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POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF MALAY ISLAM: A CONCEPTUAL-HISTORICAL STUDY

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ABSTRAK

Historically-politically, Islam has become part of the traditional Malay states (palities). The Islamic-Malay relationship is manifested in a political conception of the legitimacy of the kingdom/sultanate, especially referring to the sultanate of Malacca. Since the time of the Malacca sultanate, the role of Islam has become something that cannot even be contested. Politically, Islam has become a unifying factor for the Malays. In short, the Islamic discourse has penetrated and embedded itself into the identity of the Malay community so that it also gave rise to the political variant of Malay Islam. The article aims to describe the political conception of Malay Islam starting from its background, political relations between Islam and Malays, to the dynamics and political concepts adopted by the Malay (Islam) community. This article was written using a qualitative approach based on a literature review using descriptive analytical techniques. This article shows that there is a close natural relationship between Islamic and Malay political identity. The journey of Malay-Islamic political relations which began during the Islamic sultanate continued to be dynamic until the colonialism and revivalism period which marked the change in Malay cultural identity through identity politics with the nation state channel. Malay which originally meant race/ethnicity was then delimited by regional boundaries which made it impossible for the emergence of a pan-Malay political identity.

Keywords: *Culture, Islam, Politics, Malay*

INTRODUCTION

The rapid study of Islam, Malay and local traditions, especially in Indonesia, is often seen as two things that are interrelated and give color to the formation of a social formation. In this case, Islam at the normative and humanist level experiences a process of acceptance and rejection in society. On the other hand, Malay and local traditions which become "identities" in society also experience dialectics-conformity with Islam at the religious normative level. Thus, it is not an exaggeration if the link between Islam, Malay and local traditions in many scientific studies is always seen in an ideographical view. This proves that the interaction between these "identities" is in fact able to create complex social structures institutionally, culturally, economically, to politics. In this circle of interaction, Islam, Malay, and local traditions become magnets for each other which attracts various dynamics within them to form a much broader and dominant social formation (structure).¹

Conceptually, Malay² is a culture in which there are ethnic and community

groups. As a culture, borrowing the cultural concept of Koentjaraningrat, that in each culture it will contain seven universal³ elements, including the system of government (politics). In the community (state) political system, aspects of human life are very important. As social beings, humans must interact with other humans in their lives. Not limited to basic interactions, but to forms of recognition of self-existence and appreciation from others in the form of praise, reward, social status as members of society, members of certain political parties and various other complex matters.⁴ In this case, Malay – as one of the community's identities, clearly also has its political conception.

In its later history, Malay developed into a civilization that negotiated with other civilizations⁵ which in this case were related to Islam. Islam has become synonymous with Malay history because of its historical process which plays an important role in the formation of the identity of Malay civilization.⁶ Furthermore, Islam and Malay (language) are even capable of

¹ Mohammad Syawaludin dan M. Sirajudin Fikri, "Tradisi Politik Melayu: Analisis Pengangkatan dan Pergantian Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Palembang Darussalam," *Society* 7, no. 2 (2019): 231–51.

² Malay in general is a Malay country or Malay island that stretches from the Malay peninsula, the islands of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, to Papua including the Philippines and Thailand in the south (Hamka, 1976: 34-35). Meanwhile, etymologically Malay comes from the word *Malaya dvipa* from the Hindu Purana which means land surrounded by water which refers to an ancient Malay kingdom in Jambi in the 7th century. In short, all the neighborhoods were influenced by the Malay/Melaka (kingdom). Arditya Prayogi, "Dinamika identitas budaya Melayu dalam tinjauan arkeo-antropologis," *TAMADDUN: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sastra Islam* 16, no. 1 (2016): 1–20.; Virginia Matheson, *Sejarah Melayu Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1991).

³ The seven elements of culture are the Religious System, Community Organization System, Knowledge System, Livelihood System and Economic System, Technology and Equipment System, Language, Arts. Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 2002).

⁴ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri, "Relasi Kekuasaan Dalam Budaya Melayu Riau," *Jurnal Demokrasi & Otonomi Daerah* 11, no. 2 (Desember 2013): 71–80.

⁵ The term civilization can also mean many things. In general, civilization is the broadest identity of culture, which is identified through general objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, as well as through subjective self-identification. To compare it with culture, civilization is an embodiment of technological progress and material patterns of life which are more than culture which is only in the form of feelings or ideas from humans. Ahmad Suhelmi, *Pemikiran Politik Barat* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001).

⁶ S. Manani, *Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1993).

forming a national consciousness. Apart from that, Islam has also contributed to the (identity) of the Malay Archipelago because it has contributed in the form of a spirit that can drive the process of life revolution based on the view of the world of art and the world of philosophy which is based on reason and reason.⁷

Many experts have conducted studies on Malay themselves by looking at various aspects. The essence of these various studies emphasizes that Malays are actually a flexible and very dynamic entity. It's just that, the existing studies still review Malay from one point of view, for example only from a historical or political perspective. There has been no study that unifies the concept of Islamic politics and Malay identity, especially in terms of political historical ups and downs so as to produce identity politics which is still in dialectic. Article written by Hasse Jubba, et. al (2021),⁸ for example, which has more or less summarized several studies on Malay Islamic politics. However, in his study, he has not reviewed how the political identity of Malay Islam was conceptualized up to that point. So, up to this point, this article can serve as an additional reference and can elaborate on other studies, especially the fact that Islamic and Malay political identities are identities that cannot be separated from their pros and cons. This study emphasizes more on efforts to explain analytically related to the political relations of Islam and Malays so that various tug-of-wars arise in it.

METHODS

This article was written using a qualitative descriptive method supported

by data collection methods in the form of literature review. This research attempts to describe the dynamics between Islamic and Malay politics. The descriptive analysis research method is used because this method aims to get answers related to one's perceptions, opinions, and responses so that the review is carried out qualitatively or using a description of words. This article was written by collecting various literature data related to aspects of Malay political culture and then grouping, inventorying, and giving meaning related to the existing literature data. This article attempts to describe various analyzes according to historical or social situations that see the socio-cultural environment as a phenomenon formed by humans. The focus of the discussion lies in the attempt to interpret various things in a social process. Thus, this article can be a synthesis of various previous writings, to see the correlation in the current context.

EXPLORING ISLAM-MALAY POLITICAL RELATIONS

Islam is one of the important factors forming the culture of the archipelago. Various Islamic cultural roots have undergone various processes, both acculturation and assimilation to produce an identity in the form of "Archipelago Islamic culture" which has a distinction with Islamic culture that grows in other regions. At least, in the 14th century AD, Islam had become the spiritual binder of various ethnic groups in the archipelago, especially through the political network of Islamic empires connected by maritime trade routes. Unlike the Hindu-Buddhist culture in the archipelago, which has been ingrained since the 5th to 15th centuries AD, Islamic culture has not been able to represent the nation's cultural atmosphere in the archipelago too far. However, at least at the end of the 14th century, Islam finally changed the cultural expression of the archipelago through the identity of the

⁷ Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1993).

⁸ Hasse Jubba, Muh. Rafi, dan Zuly Qodir, "Politik Identitas Melayu Islam sebagai Upaya Mewujudkan Budaya Berintegritas," *POLITICON: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 3, no. 1 (2021): 88–110.

"Malay nation", although this process was finally distracted by the arrival of the 3G (Gold, Glory, Gospel) wave from Europeans in the archipelago in the 19th century. 16 M. With such a process, in the early days, Islamic cultural traditions that were built were a long process of negotiation, adoption, and adaptation of Islam to the culture that had existed before (and after). The practice of Islamic cultural traditions in the past was still heavily decorated with spiritual-esoteric "occult" values introduced by Indonesian philosophers such as Hamzah Fansuri for example. This is basically a long series of processes in the formation of Malay-Islamic identity.

Along with the decline in the prestige of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdom, the Malay world region began to adopt Islam as its new identity. The growth and development of various Islamic sultanates marked Islam as an identity in terms of spiritual authority, politics, knowledge, culture, and especially trade. The large number of Islamic merchants who carried out trading practices on the coast of the archipelago gradually diminished the influence of the pre-existing Hindu-Buddhist authorities. This is not to mention the existence of various conflicts, especially internally within the Hindu-Buddhist authorities (kingdoms) in the archipelago. Trade centers and (ultimately) power in many areas of the archipelago then quickly shifted to coastal rulers who were close to the Islamic (Malay) world.⁹

⁹ Malay cultural and political legitimacy is marked by the emergence of Jawi script as well as the Malay language. Jawi writing is a marker of Malay identity in the eyes of the international community. The international world, especially Arab-Persian people, were more familiar with these Archipelago nations until the 18th century as the Jawi people, a people living in the 'underworld' as written in the book *Ship of Sulaiman* by Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim which was published in Persia 1688. Islam too became a measure of the

Basically Islam is not a new thing in the political history (nation) tradition of Malays. The course of Islam-Malay politics goes hand in hand with various teachings and also traditions that have lived in the subconscious of the Malay people. This can be seen in a number of ways, such as how several Islamic (life and) political titles appear, such as the term "Zillullah fil Alam" (Shadow of God on Earth), sultan, or caliph. Islam has become an important political legitimacy in the state life of the Malay Archipelago community. On that basis then, the position of a king becomes a milestone and a symbol of the loyalty of the Malay people - who are predominantly Muslim, to be given authority in efforts to guard Islam and Malay customs.¹⁰

Islam was able to encourage a cultural revolution in the constitutional life of the Malay people. Several aspects can be seen, such as the change in the genealogy of the origins of the Malay kings which was originally attributed to the gods

superiority of the spirituality and civilization of the archipelago to replace the Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the past which, for the rulers of the archipelago, was considered equal to the Europeans in the 16-18 centuries AD. What made the strongest ruler of Java finally made his national myth in the Babad Tanah Jawi as a descendant of Prophet Adam. Even the Islamic Mataram Sultanate legitimately sent matters to Rum and Mecca asking for recognition; of the Rulers of Rum as political legitimacy and Mecca as Spiritual legitimacy. Ary Budiyanto, "Menyoal Arah Politik Kebudayaan Melayu: Pertelingkahan Sejarah Politik Islam dan Melayu di Nusantara," 2008, 1-27, https://www.academia.edu/1082702/Menyoal_Arah_Politik_Kebudayaan_Melayu_Pertelingkahan_Sejjarah_Politik_Islam_dan_Melayu_di_Nusantara.

¹⁰ Indah Maisuri, "Sistem Politik dan Pemerintahan Melayu," 2015, https://www.academia.edu/11527267/Sistem_Politik_dan_Pemerintahan_Melayu; The importance of the position of a leader (raja) in the Malay power can be described by the term "a just king the king is worshiped, the king is unjust the king is denied". Mohd. Idrus Jusi, "Islam dan beberapa pengaruhnya dalam sistem Politik Melayu Tradisi," *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics and Strategic Studies* 3, no. 4 (t.t.): 16-26.

to be attributed to Islamic figures such as Prophet Adam, Iskandar Zulkarnain, or a mixture of Islamic figures and gods in Hindu beliefs. -Buddha. The various myths that have been built are also based on Islamic principles. For example, how the myth of Malay kings originates from the treasury of Prophet Sulaiman AS, which was brought out by the king of jinn to be given to the sons of King Suran (King Sriwijaya) as a sign of their greatness.¹¹ Another aspect, in the form of the conception of a "king", has also undergone a change in substantive meaning which refers to terms in Islamic politics such as caliphs, imams, and – most commonly sultans. Likewise with the sovereignty of the king, where the sovereignty of the Malay kings is not only recognized in everyday life, but is also associated with religious beliefs where those who disobey the king are believed to be rewarded in the afterlife. The position and position of the king became stronger with the loyalty agreement between the king and the people.¹²

Islam was also used as the basis for formulating the political ethics of the rulers of the Malay-Archipelagic kingdoms. This can be seen, for example, in several reviews of classical Malay texts, such as the "Malay History" and "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai" (two texts which respectively speak of the kingdoms of Samudra Pasai and Melaka in the 14th and 15th centuries AD).¹³ Islam, for the Malay

rulers, was not only understood as a religion but more than that. Islam is a way of life in the political-government aspect. Therefore the relationship between Islam and Malay politics goes hand in hand. Islam becomes an integral part of the life of the Malay community so that it is able to form an Islamic-Malay identity. In short, the real manifestation of the relationship between Islam and Malay politics is so close and manifested in the concept of the Malay sultanate itself.

ISLAMIC-MALAYAN POLITICAL TRADITION CONCEPT

The close relationship between Islam and Malays resulted in the emergence of the phrase "Enter Malay". Such terms, at least contain two meanings. First, it means "following the Malay way of life, and second, it means "converting to Islam". This expression among the Malay community has been deeply rooted. As a consequence, all things (values and norms) produced by (religion) Islam will automatically become the basis for the formulation of values and norms in the life of Malay society, including in political

¹¹ Ary Budiyo, "Menyoal Arah Politik Kebudayaan Melayu: Pertelingkahan Sejarah Politik Islam dan Melayu di Nusantara."

¹² Haron Daud, *Sejarah Melayu: Satu Kajian daripada Aspek Pensejarahan Budaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1989).

¹³ In the saga of the kings of Pasai it is told that Merah Silu, one of the Kings of Pasai, is described as shortly after converting to Islam he immediately adopted the Arabic title Sultan, and in a meeting with his leaders and people, he was declared "The Shadow of God on Earth" (Zillullah fil Alam). Meanwhile in Riau, Raja Ali Haji (RAH)

was appointed as the royal religious adviser. In 1845, when Raja Ali bin Raja Jafar was appointed Yamtuan Muda. In 1858, when Yang Tuantuan Muda Riau IX King Abdullah Mursyid died, Raja Ali Haji was given the mandate to take over all legal affairs, namely all matters relating to Islamic sharia law. As a scholar figure and among the royal elite, Raja Ali Haji's thoughts revolved more around efforts to restore the kingdom and Malay traditions at that time. These thoughts, mostly contained in his various works. In Tuhfat al-Nafis, it is stated that the Malay atmosphere has entered a modern era and colonialism, where Malay society is facing changes in the social and cultural fields. Thus, Raja Ali Haji appeared as a royal soldier to maintain the continuity of Malay tradition and culture. Faishal Shadik, *Politik Islam Melayu: Studi Pemikiran Raja Ali Haji 1808-1873* (Yogyakarta: Tesis UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2013).

aspects or anything related to political-government.¹⁴

Conceptually, the idea of Malay politics-government can be referred to in the masterpiece book of Malay civilization, namely the *Taj al-Salatin* which means *Mahkota Rajas*. This book was written in 1630 by Bukhari al-Jauhari. In this book there is a guide – conceptually, for the Malay sultans (especially in the Kedah and Johor areas). This book makes an important contribution to the construction process of Malay political tradition and culture because it provides details regarding the requirements to become a Malay king/sultan. This book even contains the concept of hunches that can be used/practiced by (local) rulers when "dealing" with foreign rulers. In fact, this book was also used by several rulers on the island of Java in the range of the 17th to 18th centuries AD.¹⁵

On this basis, it can be concluded that there are 10 characteristics of a good king/sultan in the Malay political tradition. These properties include; know the difference between good and bad, knowledgeable, able to choose ministers and assistants correctly, good looks and manners so that people will love and respect them, generous, know reciprocity, courageous, sufficient in eating and sleeping so they are not negligent, not "playing" with women, and (must be) male. These ten characteristics are principally derived from concepts in Islam. This reaffirms that Islam and Malay become identities that cannot be separated to form a Malay political Islam identity that strongly characterizes the pattern of government in Malay culture.¹⁶

If traced, in Malay history, the Malay government system has two concepts, namely kingdom and country. In Malay history, the Malay government system has two concepts, namely the kingdom and the state. Kingdom, as a concept of government is defined as a form of government led by a king. The kingdom is an authority that maintains the security and peace of its people from various external threats. In addition, in the royal system, a king has absolute power, where the position and rights of the king cannot be contested by anyone. This concept is basically a legacy because it was practiced during the Sriwijaya kingdom in (Malay) Palembang.¹⁷

In addition to the royal concept, the tradition of the Malay government system also uses the concept of the country. The use of the term "country" in Malay itself is believed to have existed since 500 years ago. The term "country" itself is etymologically derived from the Sanskrit language which means "settlement, city-state, used loosely of any settlement, town, or land". The concept of the state can be interpreted as an organization that implements laws for all its people. This concept can also be interpreted as "the residence of the nation". Broadly speaking, the concept of a country is not limited to controlled areas, but also includes all conquered/colonized areas so that geographically it becomes broader in meaning.¹⁸

Conceptually, the country was opened by carrying out "cleaning" activities. This activity usually starts with the presence of a king or his descendants along with several money people following him who go to a place until they finally stop at that place to do (mainly) hunting activities. In concept, the state has two main structures, namely the moat and the balairung palace which were made before

¹⁴ Adian Husaini, Adnin Arnas, dan Hamid Fahmi Zarkasy, *Tantangan Sekularisasi dan Liberalisasi di Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Khairul Bayan, 2004).

¹⁵ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri, "Relasi Kekuasaan dalam Budaya Melayu Riau."

¹⁶ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri.

¹⁷ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri.

¹⁸ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri.

the leader entered his country. In addition, the new country could be considered more complete if it had mosques, markets and palace halls. Countries have different laws than their colonies. In the Kedah Law, for example, a distinction is made between state officials and colonial officials. In addition, the country is also considered as a center of progress. The level of prosperity is measured by the number of residents and existing traders. People who live abroad are considered different from people who live in the country. The differences are sometimes based on religion and the country is described as the center of Islam. For example in Sumatra, people who do not want to convert to Islam leave their country and are called Gayo by people who live in the country. Thus, the term "country" in Malay history can be interpreted as a place of residence that is permanent and quite dense, opened by the decision of someone who has certain political power for himself and his people.¹⁹

The political concept of Malay-Islamic government was also conveyed by Raja Ali Haji in his work *Tsamarat al-Muhimmah Difayah li al-Umara wa al-Kubara wa li ahl al-Mahkamah* and *Muqaddimah fi Intidzam* which are major works in the treasures of Malay society. Raja Ali Haji in his work conveys a moral appeal to the ruling royal elite to base their power on Islamic teachings. In his work, Raja Ali Haji also emphasized the prerequisites for a king/government elite namely; must be faithful, capable, fair, wise, and other requirements that describe an ideal leader. Raja Ali Haji conceptualized the idea of "theomonarchy", namely a royal government that bases its government on God's laws (Islamic law). God's position, in Raja Ali Haji's view, is important because it is the source of truth in life. Thus, the role of a

king becomes central in implementing the teachings of God (Islam) on earth in order to create goodness in social life. Furthermore, Raja Ali Haji condemned all behavior that violated religious (Islam) values. In his thoughts Raja Ali Haji tried to reconstruct Malay political (kingdom) supremacy as a socio-political building for the Malay community itself.²⁰

DYNAMICS OF MALAY CULTURE: QUESTIONS ON IDENTITY POLITICS

The many definitions of Malay today make Malay identity obscure. So, who are Malays today? Who then has the most "rights" over claims of Malay identity. "Formally" Malay and its political-historical culture have only been known since the Islamic kingdoms on the Sumatran and Malacca peninsulas began to exist in the 13-14th century AD, along with the decline of the prestige of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Majapahit and Pajajaran. Furthermore, there are dynamics in the Malay world (region) that make Islam the authority in the cultural identity of the people.²¹ This dynamic started with the waning of Hindu-Buddhist influence in Java, which was replaced by the role of Muslim merchants who came from various regions. Not to mention the many internal conflicts within the Hindu-Buddhist institutional power which resulted in the centers of power then shifting into the hands of the rulers in the coastal areas – related to trade activities, which previously

²⁰ Faishal Shadik, *Politik Islam Melayu: Studi Pemikiran Raja Ali Haji 1808-1873*.

²¹ Malay entities before Islam had more contact with the Hindu-Buddhist tradition represented by the Sriwijaya hegemony and the kingdoms in Java, especially Majapahit. Ary Budiyo, "Menyoal Arah Politik Kebudayaan Melayu: Pertelingkahan Sejarah Politik Islam dan Melayu di Nusantara."

¹⁹ Indah Maisuri, "Sistem Politik dan Pemerintahan Melayu."

had relations with the (world) of Islam.²² As later recorded in history, it was the mastery of trading power through trade routes that allowed Islamic power to become a powerful intermediary in the world at that time as well as being the ruler of the economy.²³

²² The influence of the Malay power was also accompanied by the use of (ancient) Malay which then began to become the official language of the rulers of this trading world. This was in line with the rise of trade from the Arab-Persian world which began to infiltrate politics, the economy, and spirituality in India in the 12-13th centuries AD. It was not surprising that large Chinese merchants who had lived in the archipelago for a long time also embraced this new religion as a bond. fraternity and trade and gave color to the Islam of the Archipelago. Although there is no certainty that the ancient Malay language was used by a "community" or ethnic group called Malay. The Malay ethnic entity at that time was not yet known, but it was recognized that the ancient Malay language was used for communication among the trading community in the archipelago. The Malay language at that time did not belong to any particular ethnic group. H.J. De Graff dan T.H.G Pigeau, *Kerajaan - kerajaan Islam di Jawa : Peralihan dari Majapahit ke Mataram* (Jakarta: PT Grafiti Pers, 1986).

²³ The Arab-Persian world was more familiar with these Nusantara nations until the 18th century as the Jawi nation. It is this mixture of Chinese, Arab-Persian, Indian, and local cultures on the peninsulas of Sumatra and Melaka that creates the Malay culture with writing known as Jawi writing. The increasingly strong Islamization that continued to develop during the Ottoman and Mamluk eras in the Middle East to Europe and the Glory of Islam in India by the Mughals gave its own meaning of Islamic and national identity to the kingdoms in the archipelago. Islam has also become a measure of the superiority of the spirituality and civilization of the archipelago, replacing the Hindu-Buddhist civilization of the past, which, for the rulers of the archipelago, was considered equal to that of Europeans in the 16-18 centuries. Which made the strongest ruler of Jawapun finally made his national myth in the Babad Tanah Jawi as a descendant of the Prophet Adam. Even the Islamic Mataram Sultanate legitimately sent matters to Rum and Mecca asking for recognition; of the Rulers of Rum as political legitimacy and Mecca as Spiritual legitimacy. Since Islam became the spiritual legitimacy of the royal

The process of internalizing Islam that is taking place in the Malay (region) also supports the transition from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam. There are three phases in which the process of internalization of Islam occurs. First, the process of this phase is marked by the domination of fiqh in interpreting the Shari'a. In this phase the concept of the oneness of God is still blurred because it is still covered by the remaining Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, so that the concept of the oneness of God (Allah) is still considered the same concept as the concept of gods in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition. This phase itself occurred in the pre-Hanzah Fansuri period, a Malay religious figure, around the 13th century AD. Second, it occurred in the 15th to 18th century AD, which was marked by the dominance of tasawuf and kalam practices. In this phase, basic concepts in Islam (begin) are explained transparently/perfectly and semi-transparently/partially. Third, it is a continuation of the previous phase, where these processes should not be seen separately, such as one phase takes place when another phase stops. Thus, the process of Islamization (archipelagic area) of Malays is a universal historical phenomenon. Thus, to understand Islam in the Malay world means to understand Islam itself as a religion and civilization.²⁴

On this basis, Malay identity (entity and community culture) becomes identified with Islam. Islam and Malay are two words that intersect with each other, go hand in hand, and even become part of the life of Malay society and vice versa.

rulers in the archipelago, Islamic cultural politics has continued to change and develop, coloring the politics of the archipelago along with the European colonial period until now.. Ary Budiyo, "Menyoal Arah Politik Kebudayaan Melayu: Pertelingkahan Sejarah Politik Islam dan Melayu di Nusantara."

²⁴ Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, *Filsafat dan praktik pendidikan Islam* Syed M. Naquib al-Attas (Bandung: Mizan, 1998).

This concept is further known as "entry Malay".²⁵ So, it can be described that the Malays then conceptualize their Malay identity with three main characteristics, namely; speak Malay, have Malay customs, and are Muslim. These three main characteristics are then unified structurally through the concept of Malay kingdoms in the past. These kingdoms then left a legacy that became Malay identity in the form of various traditions and symbols. These relics are not even scattered only in the kingdom's territory, but spread across the boundaries of the kingdom's administrative territory. This is possible due to various factors both internal and external. Not only that, the role of the Malay language as a lingua franca can also bridge the differences that exist between geographical areas so that a cultural dialectic occurs. Malay ethics also take part in shaping this identity. In short, Malay culture has main characteristics that are functional in accommodating differences. These characteristics themselves grow from the results of long-term interactions with various foreign cultures, both in the short term and in the long term. Therefore, Malay culture also has a great ability to take over various cultural elements outside Malay/Non-Malay.²⁶ The acceptance of Malay culture in society cannot be separated from the history of the development of Malay culture itself, which has always been related to the dynamics of various Malay kingdoms associated with (religion) Islam, international trade, and the use of the Malay language. Therefore, the symbols of Malay culture which until now have been recognized as Malay "identity" are the Malay language, the Islamic religion, and an open and friendly personality.

²⁵ Adian Husaini, Adnin Arnas, dan Hamid Fahmi Zarkasy, *Tantangan Sekularisasi dan Liberalisasi di Dunia Islam*.

²⁶ Aprizal dan Ali Yusri, "Relasi Kekuasaan Dalam Budaya Melayu Riau."

Interestingly, the relationship between Islam and Malay has become synonymous with identity politics. Identity politics makes Malays an identity that is more inclined to the concept of a nation state which in today's struggles is more faced with an Indonesian Malay identity vis a vis Malay Malays. This can be seen in 1824 where the British and Dutch agreements divided the Malay kingdoms of Riau-Johor, that the Malay peninsula was under the British while the Malays south of Singapore were under the Dutch. Since then Riau (Indonesia) has been in decline while Singapore and Malacca have been increasingly prosperous so that in the mid-19th century AD Riau had become very backward due to the divisive politics of the Dutch who pitted the Bugis rulers against the Riau Malays in the Riau Lingga kingdom.²⁷

²⁷ The Bugis rulers supported the Dutch in getting rid of the Riau rulers who were considered un-Islamic, before finally the Bugis rule as Yamtuan was transferred by the Dutch to Singapore in 1911. However, it was at this time that the role of the Bugis in Panyengat, who carried Islam as the spirit of Malay cultural and customary identity, was promoted as a counterpoint to Singaporean culture. which is increasingly advanced, cosmopolitan, and modern in the Western style. Through the work of the descendant of the Bugis poet in Panyengat, Raja Ali Haji with his *Tuhfat al-Nafs* (1860) this discourse on the legitimacy of the role of Bugis and Islam in Malay culture and history is echoed. Even though he was a contemporary of Abdullah Munshi, Raja Ali Haji never mentioned Abdullah Munshi's work or name in his works. In response to this discourse, 60 years later the Riau-Lingga kingdom produced a manuscript of the Summary of Malay History (KSM) which countered the discourse on the role of the Bugis in Malay. The *Tuhfat*, according to the Bugis view, does not mention the role of the Malay kingdom in Riau other than negative things. Even so, KSM did not mention the role of Islam as a supporter of the Riau sultanate, but saw it from the lineage of the Sultan of Melaka. In short, from the royal side, Malay identity is seen from the Palembang-Melaka lineage. Meanwhile, from the side of the Bugis who were in the political and military class in the Malay kingdom, it was this that created the intellectual leadership of the Riau Malay

The Malayan identity politics itself was introduced in the project of the British Colonial Government through the idea of Sir Richard Winstead. The Malay identity referred to in this case is "only" the Malaya peninsula and around the Riau Lingga archipelago. Although there have been attempts to mobilize Pan Melayu Raya as voiced by Abdul Hadi bin Haji Hasan (1925-1929). In later developments, the position of Islam in the Malay political structure could not be separated from colonialism (mainly carried out by the British) in the Malay region. Especially with the Malay-Malaysian identity in which the British colonialists took a policy to strengthen the relationship between Malays and Islam. The British gave full rights to the Sultan of Malay-Malaysia in matters of religion and customs, and even helped prepare systematic political-government instruments. Such a thing was not found in the Malay-Indonesian political structure, bearing in mind that the Dutch colonialist character turned out to be the opposite of the British. Therefore, the Malay-Malaysian aristocrats were given more room for maneuver by the British, something that was not obtained by the Malay-Indonesian native aristocrats. This helps to explain why Malay-Malaysian aristocrats were more flexible in negotiating the inclusion of Islam as the official state religion of Malaysia, something that religious leaders in

Indonesia were unable to do.²⁸ Thus, when Islam was included in the constitution as the official state religion, there was practically no resistance from secular nationalist groups. Historically, Malaysia's Malayness was based on the majesty of the Malacca Kingdom which was supported by small kingdoms such as Johor, Kedah, Perak and Trengganu. This basis is then put forward as a Malay-Malaysian identity. This is what will separate Malaysia's Malayness from Indonesia.

In the case of Indonesia, the inclusion of Islamic law in the 1945 Constitution was (precisely) considered to be detrimental to the national unity that was to be fostered among all components of the nation, which was therefore abolished. As a result of the cancellation of the Jakarta Charter, there will continue to be a sense of discontent among some Islamic community groups until now.²⁹ In Malaysia, Islam can actually appear as an identity through the dominant symbol. However, it is because of this that Islam in Malaysia is less dynamic than Islam in Indonesia. The political articulation of Malay Islam in Malaysia then could not go beyond the boundaries of formalism and therefore became more open to attacks by fundamentalist movements.³⁰

The emergence of the idea of modern nationalism offered by Europeans in the 20th century AD, as well as changes in the ideologicalization of Islam in the Middle East region a century earlier, gradually began to change the direction of the discourse on Malay identity, which in

community that echoed Islam and the Malay language through print media that challenged the traditional authority of the Malay rulers. The Bugis represent the clergy and the Malay aristocrats represent the kingdom. Melaka, which became a de facto measure of Malay culture in the 14th-18th centuries AD, was integrated more intensely by Bugis intellectuals with the purification of Islam which continued to be new in accordance with changes in Islam in the Middle East. Ary Budiyanto, "Menyoal Arah Politik Kebudayaan Melayu: Pertelingkahan Sejarah Politik Islam dan Melayu di Nusantara."

²⁸ R. W. Hefner, *Politik Multikulturalisme* (Jakarta: Kanisius, 2007).

²⁹ Endang Saifuddin Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945 Dan Sejarah Konsensus Nasional Antara Nasionalis Islami Dan Nasionalis Sekuler Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia 1945-1959* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1986).

³⁰ M. K. Syeirazi, *Kebijakan Islamisasi Malaysia di Bawah Pemerintahan Mahathir (1981-1999)* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia, 2006).

this case was identified more with "ethnic" entities. The concept of Malay identity, which initially existed as a differentiator of "religion", began to shift, even though at that time the identity used was the identity of "Orang Jawi". The growing development of this discourse has resulted in polarization – up to the separation of identities in the relationship between Islam and Malays.

This separation was strengthened when the national movement (ism) began in the Malay Archipelago region in the early 20th century. The rise of the "Modern Malay" identity on Malaysian soil as a nation state and the lack of clarity - or lack of one voice in the use of Malay identity in Indonesia, made the Malay-Islamic identity - The archipelago is drowning in the glitter of Malay-Malaysia. Although Islam remains the basis of Malay spirituality, the intensity used develops in a different direction. Malaysia's Malay Islam became thicker thanks to the de jure support from the kingdom and Malaysian government. While in Indonesia, Islam has become the identity of forces outside the government. The point of emphasis on Malayness in Indonesia is directed at merely adat, so that inevitably the Islamic discourse as a political inspiration within the Malay-Indonesian community is eliminated. This condition was further strengthened by the existence of repressive New Order politics (Islam) with political Islam. The opposite is actually done in Malaysia. So, in contrast to Malaysia, Indonesia's Malay identity is only part of the repertoire of national culture.

Apart from the husks of the political direction of Islamic cultural identity vis-a-vis and Malay, for some Malay people in the Riau and Riau Archipelago, Malaysian Malayness is dazzling. Malay and Malaysian have become synonymous for some Indonesian (Malay) people. The more obvious economic progress in Malaysia has made

Malaysia a beacon of Malay greatness and an identity that is more suitable to represent the identity of the Malay people.

CONCLUSION

In this article several conclusions can be drawn. First, the relationship between Islam and Malay as culture can be traced since the entry of Islam into the Malay area, Islam then negotiated with Malay culture and produced Malay Islamic culture, where Malay became synonymous with Islam. This is still regardless of which area is more suitable to be claimed as a Malay cultural area. Second, the negotiations between Islam and Malays resulted in a variant of Malay-Islamic culture with its various elements, including political-government issues. Third, political relations between Islam and Malays were formally manifested in the form of Islamic kingdoms/sultanates and countries, which are thought to have emerged in the 13th century AD with the marker of the Samudra-Pasai sultanate, up to Malacca. This format then derives various Malay-Islamic political concepts, such as matters of form of government, governance, laws, relations with the people, to the titles used by Malay leaders. Fourth, the journey of Islamic-Malay political relations that began during the Islamic sultanate period continued to dynamics until the colonialism and revivalism era which marked a change in Malay cultural identity through identity politics with the nation state channel. Malay, which originally meant race/ethnicity, was then limited by the regional boundaries of a country, even narrower to become a province-level area. Fifth, Islam-Malay identity politics today - according to the writer- is split into Islam-Malay-Malaysia and Islam-Malay-Indonesia. This indicates that it is still unclear who should inherit the Malay identity. Furthermore, the concept of the

nation-state is increasingly "impossible" for Malay identity to become a state entity (pan-Malay). In short, the real relationship between Islam and Malays can be seen, at least with the jargon of the Malay world, the Islamic world, Malay is Islam, Islam is Malay. But who is most entitled to claim it is still an issue today.[]

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