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# Table of Contents

Zakir Naik’s Techniques in Comparative Theological Discourse: Some Reflections

Mohammad Aminul Islam
Thameem Ushama

Hamka’s *Da’wah* Reform: Islamisation of Self, Education, and Institution

Haslina Ibrahim

A Recollection of a Positive Qur’ānic Character: Maryam Bint ʿImrān

Che Amnah Bahari

The Practice of Giving in Islam and Buddhism: Its Impact on man’s spiritual well-being

Masitoh Ahmad

Kenneth Cragg’s Assertion on the Notion of Incarnation in the Qur’ān: A Critical Appraissal

Akilu Aliyu Muhammad
Noor Amali Mohd Daud

Exploring Emotional and Spiritual Intelligence of Prophet Muḥammad SAW

Fatimah Abdullah

Feasibility of the Goal of Sociology under Its Current Methodology

Hayatullah Laluddin
Mohd Abbas Abdul Razak

الأسباب المؤدية إلى وجود مشاعر سلبية تجاه الإله عند المراهقين المسلمين ومظاهرها والحلول المقترحة له

Driving Factors for Having the Feeling of Resentment towards God among Muslim Adolescents: Its Phenomena and Solutions

Abdelrahman Mohamed Nada
Masitoh Ahmad
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Hamka’s Da’wah Reform: Islamisation of Self, Education, and Institution

Haslina Ibrahim*

Abstract
Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah or HAMKA (1908-1981) was a prominent Malay scholar and also an icon of da’wah Islamiyyah. Although his name and works are common to the Malays, his da’wah orientation needs to be explored further in view of the lethargic conditions of present da’wah movements in the Malay lands. Granted the title Pahlawan Nasional Indonesia, Hamka’s thought epitomised the idealism of da’wah reform, and his activism symbolises the institutional configuration of da’wah. Hamka went beyond the rhetoric slogan of Islam as a way of life when he brought tangible solutions to the problems that happen in society. The core inventory to that tangible solution, in his opinion, should start with oneself i.e. Islamisation of self, before any meaningful da’wah can be administered to the community and institutions. This article attempts to promote Hamka’s da’wah reform; a synergised intellectualism and activism that are missing from the contemporary da’wah orientations and led to its adversary effect on public understanding and practice of Islam.

Keywords: Islamisation, Da’wah in Malay world, Intellectualism, Da’wah Activism.

Introduction
Hamka or prominently known as Buya Hamka, was a Malay scholar and reformist, who has marked an exemplary da’wah reform model in the Malay world. Born in Maninjau, West Sumatra, his upbringing was his first madrasah, and his father, Abdul Karim Amrullah, was his first teacher who was influential to Hamka’s many decisions in life. Like most Muslim reformers, Hamka started his early education in Islamic traditional studies. Contrary to what has been commonly claimed that Islamic education is a form of indoctrination, Hamka was raised as a critical-minded person and sensitive to his local context. He was equally aware of the world issues during his time, and he warned his fellow Muslims of its tendency to penetrate the local setting. In addition, the

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Malay Archipelago was suffering from the after-effect of colonisation which has robbed the nation’s wealth and dignity, leaving the locals in poverty and disunity.

Hamka was well studied outside Indonesia. One of the works that is critical towards him is *Modern Indonesian Literature* by Andries Tieuw.¹ Another great work about Hamka was written by James Rush entitled *Hamka’s Great Story; A Master Writer’s Vision of Islam for Modern Indonesia.*² Rush presented Hamka as a public intellectual scholar who spoke language of the masses in educating them pertinent issues challenging their understanding of life and happiness through his reconciled understanding of Sufism. The recent publication of *Hamka and Islam: Cosmopolitan Reform in the Malay World* by Khairudin Aljunied is an excellent contribution in the study of mainstream Muslim Malay thinker.³

In addition to all these works written by influential and prominent scholars, there are recent studies on Hamka conducted by researchers that offer fresher and contemporary perspectives on his works and thoughts. Among the relevant works are an annotated translation of Hamka’s *Tasauf Modern* by Azizah Rahmad,⁴ *Metode Dakwah Rasul Ülū Al-‘Azmi Menurut Hamka Dalam Tafsir Al-Azhar* by Anhar Anshory,⁵ *Dirāsah Taqwīmiyyah Mafhum al-Akhlāq ‘inda Hamka fi Kitābīhi Falsafah al-Hayāt (Falsafah Hidup),*⁶ and *Al-Fikr al-Tarbawī ‘inda al-Ḥaj ‘Abdul Mālik ‘Abdul Karīm Amrullah* by Ismail Mamat.⁷ One who studies Hamka would be blessed with the fact that many of his writings are accessible until today. Some of his lectures are well

5 Anhar Anshory, “Metode Dakwah Rasul Ülū Al-‘Azmi Menurut Hamka Dalam Tafsir Al-Azhar” (Bangi, UKM, 2017).
recorded and he also left behind his families, friends, students, and institutions that continue to uphold his da’wah reform.

**Hamka’s Da’wah Reform and Activism**

The arrival of Islam to the Malay Archipelago begun as early as the eleventh century or early twelfth century.¹ Its peaceful message was well embraced by the people, sustains in their worldview and ethos, and defines their salient identity. In addition to such an inherent quality, Muslims in this region had went through comparable challenges with colonialism and imperialism that hampered them for more than three centuries and resume under the name of globalisation.

Initially, *da’wah* movements were directed towards reinforcing the understanding of Islam and Islamic institutions as shields against foreign worldview and ideas. However, there have been significant changes in *da’wah* activism since the post-colonial period up to the present time. *Da’wah* movements seemed greatly influenced by local politics. This was due to the persistent campaign by Muslim revivalists. They inspired for the establishment of *dawlah Islāmiyyah*² in opposition to the secular educated Muslims who support for the modern system of governance inherited from the colonial powers. The setback of such dichotomy was identified where it has created more divisions among the Muslims and distorted the meaning of *da’wah* as a means of communication of Islam to political propaganda.

Hamka deserves to be highlighted since he took different approaches in his *da’wah*. He prioritised individual, social, educational and religious reform before political reform. It is therefore important to revisit Hamka’s *da’wah* approaches and re-learn from him regarding the actual meaning of da’wah and the art of *da’wah*; striking a balance between intellectualism and activism.

*Da’wah* in its conventional meaning refers to the act of communicating Islam to others through speech, writings, and actions. *Da’wah* is in fact, was embarked by all the prophets in disseminating the message of *Tawḥīd* and the guided path to God. Every Muslim therefore is required to do *da’wah* emulating the works of the prophets in helping

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people recognise and restore their fitrah, which is to submit to Allah the Only Creator and Sustainer. By so doing, Muslims are nurturing within themselves a sense of submission as the servant of Allah (‘abd) and a sense of fulfilment of their duties as the vicegerent (khalīfah) in this world. Hence, da’wah is not a foreign word and idea to the Muslims. As a matter of fact, Muslims have been adopting different approaches and methods to administer da’wah. The Qur’ān however guided them with the three principles of da’wah; wisdom, good advice and gracious. These principles are generic so that the Muslims can craft their da’wah activities in accordance with the Islamic law (sharī‘ah) and Islamic ethic (akhlāq).

Hamka’s da’wah messages reached the audience through his creative writings. His venture in creative writings distinguished him from many Malay Muslim thinkers and reformers who focused more on intellectual reforms. Among his works that were well-received and subsequently filmed were Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’bah\(^1\) in 1977 and 2011 and Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck\(^2\) in 2013. Both films were his critics on the social discrimination taking place in the society. He had also authored Tuan Director (1939),\(^3\) Merantau ke Deli (1940),\(^4\) Mandi Cahaya di Tanah Suci (1950), and Di Tepi Sungai Dajlah (1952),\(^5\) which are some of the hundreds of works he had published and are still well read until today. He also wrote extensive social critics in magazines such as Pembela Islam, Semangat Islam, Menara, Majalah Pedoman Masyarakat, Pandji Masyarakat and Gema Islam of which he was the head editor. It is not an exaggeration to state that it was through his creative writings his da’wah message became widely known and this has enabled the spread of his reform ideas to reach the public.

Despite his informal educational background, he was well exposed with most of the influential Muslim thinkers of his time such as Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), Rashid Rida (1865-1935), Mahmud Shaltut (1893-1963), Ali Shariati (1933-1977), Malek Bennabi (1905-1973), Muhammat Natsir (1908-1993), and Abul A’la Maududi (1903-1979). He was also well acquainted with the works of modern philosophers including Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), William James (1842-1910) and Albert Camus (1913-1960).

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\(^1\) Hamka, *Di bawah Lindungan Ka’bah*, 22. cet (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975).


\(^3\) Hamka, *Tuan Direktor* (Selangor: PSN Publication, 2013).


As a matter of fact, Hamka has produced many writings from different areas of specialisation ranging from theology, philosophy, Sufism, da’wah, politics and tafsīr. He left behind him hundreds of intellectual writings in Indonesian language. Among those were Keadilan Ilahi (1939), Tasawwuf Modern (1939) Falsafah Hidup (1939) Lembaga Budi (1940), Islam dan Demokrasi, and Pengaruh Ajaran Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia, and Tafsir Al-Azhar Juzu’ 1-30. Tafsir al-Azhar is his most important contributions to the Muslims in the Malay Archipelago. It is the famous Qur’ānic exegetical works written in Malay which was originally the outcome of his preaching at Surau Jembatan Basi Padang Panjang. He wrote the tafsīr to fulfil the requests made by his students who viewed that his tafsīr had addressed the contextual problems faced by the community. Hamka’s dedication in writing for the public, for the learning and learned communities had resulted into the publication of more than hundred and thirty titles. All his works are in Indonesian language and his style of writing is rather friendly to the public.

**Hamka and Islamisation**

This paper suggests that Hamka’s da‘wah reform is typical to Islamisation that permeates in his thinking framework and methodology through intellectual and scholarly approach, institutional reform and his da’wah activism. Nevertheless, compared to his contemporaries who championed Islamisation such as Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, AbdulHamid AbuSulayman and Kamal Hasan, the narrative of Islamisation was rather implicit in Hamka’s discourse and da‘wah reform.

Islamisation is an established intellectual discourse rich in meanings and interpretation. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, AbdulHamid AbuSulayman and Kamal Hasan were among the pioneering intellectuals who engineered the discourse that evolves and expands with history. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas called for total rejection of secularism in order to return to the Islamic intellectual tradition in a grand master plan he called ‘the restoration of adab’. To actualize this, al-Attas conditioned that dewesternization is mandatory for it is the only solution to reinstate the role of metaphysics in the epistemology of knowledge. Al-Attas in *Islam and Secularism* diagnosed that the loss of adab has its root in

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the confusion of knowledge that affects human understanding and comprehension of the Truth.\(^1\) Ismail Raji al-Faruqi on the other hand, advocated for the universality of knowledge provided that it is not contradictory to \(\text{Tawhīd}\). Al-Faruqi blamed that the loss of morality is due to the absence of \(\text{Tawhīd}\).\(^2\) Abdulhamid Abu Sulayman expanded the discourse with a sense of self-reflection and self-criticism as permeated in his work entitled \(\text{Crisis in the Muslim Mind}\). Though he acknowledged that the dichotomy of religious sciences with modern sciences has caused stagnancy in the Muslims way of thinking, he blamed it to the Muslims too for failing to overcome the malaise syndrome. The backwardness of the Muslim \(\text{ummah}\) in his opinion was due to the failure to harmonize human sciences with religious sciences.\(^3\) Mohd Kamal Hasan further complemented the discourse of Islamisation when he emphasized that religious sciences need some reforms. In his opinion, religious sciences need to be contemporary and relevant to provide solutions to human problems. In this regard, religious sciences require \(\text{taghyīr}\) (individual or societal change), \(\text{īslāḥ}\) (reform and improvement), \(\text{tajdīd}\) (renewal, revitalization, restoration and reconstruction), \(\text{Iḥyā’}\) (revival, regeneration, revification), \(\text{takāmul}\) (integration of useful knowledge or skills from other disciplines) and \(\text{iḥtīād}\) (exercise of independent legal reasoning in facing new issues not covered by the revealed texts).\(^4\) Kamal Hasan also stressed the need for self-Islamisation as the basic requirement to any form of Islamisation initiatives either in terms of its theories or practices.\(^5\)

These scholars of \(\text{Islamisation}\) have institutionalised the discourse through the reform of curriculum and educational institution. Typical to their Islamisation discourse is rejection to secularism. They argued that secularism is the antithesis of \(\text{Tawhīd}\). Secularism, in their opinion, is the threat and the root cause of the Muslims’ problems. Without doubt, they have greatly contributed to the Islamic intellectualism and its institutions as well as in promoting the idea of Islamisation. However, they were more focused on the Islamisation of knowledge that involves the

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1 Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, \(\text{Islam and Secularism}\) (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 1993).
2 Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, \(\text{Al Tawhid: Its Implications on Thought and Life}\), vol. 4 (IIIT, 1992).
5 “IIUM Policies and Guidelines on Islamisation,” p. 35.
academia. This is understandable given the duties and roles they held which directly involved them with Islamic intellectual institutions.

Hamka was contemporary to these intellectuals. However, he seemed disconnected from their Islamisation discourse. This perhaps was due to the period in which Islamisation found its narrative in the Malay Archipelago. The discourse of Islamisation started in the 70s whereas Hamka has been actively communicating Islam since the 30s. This was way before Islamisation discourse found its way to the Malay intellectuals. If this assumption is to be considered, it even makes Hamka’s association with Islamisation idea a more an intriguing issue to examine. This is in consideration of his ideas on Islamic worldview, Islamic education and the empowerment of educational institution in service of the Indonesian Muslims.

To explore Hamka’s Islamisation model in da’wah, the author proposes that we pay attention on the following attributes.

i. Hamka’s Epistemology and Thinking Framework
First and foremost, it is essential to understand Hamka’s thinking framework and how it transpired into the whole gamut of his ideas and actions. Peter Riddle regarded him a rationalist cosmopolitan Muslim echoed in the work published by Aljunied in his recent publication. Hamka however, distinguished himself from those rationalist and progressive Muslims who subscribe to the supremacy of reason. He consistently used the term ‘guided reason’ (akal yang berpedoman) for he recognised the limits of reasoning in the matters of faith and belief that the guidance of revelation is indispensable.¹ Hamka was cautious against an unguided reasoning as it makes one susceptible to desires. He criticised the Mutazilites who prioritised Greeks philosophical thought over revelation. He also condemned the westernised Muslims who developed sceptical approaches against religion and God.

Though Hamka was unhappy with Muslims who were obsessed of reasoning, he was also critical of Muslims with stagnant mind (akal yang beku) who partakes in blind submission (taqlīd) in religious affairs. He considered that stagnancy of mind has corrupted the laity and the learned Muslims in which stagnancy permeated in the way they understand life and faith.² Hamka categorised the stagnant Muslims into two groups; the simple

² Aljunied, Hamka and Islam, p. 20.
ignorance (jahil basit) and compound ignorance (jahil murakab). In his opinion, the first group were less hazardous than the latter since they can still be educated. The second group is more catastrophic because apart from the lack of intelligence, they hold pride for themselves and that became a stumbling block for them to change for the better.¹

Hamka claimed that obsession to human reasoning and stagnancy of mind as forms of extremism. He, on the other hand, subscribed to moderation; a position he described as kesederhanaan dalam segala perkara.² He defined a moderate Muslim as someone who put things in its rightful place, and who choose whatever deeds that would lead to goodness. He was convinced that goodness lies in the middle way.³ Islam therefore, guides its followers to be moderate in all aspects of human life and Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is the perfect model for Muslims. ‘Moderate’ according to him, refers to moderation in intention, objectives, thought and expression. In order to realise moderation, he called on Muslims to cultivate within themselves pure intentions, to strike a balance between the world and hereafter and to be truthful in their speech and writings.⁴ One of his significant works where he discussed the above issues that shaped the worldview of a Muslim is Pandangan Hidup Muslim.⁵ Part of the book is a compilation of his writings in the Panji Masyarakat between the year 1959 to 1960.

Hamka also spoke of the way to train one’s intellect, and made one of the functions of the soul. To train the intellect, Hamka urged that one has to get busy seeking knowledge. As a matter of fact, Hamka developed in himself the thirst for knowledge and this was where he indulged into self-learning through reading. He exhorted the Muslims of his time to dig into Islamic sciences ranging from jurisprudence, theology, Quranic exegesis, philosophy, and Sufism. Hamka also challenged the Muslims to learn modern sciences with critical mind. Although he was trained in madrasah, Hamka was against the dichotomy of Islamic sciences to that of modern sciences.

Hamka was also exposed with the thinkers and their reform ideas of his time such as Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), Rashid Rida (1865-1935), Mahmut Shaltut (1893-1963), Ali Shariati (1933-1977), Malek Bennabi (1905-1973) and Muhammad Natsir (1908-1993). These thinkers

² Aljunied, Hamka and Islam, 37; Hamka, Falsafah Hidup, p. 82.
³ Aljunied, Hamka and Islam, 38; Hamka, Falsafah Hidup, p. 148.
⁴ Aljunied, Hamka and Islam, p. 39.
⁵ Hamka, Pandangan Hidup Muslim (PT Bulan Bintang, 1992).
have nurtured in him the spirit of transformation and changes in the Muslims community against all kinds of backwardness, misinterpretations and misrepresentation of Islam.

Hamka’s thinking framework is that of Islamisation minus its branding. Most likely the term was absent from his glossaries since his association with it took a different feature. It is suggested that, in comparison to proponents of Islamisation who embarked mostly on intellectual reform, Hamka on the other hand focused his da’wah reform on the synergy between intellectualism and activism. Whether or not, it was typical to Islamisation, will be further examined.

ii. Hamka’s Methods and Approaches
Typical to Islamisation, Hamka adopted a gradual approach in cascading the message of Islam to individuals, society, education and institution. He started with individual spiritual reform followed by cultural reform and finally an institutional reform. The catalyst to these reforms is knowledge which include; soul, shari‘ah as the way of life and education. Hamka also criticised the colonial, the Christian evangelists in Indonesia and the local politics that contributed to the chaotic condition of his people. However, he seemed to uphold the belief in ‘bottom-up reform’ that changing the people is crucial before changes can take place in the nation. He talked to the people in their language so they would understand him better. Despite his stern criticism to certain local customs and practices, obsession to Ṣūfī masters in ṭarīqah and pesantren rigidity and stagnancy, he was generally accepted by the people. Perhaps, the reason for the acceptance was due to the sense of patriotism that he embraced in his reform. He projected himself as a state-man who was more interested in the people than in the local politics. He communicated Islam and posed the social critics to the masses via his novels. On the radio, as he spoke, he captured people’s interest with his beautiful and poetic language instead of sermon-like speeches. With regard to the pesantren and ṭarīqah, Hamka launched his critics as an insider who was concern on his fellow Indonesian Muslims’ survival amidst the colonial, post-colonial hegemony and the dichotomy of religion and science that penetrated into their mind and lifestyle.

Hamka echoed al-Ghazali when discussing about the human soul. In his exegetical interpretations of surah al-İsrā’ in Tafsir al-Azhar, Hamka underscored the fact that human soul is predisposed to goodness which is its fiṭrah. He emphasised that diversion against the fiṭrah is caused by desires that made the soul slant towards excessiveness. In order to restore the soul to its fiṭrah, man has to increase his acts of worship
towards God. Hamka deliberated this at length in his work on Sufism namely the *Tasauf Moderen.*

The fact that he conjoined the word modern to *taṣawwuf* is thought provoking. It is known that generally, modernists of his time were resistant of *taṣawwuf.* Some of them blame *taṣawwuf* as the cause of Muslims’ backwardness and stagnancy. Interestingly, Hamka, who regarded himself a modernist, has included *taṣawwuf* in his reform agenda by restoring *taṣawwuf* to its original meaning and to the practices of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Hamka was dedicated in filtering *taṣawwuf* from foreign elements that subdued its purity. Hamka rejected the orientalists’ allegations that *taṣawwuf* is a fusion of Islam with the Greeks thought or other spiritual teachings. He also rejected popular *taṣawwuf* that promotes blind submission to *syai̇kh* (masters), the practice of intercession, and the belief that *syai̇kh* are spiritual guides and the avenue where the greatness and love of Allah can be experienced. He denounced philosophical *taṣawwuf* and their notion of *Wahdatul Wujūd, Nīr Muḥammad or ḥaqīqatu Muḥammad.* Hamka also challenged the *syai̇kh* that they have distorted the meaning of *zuḥd,* *qanāʿah* and *tawakkal.*

Hamka emphasised that an authentic *taṣawwuf* is without *ṭarīqah* (*taṣawuf tanpa tarekat*). He reiterated al-Ghazālī’s teaching of *taṣawwuf* which insists on the purification of the soul by means of the acquisition of virtues and eliminating vices. Hamka defined *taṣawwuf* as;

“Purifying the soul, educate and refine the emotions, enliven the heart to be in constant prayer and ennoble the character, suppressing greed and gluttony, battling excessive lust that goes beyond what is needed to achieve calmness.”

To further explain the above, we refer to his another passage in *Tasauf: Perkembangan dan Pemurniannya* where he referred *taṣawwuf* to a constant inner striving (*mujāhadah*) and spiritual practices (*riyāḍah*) as the means to achieve higher spiritual station (*maqām*). These, in his opinion can be comprehended by complying with the laws governing

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3 Aljunied, pp. 98-99.
rituals and daily conduct and not above and beyond them. The term “tasaufl [sic] moderen” he invented aimed towards imbuing in oneself a noble character inside and outside. He also aimed that taṣawwuf modern can help the Muslims in responding to the reality to realise happiness in this world and in hereafter.

Having born and raised in the Minangkabau family, Hamka did not reserve his comments on the sense of obsession inherited in his society on their exclusive clanship and superiority. He also commented on the Adat Perpatih of the Minangkabau traditional practices that have no relevance to Islam. It is claimed that Hamka’s vigorous critics to Adat Perpatih surfaced in many of his novels. This perhaps was his reflection against the divorce by his own parents due to the pressure of the Adat Perpatih which, in his opinion contradictory to the spirit and teaching of Islam.

The critics emerged in his first novel entitled Si Sabariah (1928) and later in his two famous novels Di Bawah Lindungan Kaabah (1938) and Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck (1938). These novels posed his critics on the people’s mindset that discriminate between the rich and the poor (which gives the impression that it was a phenomenon rampant in his society). Similar critics to the Minangkabau culture and tradition were transpired in Merantau Ke Deli and Dijemput Mamak that narrate the story of a marital failure caused by the ethnocentric mentality of the Minangkabau community.

The novels mentioned above raised a common storyline of an unattainable love due to disparity in social and economic status. He was clever enough to raise the theme of love and affection between man and woman away from the romance cliché of physical attraction and emotional attachment. Rather, his prime motive was to criticise the non-Islamic practices of the local culture and most importantly to convey the message of the ultimate love of God, the truest love, an unconditional love. Apart from his writings, Hamka had also conveyed the message of Islam to the public through programmes on the electronic media known as Mimbar Jumaat and Radio Silaturrahim.

In terms of lifestyle, Hamka advocated for moderation as a pertinent value in life. In his opinion, excessive poverty leads to misery while excessive wealth invites greed. His novel of Tuan Director is explicitly cautious his people on the importance of leading a moderate life. To

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1 Aljunied, Hamka and Islam, p. 92.
realise this, he reminded his people to acquire the value of contentment (qanāʿah) so they will not fall prey to greediness and selfishness. Hamka also reminded his people on the importance of brotherhood and solidarity in the spirit of togetherness “through thick and thin” (susah-senang dirasai bersama).1

There is no doubt that Hamka novels were written in response against the problems surrounding his people. Nevertheless, he had also documented his travelog overseas. The works he wrote titled Mengembara di Lembah Nil (1950), Di Tepi Sungai Dajlah (1952), and Mandi Cahaya di Tanah Suci (1953) narrated his observation and experience of Muslims in the Arab countries. During his visit to Iraq and Egypt, he learnt more about the Sunni and Shiʿa crisis. In Mecca, he was shocked to learn that Muslims dared to commit immoral behaviour despite the blessings of being the inhabitant of the holy city. Hamka had also written an interesting travelog entitled Empat Bulan di Amerika (1954) when he visited the United States of America with a hope that his visit will inspire him to live Islam in a modern setting. He wished that by comparing America to Indonesia, he could learn how best to serve his country in the modern age. Most importantly, he hoped to reflect on his own identity, position and main role in life so he could function and contribute accordingly. Hamka believed that whatever form of progress achieved by America, it is achievable in Indonesia. He figured out that racial discriminations happened in America too. He was also aware that progress in America takes place in absentia of religion and that reality he did not wish to emulate in Indonesia.

Much can be said with regard to Hamka’s expositions on social issues especially those surfaced in his writings. However, it would be essential to explore his daʿwah attempt in reforming local politics. In so doing, it is recommended that we consider the political set-up surrounding him before and after the independence. We found that before the independence, Hamka’s approach was rather aggressive to the colonial. Hamka’s political inclination began in 1925 when he affiliated with Sarekat Islam (SI). Inspired by SI, his political activism was geared towards demanding independence for Indonesia. At a young age, he was also an active member of Muhammadiyyah, a movement that contributed a lot to shaping his political thoughts and da’wah activism. He even participated in guerrilla activities to block the Dutch from returning to Indonesia after the defeat of communism. After Indonesia independence in 1945, he directly participated

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in local politics, but it was not for long as he decided to retire following his released from prison in 1966. Hamka resumed his daʿwah activism with Muhammadiyyah and accepted few positions outside the political circles.

As a daʿie and reformist, Hamka’s messages on the local politics were communicated mostly in the journals and magazines of which he was the editor. He was the chief editor of Pedoman Masyarakat from 1936-1942. In 1959 the first edition of Pandji Masyarakat was released however it was banned in 1960. Pandji Masjarakat was a cultural magazine supported the idea that local traditions in Indonesia had long been influenced by Islam. Its rejection of communism was explicit too. These are central to Hamka’s ideas of political reform. In 1962, Hamka published another magazine entitled Gema Islam which was no less controversial than Pandji Masyarakat specifically on the issue of Indonesian confrontation against Malaysia.

Despite his unreserved political stance, Hamka made it clear that Indonesian politics is inseparable from Islam and its values. Hamka is of the view that religion and state are inseparable, and the relationship is mutual. Religion acts as the fundamental of the national concept of morality. At the same time, religion needs the state for its existence and development.¹ This relationship is plainly transpired in the jargons used by Hamka such as demokrasi taqwa (democracy of taqwa), demokrasi terpimpin (guided democracy), and musyāwwarah. Hamka attempted to develop a synthesis of Islam and democracy which in his opinion, is different from the western secular democracy. Democracy of taqwa in his opinion has its root in Islam under three principles: man as khalifah, musyāwwarah as the practice and taqwa as the basis of morality.² He insisted that Pancasila has its root in Tawḥīd, a belief system embraced by the majority Indonesian.³ He argued that Islam is explicitly mentioned in the introduction of the Undang-Undang Dasar Indonesia (UUDN1945) as it stated that “By the grace of Allah the Almighty and motivated by the noble desire to live a free national life, the people of Indonesia hereby declare their independence”.⁴

Based on the discussion, it may not be an exaggeration to recognising Hamka’s versatile methods and approaches in tackling the issues surrounded his people. His constructive criticism ranging from the issues of the position of woman, obsession to cultural practices, problems of *khurafat* and *bid’ah*, heritage law, social discrimination, Christian missionary, deviant movements such as *Ahmadiyyah*, problems of ideologies as challenging as secularism and communism, political beliefs and religious secretarianism. Indeed, Hamka’s close ties with the grassroots Muslims had given the way for his reform ideas and establishments. Hence it is understandable why he is called by his ‘father-figure’ title which is Buya. A researcher in praise of Hamka stated that Hamka was not only a writer who just sat in his chair and wrote on his desk for a long time. He was also an activist who connected himself with the wider community in his era.¹

### iii. Hamka’s Reform of Education: Its Philosophical Foundation and Establishment

Like many Muslim reformers of his time, Hamka was critical of the dichotomy in education between modern education and Islamic/religious education.² He was equally critical of the secular approach in the modern education as well as the doctrinal fanaticism of the Islamic schools/mađhab. The modern education excluded religion in public affairs hence limiting religion to faith and devotion. The religious education on the other hand, was stuck in intra-religious conflicts pertaining to religious rituals and secretarianism.

Hamka’s personal experience in education is transpired in his educational reform ideas and actions. Hamka’s reform is based on his philosophical foundation of education that postulates the meaning of education, sources of education, the purpose of education and the virtues culminating from education. Hamka relates education with *Tawhīd* as foundational. In this regard, Islamic education does not start from a vacuum. Here the ontological meaning of education is expounded. In terms of the sources of education, Hamka urged the Muslims to open themselves to sources other than the traditional disciplines of Islam. Hamka established that the epistemology of education is based on the

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¹ Akmal, “Hamka, the Father Figure Missing in Indonesia’s National History Education,” in *History and Humanity: Learning on 21st Century* (2nd International Conference on History Education 2018, Bandung, Indonesia: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2018), pp. 50–63.

revealed sources as well as human reasoning and senses. He challenged
the Muslims to be informed in many disciplines in order to keep up with
the demands of the modern life.\(^1\)

However, he warned the Muslims to filter the sources before
integration can take place in the reform. Hamka regarded that the purpose
of education is to transfer the knowledge to improve the condition of man.
This also determines the type of virtues that are expected to be derived
from the educational reform where the axiological dimension of education
is tight to some virtues one is expected to acquire and exhibit in his
personal as well as public life. In this regard, Hamka’s philosophical
foundation of education was geared towards changing human being for
the better, spiritually and morally.

The educational philosophy of Hamka was built from his thought on
man, science, and morality. According to him, man is composed of
intellect, physical and spiritual components. The intellect and spiritual
component differentiate man from the rest of the creation through which
man secured his human quality making him liable to resume a duty as
vicegerent on earth (khalīfah).\(^2\) The purpose of education in Hamka’s view
is to draw someone to recognising his Creator as well as to realise his duty
as the servant of Allah for getting His pleasure (mardātillah) for happiness
in this world and hereafter. By so doing, man is aspired to behave morally.
The execution of the role as khalīfah and servant of Allah is part and parcel
in the actualisation of the concept of the perfect man al-insān al-kāmil.\(^3\)

The other aspect that composes his educational philosophy is the
components of education that became the enablers to his reform missions.
The enablers are the teachers, the curriculum, the students, the methods
and the objective of education. Hamka was concerned that teachers have
great roles in the Islamic education hence they should emulate the
attributes of the prophets.\(^4\) However, Hamka opposed the attitude of blind
submission to teachers as it causes stagnancy of mind and can mislead
someone to glorify the teacher excessively. With regard to the curriculum,

\(^2\) Hamka, *Pelajaran Agama Islam*; M. Nasihuddin, “Percikan Pemikiran Pendidikan
\(^3\) Hamka, *Lembaga Budi*; Asep Eka Nugraha, “Relevansi Konsepsi Pendidikan Hamka
https://doi.org/10.35568/naturalistic.v2i2.160.
\(^4\) Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, 1982); M. Nasihuddin, “Percikan
Pemikiran Pendidikan Hamka,” p. 173.
he emphasised that Islamic education has to be universal, balance and holistic in nature. The curriculum must be based on īmān that relates to the affective domain, ‘ilm that relates to the cognitive domain as well as akhlāq and amal that relate to the psychomotor domain. The curriculum in his opinion must integrate religious sciences with rational sciences. Religious sciences are courses such as al-Qur‘ān, al-Sunnah, sharī‘ah, theology, metaphysics, tašawwuf, and language study. Rational sciences are modern sciences ranging from humanities, geology, applied sciences, technology and philosophy is at its core.

With regard to the method, Hamka insisted that it should be flexible, and he related such flexibility with the Qur‘anic principles of invitation with ḥikmah, goodly advice and argue in gracious manner as stipulated in surah al-Nahl. As for the students, Hamka emphasised that education should focus on nurturing the fiṭrah in man for in it lies the potentials. Fiṭrah which combines with the intellect, soul and senses would be able to realise the acquisition of knowledge and civilisation. Hamka also emphasised the importance of developing critical mind in the students to protect them from stagnancy and rigidity. When discussing about the objective of Islamic education, Hamka stressed that it has to tackle the physical and the spiritual aspects of man that both are equally important to ensure the happiness of man in this world and in the hereafter. Ultimately, education is to develop in man the sense of servanthood to God.

Shobahussurur in his article Pembaruan Pendidikan Islam Perspektif Hamka brilliantly relates Hamka’s educational reform to his da‘wah mission that the nucleus of his reform was by reviving the role of mosque in the Muslims community. Hamka’s secret of success in his educational reform owes to the fact that he had empowered the mosque to go beyond its basic role as a ritual centre. Hamka initiated his da‘wah reform by making the mosque; Masjid Agung al-Azhar as the centre for formal and informal education. It was reported that initially there was a suggestion from the Masyumi party to establish Yayasan Pesantren Islam. Hamka has been consulted to spearhead its establishment. Hamka on the other hand requested for a mosque to be build. There he developed its specific along

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1 M. Nasihuddin, “Percikan Pemikiran Pendidikan Hamka,” p. 175.
2 Hamka, Tasauf Moderen, pp. 78–79.
with its educational function.¹ The establishment of *Masjid Agung al-Azhar* in 1953 as an educational centre has paved the way for the formation of *Yayasan Pesantren al-Azhar*, an Islamic educational board that supervised Islamic education in Indonesia. He later on established a *da‘wah* training centre (*Tabligh* School) that offered what he regarded as modern and systematic education. The school aimed to produce graduates who can become teachers in Islamic education and can play the roles as Muslim *da‘ie* at the same time.² The success of *Masjid Agung al-Azhar* is epitomised in the establishment of Universitas Al-Azhar Indonesia (UAI) in the year 2000, twenty years after Hamka’s departure.

iv. Institutionalisation of *Da‘wah* and the Embodiment of *Taṣawwuf* in *Da‘wah*

Hamka’s involvement in *da‘wah* movement began at the age of seventeen when he became a member of the Muhammadiyyah organisation, and this took place when he was at Yogyakarta in 1924. He was influenced by his teacher, Haji Fachruddin, and he had the opportunity of meeting many prominent Muslim da‘ies and reformers such as Mohammad Natsir and Ahmad Hassan.³ A year later, he returned to Padang Panjang and established a *tabligh* school in 1929 also known as *Tabligh Muhammadiyyah*. The school was a centre that cadre Muslim da‘ies and taught them the best way to communicate Islam.

Muhammadiyyah *da‘wah* orientation championed on educating the masses via formal and non-formal educational approaches. Muhammadiyyah has established schools, *madrasahs* and *tabligh* schools in Java and the curriculum offered religious studies along with modern sciences. Hamka was instrumental in expanding Muhammadiyyah outside Java when he institutionalised the movement in Minangkabau Sumatera Barat in 1925. Muhammadiyyah has recorded great achievements as it was reported that by 1938 it has more than eight hundred branches with 250,000 members 834 mosques, 31 libraries and 1774 schools.⁴

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² Muktaruddin, p. 115.
It is interesting to learn that in addition to his idea of educational and social reform, Hamka was also interested to connect between Taṣawwuf with Muḥammadiyyah movement. Formally, this was introduced under education and curriculum. However, as he brought Taṣawwuf into its authentic meanings by emulating Prophet Muḥammad SAW, he successfully implemented a more balance form of taṣawwuf in the Muḥammadiyyah movement. In Hamka’s opinion, though it was essential for Muslims to get exposed with the modern sciences, there should be an emphasis on the authentic spiritual trainings. In order to do this, Hamka had to counter with the dominant misinterpretation and misrepresentation of Taṣawwuf during his time. Taṣawwuf has largely been associated with ṭarīqat oriented under the guide of syaikhs. Unfortunately, he claimed that some of those syaikhs manipulated the Muslims’ mind by enforcing respect and loyalty to the syaikhs. He alleged that there have been infusion and amalgamation of indigenous and foreign teachings in the tariqat too and it was challenging to demolish them due to the dogma of respect and loyalty to the syaikhs. Some of the syaikhs have misled people by persuading them to denounce from the world and only focus on the afterlife.

The fact that he incorporated taṣawwuf into Muḥammadiyyah curriculum and reform is mind-blowing for the following reasons. First, taṣawwuf was frequently promoted as self-disciplined engagement under the guidance of a master/syaikh who leads certain spiritual path (ṭarīqah) with regimented disciplines. Second, due to its regimented nature, taṣawwuf remains exclusive to certain group of people to the extent they would call themselves the khawasul khāṣ. It is not uncommon for the sufis to represent themselves an elitist group. Third, taṣawwuf mostly promoted as an inward personal spiritual discipline and it is uncommon for taṣawwuf to be infused into structured curriculum, method or approaches. Fourth, generally, there has been tension between the Šūfī movements and the modern reform movements due to the different philosophy, method and approaches they subscribed to. The latter criticised the former as they shun away from politics of the day to focus more on afterlife. Reform movements accused the taṣawwuf groups as one of the reasons for Muslims backwardness and exposed them to colonial manipulation. Taṣawwuf therefore remained marginalised from the mainstream.

However, Hamka had successfully incorporated taṣawwuf into his reform agenda. The book he wrote Tasauf [sic] Moderen challenged the conventional understanding that regarded taṣawwuf and modern values as antithesis. When many reformers especially the major proponents of Islamisation focused on intellectual reform, Hamka on the other hand,
advocated for self-reform through the authentic meaning and practices of *taṣawwuf* as a preamble to intellectual and physical reform.

**Islamisation without Its Brand**

Hamka’s reform ideas are still prevalent presently as his works and recorded preaching continued to inspire his readers and listeners. The secret to its vitality, as expound by Aljunied, lies in the integration and synthesis between traditional wisdom and cosmopolitan reform. Hamka communicated Islam to the laymen by addressing their day-to-day problems. Hamka also believed in the importance of institution to ensure the teachings of Islam continue to grow throughout the time. Hamka’s affiliation with politics and politicians was his top-down approach; a complementary to the bottom-up approach he adopted with the laymen in conveying Islam to people at both levels. All these were his *da’wah* motions, with an emphasis on education and integration of religious sciences with modern sciences are related to Islamisation even though the term escaped from his works and preaching.

Compared to scholars of Islamisation, Hamka’s *da’wah* reform was unlimited to intellectual reform. It is understood from his mission that *da’wah* and education were unlikely to be separated and the role of mosque should be included in synthesising both. He also believed that Muslim da’ies need proper education and training, hence the institutionalisation of education should also focus on producing competent da’ies in order to realise the reform mission at the grassroot level. Even politic was included in his ‘Islamisation’ agenda although it has made him unpopular among the secular Muslims of his time particularly in relation to his view on Pancasila. Yet, despite the controversy faced due to his political views, Hamka was recognised as *Pahlawan Nasional Indonesia* for his love and dedication to his country. Another distinctive characteristic of his ‘Islamisation’ mission was the publications of his creative writings that challenged the non-Islamic local cultural beliefs and dogma. Finally, a more unique feature in his ‘Islamisation’ mission was the screening of Sufism and its indispensability in the construction of Muslims’ personality as a preamble to his entire ‘Islamisation’ mission.

**Conclusion**

Hamka’s *da’wah* reform is compared with Islamisation due to some overlapping elements found in both. The issue as to whether the Islamisation discourse during his time did not capture his attention is indeed a thought-provoking question. Nevertheless, despite its implicitness,
Hamka’s da‘wah reform seemed more inclusive of Islamisation in terms of its meaning and mission. Hence, in presenting his version of ‘Islamisation’ we have presented his da‘wah reform mission towards self, education and institution. This means that his ‘Islamisation’ agenda surpasses the Islamisation discourse that circulated among Muslims scholars and intellectuals. As a matter of fact, Hamka’s ‘Islamisation’ mission aimed towards providing alternative and tangible solutions to the problems faced by his people. He filtered and restored Sufism because it was instrumental to nurture human soul to return to its fitrah. He believed in education as mechanism to further empower human fitrah so that as man learns, he is able to know Allah better, understand his role as khalifah and recognise what are expected of him in this world. Nevertheless, Hamka seemed to understand that education without proper institutionalisation will fall short. Taking the mosque as his point of departure, he developed the people, the curriculum and the system to enable a holistic approach in his ‘Islamisation’ agenda minus its branding, which was at the core of his da‘wah reform.

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