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Research paper



The Concept of Leadership and Constitution from The Islamic and Malay Archipelago Perspectives According to *Taj Al-Salatin* Manuscript

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Abstract

The aspect of leadership has existed since the dawn of time, with scholars conducting extensive studies from various angles and views, which were then produced into literary works. In the Malay Archipelago, Taj al-Salatin manuscript (1603M) is widely known as a masterpiece which highlighted leadership qualities from the Islamic perspective. This study was conducted to identify the author's ideas on Islamic leadership in the context of Malay Archipelago, using descriptive method by analysing the manuscript. The findings showed that leaders and leadership are considered as a mandate from Allah S.W.T. Good leaders must be qualified, with higher knowledge and morals than their subjects. Taj al-Salatin introduces the idea that leaders should practice Tasawwuf, which among its practises include constant self reminder of death, rejecting lust and desires, and prioritising remembrance to Allah. In his manuscript, Bukhari al-Jauhari presents the vision, idealism and the idea of "leaders are perfect beings", which embodies the concept of Tauhid and upholds noble character for universal humanity. A leader of a nation should always stand on the grounds of good moral values and the people are led towards creating a peaceful, prosperous and happy nation.

Keywords: *Leadership; Malay; Islam; Archipelago; Taj Al-Salatin*

1. Introduction

The concept of leadership is the subject of Islamic religious discourse from ancient times up till today. Countless books, journals and articles have been specifically written to address this topic. According to Islamic perspectives, a leader of a nation seeks to bring its people to progress or retrogress through leadership. The head of state role is crucial and it has long been debated by Islamic scholars such as al-Mawardi and al-Ghazali through their writings. In the Malay Archipelago, *Taj al-Salatin* (1603M) is considered a literary masterpiece in its own right, covering constitutional ethics that speaks about the qualities of a leader.

Taking into account the above opinions, this paper aims at analysing the point of views and ideas on Islamic leadership and constitution made by the author of *Taj al-Salatin*, which is seen to be important in the context of the Malay Archipelago. Descriptive method was used in analysing the manuscript. This article is directed to both Muslims and non-Muslims seeking to understand the leadership and constitution paradigm from the Islamic and Malay Archipelago perspectives according to *Taj al-Salatin* manuscript and also for all Muslims wishing to understand Islamic leadership better. It is hoped that this study can benefit the Muslim community in Malaysia and Indonesia, as the ideas and views can bring positive changes to the society and therefore should be analysed.

2. Taj Al-Salatin

The *Taj al-Salatin* manuscript was among the earliest of its kind in the Malay Archipelago that touches on political and constitutional issues, and it was written in *Jawi* using classical Malay language. The manuscript was nicely arranged and written; it consists of 24 chapters and has a preface or doxology (Muhammad Haji Salleh, 2001:1-3). *Taj al-Salatin* was highly praised by western scholars such as Wrendly, van Eysinga and Valentijn. A scholar by the name of Roorda once stated that 'Crown of Kings' (the meaning of *Taj al-Salatin*) may very well means 'the Crown of all Malay texts'. This is similar to van Eysinga, in the preface of *Taj al-Salatin* in 1827, who mentioned that the manuscript is not just a crown for kings but is a crown for all Malay texts (Dipodjojo 1986).

In addition, Muhammad Haji Salleh (2001: 1-3) opined that *Taj al-Salatin* is the first work in Malay literature that deals with manners, politics and constitutional issues, in which the author use a narrative technique on how to govern based on the examples of both Muslim and non-Muslim rulers of ancient times. Many constitutional Malay texts were Islamic-based. The presence of this genre is aimed at organising an Islamic-based administration con-

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cept to uphold justice for the benefits of mankind. Woro Aryandini S. (1997: 1) had stated that *Taj al-Salatin* is a religious, historical and constitutional literary work. Piah (2006) when commenting on this literary genre stated that even though it has historical elements, it narrated on how to administer a government based on examples of the kings of that time, especially those from Arab and Persia.

Generally, many scholars have placed *Taj al-Salatin* under the category of caliphate advisory and constituitonal ethics literature. The content in this manuscript comprises of extensive Islamic teachings based on Qur'an and Sunnah, deep *Tasawwuf* elements, and details on Islamic based administrative concept that can benefit mankind. Therefore, it should be a constant reading companion that also act as a guide, as Bukhari al-Jauhari said: "*adapun teman yang baik itu kitab inilah dengan sebenarnya yang sediakala sertanya dan sentiasa memberi manfaat padanya dan menjauhkan mudharat daripadanya dan memeliharakan daripada segala kejahatan adanya* (As for this good friend, it is the book of truth which is always with him, beneficial for him, avoids harm from him and safeguards him from all evil)" (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: 214).

2.1. The Content of *Taj Al- Salatin*

A caliphate advisory text, such as *Taj al- Salatin*, usually begins with a preface. In this part, the author, Bukhari al-Jauhari, stated the purpose of writing the manuscript. Following the preface, the main topics were then divided into several sections and chapters, which touch on the details of the kings, viziers, ministers, dignitaries, envoys, and ends with the closing chapter.

The content mainly covers the qualities of the rulers, the ministers and the subjects. The distribution of the contents of *Taj al-Salatin* is as follows:

1. Discussions on Islam
2. The reign of rulers or kings
3. Roles of ministers
4. The relationship between ministers and common people
5. The relationship between rulers and their subjects and the aspect of knowledge/ education.

Taj al-Salatin contains 24 chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Revolves around getting to know about one self.
Chapter 2: Talks about getting to know God.
Chapter 3: Touches on the reality of life on earth. Humans are likened to voyagers on a journey to eternal life, where the present world is just a temporary stopover.
Chapter 4: Touches on mortality which is inevitable. Everyone, regardless of their status shall taste death.
Chapter 5: Explanation on the greatness and glory of a king, his authority and sovereignty.
Chapter 6: Ways to uphold justice. Allah sent human to do good and be just, because the two elements are the foundation of peace and security in the world.
Chapter 7: Talks about the nature of a righteous ruler. A ruler must associate with righteous scholars. They must also be wise and keep his people from being oppressed.
Chapter 8: Tales of just and infidel kings, among them was King Nusyirwan.
Chapter 9: Tales of tyrants.
Chapter 10: On ministers or advisors.
Chapter 11: On being a writer.
Chapter 12: On envoys and dignitaries.
Chapter 13: On officer's behaviours
Chapter 14: On educating children.
Chapter 15: On how to give highly valued opinions.
Chapter 16: On courtesy.
Chapter 17: On conditions of a government.
Chapter 18: On *Qiafah* and *Firasat*.
Chapter 19: Signs of *Qiafah* and *Firasat*.
Chapter 20: Relationship between Muslims and their rulers.
Chapter 21: Relationship between non-Muslims and their rulers.
Chapter 22: Philanthropy and generosity.
Chapter 23: On *wafa'* and *'ahd*.
Chapter 24: Postface; with a given closure.

Taj al-Salatin has many features of manuscript writing that derived from Persia such as the use of *masnawi*, *ruba'i*, *ghazzal* and *namruz*. It also copiously refers to Persian texts such as *al-Akhlak al-Muhsinin, Akhbar al-Muluk* and *Minhaj al-Salatin.* In general, the content of *Taj al-Salatin* can be categorised into three sections, namely:

1. History of mankind, the world and its creation, and the concept of *Tauhid*.
2. Governance, the concepts of justice and polity.
3. Education and knowledge.

From the perspective of percentages, the guidance on governance and state of affairs contributed to 50% of the content in *Taj al-Salatin.* Meanwhile, all matters relating to Islam (e.g. history of mankind, the world and its creation, and the concept of *Tauhid*) attributed to 17%, and the remaining 33% covers other matters (e.g. how to educate children, *qiafah* and *firasat*).

3. The Concept of Leadership According To *Taj Al-Salatin*

The aspects of leadership and governance were discussed by Bukhari al-Jauhari in Chapter Five of *Taj al-Salatin.* According to him, being a ruler (or a Sultan) is considered a mandate from Allah, who owns sovereignty over the heavens and grants the mandate to govern the earth to His chosen subjects. *Taj al-Salatin* stated that the Sultan gained authority from Allah as the holder of absolute sovereignty. Sovereignty here refers to power, though the ultimate power remains in the hands of Allah, while the leaders on His earth are considered as His caliphs.

The author of *Taj al-Salatin* highlighted the use of a sultanate-based system which is a sub-system for the caliphs, in which the Sultan is regarded as a state ruler. This is a continuation from Prophet Adam as the first caliph on earth and passed on to the other prophets until Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). It was then passed on to *Khulafa al-Rashidin*, the Umayyad, the Abbasid, the Ottoman and the sultans who existed throughout the Islamic world to the present times. The system is still credible because it was proven to be able to unify the people and country of Brunei Darussalam, governed by Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, which is the best example in the present day.

According to Bukhari al-Jauhari, Islam and the state government is a unit; intimate, inseparable and are symbolised in *Taj al-Salatin* as twins. Islam is symbolised as the foundation and grassroots, whereas a king is a guardian. Something that has no foundation and grassroots is sure to collapse and something that is unguarded will be lost in time. The government and the legislature will be imperfect unless there is a full-fledged state ruler or the sultan. *Taj al-Salatin* has made the Sultanate Institution a symbol of Islamic politics in the Malay Archipelago, where the Sultan functions as a leader, advocate and saviour of Islam. *Taj al-Salatin* stated that the ruler position and the government can be likened to the prophet and his prophetic work (Bukhari al-Jauhari, 2000:86). Bukhari al-Jauhari opined that the task of *nubuwwah* and *hukumah* (prophethood and government) is equated to a ring with two gems. *Taj al-Salatin* in this context stated that:

"…kedua pekerjaan nubuwwah dan hukumah itu umpama seperti dua permata jua pada suatu cincin yang besar harga keduanya… (...both the work of nubuwwah and hukumah are like two expensive gems on a ring...)" (Bukhari al-Jauhari, 2000:86).

According to *Taj al-Salatin*, the king or sultan is the person entrusted by Allah to govern a state and is given the authority to maintain peace on earth. The concept of the Sultan as the head of state in a Malay kingdom had existed and was widely practiced in Malay communities in North Sumatra namely Pasai, Perlak and Aceh. It is a sub-system of the Islamic Caliphate. Take the political organisation of the palace or Sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salam,

for example. The organisational structure is as follows; the sultan acted as the head of state and placed on the top hierarchy, followed by officials who helped him manage the state such as viziers or ministers, *Qadi*, messengers or deputy sultans, scribes and plain-folks. In this system, the sultan has the highest status, while the rest in the hierarchy acted as supporters of the sultan. The palace is the center of government administration and its legislature was based on the Qur'an, *Hadith*, *Ijma 'ulama* and *Qias*.

On leadership, *Taj al-Salatin* stated that leaders and leadership start from within. Every human must first lead himself to be just, and only then can he leads others well. This can be understood through a *Hadith* of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh):

كلكم راع و كلكم مسؤول عن رعيته

Meaning: All of you are shepherds and each of you is responsible for his flock

According to{Harun, 2009 #728}, the concept of king as the "shadow of the god on earth" is also closely related to the concept of the king as a shepherd based on the *Hadith* narrated by Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Daud, Tarmizi, Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal mentioned above. It relates directly to the position of an Islamic state ruler who has a great responsibility for the people under his reign. This is because every single thing done to the people, whether good or bad, is under the responsibility of the sultan, and as a leader, a sultan has the ultimate power to determine the direction of life of those under his rule.

Taj al-Salatin further emphasises that the sultan's duty as the head of state can be burdensome. This is in accordance with the Qur'an which stresses that the duty of a human is to be a caliph to prosper the earth based on the laws of Allah S.W.T. The purpose of prophets and leaders is to ensure that all humans abide by the commandments and prohibitions of Allah S.W.T. Consequently, an individual of noble character will be born to fulfil his/her role as "Allah S.W.T.'s servant", and not a lust-fullfilling slave of a devil.

In the context of a country, the people will be safe, prosperous and united. According to Bukhari al-Jauhari, a sultan should not whim to lust. They must obey Allah's command to obtain His mercy in leading the government and the people. A leader should be able to determine the direction of the society he leads. In addition, morals are the most important thing in leadership according to *Taj al-Salatin.* A leader must also be fair, knowledgeable and wise, as well as being nobler than the people they lead. Many leaders succumbed for failing to control their morals. A good leader should be made as role models to his people. Moreover, the quality of a country leader depends on the quality of its people and vice versa. In short, leader is a mirror to its people.

In *Taj al-Salatin*, Bukhari al-Jauhari described the methods to govern a nation based on the example of pious caliphates and the heads of Islamic nations such as Khalifah Umar al-Khattab and Umar Abdul Aziz. As the head of a Muslim community, a sultan should uphold Islam, practice Islamic teachings, are characterized by Islamic morals, interested in Islamic knowledge, taking care of their people from persecution and administering the nation under Islamic laws.

The characters of a good leader according to *Taj al-Salatin* are:

1. being the main example for his subordinates and the masses.
2. fair when carrying out the law.
3. run the government for spiritual purposes, not just for material purposes. The prophets had the authority to govern his people, but they lived a simple life and were not bound by materialism and worldly splendour.

Leadership according to classical and medieval Islamic political thinkers such as al-Ghazali, al-Farabi, al-Mawardi and Ibn Abi Rabi' is based on "noble character" because good morals are very effective in politics. These political thinkers make the conclusions based on their own life experiences. For example al-Farabi, al-Mawardi and al-Ghazali who lived in an era where morality and religion were not practiced by leaders. That is why classical Islamic political thinkers like al-Farabi have emphasized the quality of a leader. According to al-Farabi, a caliph must be elected from the upper class and is the best among Muslims. According to him again, the leader and the people should not be influenced by lust and material. The soul of the good leader is the soul that has escaped the bond of materiality and demands of lust. This is actually the soul of the best leaders and the people of the country (Idris Zakaria 1991: 59). According to al-Farabi, a leader should reach the level of human beings (perfectly mentally, spiritually, physically and morally) who are always guided by Allah S.W.T. {Zakaria, 1991 #729}.

Ibn Abi Rabi 'in his book titled Suluk al-Malik fi Tadbir al-Mamalik (King's Behavior in Government Administration) stressed that the leader must be the best and noble in the country because he should give a good example (role model) to his followers. This thought is seen similar to the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and also al-Farabi's opinion. Meanwhile, leaders in the sense of Sufi members are not only the best people but must also have a higher religious hierarchy than their subordinates in terms of knowledge and practice.

Leadership in Islam according to {Din, 1988 #730} is associated with the responsibility to carry out the trust of Allah S.W.T to lead the entire human race and prosper the world fairly to the pleasure of Allah S.W.T. According to Beekun {Beekun, 1999 #731}, leadership in Islam is a trust (amanah). Leadership represents a psychological contract between a leader and his followers that he will try his best to guide them, to protect them and to treat them fairly and with justice. Hence the focus of leadership in Islam is on doing good. Leadership in Islam is an important aspect of an organization or a society in order to achieve the common objectives effectively. For example Allah SWT says in Surah al-Baqarah (2:30) which means:

And remember when thy Lord said to the angels; "Surely I want to make a caliph on earth". They asked about the wisdom of God's decree by saying; "Is it our Lord, that we should make the earth a calamity and shed blood when we exalt and praise and purify you? God said; "I know what you do not know."

According {Hamka, 1985 #732} in *Tafsir al-Azhar*, the leadership in the above verse means the caliph as the successor of the Prophets after his death. The caliph refers to the successor of Allah and also refers to the people of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) who connected the institution of caliph (leadership) from Prophet Adam.

3.1. Appointing Leaders and Obligation to Follow

According to Bukhari al-Jauhari, appointing a ruler to govern a Muslim society is obligatory as it can preserve the welfare of Muslims in the present world (and hereafter), leading to a peaceful and harmonious life (Bukhari al-Jauhari, 2000:86). A Sultan is someone who is chosen by Allah to lead the people of his kingdom. Without a just leader, the people's affairs would not be well organised. Therefore, having a leader is seen as vital. Furthermore, with the absence of a ruler or leader, there will be no one to maintain the peace in one's nation, which can lead to conflicts amongst the people and ultimately, create chaos and destruction. Should an elected ruler is a non-Muslim, immorality and indecency will be rampant, causing catastrophe. Therefore, Muslims need to appoint a leader among those who have a high hierarchy of piety.

As stated in *Taj al-Salatin*, a sultan acts as a patron and guardian of Muslims and those under his reign. Failure to act as such may result in risking the safety of the religion as well as the unity of its people. The appointment of Abu Bakar al-Siddiq as the *imam* following the passing of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) shows that no societies or states can survive without a leader.

Taj al-Salatin also stated that the people should follow their leaders (a sultan, for example). Loyalty to the sultan is related to loyalty to Allah S.W.T and His prophets. In Chapter Five of the manuscript, an excerpt from Surah al-Nisa (4:59) was cited. In this verse, Allah S.W.T said:

"يَاأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُوْلِى ٱلأَمْرِ مِنكُم"

Meaning: “O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you...”
Taj al-Salatin placed the sultan on the level of *ulil amri* (those who are powerful), and is on the nation’s top hierachy and is given the mandate by Allah S.W.T., which makes it obligatory for the people to follow their rulers. It also stated that it is obligated for the people to be loyal to their rulers who were elected following proper Islamic laws. This loyalty must be expressed regardless of whether the rulers are good or bad, as long as they follow the Islamic laws. As loyal subjects, they must also be one with the Islamic government.
This obligation (to be loyal to the ruler) will not falter even when the ruler is someone who violates the Islamic laws; his orders must be followed as long as it is in line with Islamic laws. This, however, is limited to state affairs, whereas his behaviour should not be exemplified by his subjects. As stated in *Taj al-Salatin*, a government that does not adhere to the Islamic laws can lead to the destruction of that nation.

3.2. The Roles of Sultan

According to *Taj al-Salatin*, the following are the roles of a sultan:
1. Maintaining the sanctity of Islam. A sultan must seek the advice and opinions of the *ulama* on Islamic affairs and the important decisions in the government.
2. Protecting the rights of the people and safeguarding the security of the state.
3. Giving orders and ruling his subjects.
4. Promoting his subjects to do good.
5. Punishing those who violate Islamic laws.
6. Shielding his people from evil.
7. Punish felons with truth and justice (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: 48-49).
8. Showing emphathy to his subjects and treating them like own children, especially the poor (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: 57).
9. Teaching and instructing his subjects to practise acts of worship.
10. Forbiding his subjects from committing evil.

Taj al-Salatin explained the concept of "the king is like the shadow of Allah on earth" by using the expression:
“Bermula segala raja-raja itu daripada perinya ini dikatakan Dzal Allah fil ardh bahawa bayangan Allah di bumi … (the king is like the shadow of Dzal Allah fil ardh on earth)” (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992:57).
From this expression, the sultan was given the mandate as representative of Allah S.W.T. to champion those on earth. Symbolically, a leader is like a shady tree that can give shelter to those who seeks it. The sultan's role is like a prophet, as they are seen as intermediaries between humans and Allah S.W.T.
However, the privilege and glory of the kings as the "shadow of Allah on earth" can only be achieved if the sultan governs his state justly and under Islamic teachings, as well as being a righteous man. Only a just sultan will be in the sense of being the "shadow of Allah on earth", whereas an unfair sultan will be rightfully punished by Allah S.W.T. Ethically, a sultan must clearly understand his duties and responsibilities, as well being capable of implementing them with integrity, sincerity and submit under the greatness and power of Allah S.W.T, the mighty one, the king of all kings who always watches over them.
Taj al-Salatin has introduced ideas and thoughts that Islamic politics must be centered on morals. According to Bukhari al-Jauhari, a leader must equip himself to be a quality leader, knowledgeable and he shall be obligated to rule fairly. All this requires sensible reasoning, which is why one of the important requirements of being a sultan is the ability to be reasonable. To ensure that the mind is on the right track, he must be guided by the divine revelation given in the Qur'an. Furthermore, the advice from the *ulama* is prioritised, and in this case, *Taj al-Salatin* suggested that one of the requirements to appoint a sultan is he must be someone who likes the pious and always mingles with them:
“Keduanya hendaklah raja itu berilmu dan bersahabat dengan orang yang berilmu dan mencari beberapa kitab ahli al-ilmu dan baca dia atau cari orang yang tahu suruh dibacanya supaya ia tahu... (Secondly, a sultan should be knowledgeable and friendly with the knowledgeable people and look for a few books of knowledge and read them or find someone who knows what to read so that he knows ...)” (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992:59).

3.3. Requirements of Being A Ruler

Taj al-Salatin has discussed the requirements of being a ruler or sultan as was discussed by earlier scholars on the requirements to be khalifah or imam. Its discussion focuses on their personal characteristics and responsibilities, which was discussed in Chapters 5,6,7 and 8.
In the last segment of Chapter 5, Bukhari al-Jauhari who quoted from the Book of *Adab al-Mulk* (Nizam al-Mulk, Prime Minister of the 11th century Bani Saljuk Dynasty) listed ten requirements that must exist in a leader or head of state:
1. Of sound mind and coming of age; so he can distinguish between good and evil.
2. Knowledgeable; has a vision and friendly to the pious people.
3. Good at appointing ministers who are of age, clever and knowledgeable in order to exchange ideas in state affairs.
4. Good facial features and has a high moral character. If he is not attractive, then he must be of high moral character.
5. Gracious; being generous is the nature of the nobles while being stingy is the nature of the idolaters.
6. Treasure kindness; always remember the kindness of the person who once helped him during his difficult times and reward them with kindness.
7. Brave; especially when reprimanding officers and warlords if they are unlawful.
8. Control his appetite and sleep[1] as these are the causes of all disasters.
9. Would not be tempted by women, because he who falls for women is not a sign of a kind person.
10. A man (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992:59-60).

Other than that, *Taj al-Salatin* paid much attention to the sultan's qualities and his responsibility to his people. The most basic attributes are:
1. A Sultan must be fair by giving equal punishment.
2. Always open his palace doors so that the people can complain.
3. Follow the examples and actions of a faithful, gentleman and fair sultan.
4. When giving punishment, he shall be soft spoken.
5. Must follow Allah’s laws and Sharia laws when giving punishment.
6. Always be aware of the difficulties in governing a kingdom.
7. Mingle around with *ulama*, listen and ask for their advice because it makes for a perfect sultan.
8. Do not brag or be proud when giving alms.

[1] Bukhari al-Jauhari in Taj al-Salatin stated that: “Bermula apabila nyata kitab itulah taulan yang baik pekertinya, maka harus mendengarkan katanya dan menurutkan ertinya barang yang dapat seperti segala raja-raja yang adil dan akil itu dan barang siapa menghendak menurut akan mereka itu hendaklah perinya mengurangkan makan dan tidur kerana daripada banyak makan itu menambah dahaga dan daripada dahaga itu tiada dapat tiada banyak minum air dan daripada banyak minum air itu bertambah alpa dan daripada alpa itu terlebih tidur. Maka iaitu sia-sialah segala pekerjaan dunia dan akhirat. Inilah kejahatan kenyang
(A just and reasonable ruler must reduce his food intake and sleep time, because more food intake will lead to thirst, and this will lead to neglect, and then leads to over-sleeping. All efforts will be in vain. This is the effect of gluttony)”. (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992:215)

9. Check on the affairs of his people.
10. A Sultan shall be wise. His wisdom must exceed the ability of his people. Thus, they are able to see the effects and consequences of each decision made.
11. Kind, generous and frugal (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: 92-93).

According to Bukhari al-Jauhari, a nation is like a human. The head of state is like his mind. The ministers are the judgment based on conscience and done through *musyawarah*. The officers are the tongues, while the royal decrees are the words. The followings are the characteristics of a reasonable leader according to Bukhari al-Jauhari:

1. Be nice to your enemy, delight his/her heart and forgive those who have repented.
2. Be humble to those of lower status, and respect those with higher dignity, wisdom and knowledge.
3. Perform great jobs and good deeds diligenty.
4. Despise despicable jobs, bad deeds, slanders, and unverified and unreliable news.
5. Lay emphasis on dhikr to Allah, ask for forgiveness and sign from Allah, constantly reminded of death and torment of the grave.
6. Be wise when delivering news; say what is right, depending on time and place.
7. Always depends on Allah in difficult times and believe that He will ease and facilitate us.

A fair, kind amd wise leader must fulfil these five (5) requirements:

1. Have good memory retention (*hifz*).
2. Have good understanding in all matters (*fahm*).
3. Have sharp mind and insightful (*fikr*).
4. Dream of peace, prosperity and progress for all walks of life.
5. Illuminate the land with love and affection (*nur*).

A leader must have a perfect mind and moral as he is the source of examples to the ministers and the people. The sultan who has the authority to rule his people must live moderately, being non-materialistic with worldly splendour. *Taj al-Salatin* suggested that the sultan authority is for spiritual purposes, and not only for worldly and material purposes. Among the attributes of a good leader according to Ibn Khaldun (1995: 120) is the earnest desire to do good, high pride, generosity, forgiving others, tolerating the weak, respecting the guests, helping the needy, to support the poor, to be patient with misfortune, to obey the obligations, to guard the Islamic religion, to love the scholars, to respect the parents, to be fair, to care for the subordinates, to help the poor, stay away from unhealthy symptoms and many more.

4. Conclusion

The debate on the concept of leadership in *Taj al-Salatin* is more focusing on an individual, the sultan. He is the chosen one; the center of a government, justice, sovereignty and authority. The discussion in *Taj al-Salatin* focuses more on spiritual and moral values of a nation leader itself. The sultans must have the quality, knowledge and morals which are better than the people they lead. A good and wise sultan must show great examples to his ministers and people. Meanwhile, the people are of good character, obedient to the religious instruction and practice good moral values. In history, there is no great and successful civilisation that practices a lustful life.

Taj al-Salatin presents the ideas for the leaders to practice *Tasawwuf*, constantly reminded of death, refuses lust and desire, and lay emphasis on dhikr to Allah. From this manuscript, Bukhari al-Jauhari presented the vision, the idealism and the idealogy that "a leader is a perfect human" who is conceptualised by *Tauhid* and upholds noble character for greater good. A leader of a nation should always stand on the grounds of good moral values and the people are led towards creating a peaceful, prosperous and happy nation.

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