

International Islamic University Malaysia Library
Faculty Publications Collection

FOR REFERENCE ONLY 277

**ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE
MALAY-INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO: A PRELIMINARY
OBSERVATION**

by

**PROF. M. KAMAL HASSAN
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
MALAYSIA**

**REFERENCE ONLY
RUJUKAN SAHAJA**

ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE MALAY-INDONESIAN
ARCHIPELAGO: A PRELIMINARY OBSERVATION

Introduction

Anyone attempting to write on the Islamic intellectual life in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago covering a period of about four centuries - from the time of the Sumatran mystic Ḥamzah Fansūrī (1600) to the end of the 2nd World War - is expected, first of all, to be thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the intellectual output of the outstanding figures of Islamic learning during that period. Second, he should be familiar with what historians and students of Islam in Southeast Asia had written in different languages - Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Indonesian and, of course, Malay. Third, he should have done substantial research on some aspects of Islamic thought of the period. The present writer does not possess any of the above qualifications and therefore seeks the indulgence of the distinguished scholars if his treatment of the subject falls below their expectations. Due to a number of constraints, the present writer shall confine himself to some general observations based on an extremely limited reading of relevant secondary sources in English, Indonesian and Malay. It will become apparent throughout this paper that he has no pretensions to originality in terms of ideas and that he depends entirely upon the results of researchers.

Muslims as well as non-Muslims, who are more conversant with the subject

The Significance of the Islamization of Southeast Asia

The often-repeated assertion that the advent of Islam and the subsequent spread of Islamic learning in the Malay world have brought about a major cultural transformation in the region is already a well-established fact. Perhaps what has not properly appreciated is the profound nature of the cultural transformation that occurred as a result of the Islamic penetration. It is to the credit of Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas that he has taken the difficult task of explaining in great depth the intellectual and civilizational significance of the Islamic impact.

Islamization in the Archipelago, he explains, underwent three phases. The First Phase (from approximately 578-805/1200-1400), was the phase of nominal conversion or conversion of the 'body'. The Second Phase (from approximately 803-1112/1400-1700) described as the period of the conversion of the 'spirit' saw the rising influence and spread of philosophical mysticism, tasawwuf and kalām. The Third Phase (from 1112/1700 onwards) saw continuation and consummation of the second phase coinciding the coming of the West. (S.M. al-Naquib al-Attas, 1969 29-30). It is pointed out that the Islamic theological and metaphysical literature set in motion the process of revolutionizing the Malay-Indonesian world-view, turning it away from a crumbling world of mythology ... to the world of intelligence, reason and order" (S.M. al-Naquib al-Attas, 1969:5). Not only did Islamic monotheism bring a new ontology, cosmology and psychology to the Malay-Indonesian

Archipelago, but that it revolutionized the Malay language to become the literary and religious language of Islam by the 16th century. The 9th/16th and 10th/17th centuries, a period which "marked the rise of rationalism and intellectualism not manifested anywhere before in the Archipelago" saw the emergence of prolific Malay writings, translations and commentaries dealing with philosophical mysticism and rational theology. The works of "new stream" of Malay literature reveal "a language of logical reasoning and scientific analysis" (p. 29). The great significance of this period of islamization, in his view, is that it set in motion the process of revolutionizing the Malay-Indonesian weltanschauung effecting its transformation from an aesthetic to a scientific one " (p. 28). The new conception of Being in Tawhidic weltanschauung was the fundamental factor of the cultural revolution of the 8th/15th-10th/17th centuries which "reflected the beginnings of the modern age in the Archipelago" (p. 30). It is interesting to note that "the disintegration of the magical world view of the Malay-Indonesian" brought about by the islamization process was further assisted by "the coming of Western imperialism as well as the imposition of Western culture beginning in the 10th/16th century" (p. 9).

Syed al-Naquib al-Attas' penetrating and exhaustive studies of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1077/1666) have undoubtedly furnished him with adequate justifications for arriving at the above conclusions. In his excellent study, A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (1986), the profound influence and impact of al-Raniri's thoughts in the Malay world are brought to light. He says:

Al-Rānirī's vigorous polemics and prolific writings against the type of pseudo-sūfī doctrines advocated by the deviating Wujūdīyyah brought about a gradual process of correction in the interpretation and understanding of the Sūfī doctrines and metaphysics [His] great and indefatigable effort in this respect [is] the manifestation of an inaugurating movement of ... the 'intensification' and 'standardization' of the process of islamization. (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1986: 9).

In his estimation al-Rānirī overshadowed the works of Hamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā'ī (d. 1630)

There can be no doubt that no other man in the Malay world has contributed so much in the field of Islamic knowledge and learning than al-Raniri. From the perspective of islamization, he played the greatest role in consolidating the religion among the Malays, and made a lasting contribution to their spiritual and intellectual quality of life.... His Bustān al-Salātīn is the ~~largest~~ largest book in Malay ever written In fact he was the first writer in Malay to present history in universal perspective and to initiate scientific, modern Malay historical writing (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1986: 48).

The Major Centers of Islamic Learning

Without implying a linear spread of Islam or a neat chronological development, five major centers of Islamic learning before the advent of the 20th century have been identified, namely Samudra-Pasari (c. 1280-1400), Malacca (c. 1400-1511), Aceh (c. 1511-1650), Johore-Riau (c. 1650-1800) and Patani (c. 1800-1900). When the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511 A.D., it ceased to become a major point of Islamic da^cwah and learning

and Aceh soon emerged as a flourishing intellectual center. The works of Ḥamzah Fansūrī, Shams al-Dīn (d. 1630), Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī and ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf (d. 1690), whether originals or translations, were produced under the aegis of her benevolent Sultans. In Professor A.H. John's estimation,

Their works add up to a significant corpus of religious writing, which although modest by Middle Eastern standards, gives some picture of the intellectual life of the city, its enthusiasms, shibboleths, and achievements, and provides a reference point for much transmission of learning to centres of Islam in other parts of the archipelago. (A.H. Johns, 1985: 23)

An observation that deserves to be reiterated in this regard is the creative and mutually beneficial relationship between the Malay Sultans and the religious scholars such that many important religious works were produced at the behest of the Sultans, intellectual debates of great consequences were held under royal patronage and religious educational institutions were established by the power holders. As Professor Mohd. Taib Osman puts it,

the scholarly tradition of Islam was nurtured within the precincts of the royal courts or if there was no royal patronage, there would have been schools established by scholars of repute and to these scholars the aspiring young students would flock to study religious knowledge. (Mohd. Taib Osman, 1985: 46)

It is well-known that rulers of Malacca, Aceh and Johore-Riau, by and large, took great interest in religious learning and encouraged their subjects to seek Islamic knowledge. Even

some members of the royal family were known to be dedicated scholars of Islam. Such a person was Raja ^CAli b. Raja Ahmad (1809-1870) who gave instruction on various branches of Islamic knowledge and wrote several works of literary and administrative significance. (Abu Hassan Sham, 1980). As a result

the impact of Islamic ideology had been felt in the royal courts as well as in the villages. But the total impact of Muslim civilization apparently had different meanings at the different social levels. Thus literature about state craft or doctrinal discussions on points of theology would principally belong to the courtly circles, while popular religious literature and the romances would inevitably find their way to the masses. (Mohd. Taib Osman, 1985: 46)

The religious teachers and scholars flocked to the above centers not only because of the strong protection from the palace but also because these centers brought them into a wide range of international contacts while serving as gateways to the Mecca, the source of orthodox religious learning. Speaking of the great historical role of Aceh as a disseminator of knowledge, for instance, Professor Johns says,

Its role as gateway to the holy land for the Jawi pilgrims and students bound for Mecca, Medina, and centres of learning in Egypt and other parts of the Ottoman empire kept it in close contact with other Muslim port cities in the archipelago and made it a natural centre for an ^Culama' - bourgeoisie axis. (A.H. Johns, 1985: p. 23)

In an interesting essay, Dr. Hamdan Hassan (1980) has brought to light the historical and religious links between Aceh and Patani

Different Branches of Religious Knowledge Flourished

Law (fiqh), mysticism (tasawwuf) and dogmatic theology (uṣūl al-dīn) were the three principal branches of Islamic religious knowledge pursued in the Malay-Indonesian world generally. The intellectual life of a Malay-Indonesian-Patani religious teacher and scholar in these branches was largely that of faithfully preserving, transmitting, translating and commenting on the classical Arabic texts that he had learned, understood and to a great extent, memorized. Little of whatever he wrote as religious texts known as the Kitab Jawi (see Mohd. Nor bin Ngah, 1982) was original.

Before the 19th century religious scholars produced several works on the Shafi^Cī school of law in the Malay language to explain the basic essentials of ^Cibādāt to the masses. For example, al-Rānirī who held a position of eminence at the court of Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh completed, in addition to many treatises on different aspects of religious knowledge, in 1644 the work entitled al-Sirāt al-Mustaḳīm. The sources of this work included Minhāj al-Tālibīn of the famous Shafi^Cite jurist al-Nawawī (d. 1277), Manhaj al-Tullāb (an abridgement of Minhāj al-Tālibīn) by Zakariyya al-Anṣārī (d. 1520) together with its commentary Fath al-Wahhāb by the same author, Mukhtasar al-Fatāwā by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 1567), the works of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Naqīb (d. 1369) and al-Ardabilī (b. 1374). In short, the Shafi^Cite classical commentaries and glosses of al-Nawawī, Zakariyya al-Anṣārī, Ibn Khatīb al-Sharbīnī (d. 1569), Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 1567) and al-Ramlī (d. 1596) were the sources depended upon faithfully by well-known scholars such as ^CAbd.

al-Ra'ūf (d. 1693?), Muhammad Arshad b. ^CAbdullah al-Banjari who completed writing a fiqh book in 1780 entitled Sabīl al-Muhtadīn and Shaikh Da'ūd al-Faṭānī (fl. 1809) the most productive author in the 19th century, (Omar Awang, 1981: 82).

As far as the spread of tasawwuf writings in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is concerned, the general view is that it was after the period of Sultan Mansor Shah of Malacca, during whose reign in 1459 the first mention of a serious Sūfī work, the Durr al-Manzūm of Shaikh Abu Ishaq (a Sufi of Mecca) occurred, "that more and more emphasis on mysticism became noticeable. (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1970: 193). The prolificness of Malay writings on tasawwuf apparently decreased after ^CAbd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel at the beginning of the 18th century although works on tasawwuf "continued to be translated, paraphrased and summarized up to the 19th century." (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1970: 194).

In 1778 ^CAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ^CAbd Allāh al-Falimbānī translated al-Ghazālī's Bidāyah al-Hidāyah under the name of Hidāyah al-Sālikīn adding to it some of his personal views. He also completed in 1788 a translation and adaptation of al-Ghazālī's magnum opus the Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. Shaikh Daud al-Faṭānī also translated into Malay another work of al-Ghazālī, Minhāj al- 'Abidīn early in the 19th century. The well-known works of Ibn ^CAṭā' Allāh (d. 1309) such as Tāj al-^CArūs, Tanwīr al-Qulūb were translated into Malay by ^CUthmān ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Funtiyānī in 1886 and 1893 respectively while al-Hikam was translated (in 1836?) by one "Tok Pulau Manis" from Trengganu who has been identified as ^CAbd al-Malik ibn ^CAbd Allāh a scholar who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. (Omar Awang,

1984, M. Uthman el-Muhammady, 1977, 1988). The popularity of Sūfī tarīqahs, such as the Qādiriyyah (fd. 1166) to which Ḥamzah Fansūrī belonged; the Shattāriyyah which gained popularity in Aceh and Jawa during the time of ^CAbd al-Raūf of Singkel; the Khalwatiyyah (fd. 1397) which was joined by Raja ^CAli al-Hajj of Riau (d. 1806); the Ḥmadiyyah (fd. by Sayyed Ahmad b. Idris, d. 1837) which became popular in Negeri Sembilan and Kelantan in the late 19th century and the Naqshbandiyyah (fd. 1388) which has large followings to this day in Malaysia and Indonesia (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1963: 33), has made Sūfī literature, particularly of the "sober" type, part and parcel of the intellectual upbringing of the Malay-Indonesian religious scholar before the advent of Islamic reformism in the 20th century.

Scholastic theology as defined by al-Ash^Carī (d. 941), al-Tahāwī (d. 942) and al-Māturīdī (d. 944) and methodically articulated by al-Baghdādī (d. 1027), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) and al-Ghazālī reached the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago largely in the form of summarized credal statements (^Caqā'id). These creeds such as the ^CAqā'id of al-Nasafī (d. 1142), by the 11th century, assumed a more explanatory character but later creeds like the Umm al-Barāhīn of al-Sanusi (d. 1490) reached a high degree of systematization. The mainstay of theological thought in the Malay world centered around the creed and the first to be translated into Malay was that of al-Nasafī. (S.M. Naquib al-Attas, 1988). The Umm al-Barāhīn was translated in 1757 by Muhammad Zain ibn Jalāl al-Dīn and became the focus of attention of other Malay scholars with two more translations of it appearing in 1885 and 1890. (Omar Awang, 1981: 83)

It is obvious that the Malay authors and religious scholars saw their role mainly as transmitters of knowledge and orthodox doctrines which were already developed articulated in the Arab-speaking centers of Islam. They might not have possessed the stature of the original thinkers of Islam but they were serving the immediate religious needs of their fellow co-religionists. Hence their major concern with ʿibādah in the narrow sense of the word to ensure the proper practice of religious precepts, among the people who had only recently converted to Islam, and spiritual purity to uplift the religious observances from a superficial level of conformity to one of profound and joyful self-submission. Borrowing the description of Professor A.H. Johns:

They belonged to the intelligentsia of their age, and they were guide to prince and peddler alike.... Their writings are still human material, and within them can be discerned the pulse of human endeavour. And this is true even when Malay writing on Islamic matters has little to commend itself on the grounds of "originality." (A.H. Johns, 1985: p. 24).

It is also perhaps interesting to note that many great figures of Islamic learning in the Malay world from the 17th century through the 19th century had inherited a tradition of Islamic intellectual life in which fiqh, tasawwuf and uṣul al-dīn had become integrated in a harmonious synthesis. Ghazalian imprint seemed to have a firm grip on the minds of the Malay religious scholars and became for a long time the norm of religious orthopraxy in the pre-reformist period.

The System of Religious Education in Mecca as the
Moulder of Traditional Intellectual Tradition

Much has already been written on the pattern of traditional religious learning and teaching as reflected in the pondok-pesantren (traditional religious boarding school system with the Tok Guru-Kyai-Shaikh leadership providing the dominant role model of intellectual achievement at its best. (S. Prasodjo, 1974; D. Rahardjo, 1974; Chalimi, 1968; K.A. Steenbrink, 1986; Taufik Abdullah, 1986; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 1982; Nik Abdul Aziz, 1983; Ismail Che Daud, 1988; M. Uthman el-Muhammady, 1988; Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, 1988). This system of traditional learning has helped to preserve religious knowledge intact as it has been inherited from the classical authorities, thereby contributing to the strong commitment to religious values and the perpetuation of Shari^cah law, albeit as developed by the Shafi^cī school of thought. The integration of strong faith (īmān), consistent practice (ʿamal), good conduct (akhlāq) and spiritual purification (tazkiyah al-nafs) within the pondok-pesantren curriculum and the personality of the Tok Guru-Kyai-Shaikh have helped to project the image of a peaceful and God-obedient community to the masses. Its autonomous organizational structure and independent economic life based on the ideals of self-help and communal living removed, more often than not, from the hustle and bustle of urban life, with strongly established kinship ties as a result of intermarriage among the Tok Guru-Kyai-Shaikh families (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 1982: 62-99; Ismail Che Daud, 1988) have rendered it into a veritable fortress for the defence of Islam against the Western cultural and military encroachments in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

Thus, several Jihad movements and peasant uprisings have emerged from these rural-based pondoks or pesantrens. (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 1966)

intellectual tradition which the traditional ʿulamāʾ nurtured and preserved in the Malay world was, of course, first developed in Mecca. C. Snouck Hurgronje has described in great detail the 19th century method of traditional Islamic teaching which has made a lasting impact upon the Malay-Indonesian (or Jawah) seeker of religious knowledge. According to Hurgronje, the works of al-Ghazali, particularly his Ihyāʾ set the standard for Islamic learning in Mecca in the 1880s (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931: 160-192), hence the widespread influence of Ghazalian thought and world view in the Malay world. Snouck Hurgronje writes:

The great work of Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D): Vivification of the Sciences of Religion has been recognized down to our time as a standard encyclopedia of sacred doctrine

As the Fiqh with its ancillary sciences is the staff of life of all believers, so is dogmatic theology (ʿilm al-kalām, or ʿilm al-usūl, or ʿilm al-tawhīd) the medicine for the spiritually sick The true mystic life (tasawwuf) leads the man who has been prepared by the study of Law and Creed by a long graduation not only to complete obedience towards and complete knowledge of God, but even to the living God himself. (S. Hurgronje, 1931: 160-161)

Snouck Hurgronje's detail description of the method of teaching and studying in the Haram for Shafiʿite students deserves

further recapitulation.

As we look at the Shafi^Cite students ... we are first of all struck by the great difference of ages; in the same circles sit grey beards and beardless boys, striplings and grown men The lectures are entirely open and free The Law lectures have become to a great extent stereotyped. In the period of the fifth to the seventh century after the Hijrah, that is just when stiff uniformity succeeded lively conflict in the world of Moslim learning, some Shafi^Cite pundits of the highest rank (especially Abū Shujā^C, Rāfi^Cī and Nawawī) expounded the whole Law in their great works, and posterity has regarded these textbooks with almost as much reverence as they themselves regarded the works of Shāfi^Cī and his first disciples The scholars learnt them by heart so as to get secure landmarks in following the courses of lectures.

In later times learned men like Ibn Hajar, Sharbīnī and Ramli have fixed in literary shape the commentaries on these texts and their commentaries are still to-day essentially the foundation of all Shafi^Cite lectures on the Holy Law A professor of to-day has thus to choose one of the following methods: 1) to recite to his scholars one of the above-mentioned commentaries with the glosses of a famous bygone professor, so that the sole advantage of oral instruction consists in precise vocalisation and occasional clearing up of small difficulties, 2) to make the reading of the commentary fruitful by oral exposition which he derives from several of the best glosses, or 3) to make and published out of those glosses a new compilation. (S. Hurgronje, 1931: 187-188).

at the pondok or pesantren in the Malay world, we are informed that

the traditional teaching method used in the pondok [in Patani] is still the same as the preferred method in late 19th century Mecca, as described by Snouck Hurgröngé... where the teacher recites a classical text with his students together with a standard commentary. Students proceed at their own pace and when they feel they have mastered the recitation of a work they may help slower students. In this way small study circles are formed within the pondok and their leaders become apprentice teachers who develop in time into scholars under the tok guru's guidance. If they make the pilgrimage and continue their studies in the Middle East they might become religious teachers after their return to Patani." (Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, 1988: 44).

intellectual tradition of the above system meant, in fact, an immersion in life-long education, single-minded dedication to the pursuit of religious knowledge for the sole pleasure of Allah (s.w.t.), readiness to sacrifice the comforts of this world for the joys of spiritual enlightenment, selfless service to mankind, teaching and spreading the word of God as a dā^ci and forever resigning, in adversity or ease, to the inscrutable will of God. It is a tradition of learning in which man, as a theomorphic being, seeks to realize the gnosis (ma^crifah) of Allah. (M. Uthman el-Muhammady, 1976: 223-243; 1977: 162-199). This tradition, however, was never intended to suppress the spirit of military jihād against the invading kuffār enemies such that when the Dutch first tried to dominate Aceh, the ^culamā' were instrumental in turning the Aceh War

which started in 1873 and lasted for forty years into a prang sabi (a religious holy war) (Alfian, 1985: 82-85). The pondok institution which preserves that tradition serves therefore as a formidable wall to defend the Islamic ʿaqīdah and sunnah" (M. Uthman el-Muhammady, 1988: 141). It represents an educational system which employs the concepts of tarbiyyah (education of the whole man), taʿlīm (transmission of knowledge which saves), taʿdīb (inculcation of proper conduct with Allah and other creatures, irshād (correct guidance and counselling) and tadrīs (teaching of proper subjects). (el-Muhammady, 1988: 146-164). The ideal products of the above intellectual tradition and system of education are the ulamāʾ al-dīn, the scholars of religious sciences who uphold the supremacy of the inherited classical texts and venerate the authors as carriers of sacred knowledge. As preservers of the ancient heritage of Muslim learning, they have played their role admirably, but how would they function in the light of the challenges of rapid socio-political change and the dominance of Western power which coincided with the advent of the 20th century in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago? One might also ask, what were the consequences of their taghlīd-oriented intellectual tradition in the overall development of their societies?

The Great Intellectual Crisis and Islamic Reformism

With the advent of the Islamic puritanical and reformist movements in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, the intellectual tradition in the Muslim community received a new lease of life and source of revitalization and vigour. They also caused serious internal cleavages and social-cultural conflicts in an

otherwise stagnant social order in which the forces of indigenous tradition had co-existed with Islamic traditionalism characterized by a strong tariqah orientation and a degree of cultural accommodationism.

It became apparent that Islamic traditionalism as developed in Sumatera, Java and the Malay peninsula was not effective in stemming the tide of popular religion and popular mysticism with their accretions, syncretist tendencies and sometimes deviant practices. Decadence had definitely set in some mystical orders leading to saint-worship, polytheistic superstitious beliefs and heterodox practices. The Santri-Abangan dichotomy in Java created serious socio-political problems and undermined the solidarity of the Muslim ummah while the rift between the religious-oriented groups and the proponents of adat (pre-Islamic custom) in Aceh and Minangkabau led sometimes to bloody conflicts. The Padri movement in the early 19th century was deeply influenced by the initial success of the Wahabi movement in Arabia at that time...[and] directed their attacks first of all against deterioration" and opposed "adat djahiliah" with "adat islamiah". (Taufik Abdullah, 1985: 96-97). The well-entrenched matrilineal inheritance system of Minangkabau was part of the pre-Islamic adat.

According to Professor Deliar Noer, many people in Indonesia began to realize, at the end of the 19th century

they would not be able to compete with the challenging forces of Dutch colonialism, Christian penetration, and the struggle for progress in other parts of Asia, if they continued with their

traditional activities to uphold Islam. They became aware of the need for changes or reforms whether by digging up the treasures of Islam of the past which had enabled their brethren of the Middle Ages to surpass the West in learning and in broadening the Muslim sphere of influence and control, or by applying the new methods which had been brought to Indonesia by the colonial and the Christian missionary powers. (Deliar Noer, 1963: 45).

Islamic intellectual life in this period of reformism (islāh), revivalism (tajdīd) and purificationist fundamentalism based on the slogan of "back to the Qur'ān and Sunnah" was rejuvenated and regenerated by the spirit of jihād and ijtihād as propagated by the Salafiyyah movement in the Middle East with Mecca and later Cairo as the main sources of intellectual activism. The reformists in Dutch-controlled Indonesia and British Malaya drew inspiration from Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī (1839-97), Muhammad Abduh (1845-1905) and M. Rashid Riḍā (1865-1935), as well as the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328).

launched vehement attacks against the adat groups and tarīqah followers in their books and articles. So strong was their aversion to the adat system and the deviationist tarīqah practices, religious innovation (bid'ah) and animistic superstition (khurafāt) then flourishing in the Malay world that well-known puritanical reformist thinkers and writers in the early period, i.e. Shaikh Ahmad Khatib (1860-1916) decided not to return to his home town Bukittinggi. Haji Agus Salim (1884-1954) spent most of his time abroad and Shaikh Tahir Jalaludin (1869-1956), cousin and student of Ahmad Khatib, opted for British Malaya as his field of operation. (Deliar Noer,

1963: 26). Their followers in both Indonesia and Malaya became known as "Kaum Muda" and their opponents were labelled as "Kaum Tua" (William Roff, 1962: 162-192, 1967: 56-90). Shaikh Tahir Jalaluddin, as the first exponent of Muhammad Abduh's ideas in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago exerted the reformist influence through his periodical al-Imām which followed the al-Manār model in Cairo and made its first appearance in Singapore in July 1906. Al-Imām and reformist journals coming after it showed great concern for the sorry state of Malay society then.

Al-Imam points to the backwardness of the Malays, their domination by alien races, their laziness, their complacency, their bickering among themselves, and their inability to cooperate for the common good. (W. Roff, 1967: 57)

In Professor Roff's judgement,

Al-Imam was a radical departure in the field of Malay publications, distinguished from its predecessors both in intellectual stature and intensity of purpose and in its attempt to formulate a coherent philosophy of action for a society with the need for rapid social and economic change. (W. Roff, 1967: 59)

The reformist group through its publications, associations and madrasahs was vocal in its criticism of the traditional elite and the religious establishment and, as a result, some of those periodicals and publications were proscribed in some states. The long-standing feud between the two groups revolved around a wide range of ritual, doctrinal and social questions - the issue of ijtihād vs. taqlīd, the need for educational reform and modernization, madhhab vs. non-madhhab

adherence, minor furū^C and khilafiyyah matters such as the saying of usallī, the gunūt or the question of ru'yah or hisāb for deciding the commencement of Ramadān or the Ġids.

In the last analysis, the perfection and purification of Islam was for the Kaum Muda not simply an end in itself but a means for the acceleration and direction of social and economic change for the betterment of Malay society, a process held to be retarded by traditional Islam as practiced in the states. (W. Roff, 1967:78)

In some cases the reformists carried their cause of ijtihād, intellectual freedom and liberation from traditional custom to excesses. Such was the case of Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi (1867-1934), a close companion of Shaikh Tahir, whose espousal of Western social values was reminiscent of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) in British India. His ideas of women liberation were borrowed and translated from Qasim Amin's Tahrīr al-Mar'ah. No doubt his role as a Malay novelist has been acknowledged, but the propagation of liberal Western social values in male-female relationship as contained in his Hikayat Faridah Hanum has to be deplored. (Siddik Fadhl, 1989: 79-88). The Malay world has also produced its first classic Anglophile in the ideas and personality of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi. (Mohd. Taib Osman and Abu Bakar Hamid, 1978: 48).

The reformist-traditionalist polemics gradually quietened down by the time of the 2nd World War as more and more modern religious and secular schools took the intellectual lead and modernization in material life became inescapable. Islamic associations and democratic socio-political organizations began

to spread all over the Malay world to provide a new generation of religious and socio-political leaders and later the nationalistic struggle for independence brought together the two wings of the Muslim community. In the early 40's the polemics on "religion and state" between the proponents of secularism (for example Sukarno) and the proponents of Islamic State (for example Mohamad Natsir) came into the Malay world and signalled the beginning of another significant phase in the development of Malay Indonesian intellectual life which is beyond the scope of this paper. (see Sidek Fadzil, 1989)

Conclusion

In sum, the relentless and sincere crusading efforts of the Islāh-oriented intellectuals in Indonesia and Malaya through their newspapers and periodicals to restore the original purity of Islam and, in the process, recapture its dynamic and liberating spirit so that the Muslim community world would awaken from its slumber, climb out of its shell and free itself from the disgraceful insubordination to Western political and economic power have definitely broadened the intellectual horizon of the Malay world. The scope of intellectual concern might have initially overemphasized the khilāfiyyah and furū^CIyyah issues but later it embraced issues of educational and governmental reform and even the need to overcome the poverty of the Malays as compared to the immigrant communities. The center of intellectual activity was no longer confined to the enlightened royal courts and famous pondoks, pesantrens or

masjids. The printing press, the socio-religious organizations, the modern madrasahs, the new schools and the formed political associations produced a new breed of Malay-Indonesian intelligensia and literati concerned no longer with the petty issues of talqīn and "usallī" but with more global problems of moral reform in society, political independence from colonial rule, socio-economic upliftment of the indigenous people, the dangers of Christian missionary-related schools, and the need to keep abreast with the rapid development of scientific knowledge and technological superiority of the expansionist West. Hence the urgency of introducing the modern educational system with a new curriculum which integrates worldly knowledge with religious education.

All these modernizing intellectual developments had, no doubt, their toll on the educational institutions of the traditional religious elite. The popularity of the pondok and pesantren declined, their remaining leaders were either pushed to the periphery or drawn into the protective culture of the official religious establishment or department in the contest for leadership of the newly emerging nation-state. The Malay-Indonesian school teacher (guru sekolah), the journalists and the new products of Western education - lawyers, engineers and doctors - assumed the new intellectual leadership. The gulf between the two educational elites widened as both groups sought dissimilar and sometimes conflicting political affiliations.

The new intellectual is identified mainly as a secularist and Westernizing elite or professional and the ^culama' are viewed by their detractors as religious romantics or, worse

still, as religious "fanatics". Those who realized the dangers of this gulf or the falsehoods behind the accompanying clichés and stereotyping upon the intellectual progress of the Muslim community have urged both wings of the community to explore the common areas of agreement to benefit mutually from the rich heritage of ancient learning with its intuitive, ethical systematising ethos and from modern knowledge with accumulation of useful, scientific and world-affirmative information, techniques and skills. A cross-breed known in Indonesia as "intelektuil-ulama" or "ulama-intelektuil" or "teknokrat-samawi" is expected to emerge from this enterprise in cultural rapprochement for the betterment of Muslim future in the Malay-Indonesian world.

In the end, it might be useful to reflect on Professor Franz Rothenthal said in his concluding remark to his penetrating study of Islamic knowledge, entitled Knowledge Triumphant:

A philosopher of the recent past [M. Scheler, Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1926], looking at knowledge in its Western habitat, divided the whole of it into Bildungswissen, Erlösungswissen and Herrschaftswissen (or Leistungswissen). The last kind of knowledge, the effort of science to control nature and society, is assumed to have been undeveloped in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Strong as both Bildungswissen and Erlösungswissen were in the past, Bildungswissen, the effort to improve the individual personality is believed to be little cultivated now, and Erlösungswissen, the desire to learn about the divine order of the world and to achieve salvation

is, we are told, no longer of any real significance. If we look at Islam in this way, we find that metaphysical, ethical, and scientific knowledge, and, in addition knowledge as the power tool of society, were not all present in equal strength, but they were present and active. They were conceived as part of one human-divine attribute called "knowledge", which held sway over all human and divine affairs. (Franz Rosenthal, 1970: 337)

The Islamic intellectual tradition of the present and the future, we humbly believe, needs to acquire and maintain the integration of character development knowlede (akhlāq), religious knowledge and conviction (ʿulūm dīniyyah), scientific knowledge (ʿulūm aqliyyah) and commitment to positive social change (ʿamal ṣālih) if the product is to discharge his/her responsibilities to God and to contemporary society in a way which secures felicity in the Hereafter (al-falāḥ) and well-being (islāḥ) in the present world.

Wa'LLāhu aʿlamu bi's-sawāb

REFERENCES

- Abu Hassan Sham
1980. "Tariqat Naqsyabandiyah dan Peranannya Dalam Kerajaan Melayu Riau Sehingga Awal Abad Kedua Puluh" in Tamadun Islam di Malaysia (ed. Khoo Kay Kim et. al.). Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.
2. Ahmad Rifa'i Hasan (ed.)
1987. Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia. Bandung: Mizan.
3. Alfian
1985. "The Ulama in Acehnese Society" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia (ed. Sharon Siddique, et al.). Singapore: I.S.E.A.S.
4. Akhria Nazwar, Drs.
1983. Ahmad Khatib, Ilmuan Islam Di Permulaan Abad Ini
Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas
5. Dawam Rahardjo
1974. Pesantren dan Pembaharuan. Jakarta: LP3ES.
6. Deliar Noer.
1963. "The Rise and Development of the Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia during the Dutch Colonial Period (1900-1942). Unpublished Ph.D thesis Cornell University.
7. Hamdan Hassan
1980. "Pertalian Pemikiran Islam Malaysia-Aceh" in Tamadun Islam di Malaysia (ed. Khoo Kay Kim et. al.). Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.
8. Hurgronje, Snouck.
1931. Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century.
Leiden: E.J. Brill.

9. Husny Thamrin
1969. Peranan Pesantren Tebuireng Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Sosial. Malang, unpublished Drs. thesis, I.A.I.A. Sunan Ampel.
10. Ismail Che Daud (ed.)
1988 Tokoh-Tokoh Ulama' Semenanjung Melayu (1). Kota Bharu: Majlis Umma Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu, Kelantan.

Ismail Hamid
1982. "The Contribution of Islamic Civilization to the Development of Classical Malay Literature" in Nusantara, No. 8, Jan. 1982.
The Malay Islāmic Hikāyat. Kuala Lumpur: U.K.M.
12. Johns, A.H.
1985. "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia (ed. Sharon Siddique et. al.). Singapore: I.S.E.A.S.
13. Matheson, V. and Hooker, M.B.
1988. "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition" in J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. LXI, Part I, No. 254.
14. Mohd. Nor bin Ngah
1980. "Some Writing of the Traditional Malay Muslim Scholars Found in Malaysia" in Tamadun Islam di Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.
Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars. Singapore: I.S.E.A.S.
15. Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab.
1978. "Gerakan Islah Islam di Tanah Melayu 1906 Hingga 1948." Unpublished paper, Kongres Sejarah Malaysia, U.K.M. Bangi.

16. Mohd. Taib Osman and Abu Bakar Hamid
1977. "Kesinambungan dan Perubahan Dalam Kesusasteraan Moden Malaysia" in Kertas Kerja Persidangan Penulis ASEAN 1977. Kuala Lumpur: D.B.P.
17. Mohd. Taib Osman
1985. "Islamization of the Malays: A Transformation of Culture" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia (ed. Sharon Siddique et. al.). Singapore: I.S.E.A.S.
18. Muhammad Uthman el-Muhammady
1976. Peradaban Dalam Islam. Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press
1977. Memahami Islam. Insan, Ilmu dan Kebudayaan. Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press.
1988. Islam. Peribadi, Tarbiah dan Institusi. Kota Bharu: Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan.
19. Nik Abdul Aziz b. Haji Nik Hassan
1983. Islam di Kelantan. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.
20. Omar Awang
1981. "The Major Arabic Sources which Determined the Structure of Islamic Thought in the Malay Archipelago Before the Nineteenth Century A.D. in the field of Law, Theology, and Sufism" in Islamika (ed. Lutpi Ibrahim). K.L.: Sarjana Enterprise.
21. Prasodjo (ed.)
1974. Profil Pesantren. Jakarta: LP3ES.

22. Roff, W.R.
1962. "Kaum Muda-Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction among the Malays, 1900-41" in Tregonning (ed.), Papers on Malayan History. Singapore: Journal of South East Asian History.
The Origins of Malay Nationalism. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- 23 Rosenthal, Franz.
1970. Knowledge Triumphant. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
24. Sartono Kartodirdjo
1966. The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888. s Gravenhage Martinus Nijhoff
25. Sidek bin Haji Fadzil
1978. "Ash-Shaykh Muhammad Abduh - Suatu Tinjauan Kritis Terhadap Pemikirannya dan Rumusan Mengenai Pengaruhnya Dalam Masyarakat Melayu". Unpublished M.A. thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
"Pemikiran Barat Modern - Sikap Para Cendekiawan Muslim Dengan Tumpuan Di Alam Melayu". Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
26. Steenbrink, Karel A.
1984. Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
1986. Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah. Jakarta: LP3ES.
27. Syafiq A. Mughni, Drs.
1980. Hassan Bandung, Pemikir Islam Radikal. Surabaya: Bina Ilmu.

28. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas
1963. Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised Among the Malays. Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd.
1969. Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Kuala Lumpur.
1970. The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansūrī. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- Islam and Secularism. Kuala Lumpur: ABIM.
- The Positive Aspects of Tasawwuf. Kuala Lumpur: ASASI.
- Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu. Kuala Lumpur: U.K.M.
1986. A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, Malaysia.
1988. The Oldest Known Malay manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
29. Taufik Abdullah
1985. "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia (ed. Sharon Siddique, et. al.). Singapore: I.S.E.A.S.
30. Zamakhsyari Dhofier
- 1982 Tradisi Pesantren. Jakarta: LP3ES.