

RAJA ALI HAJI'S POLITICAL THOUGHTS

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ABSTRACT

Raja Ali Haji was a Malay aristocrat of Bugis descent. A scholar, poet as well as the most prominent and respected statesman in the Riau-Lingga Kingdom who centered on Penyengat Island in the late 19th century. This research was arranged by method qualitative through a historical approach that uses data collection instruments literature review (library research). The data in this study were taken from the works of Raja Ali Haji which has a theme focus on political thought. The findings show The ideal political system for the Malay world in the view of Raja Ali Haji is a royal system based on Islamic law (theo-monarchy). His activities as a political practitioner as well the maturity of the intellectual tradition through its interaction with the classical texts of Al-Ghazali, Al-Mawardi, and other scholars provide an ethical pattern, namely a pattern that gives emphasis on the ethics of power holders. But, at the same time a thought Raja Ali Haji's politics is also included in the legal style category because he puts forward theories that focus on the theory of the legitimacy of the ruler from the point of view of Islamic law.

Keywords: Ethical Pattern, Legal Style, Shari'at-based royal system.

INTRODUCTION

In the context of restore politics to the right rails, then *sibghah*¹ with these Islamic values the role of the clergy finds its significance. The pattern of the relation between the ulama and the umara one and the one cannot be

¹ Sibghah is of Arabic origin has been adopted into the Indonesian language means immersion, i.e. immersion in faith in Allah without polytheism.



separated other. In the trajectory of political history Islam, the relationship between caliphs, kings, or the sultan and the clergy go hand in hand, this thing because between nubuwwah responsibilities (upholding prophetic teachings) in the shoulders of the clergy and the mandate of hukûmah (managing government) carried out the king can be aligned. Pattern This matching relationship is described by Khalid Hussain like two gems the same price in one ring (two diamonds in one ring)²

As for the historical background of Islam Malay³ which is in the opinion of experts mentioned that Islam is an element the mainstay of a political culture kingdom, the clergy took positions "safe" by docking at the institution kingdom to act as an actor key in the institutional building process. Milner explains, scholars become actors intellectual in Islamic translation within the framework of the local Malay political tradition king oriented. Martyr revealed that the scholars creates "empty space", where they, as actors, are free to fill in Islamic intellectual discourse based on that royal institution. In this process, the scholars obtain great benefits, mainly because of them can subtly position themselves at the top of the pyramid of influence, even then naturally take advantage royal institution as a nerve center distribution of Islamic intellectual activities.⁴

Mutualistic symbiotic relationship that exists between the king and the clergy on a royal background Malay and even various corners the Islamic world is the fruit of the network teacher and student "vertical relationship" between the Middle East and the Archipelago.⁵ Among the sample rabbani scholars who plays the role of an actor principal in institution building in the Kingdom Malay is Raja Ali Haji. Contribution, progress, and contribution to the project this institutional

² Khalid Hussain (ed.), *Taj as-Salatin*, as quoted by Achmad Syahid, *Raja Ali Haji's Political Thoughts and Power Tendencies*, (Jakarta: Center for Religious Literature Agency Research and Development and Training Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2009), h.3

³ There are different views of experts about the meaning of the term Malay and the Nation Malay. Van Ronkel said that Malay is people who speak Malay and inhabit Malay Peninsula, Riau Lingga Archipelago, as well as several areas in Sumatra especially in Palembang. Read Ph. S. van Ronkel *Customs of Malay Kings* (Leiden; Brill, 1919), 34. Meanwhile Alatas defines it as the Malay realm which includes the Tanah Peninsula Malay, Singaporean, Indonesian, Filipino, but no including Papua New Guinea and the islands in Melanesian. Read S. H. Alatas, *The Myth of Lazy Natives* (Jakarta, LP3ES, 1988), p.47. Malaysian Constitution even define Malay as an identity for those who follow Islam, speak in Malay, practice Malay customs and citizenship Malaysia. Read Alfitra Greetings, *Looking for Cultural Roots Malaysian Politics*, introduction to the book "Islam and Ethnicity Perspective of Malay Politics, Hussin Mutalib

⁴ Achmad Syahid, *Pemikiran Politik*, h. 2

⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), Cet. Ke-4, h. 105

building is very obvious, especially in the intellectual field through a number of his works that give real color and impact. Right unfortunate, intellectual treasures and the culture he inherited was not much studied and introduced to the heir (archipelago society), evident when talking about politics Islam, we are still oriented to the views of scholars from the Middle East are good classic or modern.

In terms of thought, Raja Ali Haji was an intellectual who adhered to moderate Islamic views. He fused Islamic thought with local Malay traditions, trying to bring together disparate cultural and religious elements. Her work reflects deep philosophical and ethical thinking, emphasizing the values of fairness, integrity and wisdom.

In politics, Raja Ali Haji played an important role in defending the independence and integrity of the Riau-Lingga Sultanate from colonial interference. It seeks to build strong relationships with regional powers and maintain its territorial sovereignty. However, finally the Riau-Lingga Sultanate fell into Dutch hands in 1824.

Based qualitative research literature with interpretation, internal coherence and historical continuity as a method of data analysis is trying to get an idea about Raja Ali Haji's political thought as well trying to get an answer on research questions (research questions), namely: How is Raja Ali Haji's Islamic political narrative? Background socio-cultural and socio-political like what surrounds the life of the King Ali Haji so it can get to the narrative? Included in the pattern *fiqh siyasa* which is narrative political thought?

The background of Raja Ali Haj's political thought provides an important context. Experience in the environment of the sultanate, Dutch colonialism, the influence of Islam, Malay culture, and the role of education shaped his views on justice, independence, and the struggle of the Malay people.

Raja Ali Haji's breadth of knowledge and understanding of religious doctrines can be traced from his wealth of reading both as a student and as a teacher and as a writer. The religious books that are used as readings and references are numerous and varied, as described in the previous chapter. Based on readings from books written by great scholars, both Middle Eastern and Malay-Nusantara scholars, this has formed the religious ideas and thoughts of Raja Ali Haji. And in turn, he put his ideas and religious thoughts into works containing elements of thought, *fiqh*, monotheism and *akhlaq-tasawuf*. This has attracted the attention of the writer to study further about " **RAJA ALI HAJI'S POLITICAL THOUGHTS**"

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Ali Haji is Tengku Haji Ali al-Haji bin Tengku Haji Ahmad bin Raja Haji Asy-Syahîdu fi Sabîlillâh bin Upu Daeng Celak, who is more known as Raja Ali Haji. born from the womb of Encik Hamidah binti Panglima Selangor, on the Island Stinging Senses Sakti at that time is the seat of government of the kingdom Riau Lingga, Johor and Pahang on in 1808 AD and died in 1873. His Datuk was Raja Haji who is the Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau IV and a hero who famous for his courage in struggle against colonialism The Netherlands, met his martyrdom in a battle against the Dutch company in Ketapang Bay in 1874.⁶

His father was Raja Ahmad, son the youngest of the Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau IV Raja Haji who was only four years old the year his father was martyred in the Gulf Ketapang. Raja Ahmad was wrong a diplomat and important figure in the political field of the Riau Lingga kingdom. He served as advisor some Young Masters Riau, including King Ja'far, Yang Young Masters of Riau VI (1805-1831).⁷

From education, science visible knowledge of a Raja Ali Haji, this thing indicates the solidity of tradition intellectual possessions as well the quality of education he got. Born from a father King Ahmad Engku Haji Tua who belongs Muslim intellectual. Junus said that Raja Ahmad mastered astronomy and deepen the customs.⁸ As a son of royal official Raja Ali Haji got his basic education from the palace environment of the Stinging Kingdom Alone. He received tarbiyah from eminent figures who came from various regions.⁹

The scientific treasures owned to deliver Raja Ali Haji become a scholar of Penyengat Island the most prominent and respected. Iapun became a religious adviser and teacher for some of the Lord's people Young who lived in his time. They is Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau VII King Abdul Rahman (1831-1844), Yang The Young Masters of Riau VIII Raja Ali (1844-1857), Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau IX King Abdullah (1857-1858), Yang The Young Masters of Riau X Raja Muhammad Yusuf (1858-1911) who was Yang The last Riau Young Masters. This privileged position made him always chosen to lead religious ceremonies. He also take responsibility for accompany Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau when facing sakarât al-maut especially Yang Tuan Tuan Muda Riau VIII

⁶ Raja merupakan gelar yang disematkan bagi keturunan Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau dan sanak familinya yaitu bangsawan yang berasal dari Bugis. Lihat: Hasan Junus, *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Ali Haji Sebagai Bapak Bahasa Indonesia*, (Pekanbaru: UNRI Press, 2004), h. 212

⁷ Hasan Junus, *Raja Ali Haji Budayawan Di Gerbang Abad XX*, (Pekanbaru: Unri Press, 2002) h. 51

⁸ Hasan Junus, *Raja Ali Haji Budayawan Di Gerbang Abad XX*, (Pekanbaru: Unri Press, 2002) h. 51

⁹Junus gave the term the ruling elite for the children of the palace who get first chance to enjoy education quality presented by the scholars who Mastautin on Penyengat Island at that time. *Ibid.*, h. 63- 64

Raja Ali and Yang Tuan Muda Riau IX Raja Abdullah. What he did then is reading *Sûrah Yâsin*, *talqîn* them by guiding them to keep reading two sentences *shahâda*, *takbîr*, and *tahmîd*.¹⁰

Raja Ali Haji passed away on in 1873 AD, at the age of about 65 years, and was buried on Penyengat Island, in the tomb complex to be precise Engku is the daughter of King Hamida. King's Tomb Haji Ali is located outside the building like a tomb. His monumental work *Gurindam Dua Belas* is enshrined in along the walls of the tomb. So that every visitor can read or take notes on the masterpiece of high literary value at the same time contain messages of preaching like that thick.¹¹

Background Thought Raja Ali Haji

Character and position intellectual achievement that Raja Ali Haji did not may be separated from the surrounding sociocultural and socio-political conditions life including the characters and admired persons, as the perception of his line of thought impossible to separate from development of religious thought growing in the Malay Realm. In the study of scholars, History traditional education in the Malay Realm, apparently it had started long before traditional education in Java. According to van Bruinessen notes, education Tradition in Java was only discovered in the 18th century.¹²

As for education traditional in the Malay Realm, as Abdullah's study of Islamic Boarding Schools and Madrasas in the Malay Peninsula and Pattani, has existed since the early 13th century.¹³ this religious education held in mosques, *surau*, and in the houses of their religious leaders. No there is a history that mentions *adaya* boarding school system as already exists in Kelantan and Patani.¹⁴

The sting of that time was yang land fertile for Islamic education, Sufism, and literature. King Ja'far really love the teachers of the Qur'an¹⁵, enjoy

¹⁰ Raja Ahmad dan Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat AlNafis*, h. 28

¹¹ Badiatul Muchlisin Asti, "Raja Ali Haji: Menggores Pesan-pesan Dakwah Lewat Bait-bait *Gurindam*"

¹² Martin van Bruinessen, *Pesantren, Madrasah, dan Sekolah*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988). Lihat juga: Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1999)

¹³ Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Filologi Melayu*, jilid 4, (1995), h. 59-61

¹⁴ Abu Hassan Sham, *Puisi-Puisi Raja Ali Haji*, h. 6

¹⁵ One of the proof according to Sham is if there is a reciter who comes to Penyengat, guru it asked to stay for two or three months teach the Koran to employees and the chief of the Penyengat, then gave him a reciter' that's quite a gift. See: Abu Hassan Sham, *Raja Ali Haji's Poems*, h. 7

fictional stories from the East Middle.¹⁶ This condition is possible birth of several authors in the era he is like Haji Abdul Wahab with adaptation of Hikayat Gholam. In the time of King Ja'far also started a Sufism organization growing rapidly. In the era of his successors Yang Tuan Muda Raja Abdul Rahman, the book of Al-Hikam by Tajuddin Abul Fadhl Ahmad Ibn Muhammad ibn Abdul Karim 'Athâillâh translated. Even in the next generation, period reign of Raja Ali ibn Raja Ja'far many royal officials who participated actively and became followers of the tarekat Naqsyabandiyah.

Despite the reputation of Riau (Pulau Penyengat) in the eyes of the Malay nation others, in fact Raja Ali haji and man of his time faced with a serious threat from outside danger that is not the power they control which at any time can destroy the joints of the Islamic Malay tradition. Especially the Dutch government penetrated with a strategy of obscuring values Islam, one of which was carried out by Snouck Hurgronje with propaganda The true Islam is the Islam that is not has to do with activity economics and politics, he said as ritual Islam or private Islam.

As a bastion of tradition, then that performed Raja Ali Haji and figures his contemporaries were echoing Islamic renewal to say that Islam was maintained by the colonialists as a tool of power is Islam mistaken. The true Islam is that believe not only faith only to God, but also necessitate endeavor and thought for solve the problem of time. Colonialism is a form of slavery contrary to Islamic teachings therefore must be fought. For that people Islam must take part in economic, political and life culture, and should not stand still hand and handed it to people other.

As for the characters who have a significant effect on perception, scientific tradition and Raja Ali's life style Hajj, among others:

1) King Ahmad

In the life of Raja Ali Haji, Raja Ahmad plays the role of biological and ideological parents for that son. This is because in his hands upbringing and education Raja Ali Haji's foundation comes from his *muyûl* and tendencies perfectly passed on. His love for the world of writing, great attention to the spiritual dimension which is finally expressed in *naqsyabandiyah* order, even attention to reconstruction history embodied in writing followed by the son. History book *Tuhfat Al-Nafis* which is a epic linking Bugis history in the Malay realm and its relationship with Malay kings are proof of strong influence inherited from the father to this child from the side of inclination against history. According to Virginia Matheson, *Tuhfat Al-Nafis* was written by Raja Ali Hajj

¹⁶ One proof is its popularity the story of Alfa Lailah wa Lailah in Stinger on mid-19th century so that works appeared adaptations there such as *Syair Tajul Muluk* and *Poetry of Ibrahim bin Khasib*. Abu Hassan Sham, *Raja Ali Haji's Poems*, h. 7

with his parents. Very maybe, Raja Ali Haji fix and improve the previous text written by Raja Ahmad.¹⁷ Literary blood Raja Ali Haji descended from his father.

2) Abu Hâmid Al-Ghazali

Development of thought and the spirituality of Raja Ali Haji in a way fundamentally affected by scratches Hujjatul Islam Abu Hâmid Al Ghazâli. One indication of admiration Raja Ali Haji to the great Persian theologian who is also one of the fuqahâ` this syâfi'i school of thought can be known from frequency of references to the book Ihyâ` That phenomenal 'Ulûmuddîn. Even in the book Tsamarat Al-Muhimmah which elaborate on the political conception and Islamic government is similar which is very obvious with Ihyâ` 'Ulûmuddîn and at-Tibr al-Masbûk f Nashîhat al-Muluk by Al-Ghazâli, no only on the content, but also on systematics of the opening chapter.

Just look, for example, in the section the beginning of the book Ihyâ` 'Ulûmuddîn which is the work of his magnum opus, Al-Ghazâli explores science and the urgency, adâb al-âlim (ethics of people who knowledgeable), adâb al-muta'allim (seeker ethics knowledge). Likewise at-Tibr alMasbûk fî Nashîhat al-Muluk.¹⁸ It is the same with that of Raja Ali haji in presenting his political thoughts in the book Tsamarat Al-Muhimmah.

The relevance of Al-Ghazâli's teachings with Malay background at that time was because of him emphasizes the importance of moral as supporting faith and human behavior in social relations. Collapse different civilizations a community does solely because of his retreat thought, but rather because the collapse of the moral foundations of pararuler. This is the truth which became the common thread between Al-Ghazâli's thoughts with Raja Ali Haji.

Besides Raja Ahmad and Al Ghazâli, according to Syahid, thoughts Raja Ali Haji's politics was also very influenced by Sunni faqih theologians like Muhammad Idris Al-Shafi'i with his al-Risâlah, Ibrahim bin Ibrahim ALLaqani with his Jawharat at-Tauhîd, AlZawzâni with Ithâf al- Murîd 'alâ Jawharat at-Tauhîd, Al-Bayjuri with Tuhfat al- Murîd 'alâ Jawharat at-Tauhîd.¹⁹

Islamic Politics In The Thoughts Of Raja Ali Haji

a. Political System

Islamic intellectual base and participation in the Order The Naqsyabandiyah made an impact significant to views politics of Raja Ali Haji. The thick color of Islam with its morality becomes Raja Ali Haji's political

¹⁷ Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali Haji, Tuhfat Al Nafis, h. xx. See also Barbara Watson Andaya and Virginia Matheson, Islamic Thoughts and Traditions Malay,

¹⁸ Achmad Syahid, Pemikiran Politik, h. 238

¹⁹ Ibid, h. 261

conception oriented towards royal ideology; matter it is an expression of desire Raja Ali Haji to rebuild Islamic based government institutions after development experience a process of moral degradation as described in detail in *Tuhfat al-Nafis*.²⁰ Raja Ali Haji criticized scathing political behavior of the Malay kings who are considered to have deviated from Islamic values, especially regarding control of lust, has been neglected in the political life of Malay kings.

In the view of Raja Ali Haji, the empire system is a model ideal political building for the Malay world. This seems so strong in fact that political thought embodied in the works of Raja Ali Haji, especially the text of *Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah*.²¹ Of course that empire system based on shari'ah as applied by Yang Tuan Muda Raja Ali as described by Raja Ali Haji in the *Glorious Age Yamtuan Muda Raja Ali*.²² In fact Fathurahman and Burhanudin ordained Raja Ali Haji as initiator of the revival of the royal system in the Malay world in 19.²³

Hal Ihwal Pelaksanaan Kekuasaan

Bertuah rumah ada tuannya..

Bertuah negeri ada pucuknya..

Elok rumah ada tuannya..

Elok negeri ada rajanya..

the above expression is an expression Malay tradition which states about the urgency of leadership in a community. in fact, presence of a leader much needed in the community, either at the household level, society, especially at the level state life. Malay tradition trying to seat someone the leader they call "elder" in position mentor, protector, guardian, and guide society in a broad sense, good for the benefit of worldly life as well ukhrawi, present as much possible benefit and minimize mafsadah. This is the leader profile who will be able to present the country beautiful and lucky that has the potential to get provide justice and prosperity life for all levels of society.

²⁰ This episode is related to the behavior of the Sultan Mahmud Shah III as already mentioned in Chapter II. See also Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali Hajj, *Tuhfat Al-Nafis*, h. 345-356

²¹ Oman Fathurahman and Jajat Burhanudin, *Raja Ali haji and Indonesian*, This paper was written at the invitation of the City Government Tanjungpinang in the framework of Raja Ali's proposal Hajj as National Hero and codified in the book *History of the Struggle of Raja Ali Haji As the father of Indonesian*. See Hassan Junus, *History of the Struggle of Raja Ali Haji*, h. 351-352

²² Yamtuan Muda Raja Ali's *Glorious Age* is the 52nd chapter in the book of *Tuhfat Al-Nafis*. See: Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali Hajj, *Tuhfat Al Nafis*, (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti Publishers, 1982), h. 341-344

²³ Oman Fathurahman and Jajat Burhanudin, *Raja Ali Hajj and Language Indonesia*, in Hassan Junus, *History of Struggle Raja Ali Haji*, h. 352

A head of state in Islamic constitution holds the mandate prophethood as *uli al-amri* in guarding treaties and managing world affairs,²⁴ Al-Mâwardi called it because it was so determining in the enforcement of *syar'iyah* affairs²⁵. While Al-Ghazali call *Imamat* a business *mubimmat* which is the foundation for the management of religion and the world, in order to achieve the happiness of the hereafter.²⁶ Even Ibn Taimiyah classify it as a liability fundamental in religion because of *iqamatuddin* according to him it is impossible to realize without the existence of priests or leaders²⁷

a) Duties of Establishing Kings and Ordinances Its stance

In the First Chapter, Chapter 1, book of *Tsamarât Al-Mubimmah* Raja Ali Haji state:

*“Bermula mendirikan raja itu pada ugama Islam fardu kifayah. Bermula adalah sab pendirian raja itu yaitu dengan tiga sebab. Pertama dengan sebab bai'ah ablil halli wal-'aqdi dari pada ulama, yakni dengan sebab dilantik” “Kedua, dengan sebab istikhlaf yakni menjadikan satu raja akan gantinya # masa hidupnya, pada yang patut menjadi Raja ” “Ketiga, dengan sebab tagallub, yakni dengan kekerasan seorang laki-laki yang mempunyai kuat mengalahkan suatu negeri itu, kemudian menjadilah ia raja dengan dirinya sendiri”.*²⁸

The ummah scholars have agreed (*ijma*) regarding the obligation to establish law king. Although there are differences of opinion between them on the ground argument for the legal obligation to establish the king,²⁹ but apart from the *ikhtilaf* said, Raja Ali Haji's statement about the law of establishing this king demonstrate understanding of the urgency of leadership in life the ummah as understood by para earlier fuqaha, as said by Ibnu Taimiyah follows:

²⁴ Setiawan Budi Utomo, *Fikih Kontemporer: Tanya Jawab Politik, Ekonomi, Sosial, dan Kesehatan Kontemporer di Majalah Saksi*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Pustaka Saksi, 2000), h. 43

²⁵ Ali bin Muhammad bin Habîb Al-Mâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah Wa Al-Wilâyat Al-Dîniyyah*, (Kuwait: Maktabah Dâr Ibnu Qutaibah, 1409), cet ke-1, h.5

²⁶ Hâmid Muhammad Al-Ghazâli, *Al-Iqtishâd fi Al-I'tiqâdi*, (Ankara: Nur Matbaasi Universitas Ankara, 1962), h. 234

²⁷ Taqiyyuddin Ahmad ibn Abdissalâm (Ibnu Taimiyah), *Al-Siyâsah Al-Syar'iyah fi Ishlâhi al-Râ'i wal-Ra'iyah*, (Beirut: Dar al-âfaq al-jadidah, 1403H), h. 138

²⁸ Raja Ali Haji, *Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah*, dalam Mahdini, *Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah: Pemikiran Raja Ali Haji Tentang Peradilan*, Pekanbaru: Penerbit Yayasan Pusaka Riau, 1999, h. 43

²⁹ The first madhhab argues the foundation the argument for the obligation to establish a king is reason. They argue that it is common sense humans need a *za'im* who protect them from tyranny, mediate disputes and disputes between them. without it, there would be chaos prolonged in their life. as for the second school of thought argues that foundation the argument that the obligation to establish a king is *syara'* and not reason. Because the priest carries out obligations that come from *syara'* as QS. An-Nisa (4): 59. See: Ali bin Muhammad bin Habib Al-Mâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah*, h. 5

*"It should be known, that lead and Controlling the people is a fundamental obligation in religion. Even iqamatuddin is impossible realized, unless it exists leadership. While all the children of Adam, impossible to achieve optimal benefits if there is no binding association and solve their needs. This association definitely needs someone leader (to control)."*³⁰

Raja Ali Haji's opinion is in line with juhûr fuqaha from circles Ahlussunnah Wal Jamâ'ah, Murji'ah, Shia, the majority of the Mu'tazilah, and the majority Khawarij about it.³¹ While the expression of Raja Ali Haji that the law of establishing a king is fardhu kifâyah, it turns out that this is in harmony with Al-Mâwardi's expression in the book Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah Wal-Wilâyât Ad-Dîniyyah, as he said the following. *"When it was fixed the duty to set up a king, then the obligation is fardhu kifâyah as the obligation of jihad and seeking knowledge."*³²

Also in line with the opinion of Qâdhi Abu Ya'la Al-Hanbaliy41 and Zakariyya Al-Ansari.³³ While the second clause of Article first the book of Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah The above talks about procedures establishment of the king or his appointment (Kaifiyyah in'iqâd al-imamah) who also as the study of the fuqaha, namely through bai'at expert halli wal 'aqdi,³⁴ with istikhlâf way, as well as by way mastery with power and victory or taghallub.³⁵

According to Raja Ali Haji because The first time someone becomes a king is the bai'at jasal halli wal 'aqdi. Ahlul Halli Wal 'aqdi is a political institution which has the authority to appoint the king after previously held deliberations for determines the figure to be seen eligible and meet the criteria and prerequisites to be crowned king. As for the composition of ahlul halli wal 'aqdi consists of some fair men and have a good reputation, heads up tribes and scholars who are deemed worthy and qualified.

Results of deliberations and appointments carried out by ahlul halli wal 'aqdi automatically authorizes to the king appointed to carry out the duty of upholding the truth (haq) and stay away from injustice based on sharia settlement and rule over the entire kingdom following conquered territories along with all

³⁰ Taqiyuddin Ahmad ibn Abdissalâm (Ibnu Taimiyah), As-Siyâsah Asy-Syar'iyah, h. 138

³¹ Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, Al-Fiqh Al-Islâmî Wa Adillatuhu, (Damaskus: Daar Al Fikr, 1405 H) cet. Ke- 2, juz. 6, h. 663

³² Ali bin Muhammad bin Habîb AlMâwardi, Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah, h. 4

³³ Abu Yahya Zakariyya ibn Muhammad Al-Anshari, Fath Al-Wahhab bi Syarh Al-Minhaj, (ttp: Dar Al-Fikr, 2002), h. 185-189

³⁴ Ahlul Halli Wal 'aqdi is a political institutions that have the power to appoint the king after previously holding deliberations. With a composition consisting of several men who are just and have a good reputation, the tribal chiefs and religious scholars who were looked upon worthy and qualified. See Ahmad Syahid, Political Thought, h. 249

³⁵ See Mushthafâ Al-Khin, Al-Fiqh Al Manhaji 'Alâ Madzhab Al-Imâm Ash-Syâfi'i, (Serbia: al-Fithrah, tt), volume 3, h. 610-611. Wahbah Az Zuhaili, Al-Fiqh Al-Islamic, juz. 6, h. 680-683

parties who live in it. But unfortunately, Raja Ali Haji did not totally offend about that thing considered urgent by the fuqaha³⁶, that is quorum⁴⁶ issues in the expert deliberation assembly halli wal 'aqdi, who most entitled to appoint among them,³⁷ and the need for witnesses during the inauguration procession done by them.

For both a person becomes a king according to Raja Ali Haji is istikhlâf that is, to make one king instead his lifetime, on which it should be Raja³⁸ is a mechanism that done by a king (leader) who is in power to appoint someone to replace himself. The validity of this istikhlâf mechanism based on ijmâ' or consensus of the people.³⁹ Empirical evidence of this istikhlâf mechanism is what Abu Bakar did as-Siddîq while still serving as caliph who appointed 'Umar bin Khathâb became his successor. As for form of consensus of the people against this mechanism is the practice of Abu Bakar as-Siddîq and there is no rejection community for the enactment of the mechanism.

However, Raja Ali Haji seems experience iltibâs in mentioning an example of this istikhlâf mechanism. In Raja Ali's perception of Hajj is an example of istikhlâf is deliberation taken by six of the candidates he appointed to choose one among themselves as caliph successor of 'Umar bin Khathab. Even though the trajectory of history is played by them in that phase is a mechanism of ahlul halli wal 'aqdi which according to Syahid is referred to as the best precedent for institutional implementation ahlul halli wal 'aqdi⁴⁰

On a practical level, Kingdom Riau-Lingga which adheres to the concept royal politics or monarchy basis of leadership succession kingdom through the mechanism of istikhlâf, that is successors to the Sultan (Yang Riau

³⁶The fuqaha argue because of implications Bai'at is binding on all parties involved the king's territory to obey to him, and is a form of affirmation acceptance of the king's leadership then the issue of quorum becomes important. This matter to be the opinion of Al-Asy'ari, Al-Baqillani, Al Qalani, Al-Ghazâli, Al-Juwaini, Al-Syihristani. See: Syahid, *Political Thought*, p. 250

³⁷ Some of the fuqaha argue that a new quorum is reached by presence alone the majority of members of Ahlul Halli wal 'Aqdi. However This opinion is refuted by itself with the factual conditions of Bai'at Abu Bakar As-Siddiq. Fuqaha Kufa believes that a quorum has been reached with 3 people by analogy with the marriage contract; 1 judge, 2 witnesses. Most of the fuqaha are of the opinion that a quorum can be reached with 5 people members of Ahlul Halli wal 'Aqdi with arguments Bai'at Abu Bakr As-Siddiq by 5 people (Umar, Abu Ubaidah ibn Al-Jarrah, Usaid ibn Hudhair, Basyr ibn Sa'ad, and Salim maula Abi Hudzaifah). There are also those who argue that one is enough just people, with the argument of bai'at Al-'Abbas to Ali ibn Abi Talib. See: Ali bin Hammad bin Habîb Al Mâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm As Sulthâniyyah*, p. 7

³⁸ Raja Ali Haji, Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah, In *The Mahdini*, Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah, h. 43

³⁹ Ali bin Muhammad bin Habîb Al-Mâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah*, h 11

⁴⁰ Achmad Syahid, *Pemikiran Politik*, h. 252

Young Masters) Riau-Lingga was chosen by the Sultan who was in power after consult first royal family or parties associated with the problem⁴¹

As for the third cause of a person being a king according to Raja Ali Haji is by way of taghallub or mastery with power and victory. Although Raja Ali Haji did not discuss taghallub's mechanics in detail. The substance of the transfer of power with this mechanism occurs when there is one men who carried out military invasions and win the battle then crowned himself king, then legitimate leadership is without contract is required at the same time the people Islam must recognize its legitimacy his leadership.

This is in the history of Abu Ya'la from Ibn Malik al-'ath-thâr as following:

“And whoever beats them (former ruler) by the power of the sword, thus making himself caliph and given title of amir al-mukminin, then it is not lawful for a believer in Allah and the Day end to not recognize him as a priest, both good and bad.”⁴²

b) Meaning of King

As the supreme holder supremacy of power, a king should be an ideal figure has the characteristics of complete and demonstrate credibility (mishdaqiyah) to fulfill the great trust that carried on his shoulders. King should can be a role model for the people, at the same time it must be populist in the sense of understanding correctly and feel the real condition of its people. Associated with the role that must be played by a king, Raja Ali Haji give his political views as following:

"Starting from the meaning of the king, if you say the king it with the meaning of khalifah, namely the caliph Rasulallah SAW on founded Islam and punished will all the servants of Allah with the law of the Qur'an and hadith and ijma`. If you say the king means sultan, then that harsher punishment upon all the people with the punishment that justice that comes from Allah and His Apostle. And if the king said it with meaning priest, then that is following all the people which does not lead to kufr and immorality."

In Raja Ali's political thought Hajj, in essence a leader, in this case is the king, at least must be able to represent three typical leadership at once so its existence can present optimal benefit for ra'iyah and minimize even negate mafsadah.

Three types of leadership must be played by a king or The leader is first, (king) represents one's existence caliph. The meaning of the king as "representative" God in advance the leader of the earth for prosper the earth with His law as well as the "representative" of the Prophet Muhammad, as the

⁴¹ Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali Haji, Tuhfat An-Nâfis, h. 353-355

⁴² Abu Ya'la Muhammad ibn Husain AlFarrâ', Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah, h. 23

successor to the leadership relay in Islamic enforcement and implementation the laws. In other words the function of the leader or in this case the king is to ground the Shari'a and Minutes prophethood that has been brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW or al-khilafah 'alâ minhâj an-nubuwwah.

Second, the leader (king) represents one's existence sulthan. Namely that the king with political legitimacy in the form of trust from people given to him obliged to present optimal benefit for ra'iyah and minimize mafsadah. Therefore that, the leader (king) must run wheels of government in the corridor uphold justice accordingly the guidance of the Qur'an and al-Sunnah.

Third, the leader (king) represents the role of an priest. it means he should be a role model and a pilot project for the people. The analogy is the imam of the prayer, which each his actions must be followed by the makmum.

One thing that is quite surprising according to Syahid,⁴³ it was because of Raja Ali Haji does not mention the terminology of the emir that must be represented by the king, even though this term is used by Umar bin Khattab with the title of amir almu'minin.⁴⁴

c) **King criteria**

As discussed by the fuqaha, Raja Ali Haji also laid prerequisites and fairly strict criteria that should be full of a king Giving strict qualifications for the future king This is also discussed by the classical jurists. This is an endeavor of them so that the candidate for the king is truly qualified so that he is capable carry out the leadership mandate that well. In this case he stated:

"As for the conditions 'ala al-sum that the king should be a firm Muslim holds the religion of Islam and men "mukallaf" and independent and fair again have good ijthad and have good speech and good eyesight and have brave who persists and who is diligent, no weary and lazy than to build kingdom, again deserves to rise soon on each job that is done policy, then this is half the condition of the king collected".⁴⁵

In this case it can be described that the qualifications of the candidate for the king according to Raja Ali haji is:

- 1) Religion of Islam and commitment practice his teachings;
- 2) Free mulatto men;
- 3) Fair;

⁴³ Achmad Syahid, *Pemikiran*, h. 34

⁴⁴ Ali bin Muhammad bin Habîb AlMâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah*, h. 13

⁴⁵ Raja Ali Haji, *Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah*, dalam Mahdini, *Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah*, h. 44

- 4) Having the ability to perform ijtihad the good one;
- 5) Have the ability to speak Good;
- 6) Have good listening skills Good;
- 7) Have constant courage;
- 8) Diligent and not lazy in running the wheels of government;
- 9) Trengginas and deft in do leading work to virtue.

In general, Raja Ali's view This Haji is inline with the opinions of the para fuqaha. say for example Al-Mâwardi who requires 7 criteria for a person priest, namely: fair, knowledgeable allows for berijtihad, healthy senses of hearing, sight and verbally, physically fit allowing him to quickly move and dexterous, intelligent that can manage the benefit of the people, courageous in protect the country and wage jihad against enemies, as well as the descendants of the tribe Quraysh.⁴⁶ Only Raja Ali Haji did not state the last condition mentioned Al-Mâwardi, namely descent from the Quraysh tribe.

In this regard, Syahid writes: "It's rather surprising why King Ali Haji 'threw' conditions leadership of the Quraysh tribe, though This issue has become a polemic for theologians faqih in their long discussion examine the problem of the conditions of being country leader. Moreover, the book Fath Al-Wahhâb by Al-Anshâri was made book of matan for Raja Ali Haji still retain that clause as a condition become king."⁴⁷

However, according to the researchers, calendar terms of 'descendant of the tribe Quraysh' by Raja Ali Haji in the book Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah is because this book of Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah is not just a scientific work in the field of fiqh siyasah an sich but also as guidelines that actually apply within the scope of the RiauLingga royal entity which of course 'no require' the condition of descent from the tribe Quraysh. And this is what happened differentiation between the works of Raja Ali Haji with classical fuqaha works predecessors, although they seem to be visible Raja Ali Haji took and extracted his political theory of opinions they.

d) Rights and Duties of the King

When the founding procedures for the king have been legal and prerequisite criteria a king is fulfilled then, the king has rights that are given from sharak which simultaneously becomes obligations of the people they lead.

In this book Raja Ali Haji state:

⁴⁶ Ali bin Muhammad bin Habîb AlMâwardi, Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah, h. 693-697

⁴⁷ Achmad Syahid, Pemikiran Politik, h. 258

"Syahdan when there is a way and the meaning and sign that it has on something people who have become kings, then fardullah over all the subjects his army obeyed him, and unlawful for all people by decree orders that do not lead to kufr and immorality and if by order of the king nor did he hear the king's orders so be he ungrateful. And if the people gathered to one place by fixing its place on against the king, that is to say he is called a person bugat, that is, the disobedient. And so be it law against them. Such that it is in the book of fiqh with a must fight them on conditions, intaha".⁴⁸

As for the rights that are given by syarak to the rightful king who was at the time the same is the duty of the people who he leads is obeyed by his orders. According to Al-Mâwardi, the right of the king over people there are two things, namely ath-thâ'ah wa an-nushrah (obeyed and assisted in achievement of its task targets)⁴⁹. Will however, in the trajectory of our history get one other rights acquired priest, namely the right to obtain rewards from treasury baitul mal to fulfill needs of him and his family properly.⁵⁰

Related to government rights legitimate ones who have fulfilled his duty, Hasan Al-Banna added al-walâ` (loyalty) of the people to the government besides being obedient and help or assist the government.⁵¹

As for the character of the government worthy of loyalty, obedience and help with wealth and the soul of the people according to Hasan Al-Banna is a government with an attitude responsibility and care people, be fair to all human beings, take care of oneself ('iffah) within exploit people's assets (state assets), as well as effective and economical in use.⁵²

Regarding contribution to country and help the king's tasks, in Gurindam Twelve chapter 11, Raja Ali Haji said:

*bendaklah berjasa
kepada yang sebangsa*⁵³

⁴⁸ Raja Ali Haji, Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah, dalam Mahdini, Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah, h. 45-46

⁴⁹ Al-Mâwardi, Al-Ahkâm As-Sulthâniyyah, h.19.

⁵⁰ We can find the right to this salary in the caliphate of Abu Bakr, that is narrated up to 6 months since appointed became caliph, Abu Bakr still traded in market to support himself and his family. Because of this, the friends discussed the matter fulfillment of the living, because with the task the weight of being caliph certainly made it difficult for him to remain in business, so it was decided to gave a salary of 6000 dirhams a year. See Abdul Qadir Audah, Al-Islâm wa Audhâ'una Al-Siyâsiyyah, (Cairo: Dar al-kitâb al-'arabi, 1957), h. 189

⁵¹ Hasan Al-Banna, Kumpulan Risalah Dakwah Hasan Al-Banna, (Jakarta: Al-I'tishom, 2007), Jilid 1, h. 305

⁵² *Ibid.*304

⁵³ Raja Ali Haji, Gurindam Dua Belas, in Abu Hassan Sham, *Puisi-puisi Raja Ali Haji*, (Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Dewan Bahasa, h. 282

In general, two lines of Gurindam it orders to each party who are in the community, good position as a leader as well as those led (the people) for active in spreading service and goodness within the community to achieve common goals. Within the framework of obeying and contributing the people and especially the officials the kingdom must still be critical of each the policy taken by the king, because of attitude submit without being accompanied by a critical attitude implications for sloppy performance which in turn will not bring to achieving the vision and targets the king himself. This was revealed by Raja Ali Haji in the twelfth chapter of his gurindam, that is:

betul hati kepada raja

tanda jadi sebarang kerja

Next Raja Ali Haji discussed about the law of disobeying the king's order legally and has carried out its obligations, as follows:

“...and if by order of the king nor did he hear the king's orders so be he ungrateful. And if the people gathered to one place by fixing its place against the king, that is to say he was named bugat, that is, disobedient people. And the law applies to them. As stated in the book of fiqh by having to fight them with conditions”⁵⁴

According to Raja Ali Haji, the act of anti obey and do not listen to the king's orders classified as an act of disobedience, because violates the orders of Allah and His Messenger. as for this disobedient act done communally, namely a group people gathered in one place certain in order to go against an order king, then in sharia terminology their actions are called al-baghyu while the perpetrators are called bughat. There is one note given jumhur scholars regarding the treatment of ahl al-bughat that fought, namely that treasure the things they left behind should not be confiscated, but maintained by the government for then returned to the owner who were still alive when they came to their senses and given to his heirs if they were killed in the war of extermination the uprising.

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy argues that among al-nushrah (help) which must be given to the head of state is help and defend it when handled by the rebels, because they essentially divide the people and cause disaster for the people and country.⁵⁵

e). **The Impeachment of the King**

In the paradigm of Islamic politics, positions head of state is not something absolute and sacred, the head of state is only mandatory the ummah,

⁵⁴ Raja Ali Haji, Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah, dalam Mahdini, Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah, h. 45-46

⁵⁵ Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, Ilmu Kenegaraan Dalam Fikih Islam, Jakarta: PT. Bulan Bintang, 1991, h. 11.

or rather their servants. the mandate can be revoked if it is required and if the holder of the mandate ignoring trust, obligations, and responsibility. Therefore, para the scholars wrote a special chapter on 'Azlu as-sulthân (dethrone of the head of state) in siyasah fiqh books. In this case although with great caution Raja Ali Haji also followed their path.

"Originally there was Imam al-a'zham namely the sultan, may not be passed down from the kingdom even if it loses its just nature. This is what is in the eyes of the book Jauharah at-Tauhîd said, "falaisa yu'zalu an yazula washfahu" that is not allowed descended from the king of his kingdom if loses its 'is' nature though. Then then meistisnakan also with the words, "illa bikufrin fantabidzna 'ahdahu" namely except if he turns away from religion or kufr justify what is unlawful and its 'aksu' lead to kufr, then that is us let go of the promise, namely there is no need for us invite him.

"But that is in the law Jauharah at-Tauhîd namely Ithâf al-Murîd as well syarahnya several thaifah scholars such as Shafi'i roughly said them, "nothing may be lowered the king from on his kingdom because of evil and wickedness. However, it must be replaced with another if no result thus it is slander and must also descend from his kingdom (if) weaker than Masalih al Muslimin ie he is weak rather than improving someone who is Muslims who are under the submission of his kingdom and must also come down from his kingdom by the captivity of his enemy who is not there hope it will come off. And so again should descend from his kingdom if he is insane or mutabaqah or blind or deaf and dumb. And when all of these properties are obtained he must ask for compensation from anyone that deserves to be replaced." This is the law mentioned in the syarah book of Ithâf al-Murîd." Intaha.⁵⁶

Because of power in Islam is a must trust accounted for, then the king or What should leaders be responsible for? which was entrusted to him. in Islam, a king or leader should be accountable for their trust in before the people and also before God. Accountability before the people is because it is the people who give the rights govern and control power to him, therefore the people are entitled give bai'at, ask accountability, as well as the right to impeach him if the causes are found for that.⁵⁷

In discussing the issue of succession leadership is the problem sensitive, Raja Ali Haji looks very careful in discussing it, so he discuss it together with the discussion regarding the mechanism of impeachment of high-ranking

⁵⁶ Raja Ali Haji, Tsamarat Al- Muhimmah, dalam Mahdini, Tsamarât Al-Muhimmah, h. 51

⁵⁷ Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, Ilmu Kenegaraan, h. 118

officials kingdom. According to Syahid, this principle of prudence is typical of Ahl scholars al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah from among Shafî'iyah.⁵⁸

Raja Ali Haji argued that the king may not be impeached even though nature 'isânya has disappeared from him, changed become evil and wicked. Raja Ali Hajji citing the opinion of Ibrahim bin Ibrahim bin Hasan Al-Laqa'ni revealed his opinion with the phrase "falaisa yu'zalu an yazûla washfahu" i.e. a king is not may be descended from his kingdom though lost its nature (*'adâlabnya*) though.

However, a king can impeached if it meets the following conditions: First, infidel. "illa bikufrine fantabidznâ 'ahdahu" that is unless he kufr turning away from the religion of Islam, both from his words and deeds. King Ali Hajj exemplifies this act of kufr justify the unlawful and forbid lawful, because it will have implications to the perpetrator's disbelief.

Second, weak in managing mashâlih al muslimin, namely optimizing benefit for the Muslims is under his control. Third, being in captivity of a non-existent enemy certainty of his release so that prevented him from carrying out his state duties. Fourth, lose your mind healthy (crazy) permanently. Fifth, disability the permanent, the blind, the deaf, and the dumb. In the above conditions are met, then the people may relinquish the allegiance agreement to the king and replaced him with a decent and fulfilling figure qualifications as already mentioned previously.

In general, the opinion of Raja Ali Haji It is relatively loose⁵⁹, perhaps due to the monarchy system adopted in politics at that time it was very allows the switch to be made power. However, Raja Ali Haji remained giving a warning of the emergence of slander, in the event of the impeachment of the king without fulfillment of the above conditions.

⁵⁸ Achmad Syahid, *Pemikiran Politik*, h. 260

⁵⁹ This loose impression was seen when Raja Ali Haji follow the opinion of Al-Laqa'ni that is a the king may not be descended from his kingdom even though it loses its nature. Compare with the opinion of Al-Shafî'i who said: "The head of state was fired wickedness and fraud. Likewise qadli and emir." See Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *State Science*, h. 118. Or Al-Mâwardi who argues that disability/reduced head of state justice and disability physical (*naqs fi bodiiah*) as a reason for expel the priest from office. See Al Mâwardi, *Al-Ahkâm Al-Sulthâniyyah*, p. 19.

CONCLUSION

In general the political thoughts of Raja Ali Haji as stated in his very monumental works supports the opinion of Sunni scholars, especially Hujjatul Islam Al-Imam Al-Ghazali and also Imam Al-Mawardi. The color of the book of Advice is grandiose inside Al-Ghazali's thoughts are so strong especially in the existing advice in Gurindam Dua Belas. Thereby also when discussing about the system politics and governance, then colors of Al-Ahkam Al-Sulthaniyyah works Al-Imam Al-Mawardi is so thick The influence of *siyasa fiqh* in this thought also appeared in his works, especially the book *Tsamarat Al-Muhimmah* and the book *Muqaddimah fi Intizham*.

The socio-cultural conditions and geopolitics surrounding life Raja Ali Haji helped shape the mindset and highly reflected in the works it generates. Intellectual tradition in the form of Raja Ali's intensive interaction Hajj with scholars who *bermastautin* in Penyengat Island or in various his wish is like going to Mecca, Cairo, Betawi, and others, as well his interactions with classical texts from Al-Ghazâlî, Al-Mâwardî, Al-Nawawî, Al-Anshârî and local Malay texts Al-Sinkili, Al-Fatani, Al-Palimbani and others are seen to be influencing which is quite significant in lunge Raja Ali's political practice and thought Hajj. plus Raja Ali's flight hours Hajj as a government practitioner who *bermu'âyasyah* with the problem state administration within the Kingdom Riau-Lingga gives influence directly in his thoughts, esp in the realm of politics, law, and state administration.

Harmonious synergy between Raja Ali Haji – in position as mufti and adviser to the King and several people of the Lord Young Riau in restoration efforts deep Islamic Malay culture state life in the environment the Riau-Lingga⁸³ kingdom is proof empirically there is a significant effect from the intellectual tradition of Raja Ali Haji, more specific influence of *siyasa fiqh* in the life of Raja Ali Haji.

After trying to review and analyze what becomes the fruit Raja Ali Haji's thoughts were especially deep field of Fiqh Siyasa, then you can concluded that the influence of Hujjatul Islam Al-Imam Al-Ghazali made Raja Ali Haji's political thought entered in the category of ethical patterns, namely patterns that emphasizing ethics holder of power. However, at the same time Raja Ali Haji's political thoughts is also included in the pattern category law for putting forward theories which focuses on legitimacy theory authority from a legal point of view Islam as the theories are stated by Al-Imam Al-Mawardi in *Al-Ahkam Al-Sulthaniyyah* who is a monumental work of Al Mawardi

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