship between some Sultāns of Malacca and the ‘*ulamā*’. Not only did the ‘*ulamā*’ go to the palace to teach the Sultān about Islam, but the Sultān too went to the ‘*ulamā*’ to learn about the religion from them. Accounts on these are illustrated in the *Sejarah Melayu*. One of these accounts is the grand welcome given by Sultān Manṣūr Shāh of Malacca (1458-1477) to Maulānā Abū Bakar, for carrying a book on Islamic theology entitled *Dūrr al-Manzūm* which the Maulānā had brought with him from his travels. The type of reception the Maulānā received from the Sultān illustrates the respect and warmth the palace had for the scholars of Islam during this period.

After that, Maulānā Abū Bakar descended from the ship with a copy of the book “Dūrr Manzūm”. His arrival in Melaka was warmly honored by Sultān Manṣūr Shāh. He was carried in procession to the palace’s court. And so Sultān Manṣūr Shāh studied with Maulānā Abū Bakar. Maulānā Abū Bakar praised the Sultan for his intelligence and Sultān Manṣūr Shāh gained a lot of knowledge from Maulānā Abu Bakar. Consequently, Sultān Manṣūr Shāh ordered for the translation of the “Dūrr Manzūm” into the Pasai language (Muhammad Haji Salleh 1997, 120).

Setelah itu Maulana Abu Bakar turun dari atas kapal membawa kitab Durr Manzum. Setelah datang ke Melaka maka sangat dipermulia oleh Sultan Mansur Syah. Maka disuruh baginda arak lalu ke balai. Maka Sultan Mansur Syah pun berguru pada Maulana Abu Bakar. Maka Maulana Abu Bakar akan Sultan Mansur Syah sangat dipujinya,

terlalu terang hati baginda, banyaklah 'ilmu diperolehah baginda. Maka Sultan Masur Syah Durr Manzum itu disuruh ertikan ke Pasai....

Another Sultān of Malacca, Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh (1488-1511), also learned from an 'ālim who most probably was of Indian origin, but had come all the way from Jeddah, Arabia. His son, Raja Aḥmad also studied under the guidance of this *shaykh*.

A ship from the West docked at Melaka. On the ship was a learned man, whose name is Maulānā Sadar Jahan, a very pious person. Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh studied with him and asked his son, Prince Raja Aḥmad to study under him too (Muhammad Haji Salleh 1997, 191).

Arkian maka turun sebuah kapal dari atas angin ke Melaka. Dalam kapal itu ada seorang pendita, Maulana Sadar Jahan namanya, terlalu alim. Sultan Mahmud Syah pun berguru kepada Maulana Sadar Jahan dan anakanda baginda Raja Ahmad (pun disuruh) baginda mengaji....

Another outstanding example that highlights the type of relationship between the two authorities is best described by the following incident recorded in *Sejarah Melayu*:

Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh went to Maulānā Yūsuf's house riding an elephant, accompanied by (all) his entourage. Once Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh reached the gate of Maulānā Yūsuf's house, his officer told the guard of Maulānā Yūsuf, 'Inform Maulānā Yūsuf that the Ruler, His Majesty Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh, has come.'

The guard then informed Maulānā Yūsuf of this. Maulānā Yūsuf responded by saying, 'Close the door. Why should Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh come to the house of a humble man?'

This response of Maulānā Yūsuf was conveyed by the guard to Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh. So the Sultan returned to his palace. When night fall came, he instructed all his officers to go home. When no one was around, Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh went out with only one officer. He himself carried the book.

Once Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh reached the gate of Maulana Yusuf's house, he told the guard at Maulānā Yūsuf's door.

‘Tell Maulānā Yūsuf’ and he went on to say, ‘Mahmud the humble is coming.’

The door was then opened because only the humble comes to another humble man’s house. Maulānā Yūsuf immediately went out to receive Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh and invited the Sultān to sit beside him. And so Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh began his learning with Maulānā Yūsuf (Muhammad Haji Salleh 1997, 161).

Maka Sultan Mahmud Syah pun pergilah bergajah ke rumah Maulana Yusuf, diiringkan oleh segala hamba raja. Setelah datang ke luar pagar Maulana Yusuf, maka kata hamba raja pada orang tunggu pintu Maulana Yusuf, “Beritahu Maulana Yusuf, Yang Dipertuan, Sultan Mahmud Syah, datang.”

Maka diberi orang tahu Maulana Yusuf. Maka kata Maulana Yusuf, “Tutup pintu. Apa kerja Sultan Mahmud Syah datang ke rumah fakir?”

Maka segala kata Maulana Yusuf itu semuanya dipersembahkan orang kepada Sultan Mahmud Syah. Maka baginda pun kembalilah ke istana baginda. Setelah hari malam maka hamba raja disuruh baginda pulang. Setelah sunyi maka Sultan Mahmud Syah pun pergi dua berbudak. Kita(b)nya baginda sendiri membawa dia.

Setelah datang di luar pintu Maulana Yusuf maka titah baginda pada orang tunggu pintu Maulana Yusuf. “Beritahu Maulana Yusuf”, maka titah baginda pada orang, “Fakir Mahmud datang.”

Maka dibukanya pintu karena fakir patutlah datang ke rumah sama fakir. Maka Maulana Yusuf segeralah keluar lalu Sultan Mahmud Syah (di)bawanya naik duduk. Maka Sultan Mahmud Syah pun mengajilah pada Maulana Yusuf.”

This is truly an outstanding example showing the nature of the relationship between ‘ulamā’ and the Muslim rulers during the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. Since Islam teaches equality between people, Maulānā Yūsuf therewith manifested this Islamic concept in his relationship vis-à-vis the Sultān. The Maulānā was very steadfast in upholding his religion. Indirectly he was telling the ruler that the ruler should be humble in his relationship with scholars. Parading his position and authority when coming to the Maulānā’s house to seek

knowledge, was seen as inappropriate by the Maulānā. Only when the ruler changed his attitude towards the Maulānā and showed humility as a good Muslim, was the Sultān accepted to learn from him as his student.

This story also indicates that at that time the *'ulamā'* did not want so close an association with political authorities, perhaps so as to be independent so that they would be able to carry out their responsibility as custodians of the religion without biases and favors. The Muslim *'ulamā'* presented their own religious opinions based on the contents of the Islamic scripture, the Holy Qur'ān, as well as their interpretation of the sayings of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH), i.e., the *Hadīth*. They saw their role as guiding people with the teachings of Islam. People were free to either accept or reject their opinions. If these opinions were seen as incompatible with the position of the palace, most of the time the ruler would ignore them, but there were also times when the rulers dismissed the *'ulamā'* from their positions.

Religious Advisors

The early Malay texts provide evidences of a pragmatic relationship between *'ulamā'* and political leaders during the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. The early *'ulamā'* in the archipelago adopted different positions vis-à-vis the royal palace. Some of them decided to join the palace and work with the rulers directly and officially, while the majority preferred to stay away from the centre of political power and lived outside the royal ambiance to be with the people. Both were accepted forms of relationships in the eyes of the early Malays since they did not breach any Malay traditions or those of Islam.

However, there were also other instances where *'ulamā'* did associate themselves with the royal palace and became the official advisors to the Sultān, holding official posts, in particular, as the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Grand Mufti). Among these were Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā'ī (d. 1640), Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1666) and 'Abdul Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d.1693). They all served with the Sultān of Aceh.

Bustān al-Salāṭīn, which was composed by al-Rānīrī in Aceh during the reign of Sultān Iskandar Thānī in the first half of the 17th Century, provides evidence of this relationship during the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago.

Wa ba‘du dhālika, fī sab‘ata ‘shara min Syahir Syawwal. And after that, on 17th of Syawwal, I was commanded – a commandment that could not be refused – by his Majesty the most respected, most wise and generous, who has the highest sovereignty, Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī ‘Alāuddīn Mughāyah Syah Johan Berdaulat ḡillu ‘l-Lahi fī ‘l-‘Élam, lazdāda daulatuhu ayyāman mas‘ūdan wa tala ḡilluhu fī ‘l-āfāqi mamdud. May happiness always be with him and may his reign be long and powerful across all the states, to write a book in the Jawi language which is to consist of all the terms of all existences in the seven heavens and the seven worlds (Wa ṡirātu ‘l-salāṡīni ‘l-awwalĒna wa ‘l-akhirĒn) and also on the histories of the ancient and the later kings (Jelani Harun (ed.) 2004, 2-3).

Wa ba‘du dhālika, fī sab‘ata ‘shara min Syahir Syawwal. Dan kemudian dari itu pada tujuh belas hari bulan Syawwal, maka dititahkan yang Maha Mulia fakir dengan titah yang tiada dapat tiada menjunjung dia sultan mu‘azzam yang hafan lagi murah, yang pertama besar martabat izzatnya, iaitu Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī ‘Alāuddīn Mughāyah Syah Johan Berdaulat ḡillu ‘l-Lahi fī ‘l-‘alami, lazdāda daulatuhu ayyāman mas‘ūdan wa tala ḡilluhu fī ‘l-āfāqi mamduda.. Sentiasalah beroleh bahagiannya dan lanjut naungnya pada segala pihak negerinya, bahawa membahasakan suatu kitab dengan bahasa jawi padahal mengandung perkataan segala yang mendiami tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi. Wa ṡirātu ‘l-salāṡīni ‘l-awwalina wa ‘l-akhirin. Dan menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang dahulu dan kemudian.

The above narration shows that al-Rānīrī was instructed by the Sulṭān to compose a book in Malay (*Jawi*) about this world as well as the Hereafter. This book, which was later given the title *Bustān al-Salāṡīn*, therefore discusses the origins of the worlds, issues of the Hereafter, as well as the history of many Muslim rulers – among them the history of the Acehese rulers since 1516 and their kingdom. The scholar explained that he followed dedicatedly the instructions of the Sultan:

And I humbly fulfilled the command of his Majesty whereas I have little knowledge and little understanding of the Jawi Language, but put my trust in Allah the Creator of all universe (Jelani Harun (ed.) 2004, 3).

Maka dijunjung fakir titah yang Maha Mulia serta singkat pengetahuannya lagi kurang fahamnya pada basa jawi, padahal berpegang ia kepada Tuhan yang menjadikan seru sekalian alam.

Apart from advising the Sultān on matters related to religion, the *Shaykh al-Islām* was also expected to perform other tasks within his expertise. In this case, al-Rānīrī as the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Aceh was instructed to compose a book on the code of conduct for the ruler and also for the subjects. Similarly, al-Rānīrī had to write for Seri Sultān Tāj ‘Ālam Sultānah Ṣafīyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675), the first female ruler of the state of Aceh and the successor to Sultan Iskandar Thānī. Al-Rānīrī was instructed to explain in writing to the people of Aceh the decisions made by him against the followers of the *Wujūdiyyah* movement. This treatise became his book *Tibyān fī Ma‘rifat al-Adyān* (Al-Attas, (1986).

Besides writing specifically under the orders of the Malay rulers, al-Rānīrī also wrote other works on Islam throughout his tenure as the highest religious authority in Aceh. Among his works were *Ṣīrāt al-Mustaqīm*, *Durrat al-Farāīḍ bi Sharh al-‘Aqāid*, *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li daf‘ al-Zindīq*, *Hidāyah al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb* and *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma‘rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān*. His knowledge and ability as a prolific writer can be seen from these titles, which are not confined to a specific branch of knowledge in Islam, but are quite encyclopaedic in nature, covering such subjects as Islamic Jurisprudence, Islamic theology, Islamic Mysticism and *Ḥadīth*.

Al-Rānīrī’s acceptance of the position of official religious advisor to the Sultān, i.e. as *Shaykh al-Islām*, was not an office which sat easy with every ‘*ulamā*’ in the Malay Archipelago at that time. In fact, he represented a minority of early ‘*ulamā*’ in the Malay Archipelago who had associations with the palace; many others, however, decided to distant themselves from political authorities. Among those standing apart were Ḥamzah Fansūrī (d.1500 c.a), ‘Abdul Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d.1790 c.a.) and Muhammad Arsyād al-Banjārī (d.1812), whose writings had great influence on the Malays, even until today, and who represent the important legacy of early Malay Muslim scholarship in the archipelago. This class of ‘*ulamā*’ felt that they ought to impart proper Islamic knowledge to the *ummat*. They preferred not to have a formal relationship with the palace for this gave them greater freedom in

expressing their thoughts and acting in accordance with their conscience as Muslims.

Confronting Other Religions

The above expositions demonstrate just how serious the 17th century ‘ulamā’ were in carrying out their roles and responsibilities towards the Ummah, both at the level of the masses as well as at the level of political authority. The works discussed above were aimed at inculcating the correct Islamic faith through the proper knowledge of Islam, and these came in the form of discourses on *tawhīd*, *fiqh* and *taṣawwūf*, among others. But there were also comparative discourses where the ‘ulamā’ compared the Islamic belief with that of other religions. Although such discourses were generally found in books on Islam, there were, however, ‘ulamā’ who also wrote specifically on religions other than Islam, writing on the theologies, scriptures, doctrines, sects, etc. of these religions. The ultimate objectives of such works were, on the one hand, to prove and enhance the truthfulness and genuineness of Islam and its message, and on the other hand, to prove the falsity and misconceptions of the other religions. The religions singled out most for comparative discourses were Christianity and Judaism, the reasons being that these two religions share the same history with Islam, differing only at the level of the ‘aqāid, namely the theology, doctrines, rituals and scriptures. A subject that was given a lot of attention by the 17th Century Malay scholars was the Hereafter, in particular, as precautions for Muslims not to be deviated from their faith on their deathbed. Three well known books give accounts of this, namely the *Lūbb al-Kasyf* by al-Sinkīlī (P. Voorhoeve 1952), the *Tibyān* by al-Rānīrī (P. Voorhoeve, 1955) and the *Hikayat Seribu Masalah* (Edrwar Djamaris, 1994.).

Hikayat Seribu Masalah discusses Islam’s position on eschatological issues vis-à-vis the positions of Jews, Christians and others. For example, there is an account of a dialogue between a Jewish rabbi ‘Abdullah bin Salām before he became a Muslim with Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH).

‘So, say to him, O Muhammad, say, do those who enter paradise, is it because of their good deeds?’ Rasulallah then answered, ‘O Abdullah, they did not enter the Paradise because of their good deeds. Only those who say that “There is no God but Allah and Prophet Muhammad is His Messenger” will go to Paradise and not because of their good

deeds. If the Jews and Christians say these two phrases, or even the idol worshippers, if they enter Islam, Paradise is for them.’ ‘Abdullah responded, ‘True, O Rasulullah’. ‘Say O Muhammad, all Jews and Christians and worshippers of fire, idols and trees – they are all unbelievers’. ‘Abdullah then said, ‘True, O Rasulullah’ (Edrwar Djamaris 1994, 24).

Katakanlah, ya Muhammad segala Islam yang masuk syurga itu dengan kebaktiannyakah? Maka sabda Rasulullah, ‘Hai ‘Abdullah segala orang yang masuk syurga tiada dengan kebak(ti)an. Barang siapa menyebut la ilaha illa ‘l-Lah Muḥammad Rasulullah itulah yang beroleh syurga tiada dengan kebak(ti)an. Jikalau Yahūdi dan Naṣrānī sekali pun jika ia menyebut dua kalimat itu atau orang yang menyembah berhala sekali pun jika ia masuk Islam, syurga baginya.’ Maka kata ‘Abdullah, ‘Sidiq ya Rasulullah.

Katakanlah, ya Muhammad, segala Yahūdī dan Naṣrānī dan segala orang menyembah api dan orang menyembah berhala dan orang yang menyembah pohon kayu sekalianya itu kafir. Maka kata Abdullah, Sidiq, ya Rasulullah.

This exchange indicates that the reward for Paradise in the Hereafter is granted to those who utter the *Shahādah* (Islamic creed), not due to their good deeds. Another dialogue was on how Paradise looks like:

‘Say O Muḥammad, which place is similar to Paradise?’ Rasulullah answered, ‘Places similar to Paradise is the Andikini Hill in the western Arab land, second the Qāf Hill, third, the Anan Hill in the foreign land, and fourthly a place named Kabirhurasan.’ ‘Abdullah then said, ‘True, O Rasulullah’ (Edrwar Djamaris 1994, 58).

‘Abdullah bin Salām continued asking the Prophet (PBUH) about the dimension of Bukit Qāf and the journey to this place, and if this length of time pertains to Muslims only or to the non-believers as well. The Prophet (PBUH) responded, “O ‘Abdullah, it is the fifty year journey for all the Jews and Christians and Majūsi who worship the sun and worship cows, for they are all the dwellers of Hell” (Edrwar Djamaris 1994, 57).

‘Abdullah bin Salām also enquired about the Hereafter and the dwellers of Hell. The Prophet gave a long list of dwellers of Hell, which included Jews and Christians.

Muḥammad then answered, ‘O ‘Abdullah, Hell is the place for those who – disobey Allah’s commands – who did not pray, did not fast, commit adultery, drink alcohol, practice usury, despise of other Muslims, like to play musical drums and all those non-believers who worship idols and the sun worshippers, those who worship stones and wood, and other people who associate Allah with other beings, and the Jews and the Christians. They are those people who will be thrown into Hell by Allah’. ‘Abdullah then said, ‘True, O Rasulullah’ (Edrwar Djamaris 1994, 64-65).

Katakanlah, ya Muhammad, neraka yang ketujuh itu tempat siapa?’ Maka sabda Muhammad, ‘Hai Abdullah, adapun neraka itu tempat segala orang yang durhaka kepada Allah Taala tiada mau sembahyang dan puasa dan orang berbuat zina dan orang yang minum arak dan tuak dan orang yang makan ganda berganda dan orang yang dengki akan (se) samanya Islam dan orang yang gemar memalu bunyi-bunyian dan segala kafir yang menyembah berhala dan orang yang menyembah matahari dan orang yang menyembah batu dan menyembah kayu dan segala musyrik dan Yahudi dan Nasrani sekalian mereka itulah yang dimasukkan Allah Subhanahu wa Taala ke dalam neraka. Maka (kata Abdullah), “Sidiq, ya Rasulullah.”

The issue of Dajjāl (Antichrist) was also raised. According to the author, the Jews, Christians as well as the Mājūsī (who worship fire) are among those who believe Dajjāl as God and worship him. These followers and worshippers of Dajjāl are among the dwellers of Hell (Edwar Djamaris 1994, 74). As a kind of summary, the author of the text records:

‘All the righteous will be in their proper places, all the evildoers in their proper places and punished. As for all the non-believers and those who associate Allah with other beings and the Jews and Christians and the non-believing Mājūsī, and the idolaters, the tyrants and those who take usury, all of them will be in Hell. Whereas all prophets, saints, religious scholars, the righteous, the pious, the martyrs, and the mu‘min among my followers, they will all be placed in Paradise’ (Edrwar Djamaris 1994, 83-84).

Segala orang yang saleh pada tempatnya, orang yang durhaka pada tempatnya disiksa. Adapun segala kafir dan musyrik dan dan Yahudi dan Nasrani dan kafir Majūsī dan

musyrik dan segala zalim dan orang makan berganda-ganda sekaliannya ke dalam neraka. Bermula segala nabi dan wali dan masya'ikh dan segala yang saleh dan segala abid dan zahid dan orang yang mati syahid dan arif segala umatku yang mukmin dan sekaliannya masuk surga.

There are no Prophetic Traditions (Ḥadīth) recorded on the above dialogue between the Prophet (PBUH) and 'Abdullah bin Salām. However, there is a Ḥadīth narrated by Al-Bukhārī on three questions asked by 'Abdullah bin Salām **to the Prophet (PBUH)** in Madīnah regarding signs of the end of the world, the food eaten by the dwellers of Heaven and on factors which shape the physical appearance of a baby (Al-Bukhari 1987, vol. 11, 110). The Prophet (PBUH) gave his answers to those questions whereupon 'Abdullah reiterates his approval on the prophethood of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) (Al-Bukhari 1987, vol. 11, 110).

There is also a possibility that the roots of the above four questions and other remaining questions in *Hikayat Seribu Masalah* originated from the Jewish sources known in Islamic tradition as the *Isrā'iliyyat*. For example, the story of Bukit Qāf **is one of the popular stories in such traditions**, but not in the Islamic tradition. A study by Muḥammad Ḥussain Ḍahabī on *Isrā'iliyyat* points out the story of Bukit Qāf as an example of a weak *Isrā'iliyyat* story (Muhammad Husain Zahabi 1988, 48-49).

Another work that carries a discourse on death vis-à-vis other religions is *Lūbb al-Kashf wa al-Bayān limā yarāhu al-Muḥtaḍar bi al-'Iyān* by 'Abdul Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī ('Abdul Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī N.D.). He wrote this book in Arabic, and it was translated into Malay by Katib Seri Raja (Braginsky, V. 2004, 651). It is based on *Kitāb al-Tadhkirah bi umūr al-Ākhīrah* (*The Book of the Reminder of the Events in the Hereafter*) by al-Qurtūbī (d. 1272) (Al-Qurtubi, N.D.). It focuses on the experience of a person on his deathbed. This text also includes an elaboration on the essential preparations of a Muslim who is about to face death. These preparations are important in protecting Muslims from Satan, who will try to change the belief of the dying Muslim from the Islamic faith to another. For this analysis, Voorhoeve's edition of the text, which was published under the title *Bajan Tadjalli*, is used (Voorhoeve, P. 1952, 91).

Al-Sinkīlī explains that Satan will appear in three appearances to the dying Muslim to persuade him to change his religion. These three appearances will be in three different colours, i.e., black, red and yellow. Black represents Satan himself, while red and yellow represent Judaism and Christianity respectively.

When the moment of death approaches, the person will see many appearances, and when the one with the black appearance approaches him, that is the devil and he must say, ‘There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is His messenger’. And when the one with the red appearance approaches him, that is the Christian and he must say ‘There is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger’. And when the one with the yellow appearance approaches him, that is the Jew, he must say ‘There is no God except Allah and Muhammad is His messenger’. And when the one with the fair skin approaches, indeed that is the Messenger, he must say ‘MasyaAllah, he was indeed one of the true believers’ (Voorhoeve, P. 1952, 91).

Telah datang kepada manusia pada ketika sakarat al-maut beberapa rupa jang amat banjak, maka apabila datang kepadanja rupa jang hitam maka jaitu iblis maka hendaklah ia mengutjap la ilaha illa’allah (Muhammad rasulu’llah) huwa huwa huwa. Dan apabila datang kepadanja rupa merah maka jaitu nasrani maka hendaklah mengutjap la ilaha illa’allah Muhammad rasulu’llah huwa huwa huwa. Dan apabila datang kepadanja rupa kuning maka jaitu jahudi maka hendaklah ia mengutjap la ilaha illa’allah (Muhammad rasulu’llah) huwa huwa huwa. Dan apabila datang kepadanja rupa jang putih maka jaitu rupa nabi kita Muhammad rasulullah maka hendaklah ia mengutjap masja’Allah kana min al-mu’minina’l-hakk’.

Thus, it is important for the dying Muslim to remember God every time these evil temptations come to him by repeating the Islamic creed “*lā ilāha illā Allah*”. Furthermore, al-Sinkīlī also mentions, at the moment of death Satan will come to the dying person in the appearances of his parents to influence him to convert to Christianity and Judaism.

Shaykh Jamaluddīn, may Allah be pleased with him, said in the book entitled *Tazkirah* (Reminder), that some of the religious scholars said that when someone is on his deathbed, two Satans will sit beside him, one on the left and one on the

right. The Satan on his right will take the form of his father and will say: ‘O my child, I do love and care for you so die you as a Christian for it is the best of all religions’. And the devil on his left will take the form of his mother and say to him: ‘O my child, my womb is your crucible, and my milk is your drink, and my lap is your seat so die you as a Jew as it is the best of all religions’ (Voorhoeve, P. 1952, 92).

Kata Syaich Djamaluddin radija'llahu 'anhu tersebut dalam kitab Tadhkirah tjeritera daripada setengah ulama' bahwasanja seseorang hamba Allah apabila adalah ia pada ketika sakarat al-maut maka duduk disisinja dua orang setan seorang dari kanannja dan lagi seorang dari kirinja. Maka setan dari pehak kanannja itu merupakan dirinja seperti rupa bapanja pada hal berkata ia akan dia: Hai anakku, bahwa sanja adalah aku menjajangi dikau dan mengasihi dikau, tetapi matilah engkau atas agama nasrani, dan ialah sebaik-baik daripada segala agama. Dan setan daripada pehak kirinja itu merupakan dirinja seperti rupa ibunja pada hal berkata ia akan dia: Hai anakku bahwasanja adalah perutku bedjanamu dan air susuku minumanmu dan pahaku tempat kedudukanmu, tetapi matilah engkau atas agama jahudi, dan ialah sebaik-baik daripada segala agama.

Although al-Sinkīlī considers Judaism and Christianity deviationists, his response to these two religions was not harsh. He does not even use the word ‘kāfir’ for the followers of these two religions. Moreover, he merely quotes the words of other scholars. In fact, the discussions on these two religions are common in the Qur’ān, as well as in the prophetic traditions. For example, in the following verse:

Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with you unless you follow their form of religion. Say: ‘The Guidance of Allah – that is the (only) Guidance.’ Were you to follow their desires after the knowledge has reached you, then you would find neither Protector nor helper against Allah. (Qur’ān, 2:120)

The important message that al-Sinkīlī wishes to convey to Muslims is to prepare properly for death, by remembering God all the time. Otherwise, there is a chance that their faith will be deviated. If that is to be the case, in the Hereafter, they will have to face the consequences similar to all other deviationists. Again, the highlights of the two

Abrahamic traditions in this text have nothing to do with the author's direct reference to the followers of these religions in the Malay world at that time. Rather, it was simply the continuation of a tradition of the Qur'ān to inform Muslims to safeguard their faith against any other religion such as Judaism and Christianity.

Conclusion

All these works indicate the concerns of the 'ulamā' to not only teach Islam but also to protect the faith of the Muslims of their time to remain on the right track, not to be deviated either by misconceptions about Islam through misinterpretations of Islam, or to be deluded into the beliefs of other religions. Thus, the 'ulamā' then were addressing issues both at the intra-religious level where the challenges came from within the Ummah, as well as at the inter-religious level where influences of other religions may affect their faith. As such, these 'ulamā' therefore performed their three-fold roles well, as propagators and teachers of Islam, as custodians of Islam and as defenders of the religion against non-Islamic beliefs. All these are read from the very own writings of these 17th Century 'ulamā' of the Malay world in the texts that they have left for posterity.

REFERENCES

- Al-Attas, S.M.N. 1986. *A Commentary on the Hujjat Al-Siddiq of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia.
- Braginsky, V. 2004. *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Al-Bukhari, Muhammad Ibn Isma'īl. 1987. *Al-Jāmi' Al-Ṣahīh Al-Mukhtasar* (Vol. 11). Beirut: Dar Ibn Kathir.
- Edrwar Djamaris. 1994. *Hikayat Seribu Masalah*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Jelani Harun (ed.). 2004. *Bustan al-Salatin (Bab Pertama dan Kedua) Karangan Nuruddin Ar-Raniri*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- Muhammad Haji Salleh (ed.). 1997. *Sejarah Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan dan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- Muhammad Husain Zahabi. 1988. *Israiliat dalam Tafsir dan Hadis*. Singapura: Penerbitan Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd Singapura
- P. Voorhoeve, 'Bayan Tadjalli'. *TBG* 85 (1952) 91. Batavia: Lange & Co.

- P. Voorhoeve. 1955. *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nuruddin ar-Raniri*. Leiden: Brill.
- Al-Qurṭūbī, Abu ‘Abdillah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr. N.D. *Kitāb al-Tadhkirah bi umūr al-Ākhīrah (The Book of the Reminder of the Events in the Hereafter)*. Egypt: Dar Al-Manarah.

In This Issue

Editorial

Articles

Wan Rohila A. Ganti Bt. Wan Abdul Ghapar & Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid

Pathways of Becoming Political Party Activists: The Experiences From Malay-Muslim Grassroots Party Activists

Haslina Ibrahim & Ainul Jaria bt. Maidin

Mediation and Interreligious Discourse: Prospects and Challenges in Resolving Interreligious Skirmishes in Malaysia

Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil & Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor

Examining the Role of 'Ulama in the Islamization Process of the Malay World

Israr Ahmad Khan

Role of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in Promoting Human Values in the Strife-Torn World

Najihah Akeb-urai, Nor Ba' Yah Abdul Kadir & Rohany Nasir

Mathematics Anxiety and Performance among College Students: Effectiveness of Systematic Desensitization Treatment

Rehnuma Bint Anis & Md. Mahmudul Hasan

Faith and Practice: Islamic Perspectives on Robert Browning

Alias Azhar, Muhammad Hafiz Badarulzaman, Fidlizan Muhammad & Siti Zamarina Mat Zaib

Syariah Criminal Law Enforcement in Hisbah Framework: Practice In Malaysia

Khauthar Ismail

Imperialism, Colonialism and their Contribution to the Formation of Malay and Chinese Ethnicity: An Historical Analysis

Mohd. Shah Jani & Raudlotul Firdaus binti Fatah Yasin

Removal of Despotic Political Regime: The Abū Dharr's Legacy and Its Legitimacy

Sani Safiyanu, Roy Anthony Rogers & Wan Sharina Ramlah Wan Ahmad Amin Jaffri

Nigeria's Foreign Policy Goals in Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Noor Asyhikin Binti Abd Razak & Nor Azlin Binti Tajuddin

Ecological Modernization in Malaysia: A Review of Pakatan Harapan's Manifesto During the 14th General Election Within the Context of Ecological Modernization Framework

Siwach Sripokangkul

Education for the Production and Re-Production of Docile Civic Bodies: The Problems of Civic Education in Thailand

M. Khusna Amal

Revisiting Southeast Asian Civil Islam: Moderate Muslims and Indonesia's Democracy Paradox

Fethi B. Jomaa Ahmed

Conceptualizing Islamic Ethics for Contemporary Muslim Societies

Book Reviews

ISSN 0128-4878 (Print)

ISSN 2289-5639 (Online)

