

## From Cairo to the Straits Settlements: Modern *Salafiyyah* Reformist Ideas in Malay Peninsula

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**Abstract:** Early twentieth-century Malay Peninsula witnessed the emergence of Islamic reform movements. The Malay reformists who were discontented with the socio-economic and political conditions of the Malays criticised the Malay elites and called for “reformation” of their society. The Malay reformists derived inspirations for their reformist ideology from the leading Middle Eastern reformists, Muhammad ‘Abduh, Rashīd Riḍā and others, known as *salafiyyah*. Available data suggest that the transmission of *salafiyyah* ideas in particular, and Middle Eastern reformism in general, to Malay Peninsula were made possible by many factors. Of these factors, the roles of the *ḥaramayn*, the centres of learning in Cairo and the invention of printing machines have been least explored. This study attempts to fill in the void in the existing literature.

The reformist movements in the Malay Archipelago have been influenced by Middle Eastern reformist ideas since the late seventeenth century. Particularly influential from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century were the modern *salafiyyah* thinkers like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897), Muḥammad ‘Abduh (d.1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935).<sup>1</sup> They urged the *ummah* to revitalise their social, economic and political conditions and to reinterpret relevant aspects of the Islamic tradition to make them compatible with modern living. These ideas were brought to Malay Peninsula primarily by reform-minded students/scholars who had studied in the Middle East, and through the circulation of *salafiyyah* writings such as *al-Manār*, a journal edited by M. Rashīd Riḍā. The increasing contact between

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Muslims from the Middle East and the Malay Archipelago was due to many factors, including the rapid development in navigation technology, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the monetization of the colonial economy, which benefited certain classes in the colony, and the greater global mobility of populations.<sup>2</sup> Other variables that have not received sufficient scholarly attention are the roles of the *ḥaramayn* and Cairo, and the impact of printed media in the transmission of ideas. This study analyses the role of these three hitherto neglected variables in the spread of the Islamic reformist ideas in the Malay Archipelago in the light of available archival data.

### The Role of the *Ḥaramayn* (Makkah and Madīnah)

*Ḥaramayn*, the two holiest sanctuaries in Makkah and Madīnah, are of special significance for the Muslims. The five obligatory daily prayers are performed facing the direction of *Ka‘bah* in Makkah. Equally significant is the performance of the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage), obligatory upon every able Muslim at least once in his or her lifetime, when Muslims from all parts of the world converge in the *ḥaramayn*. The enthusiasts for knowledge often extend their stay in the *ḥaramayn* after completing their pilgrimage for the purpose of teaching and learning. In brief, *ḥaramayn* has always been “the largest gathering point of Muslims from all over the world, where ‘ulamā’, ṣūfīs, rulers, philosophers, poets and historians met and exchanged information.”<sup>3</sup> The *ḥajj* not only provides the Malay pilgrims extraordinary religious experiences; their sojourn in Makkah also serves as an important mechanism through which pilgrims keep up with major currents of Islamic thought and other important developments in other parts of the Muslim world. The *ḥaramayn* is a key link to the international exchange of Islamic ideas.<sup>4</sup>

It is claimed, based upon the evidence of literary works, that the Malays have been performing this long, difficult, and costly religious journey since the fifteenth century. One of the earliest Malays to make the *ḥajj* was a famous Sumatran mystic (*ṣūfī*), Ḥamzah Fansuri, who studied at the various centres of Islamic learning in the Hijāz during the late sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> However, a dramatic increase in pilgrims from the Malay Archipelago took place from the late nineteenth century onwards. In the case of the Dutch East Indies,

the number of pilgrims increased from 2,000 to 7,000 during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In British Malaya, an average of 2,500 Malays performed the *hajj* in the 1880s, and this number doubled in the 1920s.<sup>6</sup> The spread of reformist ideas to the Malay Archipelago was strongly linked to the growth in pilgrimage traffic in the late nineteenth century. However, the ideas transmitted varied depending upon the circumstances prevalent in the Hijaz and the Middle East.

Thus, the pilgrimage to Makkah of the three famous Minangkabau pilgrims, Haji Miskīn, Haji Abdur Raḥman, and Haji Muḥammad Ārif coincided with the period in which the Wahhābīs became a dominant force in Arabia.<sup>7</sup> It has been argued that the three pilgrims were influenced by the uncompromising and radical *Wahhābī* approach towards un-Islamic accretions and superstitious beliefs.<sup>8</sup> Upon their return to West Sumatra in 1803, they started a vigorous campaign to reform the local religious practices in Minangkabau. They also believed that the use of force was necessary to bring the Muslims back to the pristine teachings of Islam. The case of the *Padri* movement demonstrates the importance of the pilgrimage experience, for it clearly served as one of the contributing factors in the rise of the *Padri* movement from the late eighteenth century up to the second decade of the nineteenth century in West Sumatra.<sup>9</sup>

Another major intellectual trend that was influential from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries was the reformist thought espoused by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ‘Abduh. Hadji Abdul Ḥalīm, the founder of the Union of Ulama in West Java, went to Makkah in 1909 for the pilgrimage, stayed there for three years, and was exposed to the writings of al-Afghānī and ‘Abduh. He pointed out that the writings of ‘Abduh and al-Afghānī were often discussed among his Sumatran friends.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the Malay pilgrims who remained in Hijāz to study established direct contact with prominent Islamic scholars there, including the two prominent seventeenth century Hijāzī ‘ulamā’, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1661) and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī (d. 1690).<sup>11</sup> These two ‘ulamā’ were renowned for their contribution to promoting what John Voll termed as neo-ṣūfīsm, the type of ṣūfīsm that does not involve pantheistic and unorthodox elements of mysticism, and emphasised the reconciliation of ṣūfīsm and *sharī‘ah*.<sup>12</sup> While there

is a dearth of information on the number of Malay students who studied under the famous Ḥijāzī scholars, available documents suggest that two famous Malay ‘ulamā’, Yūsuf al-Makasārī (b.1626) of Celebes, and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf (ca. 1615-1693) of Aceh studied with Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī.<sup>13</sup> Upon returning to their respective homelands, Yūsuf launched a reformist campaign aimed at the purification of Islam from the remnants of animistic beliefs and practices in south Celebes. In the Sultanate of Aceh, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf became a strong proponent of the doctrine of neo-ṣūfism which is opposed to the *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the pantheistic doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabī) championed by Ḥamzah Fansurī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumātrānī.<sup>14</sup>

As for the network of the Middle Eastern and Malay ‘ulamā’ from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, available information suggests that a significant *Jāwī* community existed in Makkah in the late nineteenth century. This scholarly community was crucial for the Malay students and pilgrims because they “tended to look up to their fellow countrymen who settled in Makkah to give them a certain definite lead.”<sup>15</sup> A key Minangkabau figure who contributed significantly to the spread of reform consciousness among the Malay students and scholars was Minangkabau-born Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb (ca., 1860-1916). Although based in Makkah, Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb, who was aware of the peculiar problems confronting the Muslims in the Malay world, channelled his religious ideas through his writings and through the Malay students and pilgrims who studied with him in Makkah.<sup>16</sup> Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb emphasised the significance of strict adherence to *sharī‘ah* vis-à-vis the ‘*ādāt* (customary) matrilineal inheritance system as was prevalent in West Sumatra. He also launched a vehement attack on the *naqshabandīyah* ṣūfī order in Minangkabau, on the ground that it deviated from the pristine teachings of Islam.<sup>17</sup>

Because of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb’s prominent position as the Imām for the Shāfi‘ī school of law in the *Masjid al-ḥarām*, many students from various parts of the Malay Archipelago–Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Malaya–came to study under him. His students included those who later became leading reformist figures in the Malay world including Shaykh Ṭāhir, Shaykh Muḥammad Jamīl Jambik, Haji Abdul Karīm Amrullah, Haji Abdullah Aḥmad of West Sumatra, and Kiyai Aḥmad Dahlan of Java.

Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb was antagonistic to ‘Abduh’s reformist ideas, probably because ‘Abduh did not adhere to any specific *madhhab* (school of jurisprudence). However, Aḥmad was open-minded and did not prevent his students from reading modern *salafiyyah* writings such as *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā* and *Tafsīr al-Manār*. Thus, although he cannot really be credited with introducing the modern *salafiyyah* ideas to his students, his influence on the Malay Archipelago cannot be downplayed. The religious ideas of his cousin and student, Ṭāhir Jalāluddīn, were a combination of Aḥmad al-Minangkabawī’s puritanical reform and modern *salafiyyah* thought.

Although the *ḥaramayn* was not the major centre of modern *salafiyyah* thought, many of the early *salafī*-oriented reformist movements in the Dutch East Indies were pioneered by those who had studied in Makkah. Yatim contends that the transmission of the *salafiyyah* reformist currents was not possible through the official educational process in Makkah and Madīnah. Rather, it was transmitted through “reform-minded” pilgrims who had come to Makkah from other areas of the Muslim world such as Egypt that had been experiencing comparatively strong tides of *salafī* reformism, and these reformist pilgrims in turn introduced reformist currents during their stint in the *ḥaramayn*. A case in point is the experience of a prominent Indonesian (Javanese) reformer, K.H.A. Dahlan, who was in Makkah in 1890 and 1902 where he studied with Aḥmad al-Minangkabawī, the opponent of ‘Abduh’s reformist thought.<sup>18</sup> Simultaneously, Dahlan was exposed to reformist ideas through other “reform-minded” pilgrims whom he met in Makkah. In Makkah, Dahlan also met Riḍā through the good office of a certain Haji Bāqir.<sup>19</sup> It is probable that his own reading of modern *salafiyyah* writings and meetings with Riḍā played an important role in the development of Dahlan’s ideas. After his return to Java, Dahlan further deepened his knowledge of ‘Abduh’s ideas by reading ‘Abduh’s writings.<sup>20</sup> It is well established that Dahlan played a crucial role in promoting ‘Abduh’s reformist ideas in Java.

Despite scarcity of information on pilgrims from the Malay Peninsula during the same period, it can safely be assumed that their exposure to *salafiyyah* ideas was quite similar to that of their colleagues from other parts of the Malay world. It must be

remembered that the Malays from the various places who shared cultural affinity were collectively known as the *Jawi* people, an all-inclusive term covering all people of Malay stock, most notably those from various parts of the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and southern Thailand.

### Cairo

Besides the *haramayn*, the Malays looked to Cairo as an important centre of Islamic learning and religious authority. The pre-eminence of Cairo was primarily due to the existence of the oldest and most celebrated Islamic academic institute in the Muslim world, Al-Azhar University.<sup>21</sup> Christian Snouck Hurgronje considered this religious learning centre as “the Athens of Shafi‘ī learning,” which enjoyed tremendous respect among many Muslims.<sup>22</sup> This reputation had attracted Muslims from the Malay world to travel to Cairo in pursuit of religious learning. It should be noted that there are two distinct phases in Malay students’ sojourn in Cairo. The first phase spanned roughly the 1870s up to the early twentieth century and witnessed only a small number of Malay students in Cairo. The second phase, which started from the 1920s, saw the presence of a larger number of Malay students in Cairo.

It has been noted that a small *riwāq al-Jāwah* (Javanese portico) had existed in Cairo since the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> *Riwāq* is an architectural term with varying meanings. In the case of al-Azhar it refers to “spacious loggias, rear rooms, upper chambers, cellars and storage spaces, assigned to residential units, each one of which was endowed to care for students of some particular country, Egyptian province or code of law.”<sup>24</sup> The *riwāq al-Jāwah* was located to the right of the old mosque, between the *salmāniyyah riwāq* and the *riwāq al-shawām*. It was small and only provided eleven loaves every two days. There were very few people living in the *riwāq al-Jāwah*, and the Shaykh responsible for its supervision was Shaykh Isma‘īl Muḥammed al-Jāwī.<sup>25</sup> Because not many Malay students came to study in Cairo at that time, Shaykh Wan Aḥmad, the first known Malay student there, made personal efforts to encourage his Malay brothers to pursue Islamic learning at al-Azhar. Consequently, an increasing number of Malay students, particularly those who had studied in Makkah, came to study in Cairo. According to Redzuan,

the trend before World War Two was that Malay students would go to Makkah first, then proceed to Cairo to continue their education. The experience of being in Cairo presented an opportunity to the Malay students to establish contacts with intellectual circles and become familiar with Arabic-Islamic writings, which proved to be crucial in the formation of their Islamic mentality. For those Malay students who sojourned in Cairo during the period in which the reformist trend was in ascendancy, their stint in Cairo was pivotal in exposing them to modern *salafiyah* discourse. As a result, those who were inspired by *salafiyah* thinking returned to their places of origin and promoted such ideas there. In this regard, it is relevant to present a sketch of the Malay-Indonesian students' experiences in Cairo.

The first known Malay student in Cairo was a Makkah-based scholar, Shaykh Wan Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, who studied at al-Azhar University in the 1870s. His sojourn in Cairo coincided with that of Afghānī's. Wan Aḥmad's opposition to colonialism in the Muslim world and his profound contribution to promoting Pan-Islamism among the Malays indicate that he was influenced by the Pan-Islamic idea of al-Afghānī, and it is plausible that he was a student of Afghānī.<sup>26</sup> Convinced of the important role of Sulṭān ʿAbdul Ḥamīd and the Turks in defending the interests of Muslims worldwide, Wan Aḥmad wrote *Ḥadīqat al-Azhar wa al-Riyāḥīn* in 1886. In this book, he allocated a special section on the history of the Ottomans from its inception to the reign of ʿAbdul Ḥamīd. Wan Aḥmad praised the Ottomans as a dynasty *par excellence* entitled to the respect of every Muslim.

A prominent figure who is known as the first exponent of ʿAbduh's ideas in the Malay world was Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhīr Jalāluddīn.<sup>27</sup> Prior to his sojourn in Cairo, Ṭāhīr had resided in Makkah since 1881. After his long residence in Makkah Ṭāhīr went to Cairo in 1894 to pursue religious learning at al-Azhar University. Ṭāhīr maintained that his years in Cairo opened his eyes, and were therefore pivotal to his intellectual formation. Due to his love for this institution, he later added al-Azharī to his name. During his years in al-Azhar, he stayed at *riwāq al-ḥaramayn* and earned an *ʿilmiyyah* degree.<sup>28</sup>

While in Cairo, Ṭāhīr attended formal learning at al-Azhar, frequented many lectures delivered by Egyptian reformers and

reportedly had direct contact with ‘Abduh.<sup>29</sup> Though there is no documented evidence of his contact with ‘Abduh, there exists evidence of his direct contact with ‘Abduh’s closest associate, Rashīd Riḍā. The evidence is Ṭāhir’s book entitled *Kitāb Ta’ayīd Muttabi‘ al-Sunnah fī al-Radd ‘alā al-Qā’il bi al-Sunniyyat-Rak’atayn qabla al-Jum‘ah* (The book of rejection of those who argue for the Supererogatory Prayer before the Friday Prayer), which the renowned *salafiyyah* scholar, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā introduced as follows:

I have examined this work written by my old friend and loyal associate the respected Ustādh Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir Jalāluddīn. This book ...is a translation of his work from Malay into Arabic and establishes the truth on the issues discussed with concrete and convincing Islamic evidences.<sup>30</sup>

Armed with his experience in Cairo, familiarity with *salafiyyah* works, and even friendship with Riḍā, Ṭāhir played a pioneering role in the publication of *al-Imām*, and served as its first founding editor to promote *salafī* reformist ideas. He also served as mentor to many enthusiastic reformists who had yet to have extensive experience and exposure to the Middle Eastern intellectual trends. A case in point was Sayyid Shaykh Aḥmad al-Hādī, a strong champion of ‘Abduh’s ideas in Malaya.

It is probable that al-Hādī was not exposed to reformist ideas through direct contact with ‘Abduh. Rather, as William Roff argues, al-Hādī was first introduced to *salafiyyah* thought by Ṭāhir. Before travelling to the Middle East, Al-Hādī had a established close friendship with Ṭāhir.<sup>31</sup> It was in the Middle East that al-Hādī established contact with ‘Abduh’s disciple, Rashīd Riḍā.<sup>32</sup> Ṭāhir’s presence in Malaya empowered the reformists in their confrontation against the traditional Muslim scholars. Although the reformists had other eloquent and effective writers in their fold such as al-Hādī, Ṭāhir possessed something that many other reformists lacked, namely, his solid credentials in Islamic learning as a graduate of the famous al-Azhar University in Cairo and the Islamic learning centres in Makkah. Despite their disagreement with Ṭāhir’s ideas, the traditionalists still had to take him seriously because of his reputation and stature as a scholar.

Ṭāhir’s role in the transmission of modern *salafiyyah* ideas extended beyond Malaya. In fact, he made significant contributions



to its spread in Minangkabau. The first link between Ṭāhir and Minangkabau reformists was through three students who studied with him in Makkah during the later years of the nineteenth century (ca. 1897-1899). These students were Haji ‘Abdul Karīm Amrullah, Haji ‘Abdullah Aḥmad, and Shaykh Djamil Djambek.<sup>33</sup> Upon their return to Minangkabau, these students emerged as prominent ‘*ulamā*’ and the leading voices of Islamic reform in the area. Another student, Haji Rasūl, has left us clear evidence of Ṭāhir’s role in this process. According to Haji Rasūl’s son, Haji ‘Abdul Mālīk Karīm Amrullah (also known as HAMKA):

Apart from learning Islamic astronomy from Taher, my father (Haji Rasul) had also learned about reformist ideas from the latter who openly expressed his leaning to the reformist ideas of Afghani and ‘Abduh.<sup>34</sup>

Besides Ṭāhir, Haji Saleh Masri (1875-1965), was another Malay student who studied in Cairo during the end of the nineteenth century. Haji Saleh, an ‘*ālim*’ from the Malay Peninsula, also received his education at al-Azhar, Cairo. Among the first Malays from Malaya to study there in 1899,<sup>35</sup> Haji Saleh considered ‘Abduh’s reformist ideas as a new inspiration in his life. Haji Saleh returned to Bukit Mertajam, in present-day Seberang Perai, Malaya in 1905, and the following year he established the Madrasah al-Masriyah.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1920s, the number of Malay students in Cairo increased significantly. By 1925, there were about eighty students from the Malay Peninsula in Cairo and about 200 from Indonesia.<sup>37</sup> This increase is attributable to the general economic improvement resulting from rising world demands for Malayan rubber and Sumatran coffee. The early twentieth century saw the emergence of the *madrasah* system in Malaya. The religious learning in the *madrasah* was more organised than the early system of Islamic learning in Malaya. The graduates of the *madrasah* had a tendency to pursue their education in Cairo instead of Makkah because the religious education in Cairo was more suitable to the *madrasah* system in Malaya in contrast to the Makkan system, which was deemed more adapted to informal Islamic learning.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Cairo offered both religious learning and political experience as testified by Haji Othman ‘Abdullah, “In Makkah one can study religion only; in Cairo politics as well.”<sup>39</sup> In Cairo, Malay-Indonesian students became aware of the importance

of having a student association to look after their welfare. This led to the foundation of an association named al-Jam‘iyyah al-Khayriyyah al-Ṭalabiyyah al-Azhariyyah al-Jawa (The Welfare Association of Malay Students at al-Azhar) in Cairo, in 1923. Although the primary function of the association was to provide welfare services to the Malay students, its formation exposed the students to the politics of collective action through their involvement in a common students’ organisation.

In addition to welfare activities, the Jam‘iyyah also published their own journals, the most notable of which was the *Seruan Azhar* (The Call of al-Azhar) that received significant financial support from a wealthy student from Malaya, Haji Othmān bin ‘Abdullah. The journal contained, in addition to discussions on typical religious matters, articles on political themes revolving around three major issues: Pan-Islamism, Pan-Malayanism (Union between Indonesia and Malaya), and anti-colonialism. This provocative journal found its way into British Malaya, but was banned in Dutch East Indies.<sup>40</sup> In contrast to *al-Imām*, which was more cautious in discussing issues related to politics and British colonialism in Malaya, the *Seruan Azhar* represented a new height in the reformist tendency in Malaya in that it did not refrain itself from making overt political criticism of the colonial regimes in Malaya and Indonesia.

In Cairo, two Malayan students integral to the Jam‘iyyah were Haji Othmān ‘Abdullah (b. ca., 1914) and Abu Bakar Ashaari (b. 1904). Haji Othmān came from a very wealthy Malay family. He made his first pilgrimage in 1920, at the age of fifteen. He lived in Makkah for five years studying Islam in the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* from his teacher, Haji ‘Abdullah Tembusai of Minangkabau. Dissatisfied with the learning he received in Makkah, Othmān left for Cairo in 1925, to study at al-Azhar University. After being away from Malaya for about nine years, Othmān returned to his homeland at the end of 1929. Because of Othman’s long involvement with politically-conscious student circles in Cairo and his short experience in Europe, those in authority considered his religious views too unconventional and modern. Othmān believed that there was an urgent need to transform the social, educational and economic conditions of the Malay society. Othmān’s major contribution lay in the realm of Malay politics where he took part in the formation of Kesatuan

Melayu Muda (the Union of Young Malays), whose major aims were to rid Malaya of British rule, and to form a nation-state consisting of both Malaya and Indonesia.

The second figure, Abu Bakar, was born in Penang in 1904, and went to study at al-Azhar in 1925. While in Cairo, Abu Bakar was actively involved in Jam‘iyyah activities. He returned to Malaya in 1932. Unlike Othmān, Abu Bakar was not actively involved in politics. During his early days in Malaya, Abu Bakar contributed to the cause of reform through his writings. His reformist contribution became more substantial when he moved to Perlis, the northeastern state of Malaya, to serve as a religious teacher. He was later promoted to the position of Chief Imām of the state mosque, from where Abu Bakar promoted his reformist brand of Islamic law, which did not adhere to any particular school of Islamic law.<sup>41</sup>

There were numerous others who, in Cairo, were exposed not only to *salafiyyah* reformist ideas but also to political activism. As a result, after returning to their homeland they played an important role in introducing the ideas and experiences they gained in Cairo to Malaya.

## Printing

The invention of the printing press in Europe in the fifteenth century marked a “revolution” in the transmission of knowledge. It facilitated mass-production of printed books and minimised dependence on the traditional oral systems of learning.<sup>42</sup> In much of the Muslim world, print technology became established only in the second half of the nineteenth century, almost 400 years after it was introduced in Europe. Once printing became established in the Muslim world, it proved to be a significant means of disseminating ideas to a broader Muslim audience in various parts of the world.

The advent of print enabled the *salafiyyah* thinkers to channel their ideas through printed books and periodicals to the Malay-Indonesian Muslims. The Middle Eastern periodicals that played a crucial role in propagating *salafiyyah* ideas were *al-‘Urwah al-wuthqā* and *al-Manār*. The former, a short-lived weekly newspaper, was jointly published by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ‘Abduh, whose objective was to “remind the Muslim peoples on the need to unite their forces against Western aggression and

exploitation.”<sup>43</sup> The first issue appeared on March 13, 1884 and the last, its eighteenth issue published on October 16, 1884. *Al-Manār* was first published in 1898 in Cairo, and continued until 1935. The basic objectives of *al-Manār* were to articulate and disseminate the ideas of religious reform, and to preserve the unity of the Muslim *ummah*. Its backbone was Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, ‘Abduh’s closest associate and disciple.<sup>44</sup>

The circulation of *al-Manār* in the Malay world was reportedly relatively wide. *Al-Manār* was regularly read in various parts of the Dutch East Indies, despite the Dutch efforts to ban it from entering the country. In Malaya, the circulation was not merely limited to the Straits Settlements, which enjoyed greater freedom of religion, but also reached Kelantan, a northeastern Malay state.<sup>45</sup> Though *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā* was possibly not as widely circulated as *al-Manār*, it did reach the Malay audience.<sup>46</sup>

The relatively wide circulation of Middle Eastern reformist literature in the Malay Archipelago was facilitated through a number of channels. Personal copies of *al-Manār* were obtained by some pilgrims and students who had been in the Middle East, and hand carried into the Malay world. As the original copies of *al-Manār* were probably not readily available to most readers in the region, handwritten extracts were made and circulated to interested readers in the region.<sup>47</sup> A person who, according to Rashīd Riḍā, played a crucial role in circulating *al-Manār* in Singapore, Java, and other parts of the Malay world was Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Aqīl of Singapore.<sup>48</sup> In the Dutch East Indies, *salafiyyah* writings were smuggled through certain ports where Dutch supervision was lax. G.F. Pijper, advisor to the Dutch Government for native and Arab affairs, and the censor of Arab-Islamic literature in Indonesia, did not ban Aḥmad Surkitti’s shipment of *al-Manār* to Indonesia.<sup>49</sup>

Another means of dissemination was through direct subscription to *al-Manār* in Cairo as in the case of Shaykh Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dīn, who subscribed to *al-Manār* from the inception of its publication. Ṭāhir also ordered many other *salafiyyah* writings directly from the publisher in Cairo, most notably *Tafsīr al-Manār*. Copies of Ṭāhir’s correspondence with Dār al-Manār are available in the National Archives, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia under the collection known as Shaykh Ṭāhir’s Personal Papers. In one of his letters to the publisher,

Ṭāhir brought to the attention of Rashīd Riḍā that he was unhappy with the fact that he often received the *al-Manār* journal and several other books that he ordered directly from the publisher late.<sup>50</sup> Besides Ṭāhir and Haji Wan Mūsā, A. Hassan, a prominent Indonesian reformist who originated from Singapore was a regular subscriber of *al-Manār* as well as of *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā*.<sup>51</sup>

Malay-Indonesian Muslims were not merely passive consumers of these Middle Eastern periodicals. In fact, they were active participants in this religious discourse. As Juta Bluhm writes, there was interaction between *al-Manār* readers in the Malay world and the editors of the periodicals. In this regard, the Malay individuals from Malaya, Kalimantan, Sumatra and other parts of the region wrote to those editors seeking advice and offering opinions on a broad range of theological questions, economic and environmental problems, technological advances, issues of current political concern such as patriotism, and a range of other matters.<sup>52</sup>

In 1930, Shaykh Muḥammad Bashūnī b. ‘Imrān, a prominent ‘ālim in Sambas, West Kalimantan, wrote to *al-Manār* requesting Rashīd Riḍā to ask Shakīb Arslān, Riḍā’s reformist colleague, to answer his queries on two important issues.<sup>53</sup> First, why are the Muslims, especially those in the Malay world in a state of weakness and decline? Second, why are non-Muslim nations advanced, and is it possible for Muslims to emulate their model of advancement without compromising their religious principles? In response, Arslān wrote a series of articles in *al-Manār* which were later published as a book entitled *Li mādhā ta’akhhkar al-Muslimūn wa limādhā taqaddam ghayruhum?* (Why are the Muslims backward and why are others advanced?).<sup>54</sup> *Al-Manār* not only provided guidance to the reformists in the Malay world, it also inspired them to publish their own journals and other writings promoting a parallel reformist agenda locally. This was facilitated by the availability of a number of hand lithograph presses in Singapore in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup>

### ***Al-Imām***

Utilising the available print technology, the reformists promoted their ideas through their own publications, the most important of which was *al-Imām*, published in Singapore in 1906.<sup>56</sup> Among the key figures instrumental in the publication of the periodical were Shaykh Ṭāhir,

Sayyid Shaykh al-Hādī (hereafter, al-Hādī) and Haji Abbās Muḥammad Ṭāhā. The objective of *al-Imām* according to its editorial is to remind those who are forgetful and to awaken those who are asleep. *Al-Imām* was modelled on *al-Manār* and most of the articles published in it were, in fact, translations and adaptations from *al-Manār*. However, *al-Imām* also contained articles addressing the local problems such as the Muslims' backwardness, their domination by foreign powers, their ignorance of modern knowledge, their laziness, their complacency, their conflicts and the lack of cooperation among themselves.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to Malaya, *al-Imām* was circulated in Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi and had agents in Jakarta, Tjiandur, Surabaya, Semarang, Pontianak, Sambas, and Makasar.<sup>58</sup> This reformist periodical played a pivotal role as "cultural brokers, translating the new purity, rationalism, and vitality of Islam into the Malay language - the Archipelago's *lingua franca* - and also into terms relevant to a local, Malay-Indonesian frame of reference."<sup>59</sup> However, after two years of operation, as a result of financial problems, *al-Imām* ceased publication. Later, al-Hādī continued to serve the reformist agenda by publishing two other reformist periodicals, *al-Ikhwān* (1926) and *Saudara* (1928).

Local reformists also published other forms of writings ranging from religious treatises to novels to promote their reformist agenda to a wider audience. The most prolific reformist who carried out this task vigorously was the multi-talented al-Hādī, who translated several of 'Abduh's and Qāsim Amīn's works into Malay. In 1927, al-Hādī translated 'Abduh's *Tafsīr Juz' 'Ammā* (Exegesis of the Last Section of the Qur'ān) and in the subsequent year, he published *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥah* (Exegesis of the Opening Chapter of the Qur'an) in Malay.<sup>60</sup> Inspired by 'Abduh, al-Hādī published his own work, *Kitāb Agama Islam dan Akal* (Islam and Reason).<sup>61</sup>

Between 1926 and 1928, al-Hādī wrote a series of articles entitled *Alam Perempuan* (Women's World) in his periodical, *al-Ikhwān*. The articles were then edited and published as *Kitāb Alam Perempuan* (The Book on Women's World).<sup>62</sup> In this work, al-Hādī discussed the position of women in Islam and the urgent need to provide educational opportunities for women to liberate them from customary and religious restrictions. Al-Hādī also demonstrated

scripturally and rationally the significance of women's contributions to their community, society and country.

Besides religious treatises, al-Hādī also wrote novels to promote *salafiyyah* reformist ideas. His most famous novel is *Faridah Hanum or Hikayat Setia Asyik Kepada Maksyuknya atau Afandi dan Faridah Hanum* (Faridah Hanum or the Tale of the Loyalty of a Lover to the Beloved, or Afandi and Faridah Hanum) was published in 1926. This novel is set in Cairo and is a story of the forbidden love between Faridah Hanum and Mahir Afandi, both educated children of aristocrats. Faridah's relationship with Afandi does not receive her father's blessing who has already arranged her marriage to Badrudin, her own cousin.

Al-Hādī's narrative was significantly influenced by 'Abduh's and Qāsim Amīn's ideas. Faridah Hanum, the central character is depicted as an ideal Muslim woman: beautiful, educated, literate in both English and French, independent and critical, a model to be emulated by Muslim women. The novel was a huge success and the first edition was sold out within a year, to be followed by many reprints. According to Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (ZA'BA), the novel was "read from one end of the Peninsula to the other, and the author suddenly found himself famous."<sup>63</sup>

Excluded from the newly-created Islamic bureaucracy which was almost exclusively controlled by the traditional '*ulamā'*', the reformists had to work from outside the system. They found journalism and writing as a suitable ground to launch their criticism against the traditional Malay elite and '*ulamā'*'. Through this channel, they managed to promote the *salafiyyah* ideas to a wider audience, introducing and contextualising progressive *salafiyyah* ideas in terms relevant to the local, Malay frame of reference.

## Conclusion

The transmission of reformist ideas to the Malay world was the result of a combination of various factors. It was facilitated by both "traditional" factors and new conditions associated with modernity. The *ḥaramayn* and Cairo which traditionally functioned as pivotal centres of Islamic learning and activities continued to attract considerable number of Muslims from the Malay Archipelago. These Muslims became the agents of the transmission of ideas. Exposed



to and inspired by the thought of modern *salafiyyah*, they brought the reformist ideas home. The dissemination of reformist literature, especially *al-Manār* and *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā* in the Malay world was instrumental in spreading the reformist influence in the region. The introduction of steamships, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 facilitated increasing contacts between the Malay World and the Middle East. In brief, a complex interaction of processes, as analyzed in this work, contributed to the diffusion of modern *salafiyyah* to the Malay-Indonesian world.

One may well ask what made the *salafiyyah* ideas appealing to some Muslims in the Malay world. One explanation is that the period of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries represented a phase in history when Muslims throughout much of the Muslim world were confronted with new challenges and changes brought about by colonialism. The encounter with modernity presented a dilemma for the Muslims – whether or not to embrace those “innovations” and how the adoption of modern institutions would affect their faith.

The dominant Islamic world-view largely controlled by the traditional ‘*ulamā*’ tended to be less receptive to modern institutions and the West in general because these were perceived to be a threat to the Muslim faith. However, this defensive attitude did not satisfy those Muslims who wanted to be successful in both religious as well as worldly affairs. In contrast to the traditional Islam, the *salafiyyah* thinkers, as exemplified by ‘Abduh, encouraged Muslims to adopt positive aspects of Western institutions and did not see it as objectionable from the Islamic standpoint. Thus, one key issue that made *salafiyyah* thought appealing to Muslims in the area was the progressive nature of its thinking.

Apart from that, the *salafiyyah* figures also dealt with the question of the internal decay of Muslims and urged the believers to get themselves out of their material and spiritual decadence by returning to the *Qur’ān* and *Sunnah*. This pivotal aspect of the modern *salafiyyah* doctrine related well to the Muslims in the Malay world, as they believed that the society they lived in had also encountered a similar problem. Thus, given the resonance of the modern *salafiyyah* thinking, its clear connection with the Malay society and culture, it is not surprising that the *salafiyyah* managed to exercise a



significant influence among literate and reform-minded Muslims in Malaya.

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### Notes

1. In the Arabic lexicon, the noun *salaf* refers to the virtuous forefathers, and the *salafi* is a person who relies on the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* as the sole sources of religious rulings. Most Muslim scholars agree that the first three generations of Muslims are *salafīs*, but the issue of who is considered a member of the *salaf* after those three generations remains contested. In this study 'Abduh's stream of thinking is designated as *salafiyyah* because it is a term preferred by its followers. It should be noted that 'Abduh's thinking did not lead to a single direction. A group led by Qāsim Amīn promoted the liberal tendency, while the group spearheaded by Rashīd Riḍā propagated a conservative reform. See A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 161-162; R.S. Humphreys, *Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 190.

2. Mona Abaza, *Islamic Education: Perceptions and Exchanges, Indonesian Students in Cairo* Cahier d'Archipel no. 23, (Paris: Association Archipel EHESS, 1994), 38.

3. A. Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism in Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, 1992), 136.

4. John O. Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), 56.

5. Hamzah flourished intellectually between 1550 and 1600. M. Bukhari Lubis, *The Ocean of Unity* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1994), 274; also Mohd Redzuan Othman, "The Middle East Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1994), 7.

6. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), 38; Idem, "Southeast Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century," in *Cambridge History of Islam*, eds. P.M. Holt *et al.* vol. 2 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 173; M.B. McDonnell, "Patterns of Muslim Pilgrimage from Malaysia, 1885-1985," in *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, eds. D.F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (London, New York: Routledge, 1990), 111. Furthermore, Sarim has noted that, the year of 1927 saw over 12,000 Malays who performed the *hajj*, which

was the highest record up to the end of the 1920s. M. Sarim Mustajab, "Islam dan Perkembangannya dalam Masyarakat Melayu di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu" (Master's thesis, National University of Malaysia, 1975), 77.

7. The followers of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb call themselves the *Muwaḥḥidūn* (the Unitarians). Their opponents identified the followers of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as the *Wahhābīs*. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb allied with Muḥammad Ibn al-Saʿūd, the ruler of al-Dirʿiyyah, in 1745 and in 1746, they declared *jihād* on those who opposed *Wahhābī* teachings. By 1801, the Saudi controlled much of the Arabian peninsula. The *Wahhābīs* eventually captured Makkah and Madīnah in 1805, and 1806, respectively. See J. Natana Delong-Bas, *Wahhābī Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihād* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

8. Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera*, 4th ed. (Jakarta, Indonesia: Umminda Publisher, 1982), 14. Hamka did not mention specific dates concerning the year the three pilgrims performed the *hajj*. Nevertheless, all the sources agree that the three *hajīs* returned to West Sumatra in 1803. See also A.J.S. Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 26 (1965): 272.

9. For an analysis of the *Padri* movement, see C. Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra 1784-1847* (London: Curzon Press, 1983).

10. D. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973), 69.

11. Azyumardi Azra, *Islamic Renaissance in Southeast Asia* (Jakarta: Pt Remaja, 1999), 127.

12. John. O. Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, vol. 1, 58.

13. In the case of the Malay Peninsula, ʿAbd al-Mālik ʿAbdullah (1650-1736), who stayed in Makkah for twelve years, also studied with Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī. Prior to his sojourn to Hījāz, ʿAbd al-Mālik received his early education in Aceh under the guidance of ʿAbd al-Raʿūf.

14. Azyumardi Azra, *Islamic Renaissance in Southeast Asia* (Jakarta: Pt Remaja, 1999), 132. For details on ʿAbd al-Raʿūf's refutation of the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, see Oman Fathurahman, *Questioning Waḥdat al-Wujūd: The Case of AbdurRauf Singkel in the Seventeenth Century Aceh* (Jakarta, Mizan Press, 1999).

15. C. Snouk Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. J.H. Monahan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 245.

16. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia*, 39.
17. The *naqshabandiyyah* order was founded by Shaykh Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-Naqshabandi of Bukhārā (1317-1389). This ṣūfī order has a reputation as more *sharī'ah*-oriented than most other ṣūfī orders. Syed Naquib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of ṣūfīsm as Understood and Practiced among the Malays* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 62-3. It is probable that this mystical order was introduced in Minangkabau in the first half of the seventeenth century by a certain 'ālim from Pasai, who came to Minangkabau and then stayed for some time. Shaykh Aḥmad's denunciation of the *Naqshabandiyyah* was published as *Fatwā tentang Tarikat Naqshabandijah* [Religious Ruling on the *Naqshabandiyyah* Order] (Medan, Indonesia: Islamijah, 1965).
18. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia*, 39-40, 85.
19. Djarnawi Hadikusuma, *Aliran Pembaharuan Islam dari Jamaludin al-Afghani sampai K.H.A. Dahlan* (Jogjakarta, Indonesia: Persatuan, n.d.), 64.
20. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia*, 12.
21. Md. Sidin Ahmad and Mohd. Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1999), 46.
22. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life Customs and Learning*, trans. J.H. Mohanam (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931, repr., 1970), 185.
23. Abaza, *Islamic Education: Perceptions and Exchanges, Indonesian Students in Cairo*, 38-9.
24. Bayard Dodge, *Al-Azhar: A Millennium of Muslim Learning* (Washington D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1961), 95.
25. Abaza, *Islamic Education: Perceptions and Exchanges, Indonesian Students in Cairo*, 38-9.
26. For details on Shaykh Wan Muḥammad and the indirect appeal of al-Afghānī's Pan-Islamism, see Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "Al-Afghani's Pan-Islamic Ideas and the Turks Appeal: Perceptions and Influence on Malay Political Thought," Paper presented at the International Conference on Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: 23 February 1998).
27. HAMKA (Haji 'Abd al-Mālik Karīm Amrullah) argued that Shaykh Ṭāhir was the first exponent of 'Abduh's thinking in the Malay world, see Hamka, *Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1961), 16.
28. Anonymous, "Tarikh Hidup al-Falaki al-Syahir: Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin" [The Biography of the Famous Astronomer: Shaykh Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dīn], *al-Taqwī*, October 1947, 7.

29. This information is based on oral confirmation Shaykh Ṭāhir made to his disciple Abū Bakar Ḥamzah in 1955. See Abū Bakar Ḥamzah, *Al-Imam and Its Role in Malay Society, 1906-1908* (Kuala Lumpur: Antara Press, 1991), 221.

30. Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dīn, *Kitāb Ta'yīd Muttabi' al-Sunnah fī al-Radd 'alā al-Qā'il bi al-Sunniyat al-Rak'atayn qabla al-Jum'ah* (Penang, Malaysia: n.p., 1953), 58-59. In addition, I located at the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur three letters that Shaykh Ṭāhir wrote to Riḍā, and a reply that Riḍā wrote to the former. These documents support the contention that Shaykh Ṭāhir established direct contact with Riḍā.

31. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 63. Sidek Fadzil also shares Roff's view that Ṭāhir Jalāl al-Dīn played an important role in introducing the reformist ideas to al-Hādī. Sidek Fadzil, "Syekh Muḥammad 'Abduh: A Critical Observation on his Thought and Influence among the Malay Society" [in Malay language] (Master's Thesis, Institute of Language, Culture and Malay Literature, National University of Malaysia, 1978), 368.

32. Though there is no evidence of al-Hādī's direct contact with Muḥammad 'Abduh, we have reliable information of his acquaintance with Rashīd Riḍā. This is attested by al-Hādī's correspondences with Riḍā. Furthermore, when al-Hādī's son went to Beirut in 1914, al-Hādī gave him an introductory letter to Riḍā and insisted that Sayyid 'Alwī must meet with Riḍā personally, a request which the son duly heeded. Ibrāhīm Abū Bakar, 74.

33. For further details, see Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 31-39.

34. HAMKA, *Ayahku*, 275. Moreover, in a lecture delivered at al-Azhar University on January 21, 1958, HAMKA declared Ṭāhir to be the first exponent of 'Abduh's thinking in Indonesia. This lecture was published as *Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1961).

35. Othman b. Bakar, "Haji Saleh Masri: Pengasas al-Masriyyah," in *Islam di Malaysia*, eds. Khoo Kay Kim, et al. (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1979), 64.

36. For details, see Othman Bakar, *Haji Saleh Masri*. The information about Ḥajī Ṣāleh in the article is based on an interview with Ḥajī Muḥammad Khalīl, (the grandson of Ḥajī Ṣāleh) on 20 August 1974., Ibid.

37. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 88. For details, see Abaza, *Islamic Education: Perceptions and Exchanges, Indonesian Students in Cairo*, 55, and Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971).

38. Mohd Redzuan Othman, "The Middle East Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940," 47.

39. William Roff, "The Life and Times of Haji Othman Abdullah," *Peninjau Sejarah*, 1 (December 1966): 3.
40. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 88.
41. Harun Din, "Syeikh Abū Bakar al-Ash‘ārī: A Firm and Courageous Ulama," in Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Gerakan Islah di Perlis: Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (Kuala Lumpur, Pena Publisher, 1989), 110-127. The reformist brand of Islamic law was established as the state's official *madhhab*.
42. Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," *Modern Asian Studies*, 27(1993): 231.
43. Charles Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad ‘Abduh* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), 9.
44. Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism in Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 79.
45. *Ibid.*, 81.
46. Mustajab, "Islam dan Perkembangannya dalam Masyarakat Melayu di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu," 55.
47. E. Jutta Bluhm, "Al-Manar and Ahmad Soorkattie: Links in the Chain of Transmission of Muhammad ‘Abduh Ideas to the Malay-Speaking World," in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society: A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns*, eds. G. Peter Riddell and Tony Street (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 297.
48. Rashīd Riḍā, "Obituary of Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Aqīl," *Al-Manār*, 23, 238-239.
49. Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism in Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 80; Bluhm-Warn Jutta, "Al-Manar and Ahmad Soorkatie: Links in the Chain of the Transmission of Muhammad ‘Abduh’s Ideas to the Malay-speaking World," in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*, eds. G. Peter Riddell and Tony Street (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).
50. See for examples, Riḍā, "Letter to Ṭāhir, n.d." S.L. Ṭāhir Personal Papers, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur (listed as SP10/E.758); Ṭāhir, "Letter to Riḍā n.d." S.L. (listed as SP 10/E.758).
51. A complete set of *al-Manār* is still in the possession of A. Hassan’s son, Ustādh ‘Abd al-Qādir. For further details, see Afif Azhari and Z. Maimunah, *Muḥammad Abduh dan Pengaruhnya di Indonesia* (Jakarta, Indonesia: al-Ikhlās Publisher, 1996), 109. For details on A. Hassan’s life and ideas, see A.

- Syafiq Mughni, *Hassan Bandung: Pemikir Islam* (Surabaya, Indonesia: Bina Ilmu, 1980).
52. E. Jutta Bluhm, "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established between the Reform Magazine *al-Manâr* and the Malayo-Indonesian World," *Indonesia Circle*, 32 (1983): 40-41.
53. Muḥammad Bashūnī b. 'Imrān was born in 1885 in Sambas, West Borneo. His family served as '*ulamā'* to the court of the Kingdom of Sambas. His father Muḥammad 'Imrān was the state's chief *Imām*.
54. E. Jutta Bluhm, "A Preliminary Statement on the Dialogue Established between the Reform Magazine *al-Manâr* and the Malayo-Indonesian World," 40-41; W. Cleveland, *Islam Against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Unity* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985), 1.
55. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 44.
56. For further details on *al-Imam*, see Abu Bakar Ḥamzah, *Al-Imām and its Role in Malay Society* (Kuala Lumpur; Antara Press, 1991), and William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 56-67.
57. William Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 57.
58. Noer, *Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia*, 35.
59. Henry Benda, "Southeast Asian Islam in the Twentieth Century," *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol.2, eds. P.M. Holt, *et al.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 185.
60. Al-Hādī, *Tafsīr Juz' 'Ammā* (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927). 'Abduh's exegesis also carries the same exact title, *Tafsīr Juz' 'Ammā* (Cairo: Manār Press, 1932); Al-Hādī, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥah* (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1928). Cf. 'Abduh, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥah* (Cairo: Manar Press, 1901).
61. Sayyid Sheikh Aḥmad al-Hādī, *Ugama Islam dan Akal*, (Penang, Jelutong Press, 1931).
62. Al-Hādī, *Kitab Alam Perempuan: Bahath dan Huraian Kegunaan dan Kebebasan Perempuan bagi Faedah-Faedah Diri-nya dan Perhimpunan Kaum Bangsa dan Watan-nya, dengan Dalil-Aalil 'Akli dan Nakli Shari'at Islam* (Penang: Jelutong Press, 1929).
63. ZA'BA, "Modern Developments," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 17, no. 3 (1939): 153.