

Aceh, Nusantara and the Islamic Khilafah

Indonesia, formerly known as Nusantara (meaning Archipelago), is the largest Muslim country in the Muslim world. Long before its independence, Indonesia was the homeland of many Islamic kingdoms which were the centers of Islamic power in Nusantara, extending from the Sultanate of Aceh in the west to the Sultanate of Ternate in the east.

Historical records prove that these Islamic sultanates were not independent on their own, rather they had a very close relationship with the Khilafah Islamiyah in Turkey (Uthmani Khilafah). This paper will review briefly some historical evidence that describes the unity and relationship between the Islamic sultanates in Nusantara with the Khilafah Islamiyah.

Recognition of the Islamic Khilafah

The effect of the presence of the Khilafah (also referred to as *Daulah Islamiyah* or Islamic State) on the political life of the archipelago had been felt since the early days of its establishment. The Muslims were successful in the *futuhat* (conquests or openings) of the Persian Empire and soon after large parts of the Eastern Roman Empire, such as Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Under the leadership of Umar ibn al-Khattab, the *Daulah Islamiyah* had become the world superpower since the 7th century AD. When the Khilafah was under the rule of the Umayyads (660-749 AD), the rulers of the Indonesian archipelago were still the Hindus – who still embraced Hinduism – even though they recognized the greatness of Khilafah.

The recognition of the glory of Khilafah was proven by two letters sent by Maharaja of Srivijaya to the Khilafah during the reign of the Umayyads. The first letter was sent to Muawiyah, and the second letter was sent to Umar bin Abdul Aziz.¹ The first letter was found in a *diwan* (archive) of Bani Umayyads by Abdul Malik ibn Umayr and was delivered to Abu Ya'yub Ats-Tsaqofi, which was then delivered to Al-Haytsam ibn Adi. Al-Jahizh who heard about the letter from Al-Haytsam, who told about the introductory part of the letter as follows:

*"From the King of Al-Hind whose animal cages have one thousand elephants, (and) whose palace is made of gold and silver, who is served by the kings' daughters, and who has two great rivers that irrigate the aloe trees, to Muawiyah"*²

The second letter was documented by Abd Rabbih (H/860-940 246-329 AD) in his composition known as *Al-Iqd Al-Farid*. The fragment of the letter was as follows:

"From the King of Kings ...: who is the descendant of a thousand kings ... to the King of Arabia (Umar ibn Abdul Aziz) who does not associate God with other gods. I had sent you a gift, which

*was actually not much, but it was just a sign of friendship, and I wanted you to send me someone who can teach me Islam, and explain to me its laws. "*³

In addition, Farooqi found an archive of the Uthmani containing a petition from the Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah to Sultan Sulayman Al-Qanuni which was brought by Huseyn Effendi. In this letter, Aceh recognized the Uthmani leadership as Khilafah Islam. In addition, the letter also contained an account of the Portuguese military activities which posed a big problem for the Muslim traders and the pilgrims en route to Makkah. And that the assistance of the the Uthmani was urgently needed to save the Muslims who were being slaughtered by the infidel Farangi (Portuguese).⁴

Sulayman Al-Qanuni H/1566 died in 974 AD. However, the petition of Aceh gained support from Sultan Selim II (974-982 H/1566-1574 AD), who issued the command to undertake a military expedition to Aceh. Around September 975 H/1567 AD, Kurtoglu Hızır Reis, the Turkish Admiral in Suez, sailed to Aceh together with a number of rifle experts, soldiers and artillery. The troops were ordered to be in Aceh as long as they were required by the Sultan.⁵ However this large fleet only partially reached Aceh since they were diverted during the journey to quell the uprising in Yemen that ended in 979 H/1571 AD.⁶ According to historical records, the Turkish army who arrived in Aceh in 1566-1577 AD were only around 500 soldiers, including firearms, rifles, and technical experts. With this assistance, Aceh was able to strike back against the Portuguese in Malacca in 1568 AD.⁷

The presence of Kurtoglu Hızır Reis with his fleet of army was greeted with great ceremony by the Muslims of Aceh. Kurtoglu Hızır Reis was later given the title as governor (*wali*) of Aceh,⁸ who was the official delegation of khalifah posted in the area. This suggests that the relationship between Nusantara and the Uthmani Khilafah was not only brotherly relations but also political relations of the state. The presence of the guardianship of Turkey in Aceh shows that that Aceh was an integral part of the Khilafah Islamiyah.

On the other hand, there were many Malay political institutions in the Archipelago which received the title of sultan from certain rulers in the Middle East. In 1048H/1638 AD, the Mayor of Banten, Abd al-Qodir (ruled from 1037 to 1063H/1626-1651 AD) was awarded the title of Sultan by Sharif of Makkah as a result of a special mission he sent to the Holy Land. Meanwhile, the Sultanate of Aceh was known to have close ties with Turkish authorities and Haramayn Ustmani. Likewise, Palembang and Makassar also had a special relationship with the ruler of Makkah.⁹ At that time, the rulers of Makkah were an integral part of the Uthmani Khilafah based in Turkey.

Judging from the use of the terms, the Islamic sultanates of the archipelago associated themselves as an inseparable part of the Khilafah. Some Javanese classical books mentioned this

matter. The Kings of Pasai (pp. 58, 61-62, 64), for example, called the official name of the Sultanate of Samudra Pasai as "Samudra Dar al-Islam". The term of Dar al-Islam was also used in the books of law to refer the Sultanate of Pahang. Nur al-Din al-Raniri, in *Bustan al-Salatin* (eg, on pp. 31, 32, 47), called the Sultanate of Aceh as Dar al-Salam. The term was also used in Pattani when the local authorities, Paya Tu Naqpa, converted to Islam and took the name Sultan Ismail Shah Zill Allah fi-Alam who reigned in the land of Pattani Dar al-Salam (Tale of Patani, 1970:75).

In classical Islamic political science, the world was divided into two, namely Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb. Dar al-Islam is an area that applied the Islamic law and the security is in the hands of the Muslims, while Dar al-Harb is the opposite of Dar al-Islam. The use of the term "Dar al-Islam" or "Dar al-Salam" indicates that the Malay rulers accepted geopolitical Islamic conception of the division of the two world regions. This geopolitical concept was further crystallized during the establishment of European nations initiated by "the Peringgi" (Portuguese) then followed by other European nations. Later on, especially the Dutch and the English started to become rampant in the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca (Sulalat al-Salatin, 1979 :244-246). They undertook physical colonization and spread Christianity through missions and missionaries.

Uthmani Empire, as mentioned by Hurgronje (1994, pp. 1631) ¹⁰, was pro-active in paying attention to the plight of Muslims in Indonesia by opening a representative government (consulate) in Batavia at the end of the 19th century. To the Muslims in Batavia, the Turkish consul promised to fight for the emancipation of the rights of Arabs to be equal to those of Europe. In addition, Turkey urged that all Muslims in the Dutch East Indies Dutch be free from oppression.

Above all, Aceh was much visited by scholars from different parts of the Islamic world. Sharif of Makkah sent an Islamic cleric, Sheikh Abdullah Kan'an, as teacher and preacher to Aceh. In around 1582, two great scholars of Arab countries, Sheikh Abdul Khayr and Shaykh Muhammad Yamani arrived in Aceh. In addition, in Aceh itself there were a number of scholars, such as Al-Sumatrani Shamsuddin and Abdul Rauf al-Singkel. ¹¹

Abdul Rauf al- Singkel received an offer from the Sultan of Aceh, Safiyat al-Din Shah, to fulfill the post of a Qadi whose title was Qadi al-Malik al-Adil which had been vacant for some time since Nur al-Din al-Raniri returned to Ranir (Gujarat). After due considerations, Abdul Rauf accepted the offer. ¹² Then, he officially became a Qadi with the title of Qadi al-Malik al-Adil. Furthermore, as a Qadi, Sultan Abd Rauf was asked to write a book as a benchmark (qaanun) of the application of the Shari'a Law. ¹³ The title of the book is *Mir'at al-Tullab*.

These various historical facts further confirms the recognition and the close relationship between Aceh and the archipelago with the Uthmani Khilafah. In fact, the relationship was not limited to

brotherly relationship or friendship one but also a 'unity' relationship as an integral part of the Uthmani Khilafah (Dar al-Islam).

The Guardian of Hajj Journey in Archipelago

The existence of the Uthmani Khilafah as an Islamic khilafah, especially after its successful conquest of Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in 857 H/1453, made the name of Turkey well remembered in the hearts of Muslims in the archipelago. The renowned name for Turkey in the archipelago was "Sultan of Rum."¹⁴ The term "Rum" was to refer to the Uthmani Turkish Empire. Since this period, the political and cultural supremacy of Rum (Uthmani Empire) spread to various parts of the Muslim world, including in Nusantara.¹⁵

The political and military power of the Uthmani Khilafah began to rise in the Indian Ocean in the early 16th century. As the Muslim Khilafah, the Uthmani Empire had a position to be *The Khadimul Haramayn* (The Guardian of the Two Holy Lands, ie Makkah and Medina). With this position, the Uthmani Khilafah took special measures to ensure the safety of the pilgrimage. The entire pilgrimage route was under the territories and control of the Uthmani Khilafah. The caravans of Hajj could directly go to Makkah without any troubles or fear of the Portuguese. In 954 H/1538, Sultan Sulayman I (ruled in 928 H/1520-1566 AD) sent a strong fleet under the command of the Governor of Egypt, Khadim Sulayman Pasha, to liberate all ports occupied by the Portuguese to secure the sea voyage of the pilgrimage to Jeddah.¹⁶

The Uthmani also secured the route of pilgrimage from the western side of Sumatra by placing its navy in the Indian Ocean. The presence of the military fleet of Uthmani in the Indian Ocean after 904 H/1498 AD did not only secure the Muslim pilgrimage in the archipelago, but also led to bigger Turkish share of trade in the region. In turn, this provided an important contribution to the growth of economic activity as a side effect of the Hajj journey. At the same time, The Portuguese also increased the presence of their fleet in the Indian Ocean, but the Uthmani fleet in the region was capable of enforcing its supremacy in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean throughout the 16th century.¹⁷

In terms of the security of the pilgrimage route, Selman Reis (died in 936 H/1528 AD), the Turkish Admiral in the Red Sea, continued to monitor the advance of the Portuguese fleet in the Indian Ocean, and reported to the central government in Istanbul. One of the reports, cited by Obazan, was as follows:

"(Portuguese) also control the port of (Pasai) in a large island called Syamatirah (Sumatra) ... It is said that they have 200 infidels in there (Pasai). With 200 infidels, they also control the ports of Malacca facing to Sumatra. ... Therefore, when our ships are ready, and, God's willing, we are

ready to fight against them, then their total destruction is inevitable, because one fort could not sustain another, and they cannot form a joint confrontation. " ¹⁸

This report was quite reasonable because in the year 941 AD H/1534 AD, a squadron of the Portuguese commanded by Diego da Silveira had to face a number of naval ships from Gujarat and Aceh off the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb in the mouth of the Red Sea.

Forms of Relationship

Portuguese continued to expand its influence not only in the Middle East but also in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese King, Emanuel I, openly conveyed their main purpose of the expedition by saying, "Certainly, the purpose of the search for the sea lane to India is to spread Christianity, and plunder the wealth of the East". ¹⁹ The Uthmani Khilafah did not stay silent. In 925H/1519 AD, the Portuguese in Malacca was shocked by the news of the deployment of the fleet of 'Uthmani' to liberate the Muslim in Malacca from the infidel occupation. Definitely, the local Muslims were delighted by the news. ²⁰

When Sultan Ala al-Din al-Qahhar Riayat Shah came to the throne in Aceh in 943 H/1537 AD, he was aware of the needs of Aceh to request the Uthmani military assistance. Such assistance was needed not only to expel the Portuguese from Malacca but also to conquer other areas, particularly the rural areas of Sumatra, such as the area of Batak. Al-Kahar used the forces of Turks, Arabs and Abyssinia - ²¹ 160 soldiers from Turkey plus 200 soldiers from Malabar formed an elite group of the Armed Forces of Aceh. Furthermore, Al-Kahhar deployed the military personnel to overpower the Batak in the interior of Sumatra in 946 H/1539 AD. Mendez Pinto, who watched the war between the forces of Aceh with Batak, reported the return of the fleet under the command of a Turk named Hamid Khan, a nephew of the Uthmani Pasha in Cairo. ²²

A historian of the University of Kebangsaan Malaysia, Lukman Thaib, acknowledges the assistance of the Uthmani Khilafah to conquer the surrounding region of Aceh. According to Thaib, it is an expression of solidarity with the Muslims who enabled the Turkey to attack directly against the surrounding territories of Aceh. ²³ Moreover, the Turks built a military academy in Aceh called 'Askeri Beytul Mukaddes' which was changed into 'Askar Baitul Makdis' which is more acceptable with the Acehnese dialect. The military education was central to the birth of the heroes in the history of Aceh and Indonesia. ²⁴ Thus, the relationship between Turkey with Aceh was very close. Aceh was as if a part of the territory of Turkey. The problems of Aceh Muslims were regarded as the Turkish domestic issue that should be resolved.

Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri in Bustan Al-Salathin narrated that Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah al-Qahhar sent an envoy to Istanbul to face "Sultan of Rum". The name of the envoy is Huseyn Effendi who is fluent in Arabic. He came to Turkey after performing hajj. ²⁵ In June 1562 AD,

the envoy of Aceh arrived in Istanbul to ask for the Uthmani military assistance to deal with the Portuguese. When the ambassador was able to escape from the Portuguese attack and reached Istanbul, he managed to get help from Turkey, which helped raise Aceh military power which effectively conquered Aru and Johor in 973 H/ H/1564 AD.²⁶

The relationship between Aceh and the Uthmani Khilafah continued primarily to maintain the security in Aceh from the Portuguese attack. According to an Aceh writer, the second successor of Al-Qahhar namely Sultan Mansyur Shah (985-998 H/1577-1588 AD) renewed political and military ties with the Uthmani Khilafah.²⁷ This report was verified by Portuguese historical sources. Bishop Jorge de Lemos, the Secretary of the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa in 993 H/1585 AD, reported to Lisbon that Aceh had been back in touch with the Uthmani Khilafah to seek for military assistance to launch a new offensive against the Portuguese. Aceh's next ruler, Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Shah (988-1013 H/1588-1604 AD) was also reported to continue political relationship with Turkey. It was reported that the Uthmani Khilafah had even sent a service medal to the Sultan of Aceh, and gave permission to ships of Aceh to fly the Uthmani flag.²⁸

The warships used by Aceh in wars consisted of small but swift boats and large ships. Large ships or junks that sailed the seas to Jeddah were from Turkey, India, and Gujarat. The last two areas were parts of the Uthmani Khilafah. According to Court, the ships were quite large, measuring 500 to 2000 tons.²⁹ Other big ships originated from Turkey had cannons and other weapons used to attack the invaders who disrupt the Muslims in Nusantara.³⁰ Aceh truly emerged as a great power feared by Portuguese because it was supported by weapons experts from Turkey as the assistance of the Khilafah to Aceh.³¹

According to sources in Aceh, Sultan Iskandar Muda (1016-1046 H/1607-1636 AD) sent a small fleet of three ships which reached Istanbul after two and a half year voyage through the Cape of Good Hope. When the mission returned to Aceh, they were given the supply of guns, 12 military experts, and a letter which was the resolution of friendship between the Uthmani and the Acehnese. These twelve military experts were called the heroes of Aceh. They were also said to be so skillful that they could also help Sultan Iskandar Muda, not only in building a formidable fortress in Banda Aceh, but also in building a sultanate palace.³²

The impact of the success of the Uthmani Khilafah in facing the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was very big. Acehnese were able to maintain the holy places and the roads leading to the pilgrimage journey; maintaining sustainability of the exchange of Indian goods with European traders in the market of Aleppo, Cairo, and Istanbul, as well as keeping the business lanes going between India and Indonesia and the Far East through the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea.³³

The relations between some sultanates in the archipelago with the Uthmani Khilafah in Turkey was evident such as the arrival of Islam in Buton (South Sulawesi) in 16th century. The genealogy of the Kings of Buton showed that after converting to Islam, Lakilaponto was

inaugurated to become 'sultan' with the title of Qaim ad-Din (religious enforcer) inaugurated by Sheikh Abd al-Wahid from Makkah. Since then, he was known as Sultan Marhum. And since then, the name of sultan has been revered in Friday prayers. According to local sources, the use of the title of 'sultan' comes after the approval obtained from the Sultan of Turkey (there was also a report of the Ruler from Makkah). It was Sheikh Wahid who announced this news (on this subject) to the Sultan of Rum (Khalifah) in Turkey.³⁴ This reality suggests that Makkah was under the Turkish leadership, and Buton had a simple 'structural' relationship with the Uthmani Khilafah through the mediation of Sheikh Wahid from Makkah.

Meanwhile, in the area now known as West Sumatra, the ruler of Minangkabau called himself "Aour Allum King of Kings" and was believed to be the Sultan's brother of Ruhum (Rum). The people of Minangkabau believe that their first ruler was the descendant of the Roman Khilafah (Uthmani) who was assigned to be the Sharif in the region.³⁵ It gives information that the sultanate had a relationship with the Uthmani Khilafah.

In addition to sultanate in Nusantara (Indonesia) which had direct contact with the Uthmani Khilafah, some others had indirect contact, meaning they made contact through other sultanates, for example, the sultanate of Ternate. In 1570's, during Soya-soya War against the Portuguese, the sultan of Ternate, Baabullah, was assisted by some sangaji from Nusa Tenggara an area famous for its good fleet and Demak with its Javanese army. Likewise, with its mighty 30.000 warships blockaded the ports of Sumatra and the delivery of food, and ammunition of Portuguese through the sea lane between India and Malacca Strait. The enemy of Ternate was also the enemy of Demak.³⁶

These facts show that Islamic sultanates in the archipelago has a relationship with the Uthmani Khilafah. The forms of relationship were in trade, military, politics, propaganda, and power.

The response of the Muslim of Indonesia to the Unification of the Ummah

During the difficult times of the Islamic Khilafah, when some of its regions began to be occupied by the invaders, there were some efforts to strengthen the Islamic unity which was led by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. He stated, "We must strengthen our ties with the Muslims in other parts of the world. We shall come closer and be together very intimately. There is no hope in the future unless with the unification."³⁷ This is an idea that is known as Pan-Islamism. The effort to strengthen the Islamic unity also took place in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies).

Snouck Hourgronje, the Dutch colonial adviser, always passed on the information to the Dutch East Indies colonial government that there was a movement of pan-Islamism to persuade the kings and princes in the Dutch East Indies (the Muslims) to come to the Palace of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Istanbul. The short-term goal to accomplish in Batavia, Snouck continued, was to

gain equal status of the Arabs and then the equal status between the Muslims and the Europeans. If this goal was reached then it would be no longer difficult for the Muslims to get a higher position than the Europeans, which will further restrict them at all. The Dutch East Indies Colonial Government was very worried if the Muslims knew that Sultan Abdul Hamid II provided scholarships for the Muslim youth. With the financial assistance from Sultan Abdul Hamid II, they could get access to the highest education and to obtain scientific knowledge and thereby a deep awareness of the superiority of every Muslim over the infidels, the awareness and the humiliation that should have not accepted by letting themselves to be governed by infidels. If they had completed their studies and had made pilgrimage to Makkah, they were expected to play a role in developing the Islamic thoughts in their local areas.³⁸

The efforts to strengthen this unity were intensified. By 1904, there had been 7 to 8 consuls ('envoys') who had been posted by the Uthmani Khilafah in Dutch East Indies.³⁹ Among the activities of these consuls were distributing the copies of Qur'an on behalf of the Sultan, and printing the works of Islamic theology in Malay language printed in Istanbul. Among the books was the Tafser of Qur'an whose page title mentions "Sultan of Turkey King of all Muslims".⁴⁰ The term 'King' actually refers to the word of al-Malik which means Ruler, and the term 'all Muslims' refers to the Muslims. So, the title made the declaration of the Khalifah that he was the ruler of the Muslim world. This suggests that the Uthmani Khilafah continued to strive to unify the Malay sultanates to be part of it, including through the distribution of al-Quran.

In response to the unification movement by the Islamic Uthmani Khilafah, there were some organizations in the Dutch East Indies which supported the movement. Abu Bakr Atjeh mentioned that among these organizations was the Islamic organization of Jam'iyat Khoir founded in July 17, 1905 by some Arab descents. The essays of the Islamic movements in the Dutch East Indies were published in newspapers and magazines in Istanbul, including in Al-Manar Magazine. Khalifah Abdul Hamid II, who lived in Istanbul had also sent his envoy to Indonesia, named Ahmed Amin Bey, to fulfill the request of the organization to examine the condition of the Muslims in Indonesia. As a result, the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government disbanded the Arabs to certain areas.⁴¹

Other Islamic organizations that responded positively to this unification was Sarekat Islam. The flag raising of the Uthmani flag at the National Congress of Sarekat Islam in Bandung in 1916, as symbol of solidarity among the Muslims and an opposition to colonialism, demonstrated this response. At that time, one effort made by the Uthmani Khilafah was to spread the call of jihad on behalf of the Khalifah of all Muslims, including in Indonesia, known as Java. Among the calls were:

"Dear brothers and sisters, look at how other countries colonized the Islamic world. India which is a wide country and has a population of one hundred million Muslims was colonized by a small

group of infidels from England. 40 million Muslims of Java were colonized by the Dutch. Morocco, Algiers, Tunisia, Egypt and Sudan have been suffered under the grips of the enemies of Allah and His Messenger. This includes Kuzestan, which has been under the pressures from the enemies of the faith. Persians were broken up. In fact, the throne of khilafah was always opposed by the God's enemies in all sorts of ways ".⁴²

This reality gives a description of how the Uthmani Khilafah provided supports and assistance to the Muslims in Indonesia and considered it as a whole body, even by calling to liberate themselves from the enemies of the faith. In this case, the Muslims responded positively to the efforts to strengthen the unity of the Muslim world.

The response of the Muslims in Indonesia to the collapse of the Uthmani Khilafah

On March 3, 1924, Mustafa Kamal la'natullahu 'alaih presided over the dissolution of Khilafah which he referred as "has been an abscess since the Middle Ages" ⁴³. In the morning of the day, it was announced that the National Assembly had approved the removal of the Khilafah and the separation of religion from the state affairs. Later that night, the Khalifah was forcibly evicted by the police force and the military. ⁴⁴ Officially, the Uthmani Khilafah collapsed on March 3, 1924.

The destruction of the leadership of the Muslim world shook the whole world, including Indonesia. In response to the collapse of the Khilafah, the Khilafah Committee was established in Surabaya on October 4, 1924 by Wondosudirdjo as its chairman (later known as Wondoamiseno) from Sarekat Islam and K.H.A Wahab Hasbullah as the vice-chairman. The aim of the committee was to discuss the invitation of the congress of Khilafah in Cairo. ⁴⁵ This meeting was followed up by the third congress of Al-Islam Indies in Surabaya on 24 to 27 December 1924. The congress was attended by 68 Muslim organizations representing the central leadership (hoofd bestuur) and branches (afdeling), as well as the written support of 10 branches of other organizations. The congress was attended by many scholars from all over Indonesia. The important decision of the congress was to commit itself to the khilafah movement and sent envoys considered to be the representative of the Muslims of Indonesia to the World Congress of Islam. ⁴⁶ The Congress decided to send a delegation to Cairo consisting of Surjopranoto (Sarekat Islam), Haji Fachruddin (Muhammadiyah), and K.H.A Wahab representing the traditional muslims.⁴⁷

Due to the difference of opinion with the Muhammadiyah, K.H.A Wahab and three supporters held a meeting with the Islamic scholars from older generation in Surabaya, Semarang, Pasuruan, Lasem, and Pati. They agreed to set up a committee of Merembuk Hijaz. The committee was set up with two purposes, firstly to balance the Khilafat Committee which gradually fell into the hands of reformist groups, and secondly to call upon Ibn Su'ud, the new ruler in Arab land to

revive the traditional religious customs.⁴⁸ This committee was later renamed to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) at a meeting in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. This meeting still put the issue of Hijaz as the main issue.⁴⁹ Although there were differences of opinion, either Muhammadiyah, NU, or Sarekat Islam equally paid great attention to the collapse of the Khilafah Islamiyah and viewed it as the main issue of the Muslims.

This stance was driven by the belief that Khilafah (Khilafah) is a common leadership for the Muslims. At that time, the Muslims in Indonesia considered Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifah.⁵⁰ One of the leaders of Sarekat Islam Indonesia, HOS Cokroaminoto, stated that the khalifah was not solely for the Muslims in the Arabian peninsula, but also for the Muslims of Indonesia. It was also emphasized that the khalifah was the common right of the Muslims and not a domain of certain nations.⁵¹ More explicitly, Cokroaminoto also said that besides the two holy cities of Makkah-Medina, the khalifah was owned by the Muslims worldwide. He advised to send a delegation to the Congress. The goal was to "show ourself in front of the whole Islamic world ", and "make any necessary efforts considered useful for Islam in our country." In addition, it was meant to search for information about continuation of the election of Khalifah.⁵² In fact, he made an analogy that Muslims are like a body. Therefore, if the Muslims do not have a khalifah then "it is as if a body without a head".⁵³

Closing

According to some historical records, it can be concluded that the Islamic sultanates in Indonesia had a very close relationship with the Uthmani Khilafah. Moreover, the evidence describes that Islamic sultanates in Indonesia were an integral part of the Islamic Khilafah.

Only when the power of the Uthmani Khilafah began to weaken, the western infidel invaders (Britain) through its agent, Mustafa Kamal, managed to tear it down. As a result, the unifying institution of the Muslim world ceased to exist and the lands of the Muslim were divided under the colonial rule.

While in Indonesia, during the post-colonial military occupation, the effort to build a political system based on Islam in Indonesia by some leaders also failed due to 'betrayal'. As a result, Indonesia became a "free" country on the basis of secularism and nationalism. These ideas preserve the breakup of the Muslim lands and maintain the Muslims in a weak condition.

Referring to the existing historical facts, it seems clear that the efforts to unite Muslims in various Muslim countries, including in Indonesia, on the basis of Islam is historically undeniable. For Indonesian Muslims, the struggle to resume the Islamic life and unite the Muslims under the

Khilafah is not only a form of obedience to the commands of Allah, but such activity is also an attempt to continue the history. In addition to continue the struggles of the Sultan and the Islami clerics who had united Nusantara (Indonesia) with the Islamic Khilafah. On the other hand, the opposition to this effort is a form of denial of the history of Indonesia, in addition to the denial of the commands of Allah. [Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia]

Footnotes :

[1] Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Hubungan Perdagangan Indonesia-Persia (Iran) Pada Masa Lampau (Abad VII-XVII M) dan Dampaknya terhadap Beberapa Unsur Kebudayaan" *Jauhar* Vol. 1, No. 1, Desember 2000 pp. 32.

2 Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII, Edisi Revisi* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2004) pp. 27-28. 3Ibid. pp. 28

4 Farooqi, "Protecting the Routers to Makkah," hal. 215-6, quoted from Ibid pp. 44.

5 Metin Innegollu, "The Early Turkish-Indonesian Relation," in Hasan M. Ambary and Bachtiar Aly (ed.), *Aceh dalam Retrospeksi dan Reflkesi Budaya Nusantara*, (Jakarta: Informasi Taman Iskandar Muda, tt), pp. 54.

6 Azyumardi Azra, *op.cit.* pp. 44

7 Marwati Djuned Puspongoro (eds.), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, Jilid III* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1984), pp. 54.

8 Metin Innegollu, *op.cit.* pp. 54

9 Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissans Islam Asia Tenggara ; Sejarah wacana dan kekuasaan.* (Bandung : Rosda, 1997), pp. 116-118).

10Snouck Hurgronje, 1994, *Nasehat-nasehat C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa kepegawaiannya kepada pemerintah Hindia Belanda; 1889 -1936.* (Jakarta : INIS), pp. 1631.

11 Peunoh Daly, 'Hukum Nikah, Talak, Rujuk, Hadanah dan Nafkah dalam Naskah Mir'at al-Tullab Kaarya Abd Raauf Singkel," *Dissertation of Faculty of Sharia IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah* (Jakarta, 1982). Pp. 15-16.

12 Ibid. pp. 32

13 Ibid pp. 36

14 The khalifahs of Uthamani are often called as "Sultan Rum" due to occupying Constantinopel which was used to be the Eastern Roman Empire. This is the result of the interview of the Team of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia with Prof.Dr. Uka Tjandrasasmita, Tuesday, 11 January 2005.

15Azyumardi Azra, 2004, op.cit. pp. 36.

16 Ibid pp. 38

17 Ibid. pp. 36

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