RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND STATE: REVEALING THE ROLE OF ULAMA AND UMARA IN BUILDING ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN THE SULTANATE OF BIMA

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ABSTRACT

Ulama and Umara are two entities that have played a significant role in shaping civilization throughout the historical journey of the Islamic community, from the Arabian Peninsula to the Nusantara. The Sultanate of Bima, one of the hundreds of sultanates in the Nusantara, has recorded a close relationship between Ulama and Umara in building Islamic civilization in the eastern part of Sumbawa Island. The relationship between religion and state can be traced back to the advent of the Islamic mission (syi'ar Islam) in the Sultanate of Bima. The Islamic mission carried out by the Ulama as bearers of truth quickly took root in the beliefs of the people of Dana Mbojo. The rapid spread of Islam by the Ulama would not have succeeded without recognizing the role of the Umara. In this context, the Umara refers to the Sultan, the ruler of the Sultanate of Bima. The Sultan, with his authority, granted religious legitimacy to the Ulama to propagate Islamic teachings. Meanwhile, the Ulama, with their religious legitimacy, consistently illuminated the Sultan's realm with the light of Islam. The intersection of religion and state illustrates the collaborative efforts of the Ulama and Umara in building a new civilization in the Sultanate of Bima, inspired by the spirit of Islam. This paper aims to explain the connection between religion and state as represented by the Ulama and Umara (the Sultan) during the Islamization of the Sultanate of Bima. The method employed in tracing sources and supporting data is the historical writing method, consisting of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. This historical method is useful for systematically and objectively reconstructing the past to achieve comprehensive conclusions.

Keywords: Islamic civilization; ulama and umara; Islamic history

1. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion and state in the history of Islam in the archipelago is a topic that is still interesting to study in more depth. The Bima Sultanate, which is one of the centers of Islamic political power in the eastern archipelago[1], presents an interesting portrait of the synergy between ulama and umara in building a distinctive Islamic civilization. A major

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[1]. Carey, Peter. 1986. *Asal-usul Perang Jawa, Sepoy, dan Lukisan Raden Saleh.* Jakarta: Pustaka Azest.

transformation occurred in Bima when Islam entered in the 17th century[2], changing the socio-political order from a kingdom system to a sultanate[3]. This change does not just touch structural aspects, but also penetrates all aspects of Bima people's life, from social, cultural, to spiritual. In this transformation process, ulama and umara appear as key figures who drive the wheels of change and development of civilization.

The pattern of ulama-umara interaction in the Bima Sultanate shows a unique model of religion-state relations, where political power goes hand in hand with religious authority. Ulama not only act as spiritual guides, but are also actively involved in policy formulation and political decision making. On the other hand, umara runs the government based on Islamic values interpreted and maintained by the ulama[4]. Writing about the relationship between religion and state in the Bima Sultanate is becoming increasingly important considering the limited in-depth research that reveals the complexity of ulama-umara relations in the development of Islamic civilization. Although there have been several previous studies, no one has specifically analyzed how these two authorities interact and contribute to shaping the distinctive characteristics of Islamic civilization in Bima.

This article attempts to fill this gap by presenting an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of ulama-umara relations and their influence on the development of Islamic civilization in the Bima Sultanate. By using a cross-disciplinary approach that combines historical, sociological and anthropological perspectives, it is hoped that this article can provide a complete picture of the collaboration between Ulama and Sultans in building civilization. This article is also meaningful because of its contribution to enriching the writing of Islamic history in the archipelago, especially in eastern Indonesia. Religious and political authorities have succeeded in integrating harmoniously into the government system and social life in the Bima Sultanate.

2. METHODS

This article uses historical research methods to examine the relationship between religion and the state in the context of the relationship between ulama and umara in forming Islamic civilization in the Bima Sultanate. The historical research method itself includes a series of stages, namely heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (rewriting history). The heuristic stage, which is the first step in this research process, involves collecting data from various relevant historical sources, either through literature studies, interviews, or documentation. Next, source criticism is carried out to assess the validity and consistency of the sources found, so as to distinguish which sources are suitable for use and which are not.

Data that has been validated through source criticism is then interpreted. This process aims to connect and synthesize various scattered facts, thereby producing comprehensive conclusions. These interpretations help "bring life" to historical data and make it more meaningful in a research context. The final stage, historiography, is the steps in which all the facts that have been collected and analyzed are expressed in the form of a systematic and comprehensive written work. Historiography is the culmination of the historical research process, because all the information obtained is presented in a complete narrative. By using this method, it is hoped that the article

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[2]. Henry Chambert Loir dan Siti Maryam R. Salahuddin. 1999. *Bo Sangaji Kai (Catatan Kerajaan Bima)*. Jakarta: Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Hlm, xviii.

[3]. Effendy, Muslimin A.R. 2017. Gagasan Politik Negara dan Pranata Kelembagaan Islam di Bima. Dalam "Agama dan Negara di Indonesia: Pergulatan Pemikiran dan Ketokohan". (Ed. Sri Margana dkk). Yogyakarta: Ombak, hlm, 278-294.

[4]. Aksa, 2021. Ulama And Umara: Actors Who Formed Islamic Civilization In The Sultanate Of Bima dalam Proceedings of the International Conference on Social and Islamic Studies 2021 ISSN 2809-6339. Hlm. 307-311.

will be able to reveal in depth the role and contribution of ulama and umara in building Islamic civilization in the Bima Sultanate, as well as displaying the dynamics of the relationship between religion and power in that context.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Religious and Political Authority

Religious and political power are two fundamental pillars that have shaped and colored the journey of human civilization throughout history. These two elements of power have distinctive characteristics, functions and roles but are interrelated in forming the complex order of social life. In a historical perspective, religious authority has become a moral force that guides society towards a more meaningful and civilized life. Religious leaders, especially in the Islamic tradition, play a vital role as guardians of spiritual values, moral guides, and interpreters of religious teachings who provide enlightenment to people in living their daily lives[5].

Meanwhile, on the other hand, political power exists as a more structured instrument for regulating and managing social life. Political leaders are responsible for creating stability, maintaining security, and ensuring the welfare of the people through various policies and planned development programs. In the Islamic context, the relationship between religious and political authority has deeper and more complex dimensions. Ulama not only act as spiritual guides, but also as political advisors who provide sharia considerations in every decision making. They become a bridge that connects spiritual aspects with the reality of society's socio-political life.

Meanwhile, political leaders in the Islamic tradition have a dual responsibility, namely as regulators of worldly affairs as well as guardians of religious values. They are required to run the government while adhering to sharia principles and paying attention to spiritual aspects in every policy taken. The relationship between religious and political authority is mutually necessary and reciprocal. Religion needs the state as a means to maintain and develop it. On the other hand, the state also needs religion. Because religion helps develop morals and ethics[6].

The Bima Sultanate has presented a political entity that developed a distinctive system of government by integrating religious values into the state structure. In its government practices, the Sultanate runs a political system that combines spiritual and temporal dimensions in running its government. As stated by Al-Mawardi, the state is a means of achieving benefit. Therefore, in running the wheels of government, sources must be sourced from the Al-Qur'an and Hadith[7]. The paradigm adopted by the Bima Sultanate reflects that Islam is not just a belief system limited to worship rituals alone. On the other hand, Islamic teachings are seen as a comprehensive source of values that form the basis for shaping and directing various aspects of state life.

The process of integrating Islamic values into social and political structures took place continuously from the founding era until the end of the Bima Sultanate. This can be seen from the efforts to internalize Islamic values to become an integral part of the social and cultural identity of the people of the Sultanate. This acculturation process does not only occur at the institutional level, but also penetrates to the level of people's daily social practices. In its

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[5]. Baca Sapto Ari. 2017. Hubungan Negara dan Ulama: Dinamika Kedudukan Wali Sebagai Legislator Pada masa Demak, Pajang dan Mataram (Abad XV-XVII) dalam Dalam "Agama dan Negara di Indonesia: Pergulatan Pemikiran dan Ketokohan". (Ed. Sri Margana dkk). Yogyakarta: Ombak, hlm, 73-82.

[6]. Irwan Supriadin J. 2023. Relasi Agama dan Budaya dalam Sejarah Kesultanan Bima. Fitua: Jurnal Studi Islam. Vol. 4 Nomor. 1 Juni 2023. Hlm. 71-88

[7]. Eka Febriana Putri, Zainuddin. 2022. Konsep Negara Menurut Perspektf Al-Mawardi. Jurnal Integrasi Ilmu Syariah. Volume. 003, Nomor. 2. Hlm. 22.

implementation, the Bima Sultanate government system adheres to a unique integralistic state concept[8], in which there is a harmonious combination of religious authority and political power. This is manifested in an institutional structure that positions government and religious institutions in an equal and complementary position.

The dynamics of the relationship between these two authorities often present their own challenges. There are times when harmony occurs which creates positive synergy in building society, but it is not uncommon for tensions to arise when there are differences in views or interpretations in applying religious values in the context of national life[9]. The balance between religious and political authority is an important key in creating an ideal societal order. When these two forces can work in harmony, a social system will be created that not only guarantees stability and prosperity, but also maintains the spiritual and moral values that are the foundation of social life.

b. Ulama: Heir to the Prophet in the Bima Sultanate

In the history of the development of Islam in the archipelago, Bima experienced a metamorphosis from a traditional region to the epicenter of a dynamic Islamic civilization. This transformation not only includes political and governmental aspects, but also includes intellectual, social and cultural dimensions that shape the identity of the Bima Muslim community. Along with the penetration of Islamic values, Bima not only became the center of Islamic political power, but developed into a beacon of Muslim intellectualism and culture. This process is marked by a fundamental transformation in the social order of society, where Islam is no longer just a religion that is adhered to, but has been internalized in social, political and cultural structures.

An interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of what can be called a "religious revolution" in Bima society. This revolution was marked by the institutionalization of Islamic values which were not only ritualistic in nature, but also touched fundamental aspects of social life. Islam is the framework that frames the social, political and cultural activities of the Bima people. The main catalyst in this transformation process was the presence of ulama who were then integrated into the elite structure of the kingdom[10]. The ulama were not only present as spiritual figures, but also became architects in the development of Islamic civilization in Bima. Ulama are seen as holders of religious authority and "heirs of the prophets" (*al-ulama waratsha al-anbiyah*) providing strong legitimacy in shaping and directing the socio-religious life of society[11].

As *waratsha al-anbiyah* (heirs of the prophets), Ulama disseminates ideas through education. Although the situation of Islamic education in the early period of the Sultanate was not much different from that which occurred in Islamic education in the Mecca period. In the Mecca period there were no formal educational institutions, because the place of education was still at the house of the Prophet's friend who had converted to Islam, namely Arkam's house. Arqam bin Arqam is the first place where Muslims and the Prophet met to study the laws and basics of Islamic teachings. This house is an early educational institution or madrasa in the history

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[8]. Eka Febriana Putri, Zainuddin. 2022. Konsep Negara Menurut Perspektf Al-Mawardi. Jurnal Integrasi Ilmu Syariah. Volume. 003, Nomor. 2. Hlm. 22.

[9]. Harmoni dan disharmonis dalam melihat relasi Agama dan Negara secara umum dilatarbelakangi oleh pandangan yang menganut paradigma formalistik (integrated) dan sekularistik. Lebih detailnya baca Bahtiar Effendy. 2011. Islam Dan Negara : Transformasi Gagasan Dan Praktik Politik DiIndonesia. Jakarta: Democracy Project. Hlm. 221.

[10]. Effendy, Muslimin A.R. 2017. Gagasan Politik Negara dan Pranata Kelembagaan Islam di Bima. Dalam "Agama dan Negara di Indonesia: Pergulatan Pemikiran dan Ketokohan". (Ed. Sri Margana dkk). Yogyakarta: Ombak, hlm, 279.

[11]. Jajat Burhanuddin. 2012. "Pemikiran dan Isntitusi Politik Islam", dalam Taufiq Abdullah dan A. B. Lapian (editor umum), Azyumardi Azra dan Jajat Burhanuddin (editor jilid), Indonesia Dalam Arus sejarah. Kedatangan dan Peradaban Islam. Jilid 3 (Jakarta: PT. Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve. 2012: 91).

of Muslim education[12]. The reality of education during the early period of the arrival of Islam in the Bima Sultanate, education in the early days of the Bima sultanate was carried out in the palace. The general public came to take part in lessons given by scholars chosen by the Sultan. Outside the palace. The Islamic Religious Council as part of the sultanate's executive body coordinates all educational activities and events through mosques, prayer rooms and *langgars* because there is not yet a single Islamic educational institution in formal form[13].

The influence and authority of the ulama is becoming more deeply rooted through the network of Islamic boarding schools which are centers of Islamic education. Educational institutions function as a place for the transfer of knowledge as well as a medium for institutionalizing Islamic values in society. The Bima Kingdom, in this context, did not just become a formal political structure, but transformed into a facilitator that provided space and support for the development of the role of ulama as the foundation stone of Islamic institutionalization. This support creates a productive synergy between political and religious authorities which in turn accelerates the development of Islam in various fields.

c. Sultan: Legitimate of Power Politics

The legitimacy of the sultan's power in the history of Islamic kingdoms is a manifestation that combines political, religious and cultural elements. Even in certain governments, the Sultan not only holds the reins of power as a political leader, but also has spiritual authority that strengthens his position as a legitimate ruler. This legitimacy is built through various aspects that create a leadership system that is respected by society. The legitimacy of the sultan's power is also strengthened by genealogical and traditional factors. Sultans inherit the throne through a clear lineage, which gives their power traditional legitimacy. This tradition is strengthened through traditional ceremonies and royal rituals which confirm the sultan's position as the legitimate leader.

In Bima, a sultan is called *ruma*, but the term *ruma* also has another meaning, namely Allah. The meaning of *ruma* as Allah is not in the context of analogizing the oneness of God and the sultan as creators and created creatures, but rather to give sacred value to the sultan as God's caliph on earth. That is what underlies the integration of *ruma* as *ruma sangaji* (noble king), *ruma ka'u* (great king), and *ruma su'u* (respected king) in the way the Bima people view their leaders. The structure establishing the power of the sultan as caliph is a normative manifestation of carrying the task of governing and having the power to administer the government[14].

In the tradition of selecting and appointing sultans as leaders of the country, the main prerequisite that is examined is a hierarchical lineage that can show the origin of generations and descendants. That the sultan or potential successor must come from *Sangaji* descent *(londo Sangaji)* obtained through a valid marriage according to Islamic custom and law who will later have the right to position himself as *Ruma Sangaji*[15]. As *Ruma Sangaji*, the sultan must be able to demonstrate to the public his personal advantages as inheritor of the throne by fulfilling the criteria set out in the *nggusu waru* (eight pillars) guidelines of traditional leadership, namely; 1). *Ma to'a di Ruma labo Rasul* (obedient to Allah and the Messenger), 2) *ma loa ro bade* (smart and

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[12]. Samsul Nizar, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2007), 36.

[13]. M. Fachrirrahman, Islam Di Bima, Kajian Historis Tentang Proses Islamisasi Dan PerkembangannyaSampai Masa Kesultanan (Yogyakarta: Lengge, 2008), 187

[14]. Abdullah, Abdul Gani. 2004. Peradilan Agama dalam Pemerintahan Islam di Kesultanan Bima (1947- 1957). Mataram: Lengge. Hlm. 123.

[15]. Muslimin Effendy, "Diskursus Islam dan Karakter Politik Negara Di Kesultanan Bima,"Jurnal Al-Qalam23, no. 2 (2017): 193.

wise), 3) *ma mbani ro disa* (valiant and courageous), 4) *Ma bisa ro guna* (authoritative and charismatic), 5) *ma tenggo ro wale* (strong and persistent), 6) *mantiri nggahi ro kalampa* (honest, according to words and deeds), 7). *mantiri fiki ro paresa* (fair and thorough), 8). *londo dou mataho* (good offspring)[16].

In the highest leadership structure, the Sultan as head of government carries out a tripartite consultation system involving the Spokesperson (Prime Minister) and Ulama (Mufti Sultanate). Even though the Sultan has the highest authority and can make decisions independently in certain situations, the leadership pattern implemented prioritizes deliberation and joint consideration, especially in dealing with strategic issues that affect people's lives. Concrete manifestations of the integration of Islamic values in state life can be seen in the implementation of various religious activities which are on the official agenda of the sultanate. The celebration of major Islamic holidays such as *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha*, as well as the *Hanta Ua Pua*[17] tradition of commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, are important moments that show how religious and state values can work in harmony in forming the collective identity of the people of the Bima Sultanate.

d. Relations between Ulama and Sultan in the Bima Sultanate

The Bima Sultanate is a continuation of the Bima Kingdom which was founded centuries ago so it has a complex government system. Even though the complexity of this system is adapted to the duties and functions of each individual in relation to the interests of the social order, it cannot be denied that external influences also influence the system and style of government. In the government structure of the Bima Sultanate, a system was built that accommodated a combination of religious authority represented by the ulama, and political power held by the sultan. The interesting thing is how these two institutions do not operate dichotomously, but are integrated in a system that complements and strengthens each other.

The sultan is the holder of the highest power in the government, the sultan is a person whose position is highly respected in the eyes of the people of Bima, and the sultan is a protector who provides peace and tranquility to the community. In the philosophy of the Bima people, the Sultan is a *'Hawo ro Ninu'*[18] person (who shelters and protects) his community. The metaphor as *hawo ro ninu* (who shelters and protects) is a reflection of the ideal of a sultan who personifies himself as the shadow of God on earth (*zhillu a-Llâh ta 'âlâ fi al-ardli*) who believes in God, and the Most Glorious King *(al-wāthiq billāh al-rabb al-madjid)*[19] as written in the inscription on the seal of Sultan Bima Abdul Hamid in the 18th century[20]. Apart from the Sultan, the role of Ulama in the government system of the Bima Sultanate is not only limited to ritual and ceremonial aspects, but goes further as a moral compass that directs the course of government and shapes the character of society. Religious values are the main consideration in every decision making and formulation of public policy.

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[16]. Ahmad, Abdullah. 1992. Kerajaan Bima dan Keberadaannya Jilid 1 dan 2. Naskah, Bima: tp, hlm. 76-87.

[17]. Aksa. 2022. Tradisi Hanta Ua Pua: Geliat Islamisasi dan strategi Ulama dalam menyebarkan islam di Bima,Pusaka Jurnal vol.10. hlm. 438–448.

[18]. Henry Chambert Loir dan Siti Maryam R. Salahuddin. 2012. *Bo Sangaji Kai (Catatan Kerajaan Bima)*. Jakarta: Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Hlm, xxiii.

[19]. Muslimin Effendy, "Diskursus Islam dan Karakter Politik Negara Di Kesultanan Bima,"Jurnal Al-Qalam23, no. 2 (2017): 185

[20]. Suryadi. *Sepuluh Surat Sultan Bima Abdul Hamid Muhammad Syah Kepada Kompeni Belanda*, hlm, 119-120 dalam Loir, Henri Chambert dkk. 2010. *Iman dan Diplomasi: Serpihan Sejarah Kerajaan Bima*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia kerjasama dengan Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient dan Direktorat sejarah dan Purbakala Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata.

In accordance with his vow to implement Islamic sharia in the Bima Sultanate, the sultan formed a new institutional structure called the Syara Law Council *(Majelis Hukum Syara)*. The new institution consists of two previously existing institutions, namely Ulama and Religious Figures. Dependence between the Hadat Council *(Majelis Hadat)* and the Syara Law Council *(Majelis Hukum Syara)* is a form of mutually binding relationship. The Hadat Council cannot run a government without law and the Sharia Legal Council cannot enforce the law without government support (Majelis Hadat)[21].

The government of the Bima sultanate adhered to two centers of power, namely first, the power to carry out government which was carried out by the Hadat Council, and this is what the Bima people always mention as a government based on "*Hadat*". The second is the power to implement and implement Islamic law which is carried out by "Law". Both "*hadat*" and "law" are summarized and culminate in Sultan Bima[22]. Thus, the position of Ulama in the political power structure in the Bima Sultanate is not just a spiritual advisor, but also plays an active role in the strategic decision-making process for the Sultanate. The position of the Legal Sharia Council in the government structure of the Bima Sultanate reflects formal recognition of religious authority in state governance. Meanwhile, the sultan as the holder of the highest political authority carries out his leadership based on Islamic values which are interpreted and maintained by the ulama.

4. CONCLUSION

In the history of Islamic civilization, Ulama and Umara are two entities that played a fundamental role in the formation and development of Islamic social order in Bima. Both, like two inseparable sides of a coin, between religious leaders (ulama) and government leaders (umara) have given birth to a unique model of Islamic civilization. In the context of the Bima Sultanate, this collaboration is manifested in various aspects of people's lives. The ulama, with their depth of knowledge and spiritual wisdom, became advisors and guides in determining the sultanate's policies. Meanwhile, the umara, represented by the sultan and his government officials, provided the institutional and material support necessary for the development of Islamic religious and educational institutions. The Bima Sultanate, through close collaboration between ulama and umara, various aspects of community life were built on a solid foundation of Islamic values, without abandoning local characteristics as the identity of the Bima community (*Dou Mbojo*). This phenomenon confirms that in Islamic history, especially in the archipelago, the dual role of ulama and umara has been the main catalyst in the formation and development of a characteristic Islamic civilization. The Bima Sultanate, as one of the many sultanates in the archipelago, has demonstrated that synergy between religious leaders and government leaders can produce the achievement of a unique Islamic civilization.

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[21]. Muslimin Effendy, "Diskursus Islam dan Karakter Politik Negara di Kesultanan Bima. Jurnal Al-Qalam. Volume. 23, No. 2 (2017): 192

[22]. Abdul Gani Abdullah. Peradilann Agama dalam Pemerintahan Islam di Kesultanan Bima (Mataram: Lengge, 2004), 133.

Authors' contribution

The first author (Aksa) and the second author (Surayah Rasyid) both contributed as main authors to this article. The two of us worked together in searching for data, discussing themes and writing them down, so that this article is before you.

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