

# BUKU ABSTRAK WACANA SEJARAH, ARKEOLOJI & KETAMADUNAN

19 JULAI 2025 (SABTU) PPAS BANGI  
PERSATUAN PENDIDIKAN FALSAFAH & PEMIKIRAN  
MALAYSIA (PPFPM)

## ISI KANDUNGAN / TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Rangkuman Abstrak / Abstracts Overview

1. **En. Muhammad Shuib Bin Rosli**  
*Struktur Masyarakat Melayu 1300m - 1500m Berdasarkan Telaah Teks Undang-Undang* 2-3
2. **Prof. Madya Dr. Saiful Akram Che Cob @ Ab Ghafar**  
*Propagandis Melayu Di Zaman Pendudukan Jepun: Menginterpretasi Makna & Semangat Propaganda Visual* 4-5
3. **Dr. Pisol Maidin**  
*Perahu Dagang Di Alam Melayu Sebelum Abad Ke-10 M* 6-7
4. **En. Assad Ali Khan**  
*Satu Tinjauan: Sejarah Aliran Madhyamaka* 8-9
5. **Cik Esnita Binti Sonie**  
*Kesinambungan Tradisi Tembikar Prasejarah Dan Tradisional Di Lembah Sungai Tembeling, Pahang* 10-11
6. **En. Nuruddin Al-Akbar**  
*History In Favor (Sejarah Yang Memihak): Kuntowijoyo And The Effort To Overcome The Indonesia-Centered (Indonesiasentris) School* 12-16
7. **En. Asyhadi Mufsi Sadzali**  
*Pasang Surut Politik Kemaharajaan Malayu Dalam Jaringan Maritim Global Abad Ke-11– 13 M* 17-18

# **STRUKTUR MASYARAKAT MELAYU 1300M - 1500M BERDASARKAN TELAAH TEKS UNDANG-UNDANG**

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Apakah teks undang-undang boleh dijadikan sebagai sumber rujukan dalam meneliti sejarah sesebuah masyarakat? Yang pertama sekali memberikan jawapan positif terhadap persoalan tersebut ialah Hegel apabila beliau menyatakan bahawa terdapat hubungan langsung antara masyarakat dan penggubalan undang-undang. Malangnya, pengajian Melayu acapkali mengabaikan teks undang-undangnya sebagai salah satu sumber sejarah walaupun para penyelidik semisal Mohd Yusoff Hashim, Jelani Harun, dan Abu Hassan Sham mengiktiraf hal itu. Makalah ini merupakan sebarang percubaan berani untuk meneliti struktur masyarakat Melayu dan evolusinya dari 1300 Masihi sehingga 1600 Masihi. Sebelumnya, sebarang penelitian mengenai sejarah Melayu hanyalah bersandarkan kepada hikayat-hikayat dan sastera lisan. Penelitian ini dimulakan pada 1300 Masihi kerana penggubalan undang-undang Melayu secara bertulis dimulakan dalam abad tersebut. Tiga teks dipilih sebagai sumber rujukan yakni Nittisarasamuccaya, Undang-undang Laut Melaka, dan Hukum Kanun Melaka. Aspek yang menjadi pencerakinan utama dalam makalah ini merangkumi struktur kuasa, pembahagian tugas, agama, dan selainnya.

**Kata Kunci:** Undang-undang Melayu, Sejarah Melayu, Struktur Masyarakat

# STRUCTURE OF THE MALAY SOCIETY FROM 1300 AD – 1500 AD BASED ON A STUDY OF LEGAL TEXTS

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Can legal texts be used as reference sources in examining the history of a society? The first to give a positive answer to this question was Hegel, who stated that there is a direct relationship between a society and the formulation of its laws. Unfortunately, Malay studies often overlook legal texts as one of the sources of history, even though researchers such as Mohd Yusoff Hashim, Jelani Harun, and Abu Hassan Sham have acknowledged their significance. This paper is a bold attempt to examine the structure of Malay society and its evolution from 1300 AD to 1600 AD. Previously, any study of Malay history relied solely on chronicles and oral literature. This research begins in 1300 AD because it was during this century that written Malay laws began to be formulated. Three texts have been selected as reference sources, namely *Nittisarasamuccaya*, *Undang-undang Laut Melaka* (Maritime Laws of Melaka), and *Hukum Kanun Melaka* (Melaka Legal Code). The main aspects analyzed in this paper include the structure of power, division of duties, religion, and other elements.

**Keywords:** Malay Law, Malay Historiography, Social Structure

## **PROPAGANDIS MELAYU DI ZAMAN PENDUDUKAN JEPUN: MENGINTERPRETASI MAKNA & SEMANGAT PROPAGANDA VISUAL**

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Makalah ini akan mengutarakan sebuah analisis tentang peranan yang dimainkan oleh para propagandis visual berbangsa Melayu yang turut bersama-sama merencanakan kempen perang pembebasan (Dai Toa Senso) oleh pihak Jepun. Slogan doktrin romantik seperti **‘Asia untuk Asia’**, **‘Kesemakmuran Bersama Asia Timur Raya’**, **‘Enam Benua di bawah Satu Bumbung’** dan **‘Kempen Orde-Baharu’** yang dicanangkan oleh pihak Jepun di sepanjang pendudukannya di Malaya (1942-1945), disambut melalui lakaran-lakaran lukisan, ilustrasi, gambar foto, poster, kartun dan komik oleh para propagandis Melayu. Manifestasi propaganda visual yang mereka hasilkan telah dikesan bersiaran pada paparan dada-dada akhbar, majalah, komik serta poster-poster umum. Persoalan yang menjadi tumpuan serta konsentrasi utama, adakah para propagandis visual ini benar-benar mengekspresikan tatanan karya mereka sebagai suatu dukungan, atau disebabkan perasaan takut kepada rejim autokratik yang kejam, atau bahkan mungkin sebuah strategi licik yang subliminal?

**Kata Kunci:** Propagandis Visual, Bangsa Melayu, Pendudukan Jepun di Malaya.

# **MALAY PROPAGANDISTS DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION: INTERPRETING THE MEANING AND SPIRIT OF VISUAL PROPAGANDA**

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This paper presents an analysis of the role played by Malay visual propagandists who actively participated in intensifying the liberation war campaign (*Dai Tōa Sensō*) spearheaded by the Japanese. Romantic doctrinal slogans such as **“Asia for Asians,” “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” “Six Continents Under One Roof,”** and the **“New Order Campaign,”** propagated by the Japanese during their occupation of Malaya (1942–1945), were echoed through illustrations, drawings, photographs, posters, cartoons, and comics produced by Malay propagandists. These manifestations of visual propaganda appeared prominently in newspapers, magazines, comics, and public posters. The central question posed in this paper is whether these visual propagandists genuinely expressed support through their works, acted out of fear of the brutal autocratic regime, or perhaps employed a cunning subliminal strategy as a form of veiled resistance.

**Keywords:** Visual Propagandists, Malay Ethnicity, Japanese Occupation of Malaya.

## **PERAHU DAGANG DI ALAM MELAYU SEBELUM ABAD KE-10 M**

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Jumpaan artifak berupa perahu di seluruh Alam Melayu memberikan data arkeologi yang boleh membawa kepada pentarikan, telahan tentang rupa dan struktur perahu serta aktiviti maritim yang berlaku pada era perahu itu. Data arkeologi lima artifak yang bertarikh sebelum abad ke-10 M yang diteliti, menunjukkan ianya adalah perahu dagang yang terlibat dalam pelayaran merentas lautan berdasarkan muatan dan tempat ia ditemui. Sungguhpun saiznya adalah relatif kecil namun saiz sebegini sesuai dengan komoditi dan sifat pelabuhan pada zaman itu. Manakala teknologi pembinaan perahu-perahu ini adalah jelas didasari kearifan tempatan berdasarkan bahan dan teknik yang digunakan. Kayu-kayu tropika yang kuat, penggunaan tali ijok serta penggunaan pasak adalah ciri khusus pembinaan perahu Alam Melayu sejak dahulu lagi dan lestari sehingga kini. Makalah ini bermatalamat menegaskan wujudnya aktiviti dan budaya dagang merentas lautan, oleh penduduk tempatan sendiri. Keupayaan melakukan pelayaran dagang merentas lautan ini berkait rapat dengan keahlian maritim yang mereka warisi.

**Kata kunci:** Arkeologi Perahu, Teknologi Perahu Melayu, Aktiviti dan Budaya Dagang Tradisional.

## TRADING BOATS IN THE MALAY WORLD BEFORE THE 10TH CENTURY AD

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The discovery of boat artifacts throughout the Malay World provides archaeological data that can lead to dating, assumptions about the form and structure of the boats, and insights into the maritime activities of the era in which the boats existed. An examination of five archaeological boat artifacts dated to before the 10th century AD indicates that they were trading vessels involved in ocean-crossing voyages, based on their cargo and discovery locations. Although their size is relatively small, this was appropriate for the commodities and the nature of ports during that period. The construction technology of these boats clearly reflects indigenous knowledge, based on the materials and techniques used. Strong tropical hardwoods, the use of *ijuk* (sugar palm fiber) ropes, and wooden pegs are characteristic features of traditional Malay boatbuilding, a tradition that has been sustained until today. This paper aims to assert the existence of overseas trading activities and culture carried out by the local populations themselves. Their ability to undertake such maritime trading voyages is closely linked to inherited maritime expertise.

**Keywords:** Boat Archaeology, Malay Boatbuilding Technology, Traditional Trading Activities and Culture.



## SATU TINJAUAN: SEJARAH ALIRAN MADHYAMAKA

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Kajian ini menumpukan kepada Aliran Madhyamaka yang muncul pada abad ke-2 M sebagai reaksi analitikal terhadap kecenderungan metafizik dalam tafsiran lanjutan Buddhisme, khususnya dalam sistem Abhidhamma yang mengklasifikasikan realiti (dhamma) kepada unit-unit terkecil dengan ciri ontologikal (keberadaan) tertentu, juga beberapa tafsiran aliran lain seperti Nyaya dan Samkhya. Dalam Abhidhamma Sarvastivada, fenomena dianggap mempunyai kewujudan intrinsik (svabhava), walaupun bersifat seketika. Penekanan struktur realiti sedemikian menyerupai pendekatan metafizik spekulatif yang dielakkan dari ajaran awal Buddha. Nagarjuna, pengasas aliran Madhyamaka, melakukan pembersihan epistemik (dasar pengetahuan) dengan membongkar kerangka-kerangka dogmatik dengan menghidupkan semula prinsip asas pratityasamutpada (penzahiran bersyarat), bebas dari proposisi kewujudan mutlak yang dibentang pada seminar lepas. Melalui Mulamadhyamakakarika, Nagarjuna menolak empat bentuk kemungkinan ontologi fenomena melalui kaedah prasanga (penolakan secara kontradiksi) dan logik empat penjuru (catuskoti). Akhirnya, kajian meneliti kesinambungan pemikiran ini dalam tulisan tokoh-tokoh utama seperti Aryavada, Bhaviveka, dan Candrakirti. Melihat jejak, bagaimana tradisi ini kekal berpengaruh dalam Mahayana kontemporari dan menjadi asas kepada falsafah Tibet serta wacana falsafah Buddhisme moden, menjadikannya bukan sekadar cabang sejarah, tetapi sebagai pemelihara epistemologi falsafah asal Buddha.

**Kata kunci:** Madhyamaka, Nagarjuna, Abhidhamma, Sejarah Falsafah Buddha, Pratityasamutpada, Dialektik Timur, Mahayana

## AN OVERVIEW: THE HISTORY OF THE MADHYAMAKA SCHOOL

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This study focuses on the Madhyamaka School, which emerged in the 2nd century AD as an analytical response to metaphysical tendencies in the extended interpretations of Buddhism, particularly within the Abhidhamma system, which classifies reality (*dhamma*) into the smallest units with specific ontological (existential) characteristics, as well as in several interpretations from other schools such as Nyaya and Samkhya. In the Sarvastivada Abhidhamma, phenomena are regarded as having intrinsic existence (*svabhava*), even though they are momentary. Such structural emphasis on reality resembles the kind of speculative metaphysics that the early teachings of the Buddha aimed to avoid. Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school, carried out an epistemic purification (cleansing of foundational knowledge) by deconstructing dogmatic frameworks and reviving the fundamental principle of *pratītyasamutpāda* (dependent origination), free from absolute propositions of existence, as presented in a previous seminar. Through his seminal work *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, Nagarjuna rejects the four possible ontological modes of phenomena using the method of *prasaṅga* (reductio ad absurdum) and the logic of the fourfold negation (*catuḥkoṭī*). This study ultimately traces the continuity of this thought in the writings of key figures such as Aryadeva, Bhaviveka, and Candrakīrti. It examines how this tradition has remained influential in contemporary Mahayana, forming the foundation of Tibetan philosophy and modern Buddhist philosophical discourse, making it not merely a historical branch, but also a guardian of the original epistemology of Buddhist philosophy.

**Keywords:** Madhyamaka, Nagarjuna, Abhidhamma, History Of Buddhist Philosophy, Pratītyasamutpada, Eastern Dialectics, Mahayana

## KESINAMBUNGAN TRADISI TEMBIKAR PRASEJARAH DAN TRADISIONAL DI LEMBAH SUNGAI TEMBELING, PAHANG

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Kertas kerja ini membincangkan tentang tinggalan tembikar prasejarah yang ditemui di beberapa tapak arkeologi utama di sepanjang Sungai Tembeling, Pahang, iaitu di Kuala Nyong, Kampung Bantal, Kampung Bukit Komel, Jeram Koi dan Kampung Kucing. Sungai Tembeling merupakan jalur sungai yang bukan sahaja menjadi laluan penghidupan masyarakat silam, tetapi turut mencatatkan tinggalan arkeologi yang penting dalam memahami perkembangan budaya dari zaman prasejarah hingga ke zaman sejarah. Penemuan tembikar tanah di kawasan ini memberi gambaran jelas tentang pola kehidupan masyarakat prasejarah yang sangat bergantung kepada sumber alam seperti tanah liat tempatan, dalam membentuk peralatan harian mereka. Tembikar tanah yang muncul sejak Zaman Neolitik ini jelas membuktikan bahawa ia bukan sekadar tinggalan material, tetapi turut mencerminkan adaptasi teknologi dan interaksi budaya yang telah berlangsung ribuan tahun. Selain itu, tembikar tanah turut berperanan sebagai lambang identiti budaya yang mencerminkan aspek kehidupan domestik, sistem kepercayaan, serta hubungan erat masyarakat dengan alam sekitar, terutama sungai sebagai sumber air, pengangkutan dan rezeki. Dalam konteks budaya setempat, tembikar tanah menjadi warisan budaya yang diwarisi secara turun-temurun dan terus hidup dalam ingatan kolektif komuniti setempat. Kesenambungan nilai dan teknologi tembikar ini turut dapat dikesan dalam amalan pembuatan tembikar tradisional di Kampung Pasir Durian, Kuala Tembeling. Kelangsungan tradisi pembuatan tembikar ini dibuktikan menerusi corak, teknik dan fungsi tembikar tradisional yang masih memperlihatkan elemen-elemen asas yang seakan serupa dengan tembikar prasejarah. Hal ini menandakan kewujudan tradisi pembuatan tembikar yang berakar umbi sejak ribuan tahun dahulu yang masih diteruskan sehingga kini.

**Kata kunci:** Tembikar tanah, prasejarah, tradisional, Sungai Tembeling, Pasir Durian, Kesenambungan Budaya.

# THE CONTINUITY OF PREHISTORIC AND TRADITIONAL POTTERY TRADITIONS IN THE TEMBELING RIVER VALLEY, PAHANG

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This paper discusses the remains of prehistoric pottery discovered at several major archaeological sites along the Tembeling River in Pahang, namely in Kuala Nyong, Kampung Bantal, Kampung Bukit Komel, Jeram Koi, and Kampung Kucing. The Tembeling River served not only as a vital lifeline for ancient communities but also as an important corridor for archaeological evidence that sheds light on cultural development from prehistoric times through to the historical era. The discovery of earthenware in this region offers a clear picture of the lifestyle patterns of prehistoric societies who heavily relied on natural resources—such as local clay—to produce their daily-use tools. Pottery, which first appeared in the Neolithic period, is not merely a material artifact but also a reflection of technological adaptation and long-standing cultural interactions spanning thousands of years. Moreover, earthenware also functions as a cultural identity symbol, reflecting aspects of domestic life, belief systems, and the close relationship between communities and their natural surroundings—particularly rivers as sources of water, transport, and sustenance. In the context of local culture, earthenware pottery has been passed down through generations and continues to live on in the collective memory of the community. This continuity in the value and technology of pottery can also be traced through traditional pottery-making practices in Kampung Pasir Durian, Kuala Tembeling. The survival of this craft is evident through the patterns, techniques, and functions of traditional pottery, which still retain fundamental elements resembling those of prehistoric pottery. This indicates the existence of a deeply rooted pottery-making tradition that has endured for thousands of years and continues to be practiced today.

**Keywords:** Earthenware, Prehistoric, Traditional, Tembeling River, Pasir Durian, Cultural Continuity.

## SEJARAH YANG MEMIHAK: KUNTOWIJOYO DAN USAHA MENGATASI ALIRAN INDONESIAENTRIS

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Makalah ini membincangkan pemikiran Kuntowijoyo dan usahanya untuk mengembangkan historiografi yang memihak kepada golongan tertindas (*wong cilik*) sebagai bentuk kritikan terhadap pendekatan historiografi kolonial serta radikalisasi terhadap aliran Indonesiasentris yang diperkenalkan oleh gurunya, Sartono Kartodirdjo. Kartodirdjo menekankan pentingnya memberi suara kepada rakyat biasa yang terpinggir dalam sejarah kolonial, dan Kuntowijoyo menerima pendekatan ini, namun membawanya lebih jauh dengan falsafah “sejarah yang memihak”. Seperti halnya Heidegger melampaui Husserl, Kuntowijoyo merasakan tugas sejarah bukan hanya mencatat masa lalu, tetapi mengubahnya dengan menjadikan *wong cilik* sebagai pelaku utama sejarah. Gagasan ini berpunca daripada pengalaman hidupnya sendiri semasa kecil di Klaten, di mana beliau menyaksikan bagaimana kuasa pasaran dan negara menindas rakyat biasa. Industrialisasi memusnahkan perniagaan kecil dan negara bertindak zalim atas nama keselamatan. Reaksi terhadap penindasan ini mendorong Kuntowijoyo membangunkan sistem falsafahnya, di mana agama (Islam), sains sosial dan kesusasteraan memainkan peranan penting sebagai agen perubahan.

Kuntowijoyo melihat Islam sebagai sumber kesedaran yang boleh menggerakkan perubahan sosial. Namun, agar perubahan tidak bersifat sementara atau sporadik seperti gerakan *ratu adil*, beliau mencari bentuk kesedaran ideal melalui bacaan dekonstruktif terhadap pemikiran Auguste Comte. Beliau melihat peralihan dari kesedaran mistik ke kesedaran ideologi, dan akhirnya ke kesedaran saintifik. Kesedaran saintifik yang beliau temui dalam gerakan Muhammadiyah dianggap sebagai bentuk kesedaran yang paling tinggi kerana sifatnya yang fleksibel, tidak binari dan mampu memanfaatkan pelbagai sumber ilmu, termasuk daripada tradisi lain, demi emansipasi. Dalam kerangka ini, Kuntowijoyo mencadangkan agar *wong cilik* menggunakan sains sosial dan kesusasteraan sebagai senjata perubahan. Sains sosial yang kritikal dan kesusasteraan yang membangkitkan kesedaran eksistensial dianggap dua sayap pembebasan, tetapi beliau tidak menerima kedua-duanya secara pasif. Sebaliknya, beliau merekonstruksi sains sosial dan kesusasteraan berdasarkan etika profetik untuk mencapai pembebasan yang menyeluruh: pembebasan struktural (seperti dalam Marxisme), kemanusiaan individu (seperti dalam liberalisme), dan transendensi spiritual (seperti dalam Islam).

Kuntowijoyo juga menekankan bahawa musuh utama *wong cilik* dalam sejarah bukanlah entiti konkrit seperti penjajah atau ideologi lawan, tetapi satu bentuk kekuasaan abstrak iaitu industrialisasi. Beliau mengakui bahawa industrialisasi penting untuk kemajuan tamadun, tetapi dalam bentuknya yang tidak terkawal, ia melahirkan sekularisasi dan eksploitasi manusia serta alam. Logik di sebalik industrialisasi ialah rasionaliti instrumental yang mengobjekkan segalanya demi keuntungan dan fungsi, menjadikan manusia dan agama sebagai unsur pinggiran. Kuntowijoyo mengkritik logik pasaran ini dan menawarkan logik masjid sebagai alternatif. Baginya, masjid bukan sahaja simbol spiritual, tetapi juga pusat peradaban dan etika. Dengan menjadikan masjid sebagai pusat kehidupan secara literal dan simbolik beliau mencadangkan satu sistem industrialisasi beretika yang tidak menindas tetapi membebaskan *wong cilik*. Keseluruhan pemikiran ini menjadikan Kuntowijoyo bukan sekadar tokoh historiografi, tetapi juga seorang pemikir falsafah sosial yang menggabungkan agama, ilmu dan seni untuk merombak struktur penindasan dan mencipta sejarah yang memihak kepada kemanusiaan.

**Kata kunci:** Kuntowijoyo, Sejarah, Historiografi Berpusatkan Indonesia, Radikalisasi, Kesedaran Saintifik, Emansipasi, Sains Sosial, Kesusasteraan.

**HISTORY IN FAVOR (*SEJARAH YANG MEMIHAK*): KUNTOWIJOYO AND THE  
EFFORT TO OVERCOME THE INDONESIA-CENTERED  
(*INDONESIASENTRIS*) SCHOOL**

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This paper aims to respond to Khairudin Aljunied's interpretation of Kuntowijoyo's thought, which, according to the author, fails to fully capture the spirit of his philosophy of history. In this study, Kuntowijoyo's philosophy of history is seen as the foundation for the systematic philosophy he built. In contrast, Aljunied's reading does not seem to fully reflect the system that Kuntowijoyo intended to present. As Aljunied emphasized, Kuntowijoyo cannot be separated from his teacher, the famous Indonesian postcolonial historian Sartono Kartodirjo. Kartodirjo is known for his critique of colonial historiography and his advocacy of an Indonesia-centered (*indonesiasentris*) historiography. This approach seeks to bring forth the lost voices of the Indonesian people, those marginalized by colonial historiography. Kartodirjo also believed that it was necessary to highlight the "small" yet significant figures in Indonesian national history, such as farmers, who, driven by the spirit of the "*ratu adil*" (just ruler), resisted colonial rule.

Following Kartodirjo's footsteps, Kuntowijoyo agreed with his thesis of an Indonesia-centered historiography. Kuntowijoyo argued that history should not side with the oppressors (like the colonial powers) but instead should champion the "*wong cilik*" (the little people). However, like Heidegger, who transcended Husserl in developing phenomenology, Kuntowijoyo felt that the philosophy of "history in favor" (*Sejarah yang memihak*) should not be confined to academic circles that simply amplify the voices previously marginalized. For Kuntowijoyo, following Marx, the essential task is to change history itself. In other words, the "wong cilik" in the course of history must be freed from the chains that bound them, transforming them from the marginalized to those at the center of history, capable of writing it themselves.

The radicalization of the Indonesia-centered school in Kuntowijoyo's thought can be traced, in part, to his own life experiences—an aspect missing in Aljunied's account—where, as a child, he lived with his grandfather in Ngawonggo, Klaten. There, he witnessed how the "wong cilik" (his own neighbors) became victims of the market and state powers. Industrialization destroyed small businesses, while the state, under the guise of security, often violated human rights by arresting

citizens deemed threats to the state. In his work *Maklumat Sastra Profetik*, Kuntowijoyo openly admitted his resentment toward these circumstances. From the reconstruction and radicalization of the Indonesia-centered school, Kuntowijoyo endeavored to build his own philosophical system.

For Kuntowijoyo, if the ultimate goal of history is to change history itself, how can this be achieved? In this context, he saw the essential role of religion (specifically Islam), social sciences, and literature. Inspired by his teacher's studies, Kuntowijoyo saw the awareness of *the ratu adil* motivating farmers to act (becoming historical actors). In this regard, he saw Islam as a consciousness that could drive the "*wong cilik*" (Muslims) to change history. However, Kuntowijoyo felt that an ideal consciousness needed to be cultivated so that these movements of resistance were not sporadic, like *the ratu adil* movement. This led Kuntowijoyo to turn to Comte and read him deconstructively to seek this ideal consciousness. Through Comte's lens, Kuntowijoyo observed that mystic consciousness resided at the bottom of Islamic awareness. He then noted a shift from mysticism to ideological consciousness, which he viewed as more ideal for ensuring long-lasting commitment, compared to mysticism that depended on a charismatic figure. However, Kuntowijoyo critiqued ideological consciousness for being binary, a critique he made of both Marxist orthodoxy and movements like Sarekat Islam.

Lastly, still within the Comtean framework, Kuntowijoyo saw hope in the highest form of consciousness—scientific consciousness, which he observed in the Muhammadiyah organization. Unlike ideological consciousness, which is binary, scientific consciousness is flexible, allowing the utilization of various thoughts, traditions, and legacies from different civilizations for the sake of emancipation. Kuntowijoyo did not err in his reading, as Muhammadiyah, for example, did not hesitate to learn from Christian circles, secular thinkers, and modern sciences that were once considered unorthodox by the Muslim community. At this point, Kuntowijoyo viewed the scientific consciousness, as carried by Muhammadiyah, as a form of religious awareness that needed to be cultivated as a precondition for change.

When this scientific consciousness was achieved, Kuntowijoyo then addressed the "weapons" that the "*wong cilik*", with this scientific consciousness, could use to change history. He viewed social science and literature as their "weapons" (not swords or bombs). During Kuntowijoyo's time, social science had reached a critical stage (beyond positivism), possessing an emancipatory spirit that drew Kuntowijoyo's interest. Likewise, literature, which could awaken new existential consciousness in individuals, was seen as the second wing of liberation. Kuntowijoyo deeply embraced this "weapon of liberation," striving to develop both "weapons" throughout his life. However, he did not merely adopt them as they were. As previously stated, Kuntowijoyo viewed



scientific spirit as non-binary, leading him to "reconstruct" critical social science traditions to achieve holistic and prophetic liberation, which included liberation (reminiscent of structural emancipation in Marxian traditions), humanization (individual emancipation in liberal traditions), and transcendence (spiritual emancipation in Islamic traditions). Similarly, literature, for Kuntowijoyo, should adopt this prophetic ethic.

A critical point that should be emphasized is how Kuntowijoyo constructs the "enemy" that the "*wong cilik*" must oppose if they are to change history. Unlike the mystical and ideological thought that views the enemy as a concrete person (the Dutch in the case of mystical consciousness) or a rival ideology to be destroyed (such as capitalism or communism in the case of ideological consciousness), for Kuntowijoyo, the "enemy" is industrialization. This is an "abstract" enemy, but its resistance is not through "killing," but through transformation, in order to elevate the status of the "*wong cilik*". Kuntowijoyo saw industrialization as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, he recognized industrialization as a prerequisite for the advancement of civilization. However, on the other hand, he also saw that industrialization gave rise to secularization and exploitation (of both nature and human beings). To "tame" industrialization, Kuntowijoyo identified the heart of the problem within the logic of industrialization itself. He traced this logic back to the logic of the market, which, according to him, was based solely on instrumental rationality that objectifies everything for the functioning of the industry (in this context, humans and nature are viewed as mere objects). Furthermore, this instrumental rationality renders religion irrelevant, pushing it to the margins (for example, a mosque placed in a corner of a mall near the restroom, symbolizing the insignificance of religion). Kuntowijoyo gave a theological interpretation of this market logic by citing a Hadith that states the worst place is the market, meaning that when this logic becomes dominant and unchecked, it becomes problematic.

As a solution, Kuntowijoyo proposes the logic of the mosque as the guiding principle for industrialization. In this context, Kuntowijoyo understands the mosque as a center in both a literal and symbolic sense. Literally, he imagines the mosque as a center of space, not a market, so that spatially, individuals would reimagine their positions existentially. Symbolically, the mosque embodies the prophetic ethics that should permeate every aspect of life, including industrial systems, to transform them into structures that no longer oppress the "*wong cilik*" but rather liberate them—individually, structurally, and spiritually.

**Keywords:** Kuntowijoyo, History, Indonesia-Centered Historiography, Radicalization, Scientific Consciousness, Emancipation, Social Science, Literature.

## **PASANG SURUT POLITIK KEMAHARAJAAN MALAYU DALAM JARINGAN MARITIM GLOBAL ABAD KE-11– 13 M**

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Kebangkitan politik Malayu terjadi setelah kemunduran Kadatuan Sriwijaya akibat serangan Rajendrachola, dari India Selatan pada tahun 1017 dan 1025 M. Malayu sebagai Datu dengan kekuatan politik paling berpengaruh di persekutuan para Datu penguasa negara maritim mengambil alih suksesi kepemimpinan di Kadatuan melanjutkan visi politik Sriwijaya sebagai kekuatan maritim dijalar penghubung antara Tiongkok, dengan India dan Timur Tengah. Berbagai sumber sejarah dan arkeologi mengungkap dinamika perdagangan maritim Malayu dari abad ke-11 hingga 13 M. Fenomena ini sekaligus membuktikan peran Malayu sebagai suksesor Sriwijaya yang penting diuraikan dalam kajian ilmiah, terutama mengenai jaringan perdagangan maritim yang dibangun Malayu di sepanjang jalur pelayaran Sino-Indian. Rumusan masalah penelitian akan dijawab menggunakan metode arkeologi pemikiran K.Dark, serta menganalisis dengan pendekatan arkeologi maritim. Dari hasil analisis data arkeologi, data sejarah, naskah lokal, mengungkapkan bahwa pendekatan politik maritim, Malayu mampu memperkuat posisi Malayu sebagai mitra dagang Tiongkok sejak tahun 1079 M, dan bangkit kembali lalu mencapai puncaknya pada 1286 M. Selain politik maritim, Malayu menerapkan politik religi dalam berdiplomasi dengan penguasa kota pelabuhan yang terbukti efektif. Pasca konflik dengan Dinasti Chola, Malayu menggunakan politik pedagang perantara yakni "orang Tamil" dipusatkan di bandar dagang Panai, Sumatera bagian utara. Untuk menyamakan kedudukan penguasa Malayu dengan penguasa global lain, maka digunakan politik legitimasi genologi, mengambil gelar "Maharajadiraja Srimat" sebagai simbol pemimpin tertinggi politik, ekonomi, dan religi.

**Kata kunci:** politik, Kemaharajaan, Malayu, Maritim, Global.

# THE RISE AND FALL OF MALAY EMPIRE POLITICS IN THE GLOBAL MARITIME NETWORK OF THE 11TH–13TH CENTURY AD

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The political resurgence of Malayu occurred after the decline of the Sriwijaya Kingdom due to the attacks by Rajendrachola from South India in 1017 and 1025 AD. Malayu, as the Datu with the most influential political power among the confederation of Datu rulers of maritime states, took over the succession of leadership in the kingdom, continuing the political vision of Sriwijaya as a maritime power on the route connecting China, India, and the Middle East. Various historical and archaeological sources reveal the dynamics of Malayu's maritime trade from the 11th to the 13th century AD. This phenomenon simultaneously proves the role of Malayu as a significant successor to Sriwijaya, which is elaborated on in scientific studies, particularly regarding the maritime trade network established by Malayu along the Sino-Indian shipping route. The research problem formulation will be addressed using K. Dark's archaeological method, as well as analyzed with a maritime archaeology approach. From the analysis of archaeological data, historical data, and local manuscripts, it is revealed that the maritime political approach enabled Malayu to strengthen its position as a trading partner of China since 1079 AD, and it rose again to its peak in 1286 AD. In addition to maritime politics, Malayu applied religious politics in diplomacy with port city rulers, which proved to be effective. Post-conflict with the Chola Dynasty, Malayu used intermediary trader politics, namely the "Tamil people," centered in the trading port of Panai, northern Sumatra. To equalize the status of the Malayu rulers with other global rulers, genealogical legitimacy politics was used, adopting the title "Maharajadiraja Srimat" as a symbol of the highest leader in politics, economics, and religion.

**Keywords:** Politics, Empire, Malay, Maritime, Global.