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MAPPING RADICAL ISLAM
IN INDONESIA

Jamhari

REINFORCING NEO-SUFISM IN THE MALAY-INDONESIAN WORLD:
SHAṬṬĀRIYYAH ORDER IN WEST SUMATRA

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THE PENYENGAT SCHOOL:
A REVIEW OF THE INTELLECTUAL TRADITION
IN THE MALAY-RIAU KINGDOM

Alimuddin Hassan Palawa

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Alimuddin Hassan Palawa

The Penyengat School:
A Review of the Intellectual Tradition
in the Malay-Riau Kingdom

Abstraksi: *Studi keislaman di kawasan Dunia Melayu (Asia Tenggara) telah lama menjadi fokus perhatian sejumlah sarjana, baik dari dalam maupun luar negeri. Akan tetapi, sejauh menyangkut kajian keislaman di wilayah ini, Melayu-Riau tampaknya masih meninggalkan sejumlah catatan yang belum terungkap, dan karenanya masih tertinggal, setidaknya jika dibandingkan dengan wilayah-wilayah lain, seperti Aceh, Palembang atau Patani, misalnya. Padahal, kawasan Melayu-Riau pada paruh kedua abad ke-19 hingga awal abad ke-20 merupakan kawasan paling dinamis dan kaya dengan khazanah intelektual Islam. Selain itu, kawasan ini telah pula menjadi pusat pengetahuan agama dan budaya di dunia Melayu dengan pusatnya di Pulau Penyengat.*

Artikel ini mendiskusikan perkembangan persuratan intelektual di kawasan Melayu-Riau, dengan, antara lain, menelusuri sejarah kerajaan Melayu-Riau ketika memegang hegemoni dan kedigjayaan dalam “pentadbiran” (pemerintahan) politik-militer dan ekonomi-perdagangan pada paruh kedua abad ke-18 di bawah pemerintahan Yang Dipertuan Muda (YDM) IV Melayu-Riau, Raja Haji (1777-1784), kakek Raja Ali Haji. Kondisi semacam ini, pada gilirannya telah menghantarkan Melayu-Riau kepada kejayaan dan kemakmuran. Akan tetapi, hegemoni politik-militer berakhir—dan belakangan ekonomi-perdagangan turut (pula) semakin surut—setelah Raja Haji akhirnya kalah dalam perang menentukan melawan Belanda, kendati pada awal-awalnya selalu

memperoleh kemenangan. Bahkan dalam pertempuran sengit dan dahsyat tersebut Raja Haji, pahlawan legendaris dan nasional Riau ini, menemui ajalnya secara heroik di teluk Ketapang pada tanggal 18 Juni 1784.

Sepeninggalan Raja Haji, identitas Kerajaan Melayu Riau sebagai pusat “pentadbiran” pemerintahan dalam politik-militer dan ekonomi-perdagangan berubah menjadi pusat “persuratan” intelektual dalam ilmu pengetahuan agama dan budaya di Dunia Melayu. Keadaan yang disebut belakangan ini tidak mencuat serta merta, tetapi memang telah dirintis, sejalan dan inheren dalam kejayaan dan kemakmuran kerajaan Melayu-Riau yang telah dicapai sebelumnya. Keadaan kondusif seperti ini, misalnya diisyaratkan dengan datangnya ulama dan tuan guru, guna menyemarakkan proses belajar-mengajar, dan meletakkan landasan persuratan intelektual di Kerajaan Melayu Riau. Ulama dan tuan guru tersebut tidak saja datang dari Nusantara, seperti Jawa-Madura, Kalimantan dan Sulawesi Selatan, tetapi juga datang dari luar Nusantara, khususnya Timur Tengah. Peristiwa ini menjadi awal tumbuh kembangnya persuratan intelektual di kerajaan Melayu-Riau.

Belakangan, kejayaan ilmu pengetahuan dan budaya di kawasan ini mencapai puncaknya dengan kemunculan Raja Ali Haji, yang melakukan pembinaan dengan melahirkan sejumlah kader yang menjadi garda depan pengusung persuratan intelektual di kawasan ini. Bahkan, tidak lama sepeninggalnya, kader-kader yang telah dibina Raja Ali Haji menghimpun diri dalam perkumpulan intelektual bernama “Rusydiah Club” [semacam “Ikatan Cendikiawan Melayu Islam”]. Melalui lembaga ini, gerakan persuratan intelektual di Melayu-Riau menjadi terorganisir ditandai dengan lahirnya sejumlah karya tulis dari tangan-tangan mereka.

Aktivitas persuratan intelektual di kawasan ini juga ditopang dengan berdirinya Serikat Dagang “Asyarkatul Ahmadiyah” yang mendanai percetakan Ahmadiyah Press di Singapura, dan juga lahirnya majalah bulanan al-Imam yang aktor intelektual dan kontributornya sebagian besar adalah anak jati diri Melayu-Riau, seperti Raja Ali Kelana dan Syekh al-Hadi. Majalah ini sangat dipengaruhi dan kerap kali mengutip pemikiran pembaharuan keagamaan Muhammad Abduh serta beberapa tulisan yang dimuat majalah al-Manar. Majalah al-Imam, menurut William Roff, memang sangat mirip dengan jurnal al-Manar yang diterbitkan oleh Rashid Ridha di Kairo pada 1898. Kelahiran majalah al-Imam merupakan titik tolak penting bagi perkembangan jurnalisme Melayu.

Alimuddin Hassan Palawa

The Penyengat School: A Review of the Intellectual Tradition in the Malay-Riau Kingdom

Abstraksi:

خلاصة: لقد أثارت الدراسات الإسلامية بمناطق ملايو أعني جنوب شرقي آسيا اهتمام كثير من الباحثين سواء داخليا أم خارجيا منذ فترة طويلة، ومع ذلك فإن الدراسات نفسها بمناطق ملايو-رياو (Riau) مازالت تحتفظ بملاحظات لم يتم الكشف عنها بعد فيما يبدو، ولذلك بقيت متخلفة بالمقارنة على الأقل مثلا مع الدراسات التي أجريت في مناطق آتشيه (Aceh) على سبيل المثال أو باليمانج (Palembang) أو فاطاني (Fatani) مع أن هذه المناطق من ملايو رياو كانت أكثر المناطق ديناميكية وأكثرها احتواء للتراث الفكري الإسلامي منذ النصف الأخير من القرن التاسع عشر حتى القرن العشرين من الميلاد بالإضافة إلى أن فيها جزيرة بيجينجات (Penyengat) التي كانت مركز المعارف الدينية والثقافية لعالم الملايو كله. وهذه المقالة تناقش تطور حركة التأصيل الفكري في هذه المناطق وذلك من خلال الإطلاع على تاريخ مملكة ملايو-رياو عندما كانت تفرض سيطرتها على إدارة الشؤون السياسية والعسكرية وكذلك الشؤون الاقتصادية والتجارية ابتداء من النصف الثاني من القرن الثامن عشر الميلادي تحت إمرة الملك الرابع الحاجي (Raja Haji IV) جد الملك على الحاجي (Raja Ali Haji) (1777-1784م)، وهذه الظروف والأوضاع قد أدت بدورها إلى ازدهار المملكة ورخائها. على أن هذه الهيمنة السياسية والعسكرية قد انتهت هي وكذلك الهيمنة الاقتصادية والتجارية تباعا عندما انهزم جيش الملك الحاجي أخيرا أمام الاستعمار الهولندي في حرب حاسمة على الرغم مما كان يتمتع به من تفوق وانتصارات خلال الحروب السابقة بل لقد كتب لهذا الملك البطل

الأسطوري والبطل القومي في نفس الوقت الشهادة ووافته المنية في تلك الحرب المجيدة الواقعة في خليج كيتابنج (Ketapang) في ١٨ يونيو ١٧٨٤. وعلى أثر رحيل الملك الحاجي تحولت هوية مملكة ملايو رياو من الهيمنة العسكرية والسياسية والاقتصادية والتجارية إلى التميز بالتقدم الفكري في مجال العلوم الدينية والثقافة في عالم الملايو.

ولم تظهر هذه الأوضاع والتطورات تلقائياً وإنما تم الإعداد والتخطيط لها إبان مرحلة النمو والتقدم والازدهار التي تشهدها المملكة من قبل، فقد كان هناك شروط على سبيل المثال وضعت لتهيئة الظروف المناسبة مثل استقدام علماء وأساتذة من أجل الارتقاء بمستوى عملية التعلم والتعليم ووضع أسس التعامل مع التراث الفكري في مملكة ملايو-رياو، ولم يكن أولئك العلماء والاساتذة يأتون من مناطق الأرخيبيل مثل جاوه (Jawa) ومادورا (Madura) وكالنتان (Kalimantan) وسلاويسي الجنوبية (Sulawesi Selatan) فحسب وإنما كان هناك من يأتي أيضاً من خارج الأرخيبيل خاصة من مناطق الشرق الأوسط، وقد كان ذلك بداية لتطور التراث الفكري بمملكة ملايو رياو وانتشارها.

ولقد بلغ من التقدم والازدهار بهذه المملكة ذروته مع بروز الملك علي الحاجي الذي قام بإعداد عدد من كوادر علمية أصبحوا روادا لحركة التأصيل الفكري بالمنطقة، بل لم يمض على رحيله إلا فترة قصيرة حتى اجتمع أولئك الرواد وانضم بعضهم إلى بعض لإنشاء رابطة علمية بينهم أسموها نادي الرشدية التي من خلالها تم تنظيم حركة التأصيل الفكري بمناطق ملايو رياو مع ظهور عدد من المؤلفات لهم.

ولقد وجدت هذه الحركة الفكرية عندها كذلك بإنشاء الشركة التجارية التي تحمل اسم الشركة الأحمدية التي قامت بتمويل مطابع الأحمدية بسينغافورة (Singapore) وكذلك المجلة الشهرية للإمام التي كان أكبر مفكريها وأكثر المساهمين فيها من أبناء ملايو رياو الأصليين من أمثل الملك علي كيلانا (Raja Ali Kelana) والشيخ الهادي (Syekh al-Hadi)، وكانت هذه المجلة متأثرة جدا بأفكار الشيخ محمد عبده التجديدية وبعده من المفكرين الوارد مقالاتهم بمجلة النار، وطبقا لوليام روف (William Roff) فإن مجلة الإمام تشبه إلى حد كبير مجلة النار أصدرتها الشيخ رشيد رضا بالقاهرة وكان ظهور مجلة الامام يمثل حقا نقطة انطلاق لتطور الصحافة بملايو.

*Every action performed by a sword can be performed by a pen
But the actions of a pen cannot be performed by a sword
And thousands of swords which have been drawn
With the scratch of a pen are sheathed.*

[Raja Ali Haji, Introduction *Bustān al-Kātibīn*]

RELIGION and culture are two entities that have been intertwined throughout the course of history. Malay Riau is no exception to this rule, and in the Malay world religion and culture have long been inseparable. Religion [Islam] and culture [Malay] have always been combined in the Malay community. It can be argued that Islam plays an essential role in the definition of what it means to “be Malay”; one can only be considered Malay if he or she meets a number of requirements, including being a Muslim.¹

Despite the impossibility of separating religion and culture, it must be noted that they can be differentiated. There are at least two major differences between religion and culture. The first is an ideal-epistemological difference; religion is “God-made”, based on revelation. Thus, the truth embodied in religion is absolute and universal, valid in all times and places. Meanwhile, culture is “man-made” and based on human reason. Its truth is thus relative and local, limited to time and space. If religion and culture were compared, an absolute-universal truth would win out over a local-relative truth.²

The second, an empirical-historical argument, is continuation of the first. Following Azra’s terms, religion can be understood as a large tradition, whilst culture is a small tradition. Furthermore, religion is regarded as primary and central tradition, while culture is seen as secondary and peripheral.³ As a result, most cultural-political traditions are based on religion, whereas religion is never based on culture.⁴ Thus, religion is the determinant factor for culture, and culture is subordinate to religion.

Religion, particularly Islam, contains elements conducive to the development of culture. Al-Attas argues that “this is because Islam is a rational religion, which at the same time produces an intellectual energy in its followers.” He adds that “rational and intellectual energy did not exist in the pre-Islamic period.”⁵ Through the formation of a “high culture”, Islam provided the platform for the development of Malay culture, particularly during the seventeenth century.⁶ Before Islam arrived in Malay culture, there was

a saying that “a Malay never commits a sin” (*pantang Melayu mendurhaka*)—a sweeping statement which disregarded the authorities. This proverb was altered on the arrival of Islam; “a just king is worshiped, a despot is confronted!” (*raja adil, raja disembah, raja zalim raja disanggah!*).⁷

This historical-empirical argument is developed by Al-Attas when he says that the Malay language is a *lingua franca*:

The idea that Malay language had long been used widely as a *lingua franca* in the pre-Islamic period is still debatable, since in the pre-Islamic period, trade in these islands was still limited. Thus, if it really was a *lingua franca* before the arrival of Islam, why did it not become the literary language during that time? This only occurred after the arrival of Islam.⁸

Although the first part of this statement is debatable, in general this argument is accepted. However, can it be argued that Malay was not a *lingua franca* in the pre-Islamic period, considering that the Sriwijaya Kingdom was so vast? Al-Attas is correct in saying that Malay had not been used as the *lingua franca* in the development of a literary language in the Archipelago and that the Malay language evolved into a literary language only after the arrival of Islam. It became a written form, and in the seventeenth century a number of sophisticated literary works were written in Malay by Acehnese Muslim intellectuals such as Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, and Nuruddin al-Raniri.⁹ In the following century, the genealogy of Malay as academic language was maintained by Muslim intellectuals such as Abdussamad al-Palimbani from South Sumatra,¹⁰ and Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari from South Kalimantan.¹¹

During the nineteenth century, Malay was used extensively as a written and literary language, using the Arabic-Javanese alphabet, particularly, according to Nurcholish Madjid, in Riau and Penyengat Island.¹² This occurrence is attributed to Malay Riau Muslim intellectuals such as Raja Ali Haji and his peers.¹³ In Malay Riau, religion became the key generator of intellectual activities, at the same time elevating Malay culture. According to Hasan Junus, in the pre-Islamic period Malay Riau culture “was no more than a peripheral culture which did not pay attention to intellectual activities.”¹⁴

By adopting Islam as its basis for intellectual tradition, the Malay Riau Kingdom lasted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the strength of the Malay

Riau Kingdom lay in politics, military power and commerce. At the same time, the Kingdom sowed the seeds of intellectualism. During the second part of the nineteenth century, and particularly during the reign of Raja Ali Haji, the Malay Riau Kingdom became the center of intellectual activities in Malay world and began to reap the benefits of this status.

If one were to choose between political and military hegemony and the victory of science and culture (even though this is not possible since the latter is related to, and possibly even dependent on the former) one would most likely choose the latter. This is because science (personified by the pen) is much more powerful than military force (personified by the sword). Thus, I wholeheartedly agree with Raja Ali Haji when he quotes al-Ghazālī's saying; "the pen is mightier than the sword."

The Formation of the Malay Riau Kingdom

The assassination of Sultan Mahmud Shah in 1699¹⁵ is regarded the end of the Parameswara dynasty (the Malacca Kingdom) in the Riau-Johor Malay Kingdom (henceforth cited as the Malay Riau Kingdom).¹⁶ According to tradition, if the king has no descendants, then the descendant of the treasurer (*bendahara*) takes charge. This is how the treasurer Tun Habib Abdul Jalil came to power, and took the title Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah.¹⁷ His reign was short lived, however, because in 1708 Raja Kecil of Siak, who claimed to be the son of Sultan Mahmud II, invaded and annexed Johor (the capital of the Malay Riau Kingdom). He forced Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah to return to his former position as treasurer,¹⁸ and later killed him.¹⁹

Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah's son, Raja Sulaiman swore to revenge the death of his father. According to *Sirah Siak*, however, Raja Sulaiman's sister, Tengku Tengah, suffered more than her brother. She was brokenhearted since while her father was still alive she had become engaged to Raja Kecil. The wedding never took place because Raja Kecil drifted apart from Tengku Tengah and fell in love with her more beautiful sister, Tengku Kamariyah, whom he eventually married.

To realize their intentions of revenge, Raja Sulaiman and Tengku Tengah asked for help from the descendents of the Buginese noble from South Sulawesi, Putra Opu Tendribuang Daeng Rilaga.²⁰ These five brothers were called Daeng Parani, Daeng Manabung, Daeng Marewa, Daeng Kumisi and Daeng Chelak. An agreement

was made at a dinner organized by Raja Sulaiman in honor of the five brothers. According to *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, during the dinner

... Tengku Tengah came out and stood in front of the door, opened up her bidai [bamboo screen], took off her earrings, and said: "Oh King Bugis, if you and your brothers could conceal my shame and restore my honor and dignity, I would happily appoint you as my king; if you order me to cook, I will, with no hesitation." After listening to Tengku Tengah's request, Opu Daeng Perani replied, "God willing, I will help you with all my heart and soul. And I will restore your honor and dignity once and for all."²¹

There are several arguments as to why Raja Sulaiman approached the five Buginese nobles for help. The first argument is that during that time the Buginese nobles had proven their military dominance in the Malacca straits. Secondly, Malay political powers had decreased drastically after the collapse of Malacca Kingdom in 1511, and this process of erosion continued up until the death of Sultan Mahmud II. The main reason behind this erosion, according to Andaya, was that the seamen (*orang laut*), the main allies of the Kingdom, no longer dedicated themselves to the new elites who were not direct descendants of the Malacca dynasty. After the last king of the Malacca Kingdom passed away the seamen no longer felt loyalty towards the elite.²²

Thanks to the assistance of the Buginese nobles, Raja Kecil was successfully defeated and expelled from the Malay Riau Kingdom.²³ The triumph of Raja Sulaiman, with the assistance of the five Buginese brothers, coincided with the appointment of Daeng Marewa as the Young King I (*Yang Dipertuan Muda* henceforth cited as YDM),²⁴ a logical consequence of "the loyal oath" taken by both parties. This oath, one of several taken, states that "if the Buginese nobles succeeded restoring Raja Sulaiman's honor, they and their heirs would be appointed Young King."²⁵ They made their promise to maintain brotherhood and help each other in the presence of the Holy Qur'an.²⁶

The establishment of the YDM in the government structure had broad reaching political implications. First, the Buginese nobles who had previously been considered "outsiders" gained status and power and became the "decision makers" in the political and governmental structures. Secondly, the coalition²⁷ brought the Malay Riau Kingdom to victory and political domination in the Malacca Straits and surrounding areas for more than half a century.²⁸

Although theoretically the highest power was held by the sultan, in reality it was claimed by the YDM. Wilkinson, as quoted by Hamid Abdullah, says that that “The Great King is in the position of ‘a wife’ who cannot eat without the help of her husband, while the Young King is in the position of ‘a husband’, who gets everything he wants.”²⁹

It should be noted that throughout the history of the Malay Riau Kingdom the powerful presence of Buginese nobles and their dominant roles as the YDM could have lead to civil war and threatened the sovereignty of the country. In reality, their dominance was never fully recognized by the Malay descendants, and they were frequently slandered.³⁰

Fully understanding the relationship between his two family backgrounds, Raja Ali Haji tried to eliminate the hostility between both sides. Even though aggression between the two groups was relatively low during his reign in comparison to the few previous decades, he warned them to avoid fighting and hostility.

The Malay Riau Administration: A Center for Commerce, Politics and Military

After establishing the government and the political system in Malay Riau, Sultan Sulaiman and Daeng Marewa began to develop political and commercial relationships with their neighboring countries. This meant that the Kingdom became widely known, and increasing numbers of people visited from countries such as China, Siam, India and Arabia.³¹ The situation further improved when Daeng Cellak became the Young King of the Malay Riau Kingdom (1708-1745). During his reign, he established Gambier plantations which became an important commodity,³² and he also built a foil mine in Selangor, which was further developed by the YDM III Daeng Kamboja.³³

During this period the Malay Riau Kingdom became a major commercial center. Its harbor became the transit point between west and east and a large number of ships from all over the world anchored there. The tax collection this produced became an important source of income for the Kingdom. This context is recounted in *Tuhfat al-Nafis*;

During this time Riau was popular and prosperous. With trade from Java and ships coming from Bengal bringing opium and other products, the harbor was filled with ships and sloops from all over the world. During the reign of the YDM Daeng Kamboja, the

situation deteriorated for a while, but improved during the reign of the YDM Raja Haji when it once again became crowded and well used.³⁴

The Malay Riau Kingdom combined the fields of politics and military and became powerful and well respected in the western region of the Archipelago. This was furthered when Raja Ali Haji became YDM Daeng Kamboja's assistant, a role that lasted for three decades. During this time he established a navy, organized the military forces and visited neighboring countries such as Selangor, Perak, Kedah, Indragiri, Jambi, and Bangka (Palembang), Mempawah and Pontianak.

Raja Ali Haji played an important role in these expeditions. In Kedah, for instance, he became the mediator in the civil war. In Selangor he was involved in a war waged against the Dutch and saw his brother, Raja Lumu, become Sultan. In Asahan he married the daughter of the king. After receiving an invitation from its king, he visited Jambi, married the king's daughter, and took the title Sutawijaya. From Jambi he traveled to Indragiri to remove power from the King of Bayan and restore it to the hands of the King of Indragiri. He eventually married the King of Indragiri's daughter, Raja Halimah, and thus became the king's son-in-law. With the king's permission, he opened two new countries in the region, Kuala Cinaku and Pekan Lais. Not long after, he traveled to Mempawah and Pontianak where he joined Prince Sharif Abdurrahman in the war against Penembahan Senggau. He installed Prince Sharif Abdurrahman as the King of Pontianak and in return was honored and given a palace.³⁵

During this period of adventure, Raja Haji was often given various titles by the Dutch colonials including "the destroying adventurer", "the charismatic war leader", "the old Scandinavian hero whose actions will be retold through songs and poetry", "the legendary fighter whose help is desired by every king" and "the adventurer whose courage has become legend".³⁶

While he was in Pontianak, Raja Haji heard news that the YDM III had passed away, and immediately returned home. Shortly after arriving in Riau in 1777 he ascended to the throne as YDM IV. Although his reign was short (only seven years), the Malay Riau Kingdom reached its peak in terms of economics, commerce and military power. This story is recounted by Raja Haji's grandson, Raja Ali Haji, in his book *Tuhfat al-Nafis*;

During the reign of the YDM Raja Haji, the Kingdom became well known and prosperous, and the people of Riau profited. The YDM obtained most of the income from tax collection. The soldiers decided that they had enough men and commanders to maintain harmony, so thirty set sail, and thirty returned to land. This situation continued for many years, and people were happy because the country was safe and prosperous, food was cheap and the traders profited as a result of the growing fame of the country.³⁷

Raja Haji built a palace on the island of Malam Dewa with the profits from the healthy economy. In this palace “the beautiful fortresses were filled with dishes and bowls, and the walls were made up from mirrors which reflected the sun’s rays.” The decorations in the palace were made from gold and silver, while “bowls, cups and tea were imported from China....”³⁸ Raja Haji also built a beautiful palace for the YDM Sultan Mahmud on the Galang River.³⁹

Along with the advancements in politics, the military, commerce and trade came an improvement in religious and spiritual life, as told in the *Tuhfat al-Nafīs*;

“... And many sayid from Arabia, as well as ulema from Java came to Malay Riau where they gathered in a *rumah wakaf* [property donated for religious use] and a mosque with the entire community of rich and elite. On Friday people gathered there to celebrate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, followed by almsgiving. Some people were given jaktum, some ringgit, and others were given rupiah that Friday night. There was also entertainment, such as traditional Javanese dance and *wayang* [Javanese shadow puppetry].”⁴⁰

In the second part of the eighteenth century, during the reign of the YDM IV Raja Haji (1777-1784), the grandfather of Raja Ali Haji, the economic, political and military development saw the country become victorious and prosperous.⁴¹ This context of development was conducive to the growth of religious and spiritual activities, along with the expansion of scientific knowledge. However, when this period of military and political hegemony ended (then followed by a period of trade and commerce) Raja Haji was defeated in several important wars against the Dutch.⁴² This legendary national hero died in the Ketapang Strait on June 18, 1784.⁴³ Because he died in the same way as Allah, fighting for his country and religion, he was posthumously known as Raja Haji Fisabilillah.

According to *Tuhfat al-Nafīs*, there were two causes (*casus belli*) for the war between Raja Haji and the Dutch. The most relevant

and likely cause was that the Dutch broke an agreement made by both parties. According to this agreement, the two sides were allies; any enemy of the Dutch was an enemy of the Malay Riau Kingdom. However, this agreement was broken when the British ship “Betsy”, which was carrying opium to the Bayan port in the Riau straight, was captured. Raja Haji informed the Dutch in Malacca and twelve days later, Mathurin Barbaron came to Riau and took the ship to Malacca without notifying Raja Haji. The opium was then sold in Batavia at a very high price, but Raja Haji did not receive his half of the profits. He felt betrayed, cheated and humiliated by the Dutch so he backed out of the agreement and declared it invalid. The Dutch responded by preparing their military forces to attack the Malay Riau Kingdom.⁴⁴

An example of Raja Haji’s heroism occurred when he led his troops with a knife in his right hand and a holy book, *Dilālat al-Khair*, in his left, just before being killed by a bullet. Tengku Lucman Sinar writes of Raja Haji’s role in this first war against the Dutch, “it is necessary to note that this was the first time in East Asia that the powerful European military force had been defeated by the Johor-Riau Kingdom’s fleet.” Despite this, the story of this war has never been written in Indonesian history.

The Malay Riau Intellectual Tradition

After the death of Raja Haji the Malay Riau Kingdom changed from being a center of military, politics, and trade into a center for culture and science in the Malay world.⁴⁵ However, unlike changes during more prosperous times, this transition did not occur immediately. This period is characterized by the arrival of ulema and religious scholars from throughout the Archipelago in order to encourage academic activities in Malay Riau.⁴⁶

The roots of science and civilization in the Malay Riau Kingdom can be traced back to the reign of Raja Haji. The chronicles and history of the palace show that many ‘*ulamā*’ came to the Kingdom in order to develop teaching and learning activities, although many of their names remain unknown. During his reign, Raja Ali bin Daeng Kamboja YDM V (1784-1806) became a pupil of an ‘*ālim*’ from Madura named Syekh Abdu Gaffar who arrived with the teachings of “Khalwātiyyah Sammāniyyah”. Another story tells of Sultan Abdul Rahman I (1812-1834) who always wore Arabic robes, spent his time with ulema and sayid and was diligent in the fulfillment of his religious duties. According to *Tuhfat al-Nafis*;

“Sultan Abdul Rahman was so happy during his stay in Lingga that he performed his religious obligations throughout the days and nights. On Fridays he was obsessed with fulfilling his religious duties so went to the mosque for Friday prayers wearing Arab-style clothing and did not sleep. The Sultan loved sayid and religious scholars so he ate, drank and prayed with them. He was so proud of himself that he sang loudly and intensely.”⁴⁷

The chronicles clearly show that during the reign of the YDM Riau VI King Ja’far (1806-1831) a large amount of the budget was spent on religious education. Apparently Haji Abdul Wahab was the most credited ‘*ulamā*’ alongside others such as Abdul Rasyid (Malay ‘*ulamā*’) and Syed Syekh (Malaccan ‘*ulamā*’).⁴⁸ Religious education and mystical teaching were spread during YDM Riau VI King Ja’far’s reign. The mystical teachings that were dispersed were orthodox Sunism teachings rather than heterodox ones. In *Tuhfat al-Nafīs*, Raja Ali Haji describes someone named Lebai Tamat who applied heterodox Sufism. While possessed by *shajāhāt* (ecstasy), he claimed to be Allah, and at the climax of *shajāhāt* he declared himself a reincarnation of King Ali Haji. King Ja’far responded to this by executing him.⁴⁹

When he became the YDM, King Ja’far was assisted by his brother, Raja Ahmad, father of Raja Ali Haji. King Ja’far mentioned that he loved ulema and religious teachers, including Qur’ānic reciters. If a reciter came from Penyengat Island, Raja Ja’far asked him to stay in his home for a few months so that his officials and his family could study the Qur’ān. On the reciter’s departure the king gave him gifts and money. King Ja’far was always diligent in performing his religious duties and always internalized religious moral messages. He frequently cried during the Friday prayer when the preacher gave his sermon. However, his feelings toward religion did not stop him from enjoying fictitious stories, particularly those from Middle East, read to him by a sayid.⁵⁰

During the reign of the YDM VII, King Abdul Rahman (1833-1844) several ‘*ulamā*’ visited Malay Riau, including Shaikh Ḥabīb al-Shaggāf, Sayyed Ḥassan al-Ḥaddād, Shaikh Aḥmad Jibrati from the Middle East and Kiyai Barenjang, Haji Shihabuddin and Haji Abu Bakar from Bugis. King Abdul Rahman built a mosque that was used not only for rituals, but also for discussing matters related to science and religion. It is also functioned as a guesthouse for traveling ‘*ulamā*’ and religious teachers. This grand mosque on Penyengat Island has become a symbol of the development of science and culture.⁵¹

During the reign of Raja Ali bin Ja'far (1845-1857), the YDM VIII, Haji Hamim of Banjar and Raja Ali Haji were appointed as his counselors.⁵² Under the supervision of the *'ulamā'* and with the assistance of his brother, Raja Ali Haji, YDM VIII "enforced rules which lead to the Kingdom's fame and the integrity of religion". *Tuhfat al-Nafīs* adds that;

"During this period the Kingdom enforced the religion of Islam as it established the Friday prayer and ordered the women to wear the veil... it forbade people to gamble or stage cock fights, robbery was severely punished and criminals were exiled or killed. This was in order to instill fear in the people. They would learn to hate the behaviors that lead to adultery and sin."⁵³

Not only did he enforce all religious teachings, but YDM VIII also invited several *'ulamā'* from the Middle East, including Sayid Abdullah Bahrain, to give religious instruction and live in Penyengat for approximately one year.⁵⁴ He also invited *'ulamā'* from throughout the Archipelago. Raja Ali Haji took advantage of this opportunity and studied intensively. Both he and Raja Abdullah learned various religious sciences and disciplines such as Arabic, theology, law, exegesis and mystics.⁵⁵

This story about Raja Abdullah in *Tuhfat al-Nafīs* tells of this period of study;

"He returned to Riau and stayed on Penyengat Island, studying under his brother, Raja Ali Haji. He learned Arabic grammar and morphology, Islamic theology, law, and mysticism. On Islamic theology he read *Umm al-Barāhin* and its glossary along with *Jauhar al-Tauhīd* and its glossary. On Arabic morphology he read *Zanjanī* and on Arabic grammar he read *'Awāmil* and *al-Jurūmiyah* and its glossary. On mysticism he read *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and *Minhaj al-'Ābidīn* of al-Ghazālī. Afterwards he studied *Alfiyyah of Ibn Mālik* but only managed to get just over halfway through."

The incredibly extensive number of works used by the *'ulamā'* during their period of scholarship can be seen as evidence of the celebrated academic achievement and civilization in Malay Riau, as explained by Raja Ali Haji in his *Tuhfat al-Nafīs* and other works.⁵⁶ Middle Eastern works significantly influenced the thoughts and academic achievements of Raja Ali Haji, and continued to resonate through later generations.

During this period Shaikh Ismail came from the Middle East, bringing with him the teachings of Naqsyabandiyah. Shaikh Ismail went returned to Malay Riau with Raja Abdullah, who had

lived in Mecca for a long time, in order to seek knowledge and learn the practices of mystical teaching. Later, when Shaikh Ismail established his mystical order, Raja Abdullah was appointed as his deputy.⁵⁷ A number of 'ulamā' were invited to Riau and Penyengat, and in 1939 two experts in *ḥadīth* and one astronomist from al-Azhar arrived to instruct the religious teachers in Penyengat.⁵⁸

During the reign of the YDM IX, Raja Muhammad Yusuf al-Ahmadi (1859-1899) became a religious teacher and state leader under the supervision of his uncle Raja Ali Haji. His uncle stressed to him the importance of libraries and printing, which would support academic and scientific activities. Thus, Raja Muhammad provided a large amount of money (more than 10,000 rupiah) in order to buy books from Egypt, Mecca, and India.⁵⁹ According to Raja Muhammad Yunus Ahmad (a religious scholar in Penyengat) in his account *Peringatan* (published in 1939), these books were still being used by the students of *Madrasah al-Mu'allimīn al-'Arabiyah* in Penyengat.⁶⁰

Following the death of YDM IX, the library, built in 1886 and the largest in the Malay Riau Kingdom, became known as *Kutub Khanah Marhum Ahmadi*. It was situated in the compound of the beautiful Penyengat mosque, and contained a huge collection of material from a variety of disciplines. After visiting the library Buya Hamka commented, "the library has a number of important books, consisting of Qur'ānic exegesis, Islamic law, mysticism and philosophy, including the *Canon of Ibn Sina*."⁶¹

Literary writing was developed with a printing machine known as the Riau Publication (*Maṭba'ah al-Riauwiyyah*) and frequently called the Ahmadiyah Publication (*Maṭba'ah al-Ahmadiyyah*). In addition to the support and patronage of the ruler, the presence of 'ulamā' from the Middle East and the Archipelago drove the development of an intellectual tradition in Malay Riau.⁶²

It is also important to note the role of research by the Dutch intellectuals provided further opportunities for transcription and publication. H.C. Klinkert, H.T. van de Wall, E. Nietscher and C.P.J. Elout were amongst those who collected, transcribed, translated and published Malay works in a number of Dutch magazines and journals.⁶³ Raja Ali Haji became well known when some of his works, such as *Syair Sultan Abdul Mulk*, were published abroad in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlansche Indie*. According to Karel Steenbrink, his work was "very popular, was in high demand for almost a

century, and was republished several times. In many editions, Raja Ali Haji's work was the most demanded during the colonial era."⁶⁴

The work was initially a gift from Raja Ali Haji to his friend Roorda van Eysinga and he hoped it would be published in 1843.⁶⁵ Van Eysinga was enthusiastic and delighted to receive this work. Raja Ali Haji was good friends with a number of Dutch officials such as Roorda van Eysinga and Von de Wall, and they frequently corresponded.⁶⁶

During the 19th century and the first half of the twentieth century, the Malay Riau region was one of the most civilized in the Muslim world. Penyengat Island became the center of intellectual and cultural tradition in the region.⁶⁷ However, unlike Aceh, Palembang, Banjarmasin, Banten, and Makassar, Penyengat Island never produced Muslim scholars whose works were celebrated throughout the Archipelago.

Despite its rich Islamic intellectual tradition, Malay Riau's scholarship is, compared to other regions, underestimated. It produced a number of writers and intellectuals, one of the most prolific being Raja Ali Haji who became the driving force of the intellectual development in Malay Riau.

Malay Riau Literature: Harvesting Intellectual and Scholarly Tradition

Ironically, although many people know about Raja Ali Haji in relation to his work *Gurindam Dua Belas*, few know much about the rest of his work. When asked 'What do you know about Raja Ali Haji?' most answer that he is the author of *Gurindam Dua Belas*; or that *Gurindam Dua Belas* was written by him. This is a simple response, with the two equivalent phrases becoming meaningless and redundant. We can be certain, however, that *Gurindam Dua Belas* introduced Raja Ali Haji to a greater audience.

It is also a possibility that the fame and popularity of *Gurindam Dua Belas* has overshadowed Raja Ali Haji's other achievements, and as such he is only known as a poet and author. His other intellectual achievements, such as the fact that he was also a historian, cultural expert, religious scholar and political thinker, in short he was an authoritative intellectual, have been ignored.

Raja Ali Haji produced works on a variety of subjects in poetry form, such as *Syair Abdul Mulk*, *Syair Suluh Pegawai*, *Syair Siti Sihannah*, *Syair Sinar Gemala Mustika Allah*, and also in prose, including his works on history *Silsilah Melayu-Bugis* and *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, and

on language and culture such *Bustān al-Kātibīn* and *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa*. He also produced resources on politics and civic state, *Muqaddimah fī al-Intizām* and *Thamarat al-Muhimmah*. All of these works contain religious moral teachings.

In each of his works Raja Ali Haji's thoughts on religion are very clear. According to Hasan Junus, this "is because Raja Ali Haji is an 'ālim writer who uses the Qur'ān and ḥadīth as his main references.⁶⁸ His thoughts on theology can be seen in *Tuḥfat al-Nafīs* in which there is a strong theme of human responsibility. According to Barbara W. Andaya and Virginia Matheson, the book is not only concerned with historical accounts, but also contains information about the ways in which theological and ethical teaching were applied during Raja Ali Haji's time.⁶⁹

His thoughts on law and on Islamic teachings in general are found in most of his works. In *Syair Hukum Nikah* Raja Ali Haji gives advice to men about marriage, in *Syair Siti Sihana* the author offers advice to women on rules in running household and dedicating themselves to their husbands, and *Syair Sinar Gemala Mustika Alam* explains the history of the Prophet Muhammad. Roger D. Spegele, quoted by U. U. Hamidy, comments about these works:

There are at least three purposes for the fictitious works found in the poetry of Raja Ali Haji, these being ethical, critical and therapeutic. The poetry of *Sinar Gemala Mustala Alam* demonstrates ethics as the author examines the ethical values implied in the prose about the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. *Suluh Pegawai* can be seen as a criticism and exploration of the reality of community and society. The poetry of *Siti Sianah* is a form of therapy in order to improve self-awareness.⁷⁰

Likewise, his works such as *Bustān al-Kātibīn* and *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa* contain messages on ethics and customs. *Thamarat al-Muhimmah*, as well as containing state law, also offers advice on Islamic mysticism and clarifies the mystical elements found in *Gurindam Dua Belas*. It is hardly surprising then that Abdul Hadi W.M. categorizes Raja Ali Haji as a *Ṣūfī* poet.⁷¹

As a cultural and language expert Raja Ali Haji developed an infrastructure in order to support his role as linguistic and cultural adviser. In 1857 he wrote a grammar book, *Bustān al-Kātibīn*, which was then used as textbook in schools in Johor and Singapore. Raja Ali Haji argued that a serious appreciation of grammar is essential for clear speech and expression. In 1859 he produced a Malay language dictionary, *Kitab Pengetahuan Bahasa*, which was composed in

encyclopedic style. The dictionary was meant to assist those interested in learning language, religion and good behavior. Unfortunately this work was only completed up to the letter *ca*.⁷² In light of all of these works, Abdul Hadi W.M. is not exaggerating when he says that Raja Ali Haji is the father of modern Malay grammar.

Apart from his involvement in government bureaucracy, Raja Ali Haji was also active in a program of 'enlightenment' for his community, through the production of a variety of works concerning a number of different fields. His works on religion, politics, law and state government were very influential, not only in Riau Malay but also in neighboring countries such as Johor and Terengganau. Abu Hassan Sham writes;

His works on state government such as *Thamarat al-Muhimmah* were well known amongst the kings and elites in Johor and Terengganu. These works became the foundation of administration for Malays during that period, and Raja Ali Haji was the main reference point for the Malay kings.⁷³

According to Virginia Matheson, there is no doubt that *Thamarat al-Muhimmah* was used by Sultan Abu Bakar of Johor. Abu Bakar sent delegates to ask for advice from Raja Ali Haji, on whose opinion he relied. Abu Hassan Sham argues that it is difficult to deny the important role played by Raja Ali Haji, particularly when we consider the Johor Kingdom Act.⁷⁴ Barbara and Matheson argue that the influence of his political reverberated for several decades after his death.⁷⁵

Abu Hassan Sham rightly concludes that "up until this point in time we have considered Raja Ali Haji to be a historian, poet, and grammarian, but he has hardly ever been seen as an expert in religious learning. However, if we consider all of his works pertaining to religious knowledge and Islam, both in prose and poetry, he can be measured against other religious scholars.⁷⁶ According to Abu Hassan Sham, Raja Ali Haji deserves to be considered alongside other intellectuals and '*ulamā*' of the Indonesian Archipelago, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Abdussamad al-Palimbani, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Shaikh Yusuf al-Makassari.⁷⁷

The emergence of Malay Riau's intellectual literature can be traced back to Raja Ahmad (the father of Raja Ali Haji) and his contemporaries. Raja Ahmad, for instance, produced *Syair Engku Putri*, *Syair Perang Johor*, and *Syair Raksi*. Although *Tuhfat al-Nafis* is considered to be a historical document, according to several re-

searchers it is the work of a number of authors, starting with Raja Ahmad and ending with Raja Ali Haji. Several authors emerged during Raja Ali Haji's life, however, according to U.U. Hamidi, it is undeniable that without Raja Ali Haji himself, the intellectual and cultural activities would not have been nearly so extensive.⁷⁸ He dedicated himself to empowering his community through learning, writing and producing works on various topics.

The presence of *'ulamā'* and religious scholars in Malay Riau resulted in the promotion of learning and education, and encouraged the studies of Raja Ali Haji himself. In turn, the scholarship of Raja Ali Haji resulted in further development of education and study with the works of his students in disciplines ranging from religion, language and literature, to diplomacy.⁷⁹

Among the most productive and authoritative intellectuals and writers from the period following Raja Ali Haji's reign were Raja Ali Kelana (the son of YDM X) and Raja Muhammad Yusuf Ahmad (1858-1899). After completing his pilgrimage, the former was known as Raja Haji Ali bin Ahmad. The title "Kelana" is attached to his name because he was next in line as YDM XI, though this was never realized and the title YDM of Riau ended with his father - when his father passed away, he should have become the YDM, however the Dutch colonial government did not agree with his appointment and abolished the position of YDM. The Dutch appointed Raja Haji Ali bin Ahmad's half-brother, Sultan Abdurrahman Muazzam Shah, as sultan. He was forced by the Dutch to abdicate in 1911, shortly before the abolishment of the Malay Riau Kingdom. Raja Ali Kelana had studied in Cairo, Egypt and during his lifetime he produced a number of works; *Pohon Perhimpunan*, *Perhimpunan Pelakat*, *Bugyat al-Āni fī Hurūf al-Ma'ānī*, *Inilah Rencana Mudah Mengenal Diri yang Indah*, *Kumpulan Ringakas Berbetuulan Lekas* and *Percakapan Si Bakhil*.⁸⁰

King Abdullah, the grandson of Raja Ali Haji, is more often referred to by his pen name, Abu Abdullah Adnan. He owned a library with an extensive collection, but unfortunately, in 1923 the library burnt down and two-thirds of its collection was destroyed. Over the course of his intellectual career he produced *Kitab Pelajaran Bahasa Melayu Penolong bagi yang Menuntut Akan Pengetahuan Yang Patut*, *Pembuka Lidah dengan Teladan Umpama yang Mudah*, *Hikayat Tanah Suci*, *Kutipan Mutiara*, *Syair Shahinsya*, *Ghuayat al-Muna* and *Seribu Satu Hari*.⁸¹

Haji Ahmad was known as Raja Haji Ahmad Tabib and during his career he wrote *Risalah Rumah Obat*, *Syair Nasehat Pengajaran Memelihara Diri*, *Syair Tuntunan Kelakukan*, *Syair Perkawinan Pulau Penyengat*, *Syair Reksi Macam Baru* and *Syair Dali al-Ihsan*.⁸²

Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi was the vice-president of the elite intellectual organization *Rusydiah Klab*. He was of Arab descent and a direct disciple and adopted son of Raja Ali Haji. During a period of political disturbance in Malay Riau he migrated to Tanjung Malim in Malaya (now Malaysia) where he established the *Tanjung Malim Institute*. He later became well known as a Malay writer with his novel *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*. His other works include *Hikayat Cinta Berahi*, *Hikayat Putri Nurul 'Ain*, *Hikayat Cermin Kebudayaan* and *Kitab Ugama Islam dan Akal*.⁸³

The husband and wife couple, Raja Khalid Hitam and Siti Aisyah bin Raja Sulaiman, are also mentioned as prominent intellectuals. Raja Khalid Hitam bin Raja Hasan wrote *Syair Perjalanan Sultan Lingga dan Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau ke Singapura, Tawarikh dan Silsilah Riau* and *Thamarat Maqlüb*. Raja Aisyah Binti Sulaiman, the grand daughter of Raja Ali Haji, composed *Syair Khadmuddin*, *Hikayat Syamsul Anwar*, *Seligi Tajam Bertimbal* and *Mulkatul Badrul Mukmin*.⁸⁴

Along with those mentioned above, there were a number of others who participated in the development of Malay Riau literature. The first generation, including Raja Ahmad (Raja Ali Haji's father), produced their works on Penyengat Island. These scholars included Haji Abdul Wahab Siantan, who translated *Hikayat Ghulam*; Tuan Bilal Abu author of *Syair Siti Zawiyah*; Abdullah bin Supuk who wrote *Syair Kahwin Tan Tiek Tjoe*; and Haji Ibrahim bin Syahbandar Abdullah author of *Cakap-cakap, Rampai-rampai Bahasa Melayu Johor, Syair Burung Pungguk* and *Syair Hikayat Sayid Ibrahim in Khasib*.⁸⁵

Amongst the second generation, which included Raja Ali Haji, those who produced works includes Raja Ali bin Ja'far who wrote *Syair Nasehat* and *Hikayat Negeri Johor-Riau*; Raja Haji Abdullah whose work includes *Syair Qahar al-Mashur*, *Syair Mahdi*, *Syair Syarkan* and *Syair Encik Doseman*; Raja Haji Daud Tabib author of *Asal Ilmu Tabib* and *Syair Peperangan Syarif Hasyim*; and Raja Salcha who composed *Syair Abdul Mulk*.

The third generation, that of Raja Ali Haji's sons, included Raja Hasan bin Raja Ali Haji, author of *Syair Burung*; Raja Safiah binti Raja Ali Haji who composed *Syair Kumbang Mahendra*; Raja Kalzum binti Raja Ali Haji who wrote *Syair Saudagar Bodoh*; Raja Muhammad Taher

bin Raja Abdullah author of *Syair Pintu Hantu* and Raja Abdul Mutalib who wrote *Tadhkirat al-Ikhtiṣār* and *Ilmu Firasat Orang Melayu*.⁸⁶

The fourth generation of scholars, from the era of Raja Ali Kelana and including the grandsons of Raja Ali Haji, include Raja Umar bin Raja Hasan who composed *Ibu dalam Rumah Tangga*; Salamah binti Ambar, wife of Muhammad Adnan, who wrote *Syair Nasehat Penjagaan Anggota Tubuh* and *Nilam Peramat*; Khadijah Terung, another wife of Muhammad Adnan, who produced *Perhimpunan Gunawan Bagi Laki-laki dan Perempuan*; Raja Haji Muhammad Said bin Raja Haji Muhammad Tahir who translated Ja'far al-Brazanji's work, *Gubahan Permata Mutiara* along with the work of Syeikh Ibrahim Mashiri, entitled *Simpul Islam*; Badriah translated the work of Ali Afandi Fikri, *Adab al-Fatal*.⁸⁷

It becomes apparent, when looking at the poem *Syair Burung*, by Raja Hasam, why most of the Malay Riau intellectuals used the poetic form;

*syair ini dengarkanlah olehmu
di dalam kitab banyak yang jemu*

please listen to this poem
many are tired of books

*sekalian orang yang mencari ilmu
dikarangkan syair baharulah bertemu*

all of you seeking knowledge
will find it through poetry

The poetic literary form can be understood when the poetic and sensitive nature of the Malay Riau people is considered. Another reason is that poetry is flexible and can be sung in order to increase memorization and learning. When using the poetic form, some people would sing it whilst others would listen. If it were written as prose, only a limited number of people would have access to the texts.⁸⁸

In 1886, after the death of Raja Ali Haji, his cadres founded an organization called *Rusydiah Klab* [a Malay Muslim intellectual organization]. It was a non-government organization whose main aim was to develop religion and intellectualism in Malay Riau. Its membership consisted of junior and senior members. One of the conditions of becoming a member was having a high standard of written language. This condition was extremely important in motivating junior members to write, which in turn produced new authors in Malay Riau.⁸⁹

Unfortunately, the exact number of members is unknown, however, we do know that there were 70 authors in Malay Riau. 37 came from Riau (33 men and 4 women) and 33 came from outside

the region. We can therefore estimate that there were approximately 100 members from the club's conception in 1886 to the year of 1913.⁹⁰ Thus, it is hardly surprising that R.J. Wilkinson, while studying Malay literature, drew his sources from more than 144 works, which in 1907 resulted in his book, *Malay Literature*. One can assume that most of the sources used by Wilkinson were produced by *Rusydiah Klab*, or were at least from Malay Riau. Unfortunately, the intellectual activities established by the club were short-lived, largely due to a lack of political support.⁹¹

The club's activities revolved around intellectual and religious issues. They translated several works written by Middle Eastern 'ulamā', including *Risālah al-Wāfiat fī Sharḥ Ma'nā al-Tahhiyyat* by Sayyid 'Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī and *Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr 'alā Ṭarīqah al-Naqshbandiyyah* by Sayyid Sharīf Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. These translations were published in 1895 and 1896 by the *Maṭba'at al-Aḥmadiyyah* publishing house on Penyengat Island. The club's members published books such as *Khutbah Jum'at* and *Kanun Riau Lingga*.⁹² They also celebrated large Islamic festivals by hosting various activities, including competitions and festivals.⁹³

The club later became a "pressure group" towards the policies of the Dutch colonial government, which resulted in its prohibition from real politics. In 1902, the club proposed that the Kingdom have voluntary troops, starting with the formation of a musical corps, a proposal that was rejected by the Dutch government. In response to the strict control by the government, the club operated in more clandestine ways.

In an attempt at diplomacy, the Kingdom sent Raja Ali Kelana to visit to the Sultan of Istanbul in 1904-1905 in order to request support, however this request was never fulfilled. In 1905 the Kingdom sent its minister to meet the Japanese counselor in Singapore, and this relationship continued in 1912 and 1913, when Raja Khalid Hitam was sent to Japan to meet Japanese Emperor and ask for support in response to Dutch colonialism. However, this diplomatic action also failed and on March 11, 1914, Raja Khalid Hitam was mysteriously killed in Japan, supposedly by a Dutch spy.⁹⁴

The activities of the Malay Riau intellectuals were later supported by an organization called *Asyarkatul Ahmadiyah*, which was established by Raja Haji Ahmad in 1906 on Midai Island (one of the islands in South Chinese ocean).⁹⁵ Initially, this trade association was active in copra commerce and coconut farming, and it

later helped establish a Singapore-based publishing house called *al-Ahmadiyah* Press.⁹⁶ According to Hatta, who visited in 1956, *Asyarkatul Ahmadiyah* was the first indigenous economic association in Indonesia, although others claim that *Syarikat Islam*, founded in Java some years later, was the first.⁹⁷

The intellectual movement became even stronger when, in 1906, a monthly magazine, *al-Imām*, was published with the intellectual assistance of Raja Ali Kelana and Syeikh Taher Jalaluddin.⁹⁸ This magazine was heavily influenced by, and frequently quoted, the work of Egyptian reformist Muhammad Abduh, along with other articles found in *al-Manār*. According to William Roff, *al-Imām* was very similar to *al-Manār*, published by Rashid Ridha in Cairo in 1898, and the emergence of *al-Imām* has been identified as the most important development in Malay journalism.⁹⁹

The articles in *al-Imām* strongly influenced its readers not only in Riau, but also in Minangkabau and Malaysia. In response to the cultural background of the traditionalist and conservative Malay community, the magazine voiced the spirit of Islamic reform. For example, one of its contributors, al-Hadi, stressed the urgency of education and reform for the Malay community, and fought strongly for practices not regarded as everyday Islam.¹⁰⁰ Due to its broad reaching influence, the magazine played a pivotal role in the realization and continuation of religious and intellectual reform in Indonesia. Taufik Abdullah asks “how is one to understand the reformist movement in West Sumatra, if one does acknowledge the publication of *al-Imām* from Singapore?”¹⁰¹

In 1908 Raja Ali Kelana, along with Shaikh Jalaluddin Taher, established a school in Singapore called *al-Iqbal al-Islāmiyyah*.¹⁰² Due to financial problems, however, the school moved to Riau. Although Shaikh Jalaluddin Taher, an important figure from Minangkabau, no longer had any involvement in the school, he had considerable influence over his colleagues and disciples. Haji Abdullah Ahmad, for instance, visited him in Singapore as friend, as well as student, with the intention of discussing Syeikh Jalaluddin Taher’s plans for the school. On his return from Singapore, Haji Abdullah Ahmad used *al-Iqbal al-Islāmiyyah* as a model for *Sekolah Adabiyah*, which was established in Padang in 1909.¹⁰³ Once again Malay Riau played an important role in the development of intellectual tradition, in this case via the school education system in Minangkabau.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the activities of the Malay Riau intellectuals started to become disorganized. Activities that had previously been organized collectively now became the expertise of individuals. This coincided with the weakening of the Malay Riau Kingdom under the influence of the colonial government. On March 1, 1912, the Dutch government issued a decree announcing the removal of Malay Riau from the world map. In response, the Sultan, along with a large number of the elite, fled to Johor and Singapore.¹⁰⁴

It is unfortunate that an unsupportive political system cut short the activities and creativity of the Malay Riau and *Rusydiah Klub*. Malay Riau intellectualism and literature was not allowed to reach its highest potential. Due to serious discontinuity in the intellectual genealogy of twentieth century Malay Riau, and Minangkabau becoming the main cite of intellectualism in the region, Malay Riau's intellectuals were not afforded a role in the development of Indonesia's new constitution and independence in 1945. This situation is quite different from the situation of the Minangkabau intellectuals. Ironically, when Malay Riau's main language was endorsed as the national language under the Youth Oath of 1928, Malay Riau intellectuals didn't appear to care.

Conclusion

It is true that scientific work is dependent on the perspective with which one looks at it. I agree Raja Ali Haji's comments in his last work, *Thamarat al-Muhimmah*;

I hope that educated people who read this book will check it carefully. It may contain some redundancies and insufficiencies, and even mistakes in its words, meaning and structure. They should correct it because I, the author of this book have a narrow understanding and a lack of scientific knowledge.

I hope that this article is a good starting point for myself in understanding and appreciating the legacy of Islamic intellectualism of Malay Riau, the legacy of honor and might of Raja Ali Haji and his generation. I hope this study establishes and develops the same honor and might for my own generation. As Syauqi Bey says, "the best generation is the generation that inherits honor and dignity from the past, and develops honor and dignity for themselves."

Endnotes

- * This article has been translated from the Indonesian version by Jajang Jahroni.
1. Judith Nagata, "Adat in the City: Some Perfection and Practice among Urban Malays", *BKI* deel 130, 1974, p. 91. See also Muchtar Lutfi, "Interaksi Antara Melayu dan Non-Melayu Serta Pengaruhnya Terhadap Pembauran Kebudayaan dan Pendidikan", in *Masyarakat Melayu Riau dan Kebudayaannya*, (Pekanbaru: PEMDA Riau, 1986), p. 488
 2. Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995), p. 36.
 3. Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi di Indonesia, Pengalaman Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 13.
 4. Nurcholish Madjid, *op. cit.*
 5. Syed M.N. al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesia Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa, 1969), p. 11.
 6. Winstedt. R.O., "A History of Malay Literature", in *JMBRAS*, XVII, III (January 1940).
 7. Hussin Mutalib, *Islam dan Etnisitas, Perspektif Politik Melayu* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995), p. 18.
 8. Syed M.N. Al-Atas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (Bandung: Mizan, 1990), p. 65.
 9. Nurcholish Madjid, "Khazanah Kesufian, Kekayaan Terpendam dalam Perbendaharaan Budaya Kemanusiaan dan Peran Rintisan Aceh dalam Pertumbuhan Keindonesiaan", *Paper*, KKA 170 Paramadina, Regent Hotel, August 24 2001.
 10. Taufik Abdullah & Sharon Shiddique (ed.), *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988).
 11. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 166-266.
 12. For information on the origins of the Penyengat Island see Virginia Matheson, "Pulau Penyengat: Nineteenth Century Islamic Center of Riau," in *Archipel*, 37, 1989, p. 158-61; Hassan Junus, *Pulau Penyengat Indra Sakti* (Pekan Baru: Yayasan pembaca, 1992), p. 1-3; see also Abu Hassan Sham, *Puisi-Puisi Raja Ali Haji* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1993), p. 5.
 13. Nurcholish Madjid, "Khazanah Kesufian Kekayaan Terpendam dalam Perbendaharaan Budaya Kemanusiaan dan Peran Rintisan Aceh dalam Pertumbuhan Keindonesiaan", *op. cit.*
 14. Hassan Junus "Pengantar" in U.U. Hamidi, *Riau Sebagai Pusat Bahasa dan Budaya*, (Pekanbaru: Bumi Pustaka, 1988), p. 10.
 15. Sultan Mahmud Syah was killed by Megat Sari Rama, a military commander from the Malay Johor Kingdom. His assassination was recorded in *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, [edited by Enche Munir Ali], (Singapore: Malaysian Publication, Ltd., 1965), first edition, p. 10; Raja Ali Haji, *The Precarious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, [annotated by Virginia Matheson and Barbara W. Andaya], (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 19. Tennes Effendi and Nahar Effendi, *Lintasan Sejarah Kerajaan Siak Sri Indrapura*, (Pekanbaru: BPKD Riau, n.d.), p. 13-15.

16. Initially the Kingdom was named the Johor-Riau-Lingga Kingdom. See Tengku Ahmad Abu Bakar and Hasan Junus, *Sebelumnya Kisah Peninggalan Sejarah Riau* (Lingga: Asmar Ras, 1972), p. 3.
17. Tengku Lukman Sinar, "Kepahlawanan Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau Raja Haji Fisabilillah Marhom Ketapang", in *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Ali Haji Fisabilillah Dalam Perang Riau Melawan Belanda (1782-1784)* (Pekanbaru: Pemda Tk. I Riau, 1989), first edition, p. 135.
18. Raja Ali Haji, *op.cit.*, p. 50; Timothy P. Barnard, "Taman Penghiburang: Entertainment and the Riau Elite in the Late 19th Century," *JIMBRAS*, LXVII, Part 2, December 1994, p. 19.
19. Raja Ali Haji, *Ibid.*, p. 178, 196-197.
20. *Ibid.*, see A. Samad Hasan, *Kerajaan Johor-Riau* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1985), p. 1-8.
21. Virginia Matheson *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
22. Leonard Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor* (London: OUP, 1975), p. 323 cf. Hamid Abdullah, "Melacak Perjuangan Raja Haji," in *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah*, *op. cit.*, p. 2820-283. See also Ong Hok Ham, "Pemikiran Tentang Sjaran Riau," in *Masyarakat Melayu Riau dan Kebudayaanannya* (Pekanbaru: Pemda, 1986), p. 185.
23. *Tuhfat al-Nafis*. See Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 155-157.
24. Virginia Matheson, *op. cit.*, p. 213-215.
25. Raja Ali Haji, *Silsilah Melayu Bugis* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1973), p. 67-68
26. Buyong bin Adil, *Sejarah Johor* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan dan Pustaka Kementerian Pelajaran Melayu, 1971), p. 101.
27. Hamid Abdullah, *op. cit.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, cf. Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *Pensejarahan Melayu Kajian Tentang Tradisi Sejarah Melayu Nusantara* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992), p. 457.
30. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, p. 103, 145, and 245.
31. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, p. 05.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
33. *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Ali Haji*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
34. Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 97, cf. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (ed. Virginia Matheson), (Kuala Lumpur: Fajar Bakti, 1982), p. 197.
35. Raja Ali Haji, *ibid.*, p. 133 and 153. See Virginia Matheson (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 376-384; *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
36. *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah*, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
37. Virginia Matheson (ed.) *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
38. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, cf. Virginia Matheson (ed.), *Tuhfat al-Nafis Sejarah Melayu Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 196-197.
39. Raja Ali Haji, *ibid.*, Virginia Matheson, *ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. On Riau War, see Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, See also Rustam S. Abrur (ed.), *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah dalam Perang Melawan Belanda* (Pekanbaru: Pemda Riau, 1988); Hasan Junus, *op. cit.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. Barbara W. Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

44. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, Rustam S. Abrur, *op. cit.* See also Reinout Vos, "The Broken Balance: The Origins of the War Between Riau and the VOC in 1783-1784," in G.J. Schutte (ed.), *State and Trade in the Indonesian Archipelago*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994, p. 115-139.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 112. See also Li Chuan Siu, *Ikhtisar Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Baru 1830-1945* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1980), p. 21.
46. For further information on the 'ulamā' and the growth of intellectual activities in Malay Riau Kingdom see Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*, p. 256, 268, 302, 304, 342, 347, 349, and 352. Cf. Abu Hassan Sham, *Puisi-Puisi Raja Ali Haji*, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7; Hasan Junus, *Raja Ali Haji: Budayawan di Gerabang Abad XX*, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Muhammad Yosuff Hashim, *op. cit.*, 459.
47. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.*
48. Abu Hassan Sham, *op. cit.*
49. Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, see also Virginia Matheson, "Pulau Penyengat: Nineteenth Century Islamic Center of Riau," *op. cit.*, p. 154.
50. Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *op. cit.* p. 221, 261-265. Cf. Abu Hassan Sham, *Puisi-puisi Raja Ali Haji*, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7.
51. Raja Ali Haji, *ibid.*, p. 341; Abu Hassan Sham, *ibid.*, p. 8.
52. Virginia Matheson, "Mahmud, Sultan of Riau and Lingga (1823-1864)," in *Indonesia* (13), 1972, p. 36.
53. Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
54. The YDM Raja Ali bin Ja'far gave the 'ulamā' 400-500 ringgit. See Virginia Matheson, "Mahmud Sultan of Riau and Lingga," *op. cit.*
55. Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
56. Other books such as *Dalā'il al-Khairāt* by Abū 'Abdillāh bin Sulaimān al-Jāzūlī d. 1470, started to be used in Riau in 1780s; *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah*, *Minhaj al-'Ābidīn*, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī d. 1111 started to be used in 1830s. See Virginia Matheson, "Suasana Budaya Riau Dalam Abad ke-19: Latar Belakang dan Pengaruh" in *Tradisi Johor-Riau: Kertas Kerja Hari Sastra 1983* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987), p. 130-131.
57. Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 99-118.
58. Virginia Matheson, *Tradisi Johor-Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 124-125.
59. Virginia Matheson, *ibid.*, p. 125; Abu Hassan Sham, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
60. Virginia Matheson, *Tradisi Johor-Riau*, *loc. cit.*
61. Dada Meuraxa, *Sejarah Kebudayaan Sumatera* (Firma Hasmar: Medan, 1974), p. 552. See Abu Hassan Sham, *Syair-syair Melayu Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Cf. Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
62. Raja Ali Haji has been influenced by a number of Muslim thinkers such as al-Mawardī, al-Mas'ūdī, Sibawaihi, and al-Ghazālī. See Hasan Junus, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
63. Over two and a half years H. C. Klinkert collected more than ninety Riau manuscripts, while E. Nitscher published the work of Raja Ali Haji *Gurindam Dua Belas*. C.P.J. Eliout published *Aturan Setia Bugis Dengan Melayu*. See Anthony Reid, et. al., *Dari Raja Ali Haji Hingga Hamka, Indonesia dan Masa Lalunya* (Jakarta: Graffity Press, 1983), p. 100-101.
64. Karel Steenbrink, "Syair Abdul Muluk Raja Ali Haji Dari Penyengat," *Ulumul Qur'an*, No. 2, Vol. 4, 1993.
65. During the 1840s Raja Ali Haji wrote to Roorda van Eysinga, a Dutch official living in Batavia. He expressed his appreciation of *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* edited

- by Roorda van Eysinga in 1827. See Jan van der Putten, "Daripada Pekerjaan hendak Mencetak," paper, Hari Raja Ali Haji (Pulau Penyengat: October 1-31, 1996), p. 5.
66. Jan van der Putter & Al Azhar, *Di Dalam Berkekalan Persahabatan-In Everlasting Friendship: Letters from Raja Ali Haji* (Leiden: Department of Language and Culture of South-east Asia and Oceania, University of Leiden, 1995).
 67. Muhammad Yusoff Hashim, *op. cit.*, p. 466.
 68. Fakhrunnas MA. Jabbar, "Catatan Malam Raja Ali Haji: Mengarang Dengan Rujukan Al-Qur'an dan Hadis," dalam *Berita Buana*, May 21, 1985.
 69. Barbara W. Andaya and Virginia Matheson, "Islamic Thought and Malay Tradition: The Writing of Raja Ali Haji of Riau (ca. 1809-ca. 1870) in Anthony Reid, David Marr, *Perception on the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Education Book [Asia] Ltd., 1979), p. 117.
 70. U.U. Hamidi, *Pengarang Melayu Dalam Kerajaan Riau dan Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa P dan K, 1980), p. 17.
 71. Abdul Hadi W. M. *Sastra Sufi (Sebuah Antologi)*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1985), first edition, p. 240-298.
 72. According to Barbara W. Andaya, the work was not completed due to the death of Raja Ali Haji. See Barbara W. Andaya, *op. cit.*, See also U.U. Hamidi, "Naskah Kuno Daerah Riau: Gambaran Kegiatan Cendekiawan Melayu dalam Bidang Bahasa, Sastra dan Kemasyarakatan," in *Masyarakat Riau dan Kebudayaannya* (Pekanbaru: Pemda Tk. I Riau), p. 149.
 73. Abu Hassan Sham, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
 74. Virginia Matheson, *Tradisi Johor Riau, op. cit.*, p. 17; Abu Hassan Sham, "Muqaddimah fi al-Intizam" in *Islamica*, 1980, p. 68.
 75. Barbara W. Andaya, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
 76. Abu Hassan Syam, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
 77. Abu Hassan Syam, *ibid.*, p. 246.
 78. U.U. Hamidi., *Riau Sebagai Pusat Bahasa dan Kebudayaan, op. cit.*, p. 80.
 79. Hasan Junus & U.U. Hamidi, "Sumbangan dan Peranan Cendekiawan Riau dalam Penghidupan Kebudayaan Nasional Indonesia," in *Tradisi Johor-Riau, op. cit.*, p. 140.
 80. Hasan Junus, *op. cit.*, p. 55-57.
 81. *Ibid.*
 82. *Ibid.*
 83. Virginia Matheson, *op. cit.*, p. 126; see also U.U. Hamidi, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu di Riau* (Pekanbaru: UIR Press), p. 230; Timothy P. Barnard, "Taman Penghiburang: Entertainment and the Riau Elite in the Late 19th Century," *op. cit.*, p. 29.
 84. Hasan Junus, *op. cit.*, Hasan Junus & U.U. Hamidy, "Sumbangan dan Peranan Cendekiawan Riau dalam Penghidupan Kebudayaan Nasional Indonesia," in *Tradisi Johor-Riau, op. cit.*, p. 140; U.U. Hamidy, et. al., *Naskah Melayu Riau, op. cit.*, p. 17-18.
 85. Hasan Junus, *op. cit.*
 86. Hasan Junus, *ibid.*; Hasan Junus and U.U. Hamidy, "Sumbangan dan Peranan Cendekiawan Riau dalam Penghidupan Kebudayaan nasional Indonesia," in *Tradisi Johor-Riau, op. cit.*, p. 150; U.U. Hamidi, et. al., *Naskah Melayu Riau, op. cit.*, p. 17-18.
 87. *Ibid.*

88. Abu Hasan Sham, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
89. Abu Hasan Sham, "Rusydiah Klub dan Taman Penghiburan", in *Purba*, No. 2, 1983; U.U. Hamidi, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
90. A LIPI report in 1991 says that there were only 50 authors in Malay Riau.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Muchtar Lutfi, *Rusydiah Club, Hasil Sebuah Penelitian* (Pekanbaru, 1976), p. 25; U.U. Hamidy, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu di Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Abu Hassan Sham, *Tradisi Johor-Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 260-261.
93. Raja Ali Kelana, *Perhimpunan Pelekat* (Pulau Penyengat: Mathbaat al-Riau-wiyah, 1317).
94. Barbara W. Andaya, "From Rum To Tokyo: The Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Ruler of Riau 1899-1914," in *Indonesia*, No. 24, 1977, p. 153-154; U.U. Hamidi, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu di Riau*, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Hasan Junus, Raja Ali Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 149-150.
95. Hasan Junus, *ibid.*, p. 151.
96. U.U. Hamidi, "Naskah Kuno Daerah Riau: Gambaran Kegiatan Cendikawan Melayu", in *Masyarakat Melayu Riau dan Kebudayaanannya*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
97. Taufik Ikram Jamil, "Raja Ali Haji: Pandangan Terkini," paper (unpublished).
98. Virginia Matheson, "Suasana Budaya Riau Dalam Abad ke-19: Latar Belakang dan Pengaruh," in *Tradisi Johor-Riau*, p. 126.
99. William Roff, *Origin of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 59.
100. Hussin Mutalib, *Islam dan Etnisitas: Perspektif Politik Pelayu* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1995), p. 31.
101. Taufik Abdullah, "Pengantar," in Azyumardi Azra, *Renaisans Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2000), p. xiv.
102. Barbara W. Andaya, "From Rum to Tokyo: The Search for Anticolonial Allies by the Ruler of Riau 1899-1914," *op. cit.*, p. 140.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Rustam S. Abrur (ed.), *Sejarah Perjuangan Raja Haji Fisabilillah*, *op. cit.*, p. 252-256.

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