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Yuki Shiozaki

The Suramadu Bridge Affair: Un-bridging the State and the *Kyai* in New Order Madura

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Yuki Shiozaki

The Historical Origins of Control over Deviant Groups in Malaysia: Official *Fatwá* and Regulation of Interpretation

Abstract: *In Malaysia, official* fatwá *issued in each state played a crucial role in the regulation of* ajaran sesat*, or 'deviant' groups, such as Darul Arqam, Ahmadiyah, Taslim, Shi'a and many Sufi orders. The regulation of groups through official* fatwá *can be traced back to the 1930s. The development of control over them was deeply concerned with the upheavals in the Islamic world in the 1920s and the rise of the Salafi stream. The* muftī *in the Malay sultanates took the initiative in the regulation of 'deviant' groups. Among them was Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad, a* muftī *from Johor, who denounced the Salafism, or* Kaum Muda*, in Southeast Asia and other new streams through his* fatwá*. Sayyid Alawi was from Hadhramaut in Yemen, the stronghold of the Shafi'i school. His attempt to strengthen the Shafi'i school and regulate the new streams of Islamic thought was, in Malaysia, one of the origins of the efforts to gain control over 'deviant' groups through official* fatwá*.*

Keywords: *Fatwá*, Deviant Groups, Malaysia, Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad, *Kaum Muda*.

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Abstrak: *Di Malaysia, fatwa resmi yang dikeluarkan oleh tiap negara bagian memegang peranan yang menentukan dalam pengaturan ajaran sesat seperti Darul Arqam, Ahmadiyah, Taslim, Shi'a, dan beberapa aliran sufi. Pengaturan ajaran sesat melalui fatwa resmi ini dapat ditilik kembali sejarahnya semenjak tahun 1930an. Perkembangan pengawasan terhadap ajaran sesat sangat terkait dengan pergolakan dunia Islam di tahun 1920an dan mulai munculnya aliran Salafi. Para mufti di kesultanan Melayu adalah pemrakarsa pengawasan ajaran sesat. Di antaranya adalah Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad, mufti Johor yang dengan fatwanya, mendakwa beberapa aliran Salafi di Asia Tenggara atau Kaum Muda dan beberapa aliran baru lainnya. Sayyid Alawi berasal dari Hadramaut - Yaman yang merupakan pusat mazhab Syafii. Upayanya memperkuat mazhab Syafii dan mengatur aliran-aliran baru dalam pemikiran Islam adalah salah satu asal mula adanya pengawasan terhadap ajaran sesat melalui fatwa resmi di Malaysia.*

Kata kunci: Fatwa, Ajaran Sesat, Malaysia, Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad, Kaum Muda.

ملخص: إن الفتوى الرسمية التي أصدرتها كل ولاية من الولايات الماليزية لها دور حاسم في محاصرة التعاليم الضالة، مثل دار الأرقام، والأحمدية، والتسليم، والشيعة، وبعض التيارات الصوفية. وهذه الإجراءات يمكن إرجاعها إلى سنة ١٩٣٠ حيث ترتبط المراقبة عليها بالاضطرابات التي حدثت في العالم الإسلامي في عشرينيات القرن الماضي، مع بداية ظهور التيار السلفي، وذلك بمبادرة المُفتين في سلطنة ملايو، منهم السيد علوي طاهر الحداد مفتي جوهور الذي أصدر الفتوى ضد تيارات سلفية في جنوب شرقي آسيا أو الشباب، وتيارات جديدة أخرى. وقد جاء السيد علوي من حضر موت باليمن التي هي مركز المذهب الشافعي. وكانت جهوده في دعم المذهب الشافعي، وتنظيم التيارات الجديدة في الفكر الإسلامي، أحد الأسباب التي أدت إلى فرض المراقبة على التعاليم الضالة عن طريق الفتوى الرسمية في ماليزيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الفتوى، التعاليم الضالة، ماليزيا، السيد علوي طاهر الحداد، الشباب

Among Muslim countries in the world today, governments that implement totally secular agendas with regard to Islam are very rare. Most Muslim governments utilize concepts derived from Islamic teaching to retain their legitimacy. When Muslim governments take it upon themselves to be the guardians of Islam, they establish an official teaching and interpretation of Islam and exclude or even oppress other understandings. Retaining 'legitimate' Islamic teaching is also fundamentally significant for opposition or anti-government Islamic movements, providing a key theoretical point for competition with the government. The relationship between the state and Islam is now in a new phase. Within every Muslim society there is competition over 'legitimate' Islamic teaching. Consequently, society has witnessed an escalation of *takfîr* (the declaration of a Muslim as an apostate). Although there were intense controversies regarding Islamic interpretation in the 20th century, such as among the traditional legal schools and, also, between the Salafi and Sufi orders[1], the conflict over interpretation has become more fatal and violent in the 21st century, especially between Salafi and Shi'a. Muslim governments seem to be playing a bigger role than before in the contestation over Islamic teachings, with such contestation spreading within non-Arab Muslims nations.

Muslim governments in Southeast Asia are not exception to the competition for Islamic legitimacy. When governments define a 'legitimate' interpretation and exclude others, the effect is assumed to be enormous. It can be easily anticipated that such an intervention would limit the diversity and dynamism of Islamic understanding. Malaysia is an interesting case of state control over Islamic teaching and the regulation of 'deviant' groups. Malaysia's official institutions were at the forefront of the Islamic world in establishing official teachings and regulating 'deviant' groups, even in the early 20th century—the period of the British protectorate before Malaysian independence in 1957.

The regulation of 'deviant' groups by government is one of the most significant issues in understanding the modern and contemporary Islamic world. The issue deeply concerns the relationship between Islam and the modern state. Interestingly, the primary means of regulation of deviancy in the Malaysian legal system are *fatwá*. This study inquires into the origin of the control of 'deviant' groups by official *fatwá* in Malaysia.

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Previous studies, particularly by Ahmad Hidayat Buang (2011) and Farahwahida Mohd Yusof (2011), have focused on the relationship between deviant groups and official *fatwá* in Malaysia. These scholars focused on official *fatwá* after the 1980s and the legal system underpinning the regulation of 'deviant' groups. To explore the mechanism in this regulation occurs, a study should cover a longer period of the development of the regulatory mechanism. For a deeper exploration of the issue, it is not enough to focus on the dimension of the legal system; the doctrinal dimension should also be studied.

Concerning 'deviant' groups in the country, previous studies by Abdul Fatah Haron Ibrahim (1992), Farahwahida Mohd Yusof (2007) and Wan Mohd. Azam Mohd. Amin (2009) have mainly focused on the situation after the 1980s. Since that time, the Malaysian government has considered such groups as amounting to an issue of national significance, threatening security and Muslim unity (Kementerian Dalam Negeri Malaysia 1984). Consequently, much of the scholarship has also considered 'deviant' groups as a security issues and social problem. Amin analyzed such Malaysian groups as cult movements under a comparative religious studies framework. He considered most of them as part of a modern phenomenon that had also appeared in America and Europe (Amin 2009, 1–6). However, 'deviant' groups cannot simply be viewed as a threat to security or as a new phenomenon in Muslim history. They also provide a crucial resource in ascertaining the development of Islamic understanding in the region over the centuries. Only Abdul Fatah Haron Ibrahim's study focused on the doctrinal aspects of 'deviant' groups. The history of such groups is viewed as another dimension of Islamic understanding in a region. The groups act like a mirror in reflecting the thought of people excluded from the mainstream. The groups' thinking is crucial in helping us understand the transition in Muslim thought from one age to another.

This study explores why the *fatwá* and the *muftī* have taken leading roles in the regulation of 'deviant' groups in Malaysia. Neither a legislative body such as a parliament nor the courts of justice have taken the initiative in the confrontation against 'deviant' groups; rather, this role has been taken by the *muftī*. In exploring the origin of control over 'deviant' groups, this study discusses a case of a Malay sultanate, Johor, in the 1930s. This study focuses on *'ulamā'* in Johor, especially the

muftī Sayyid Alawi bin Tahir al-Haddad (1884-1962). The objective is to consider his efforts to establish official sharia interpretation in the sultanate during a period marked by doctrinal controversy. This study demonstrates the process of the development of regulating 'deviant' groups and the establishment of official Islamic teaching.

The Official *Fatwá* and the Regulation of 'Deviant' Groups in Malaysia

One of the factors that have historically made *'ulamā'* influential social actors is their provision of *fatwá*—the answers to inquiries concerning Islamic practice and teaching raised by members of the Muslim community (Wizarah al-Awqaf wa al-Shu'un al-Islamiyah al-Kuwait 1983). One of the significant challenges to the religious authority of *'ulamā'* has occurred with the bureaucratization of the process of issuing *fatwá*. In the Malaysian context, the government has historically asked *fatwá* makers questions about religious rituals and practice, specifically with reference to government policy and its implementation. When *'ulamā'* issue a *fatwá*, they traditionally need to consider the context of the problem and the influence of the *fatwá* on the people concerned. *'ulamā'* have, on occasions, issued *fatwá* against the interests of the Malaysian political elite (Hooker 1993, 93–105; Roff 2009, 249–266).

In the 20th century, dozens of Muslim groups in Malay society were defined as *ajaran sesat*, 'deviant', in *fatwá* issued by official institutions. Such groups included many Sufi orders,[2] Ahmadiyah (another name for Qadiani), Darul Arqam and Shi'a. The Islamic official organ in each state, the Majlis Agama Islam (Islamic Religious Council), has legal authority to bind Islamic teaching. A *fatwá* committee, chaired by the state *muftī* under the Majlis Agama Islam, has the role of issuing *fatwá* and defining deviation among Muslim groups. Given the background of judgment provided by official *fatwá*, the government holds a monopoly on Islamic authority. Judgments on deviancy have suppressive implications in Muslim society, placing political pressure on non-governmental groups.

The issuance of an official *fatwá* would have legal and binding force if announced in the official gazette by the state government. A 'deviant' group could be disbanded by the Ministry of Home Affairs, with its

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activities and publications curtailed. However, members of the groups would not be punished as apostates. In many Muslim countries, official institutions for *fatwá* have been established, such as the Grand *Muftī* and the *Dar al-Iftā* (the House of Answers). The Malaysian Majlis Agama Islam and the *fatwá* committees are highly unique because of their legal authority to control Islamic teaching, activities and organizations.

The regulation of Islamic teaching through official *fatwá* started in Malaya in the British protectorate period. In 1915, the first Majlis Agama Islam in the Malay Peninsula was established in Kelantan. Through the Majlis Agama Islam, all Islamic affairs, such as mosques, *zakāh*, *wakaf*, Islamic education, sharia court, Muslim marriage, enforcement of enactments concerning Islamic practices (prayer, fasting, adultery, etc.) and *fatwá*, came under the authority of the sultan (Roff 2009, 179–233). Under the British protectorate, and even after independence, standardization of the administration of Islamic affairs was promoted. In all the states by the mid-20th century, the Majlis Agama Islam, Departments of Islamic Affairs and *muftī* offices had each established a presence.

Since the 1910s, the impact of the control of Islamic interpretation appeared, in particular, in *fatwá* issued by official *muftī*. The first decree to regulate the issuance of *fatwá* was from the Sultan of Kelantan in 1917.[3] In this decree, it was provided that all *fatwá* issued to applicants from the Shafi'i school must follow generally accepted opinions of the Shafi'i school. In 1918, the Meshuarat Ulama (Ulama Council) was established as an organ to issue *fatwá* under the Majlis Agama Islam of Kelantan. The expression of personal interpretations of sharia was prohibited, with only the Meshuarat Ulama authorized to issue *fatwá*. Later, the Meshuarat Ulama in Kelantan was renamed the Jemaah Ulama. Following the example of Kelantan, similar organs were established in each state. They were given names such as Jawatankuasa Fatwa (Fatwa Committee) or Jawatankuasa Syariah (Sharia Committee). The expression of one's own interpretation of sharia was prohibited and only authorized issuers (Meshuarat Ulama) were allowed to pronounce *fatwá* by enactments, including, for example, *Enakmen Pentadbiran Agama Islam* and *Enakmen Pentadbiran Hal Ehwal Agama Islam*.

An example of this legislative transformation affecting religious authority was evident in 1952 when the State of Selangor legislated a broad-ranging expansion of controls over *fatwá*-making in the

Administration of the Enactment of Muslim Law (*Enakmen Pentadbiran Undang-Undang Islam*). This became the basic law for the regulation of religious matters in the Muslim community. This law provided for the appointment of a *muftī* by the sultan, the composition of a *fatwá* committee under the Majlis Agama and the instruction to observe the generally accepted opinions of the Shafi'i school. In addition, it prescribed that all Muslims in Selangor must follow the instructions outlined in *fatwá*. Instead of *fatwá* being non-binding legal opinions, they became legally binding once they had been announced in the official gazette. For Muslims who defied or ridiculed a *fatwá*, there were even penalties, such as fines not exceeding 500 ringgit, imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both (A. M. Ibrahim 1998, 95–97). Similar enactments were legislated in other states, including Malacca (1959), Pulau Pinang (1959), Negeri Sembilan (1960), Kedah (1962), Perlis (1964) and Perak (1965) (A. M. Ibrahim 1998, 97).

The bureaucratization of *fatwá*-making and the administration of Islamic religious affairs were further reinforced at the Conference of Rulers (Majlis Raja-Raja)—the regular meeting of the heads of states, such as sultans[4]—in July 1969, when a decision was made to establish the Majlis Kebangsaan Bagi Hal-ehwal Agama Islam (National Islamic Religious Council). The objective of the council was to standardize and strengthen Islamic administration in each state. As a consequence, the Bahagian Agama (Religion Section) was set up in the prime minister's office as a secretariat for the Majlis Kebangsaan Bagi Hal-ehwal Agama Islam. The objective of the council was to standardize and strengthen the systems of Islamic administration within each state. The federal government initiated the intensification and standardization of Islamic administration throughout Malaysia, and this policy accelerated under the Mahatir regime (1981-2003). Bahagian Agama was enlarged in 1997, expanding its sphere of Islamic administration, and was renamed Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (Islamic Development Agency Malaysia, JAKIM). Within this department, the Jawatankuasa Fatwa Kebangsaan (National Fatwa Committee) was set up to coordinate *fatwá*-making across Malaysia. This committee consists of *muftī* from each state and a number of university professors. The National Fatwa Committee deliberates on national-level issues concerning Islam. Its resolutions become a draft for *fatwá* in each state, usually enacted without amendment.

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Another result of the standardization of official *fatwá* by the National Fatwa Committee was the bureaucratization of the process of drafting *fatwá*. The drafts are prepared by public servants from the research division at JAKIM and are usually adopted by the National Fatwa Committee without major amendment. Reflecting changes in their socio-political status, *muftī* rarely challenge these drafts as they represent the intentions of the federal government rather than simply an Islamic jurisprudential assessment (Hooker 1997, 14–15).

Some Malaysian researchers—and JAKIM itself—have considered the process of drafting *fatwá* by the National Fatwa Committee to be *ijtihād jamā'ī*, or collective *ijtihad* (M. S. A. Othman 1998, 163–170). The rationale for this approach to *fatwá*-making is the belief that there is a need for scientific and technological knowledge in a modern, complex society rather than simply individual judgment—and, thus, making the collective approach necessary. However, the collective interpretation of sharia by the National Fatwa Committee and JAKIM has deprived *'ulamā'* of the opportunity to articulate and pronounce *fatwá* based on their own judgment and knowledge. As a consequence, *'ulamā'* have arguably lost a significant amount of socio-political authority over Malaysian Muslims because they no longer have the chance to deploy this legal instrument and, therefore, influence people's daily lives.

The rise of the *dakwah* movement in Malay society after the 1970s resulted in many new groups, such as Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia) and Jemaah Islah Malaysia (Reform Group of Malaysia), expanding very rapidly. Among these, Darul Arqam and many other smaller groups became the target of government surveillance. In 1972, a new ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional (National Front), formed. Abdul Razak Hussein, president of Barisan Nasional, was Malaysia's second prime minister (1970-1976). He promoted the New Economic Policy to drastically reorganize the socio-ethnic positions of the ethnicities in Malaysia. Islamic policies were also mobilized by the federal government to promote the socio-economic position of Malay Muslims. Subsequent prime ministers, Hussein Ong and Mahatir Mohamed, inherited and continued the New Economic Policy and Islamic policies. The period after the 1970s was also one of escalating confrontation between the Barisan Nasional government and the opposition Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia, PAS). This confrontation was particularly intense under

the rule of Mahatir Mohamed (1982-2003). The federal government's standardization of official *fatwá* was utilized to restrain PAS, undesirable groups such as Darul Arqam and many small *tarīqah* groups.[5] Many groups deemed not suitable for the Islamic policies promoted by the government, or those that were dismissive of the Barisan Nasional regime, were specified as 'deviant'. As a result, their activities were disbanded.

Overview and History of 'Deviant' Groups in the Malay Peninsula

The history of doctrinal controversy among the Muslims of Southeast Asia can be traced back to the 17th century when Nuruddin al-Raniri confronted Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani in the Aceh Sultanate. One of the main points of his criticism was the theory of *wahdat al-wujūd* or *wujudīyah*, literally meaning 'the unity of being'[6] (Riddell, 2001: 123-125). Throughout the history of Islamic Southeast Asia, a large portion of controversies regarding 'deviant' groups have been closely related to the thought of *wahdat al-wujūd*, which was formulated by Ibn Arabī and others in the Middle East and imported to Southeast Asia. Many 'deviant' groups accepted *wahdat al-wujūd* and a concept based on *wahdat al-wujūd*, *martabat tujuh* (the emanation in seven stages)[7] as their core doctrine. According to a study by Farahwahida Mohd. Yusof the oldest *Jawi* manuscript in the Malay Peninsula on 'deviant' groups was a book named *Aqīdah*, written by Tuan Teh Mohamed bin Syihabuddin in 1206 H (AD 1791 or 1792). In this book, groups holding *wahdat al-wujūd* thought were described as *kāfir*, or unbelievers (Yusof 2007, 80). Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi (1860-1916), the *imam* of Masjīd al-Ḥarām in Mecca who wrote *al-Shamūs al-Lāmiʿah fī Radd al-Bidāʾ Ahl al-Sabʿah*, refuted the theory of *martabat tujuh* (Yusof 2007, 80). In the Malay Peninsula, ways of thinking such as *wahdat al-wujūd* and *martabat tujuh* were still significant among 'deviant' groups even in the 20th century. For example, Sufi orders among such groups set *martabat tujuh* as their fundamental philosophy (Riddell 2001: 259-260).[8]

In the early 20th century, in addition to the stream of thought based on *wahdat al-wujūd*, other 'deviant' streams flowed into the Malay Peninsula. Various new groups, such as Ahmadiyah, Baha'i and Taslim, entered the peninsula. The emergence of such groups

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triggered efforts of control by the Malay sultanates. When *dakwah* movements mushroomed in Malay Muslim society after the 1970s, the federal government considered some a security threat. Among these, the largest was Darul Arqam. In the late 20th century, Salafi thought expanded its influence—even into official Islamic institutes—as a result of exchanges with the Middle East,[9] especially Saudi Arabia. Because of the strong confrontation with Shi'a, driven by Saudi *'ulamā'*, even in Malaysia Shi'a became the main target of the struggle against deviation by official Islamic institutions.

In 2007, JAKIM had registered 56 groups as 'deviant'. The largest of these was Rufaqa Corporation, formerly known as Darul Arqam. Each of the groups has dozens to hundreds of members. Rufaqa is still singled out because it has thousands of followers, despite the official *fatwá* defining it as 'deviant' being issued by Selangor authority in 2006 (2 February 2007, *New Straits Times*). However, Shi'a groups, considered a threat to official Islamic teaching, have become a greater focus of JAKIM and the Ministry of Home Affairs.

According to a study by Ahmad Hidayat Buang, of 3,822 *fatwá* –of which up to 2,000 were collected by him —474 concerned *uṣūl al-dīn* or *'aqīdah*. Among those on *uṣūl al-dīn*, 157 *fatwá* directly considered 'deviant' groups (Buang 2011, 33–36). Designation as a 'deviant' group by Majlis Agama Islam is different from a designation as *kufr* (unbeliever) or *murtad* (apostate). If members of a group were considered to be *murtad*, they could be executed in line with *ḥadd* punishment. The *ajaran sesat* are considered to be recoverable, and the Majlis Agama Islam in each state restrain the groups in detention facilities.

The Influx of New Islamic Thought and the Rise of the Salafi Stream

Among the 56 groups disbanded by JAKIM in 2007, 22 operated, or were based, in Selangor. Selangor has been the center of many 'deviant' groups because of its long tradition of migrant influx, especially from Indonesia and South Asia (2 February 2007, *New Straits Times*). Johor has the same tradition of being a destination for immigrants.

In the early 20th century, there were flows of both Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants into the Malay Peninsula. The flow of Muslims into the peninsula from Java, Sumatra, India and Yemen made for a diversity of Islamic understandings on the peninsula. Such Muslims were gradually integrated into Malay Muslim society,

with newcomers making crucial contributions to politics, culture and Islam—the indispensable elements of Malay life. In particular, *'ulamā'* from Hadhramaut in Yemen became crucial members of the Malay intellectual society because of their Islamic knowledge and networks across the Middle East.

Johor was notable for its large population of Arab Muslims from Hadhramaut—also known as Hadhrami. They had already arrived in Southeast Asia by the 12th century (Bahafdullah 2010, 167–171). In the 19th century, civil war among the tribes of Yemen and invasions by the Wahhabis accelerated the migration of Hadhrami to Southeast Asia (Yahaya 1980, 73). Another factor driving the acceleration of Hadhrami migration was colonization by the British. Technological innovations, such as steamships and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, facilitated their migration (Roff 2009). When Singapore came under British administration in 1819 and the trade lanes between Europe and Southeast Asia were established, Aden in Yemen increased in geographic importance as a trading port along this route.

Johor, a sultanate neighboring the British stronghold of Singapore, became the Hadhrami base in Southeast Asia. The Hadhrami contributed to the modernization, development and Islamization of the sultanate. Profit from trade allowed them to pursue education. Among Hadhrami in Johor, the Alawiyyah, or Ba'alawi, people of Sayyid (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), were the most prosperous in fields of business, education and administration. The Alawiyyah were the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Husayn ibn 'Alī. At the same time, their community had the character of a Sufi order, with large numbers of followers in Southeast Asia. In particular, the al-Attas and al-Saqqaf families were most prominent. Hassan al-Attas was known as the founder of Madrasah al-Attas in Johor Bahru, established in 1914. The office of the *muftī* in Johor was mainly occupied by *'ulamā'* from the al-Attas family from the late 19th century until the 1960s (M. R. Othman 2006). In 1934, an *ālim* from an Alawiyyah family, Sayyid Alawi bin Tahir al-Haddad, was appointed as a *muftī* of Johor.

The Hadhrami mediated between the Sultanate of Johor and the Middle East, especially Ottoman Turkey, which was considered a model Muslim state (M. R. Othman 2005b). As a result, Johor introduced the Ottoman civil code. In 1913, Johor implemented *Majalah Ahkam*

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Johor as its civil code. *Majalah Ahkam Johor* was a transplantation of the Ottoman civil code, *Majalla al-Ahkam al-'Adliyya*, which was legislated in 1885 (Borham 2002). Generally speaking, Hadhrami of the Malay Peninsula in the late 19th century and early 20th century were sympathetic to Ottoman Turkey in terms of politics and Islamic thought. In political thought, many Hadhrami supported pan-Islamism and contributed to the presence of Ottoman Turkey in Southeast Asia (Zain 2009). In Islamic thought, many Hadhrami, and especially *'ulamā'*, were wedded to the traditional methodology of the Shafi'i school in *fiqh*. Their homeland, Hadhramaut, was a stronghold of the Shafi'i school throughout its history. The Hadhrami played a decisive role in making the Shafi'i school the mainstream in Southeast Asia. Sayyid Alawi bin Tahir al-Haddad took pride in being a Hadhrami *'ulamā'* and felt a definite vocation in defending the traditions of the Shafi'i school (Haddad 2001).

The intellectual traditions being followed in Malaysian *fatwá*-making were in transition in the 20th century. This transformation illuminated and followed the changes in the composition, background and training of *'ulamā'*, as discussed throughout this article. Until the mid-20th century, *fatwá* in Malaysia reflected typical examples of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence, which was one of the four Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence. In the Malay Peninsula, the most influential Shafi'i scholar was Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytami (d. 1565). Starting in the early 20th century, Salafism was introduced from Egypt into Southeast Asian *fatwá*-making.

In the early 20th century, Mecca, under the rule of the Ottomans, was the most important center of Islamic knowledge for Southeast Asian Muslims.[10] It was common place for Southeast Asian Muslims to request *fatwá* from the *'ulamā'* there. Mecca was the center for learning Islamic knowledge, including *fiqh*, in the Shafi'i school. At sites of Islamic learning there, students read classical texts under the guidance of mentor *'ulamā'* in every mosque. Reading groups would sit in circles (*ḥalaqah*)—a common sight in every mosque, especially the most revered mosque, Masjid al-Haram. The four corners of Masjīd al-Ḥarām were dedicated to the four legal schools of the Sunnism (Hanafi, Hambali, Maliki and Shafi'i).[11]

In the early 20th century, the traditional style of learning met a turning point due to the spread of Western-style modern education

systems in the Muslim world. Even in Mecca some semi-modern schools were established—mainly by non-Arab *'ulamā'*, especially Indians (Bosworth 2007, 373). In 1912, a prominent semi-modern *madrasah*, al-Falāḥ, was established by the Arab merchant Muḥammad 'Alī Zaynal Riḍā. Madrasah al-Falāh became a school for many Southeast Asian *'ulamā'* (Bosworth 2007, 373).[12] Following Madrasah al-Falāḥ, Indonesian *'ulamā'* established *madrasah* for Southeast Asian Muslims in Mecca. Indonesian *madrasah* included Madrasah Indonesiya al-Makkiyah, established by Janan Muhammad Thaib in 1923, and Madrasah Darul Ulum al-Diniyyah, established by Sayyid Muhsin al-Musawwa al-Palimbani in 1934. These institutions attracted Southeast Asian Muslim learners to Mecca (Saha 2005).

Mecca was not only the most important centre for the Shafi'i School but also a sanctuary for politically involved *'ulamā'* from Southeast Asia who had been sent into exile when their societies were colonized by Europeans. In 1800, the Dutch East Indies colony was established in Indonesia. As a result of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty concluded in 1824, the British expanded their rule in the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch concentrated their administration in the East Indies. In 1826, Britain and Thailand, a significant local power, agreed to the first treaty concerning the division of the Malay Peninsula—the Burney Treaty. After a long series of confrontations and negotiations, most of the Malay kingdoms came to be under the protection of the British, with the exception of the Sultanate of Patani, which was annexed to Thailand in 1908.[13] The rapid increase in the Southeast Asian Muslim population in Mecca especially in the latter half of the 19th century, was partially caused by the political incursions of non-Muslim forces into Muslim lands, especially Patani in Southern Thailand and some parts of Indonesia. Patani *'ulamā'*, therefore, played a leading role in educating Southeast Asian Muslims in Mecca.

The political upheavals in the Middle East in 1920s shook the Islamic intellectual tradition in Southeast Asia. In 1923, Turkey introduced republicanism. The caliphate was abolished in 1924, which was also the year of the occupation of Mecca by the Wahhabi. The political upheavals, caused mostly by the rise of the Wahhabi, also influenced Southeast Asia (M. R. Othman 2004). After these incidents, Mecca gradually lost its position as the learning center for Southeast Asian Muslims. The center of learning moved to Cairo—especially to

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al-Azhar. This changed the current of Islamic thought in the Malay Peninsula. As a result of the transfusion of Salafi thought from Egypt—emphasising sharia interpretation through direct references to the Quran and Hadith—the traditional schools of Islamic law (*madhhab*) were rejected. Although some Hadhrami *'ulamā'* supported the trend toward Salafism, others defended the sharia interpretation of the Shafi'i school.[14]

In 1937, controversy struck the Kelantanese court. A prince and a princess of the sultanate had disputed whether or not it was permissible to keep a dog. The dispute drew in *'ulamā'* from Kelantan, from other parts of the peninsula and even from al-Azhar. William Roff has demonstrated that the controversy became highly confused because of the many streams of *sharia* interpretation present in Kelantan at that period. *'ulamā'* from various backgrounds, such as a Sufi *tarīqah* of Ahmadiyya-Idrisiyya, and disciples of Shah Wali Allah from India came to assist both sides in the controversy. Finally, a mission was sent by the Sultan to the *fatwá* committee of al-Azhar to request a *fatwá* (Roff 2009, 249–266). The controversy indicated that, all over the Malay Peninsula, the 1930s was a period characterised by the influx of new *sharia* interpretations and by the contestation over legitimate interpretations. At the same time, Mecca could not function as the most important center of the Shafi'i school because of the Wahhabi upheavals.

With the rise of Cairo as a learning center, Salafi methodology in *fiqh* became more influential than the traditional Shafi'i school in Southeast Asia. The number of Malay students at al-Azhar slowly increased after the first acceptance of a Malay student in the 1870s. Bayard Dodge claimed that, in 1902, only seven *Jāwī* students were among 645 foreign students at al-Azhar (Dodge 1961, 164–165). According to Roff, in 1919 there were "fifty or sixty students in Cairo from Indonesia (mostly West Sumatra), with perhaps an additional twenty from Peninsular Malaya and Southern Thailand." Roff also reported that, by 1925, at least 200 Southeast Asian students were in Cairo. Roff supposed that the main cause of the increase in the 1920s was improvement in rubber prices and parental cash incomes towards the middle of the decade (Roff 2009, 133).

Although the number of Southeast Asian Muslims at al-Azhar increased, a magazine published in Cairo influenced Southeast Asia

even more than al-Azhar. The greatly influential reformist Muslim magazine *al-Manār,* published by Rashīd Riḍā, had a significant impact on Southeast Asia. The reformism school, led by Muḥammad ʻAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, can be described as Salafi methodology in another form. Characteristically, Salafi methodology makes direct reference to the Quran and Hadith as sources (*dalīl*) and rejects following the four *Madhhab*s, including the Shafiʻi school, as jurisprudential authorities. Muḥammad ʻAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā revived the Salafi methodology formulated by Ibn Taymīya and applied it to their contemporary jurisprudence. Salafi methodology was suitable for an age of transition when the Muslim world faced confounding international changes such as colonization and the prevalence of modern Western values in the early 20th century. The Salafi methodology provided new interpretations.

In Southeast Asia, some groups of *'ulamā'* promoted Salafi methodology as a line of thinking that could satisfy the demands of the Muslim world in the modern age. Azhar-educated Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin (1869-1956)[15] was among *'ulamā'* who published the pioneering magazine *al-Imam* from 1906-1908. Based in Singapore, they promoted reformist thought in Southeast Asia. *al-Imam* had the largest circulation—of about 5,000 copies—for a Malay journal before the Second World War. Many of the *al-Imam* articles were either an elaboration or translation of articles taken from *al-Manār* (M. R. Othman 2005a, 1–18). The reformist thought of Muḥammad ʻAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā was widely accepted in Southeast Asia.

In the first decade of the 20th century, Cairo came to be considered as the center of reformism based on Salafi methodology. Increasingly, Malay students were attracted to Cairo. Even though Cairo was not the favorite destination of the Malay rulers (Roff 2009, 143), both al-Azhar and Salafism attained significant levels of popularity among Islamic students in the Malay Peninsula. Studying at al-Azhar granted them social status, especially in terms of employment in governmental institutions and schools (Kushimoto 2010). The influence of Salafism spread among Southeast Asian *'ulamā'* as a result of education in the Middle East, publications and translations. Despite the strong Salafi influence, however, the efforts of *'ulamā'* sustained the tradition of the Shafiʻi school in Southeast Asia.

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A Defender of the Tradition of the Shafi'i School

The early 20th century was a period of immigration in the Malay Peninsula. It was also a period of the establishment of administrative structures for Islamic affairs. Majlis Agama Islam, departments of Islamic affairs and *muftī* offices were established in all the states by the middle of the century. These newly established institutions were responsible for defining legitimate Islamic teaching. In other words, they were also responsible for eliminating 'deviant' teachings, or *ajaran sesat*.

Official *fatwá* on 'deviant' groups first appeared in the Malay Peninsula in the 1930s. In this era, there were contradictions in interpretations between schools— between *Kaum Tua* (the 'Old Group' of the traditional Shafi'i school) and *Kaum Muda* (the 'New Group' of the Salafi methodology)—and arguments between Sufi orders and Salafi reformist groups. There was also a flow of new groups, such as Ahmadiyah (Qadiani), into the peninsula. To defend Islamic authority under the Malay rulers, the Majlis Agama Islam in each state utilized official *fatwá* to regulate groups considered as 'deviant'. The *muftī* also actively took the initiative to defend the tradition of the Shafi'i school. One such defender of the tradition, Sayyid Alawi, was a *muftī* of Johor from 1934-1941 and also from 1947-1961. He was known for his aggressive denunciations of 'deviant' groups such as some Sufi orders, Ahmadiyah and even Kaum Muda in his *fatwá*. He also developed a monopoly on teaching interpretation under the Majlis Agama Islam through education and supervision by local *qāḍī*s.

Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad migrated to Southeast Asia in the 1920s. Born in Qaidoon, Hadhramaut, in 1884, he later migrated to Bogor in Java. He was active in the Alawiyyah community there and taught in Madrasah Jam'iyah al Khair, which was established by Jam'iyah al Khair, an association of the Alawiyyah in Indonesia. In 1934, he was appointed as *muftī* of Johor after being invited there by the Sultanate of Johor, going on to serve for 23 years (Fauzi et al. 2013).

During Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad's time as *muftī* of Johor, he was well-known for his uncompromising course against 'deviant' sects in his *fatwá*. Among the targets of his denunciations was Ahmadiyah (Qadiani), which was founded in India at the end of the 19th century by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, a self-proclaimed prophet. A similar group, Baha'i, was also fiercely denounced by Sayyid Alawi. It was founded in 1844 by Mirza Ali Muhammad, who was also a self-proclaimed Mahdi,

or *Bāb* (the Gate). Taslim, a local group in Johor which was influenced by the Java tradition of *kebatinan*, was also denounced as 'deviant". Taslim was initiated by Muhammad Syafie, known as Muhammad Matahari, who was originally from Sumatera. Taslim was active in Pulau Pinang in the 1870s. Later, the group's base shifted to Mersin in Johor in the 1940s. The followers of Taslim claimed the unity of Allah and each human being's spirit. They negated sharia duties such as prayer and fasting (Yusof 2011, 79).

Sayyid Alawi accused some Sufi *tarīqahs* of deviance. Also, the teaching of *wahdat al-wujūd* was disbanded (Haddad 1981). As a Hadhrami scholar, Sayyid Alawi defended the *'aqīdah* of the Ash'ari school and al-Ghazālī's *sharia*-oriented *taṣawwuf* thought. After he emphasized the virtue of reading al-Ghazālī's texts on the integration of exterior *sharia* and interior spirit, he denounced in his writing the teaching of many books on *wahdat al-wujūd*.[16]

> Such knowledge (*makrifa*) are often founded on books of *taṣawwuf* which mentions only "*hakikat*" against exterior sharia and its interior significance, *bid'ah*, *falsafah*, and Zoroastrianism in India. Such thought are based on the theology of *wahdat al-wujūd* which believes that the Creator is in union with the creatures. Such view is a view of *kāfir* Greek philosophy of Platonism (Haddad 2007, 183).

Sayyid Alawi disbanded the teaching of *wahdat al-wujūd* in Johor because he considered that public circulation of the teaching may cause misinterpretation in *'aqīdah*. In his writing, he insisted that he followed the precedent *fatwá* by the *'ulamā'* of the Shafi'i school, such as those by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (1503-1566) and Aḥmad ibn Zainī Daḥlān (1817-1886), who also disbanded the teaching of *wahdat al-wujūd* (Haddad 2007, 245–246).

Another target of Sayyid Alawi was Kaum Muda (representing Salafi thought). Unlike Qadiani, Baha'i and Taslim, the controversy with Kaum Muda was more sensational because Kaum Muda/Salafism was already widely accepted in Southeast Asia. Sayyid Alawi waged a fierce dispute with Ahmad Hassan (1887-1958), who was known as Ahmad Hassan Bandung and was a leader of Persatuan Islam, or Persis. Ahmad Hassan was one of the most prominent ideologues of the Salafism in Southeast Asia in the 1920s-1930s. Born in Singapore, he migrated to Surabaya in 1927 and later, in 1925, established Persis in Bandung (Feener 2007, 30–45). His works were strongly influenced by Ibn

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Taymīya. The works strongly denounced Sufi practices, including to implore intercession to Allah toward the grave of a *walī*, or saint.[17]

When Ahmad Hassan's *fatwá* collection, *Soal Jawab* (Questions and Answers), was published in Penang, Sayyid Alawi prohibited the book through a *fatwá* because of the book's underpinning Salafist tendency and contradictions with theories of the Shafi'i school (Fauzi et al. 2013; Haddad 1981). The dispute between Sayyid Alawi and Ahmad Hassan was influential because a *fatwá* by *muftī* was not a personal opinion in the Malay Peninsula in the 1930s. After the institutions and enactments for Islamic administration had been established in each state, a *fatwá* by *muftī* had binding power over Muslims in each state.

In Sayyid Alawi's *fatwá* against Kaum Muda, he considered them not only as 'deviant' but Khawārij—a 7th-century group which considered themselves as being the only true Muslims and other Muslims as being non-believers. The Khawārij assassinated the fourth Caliph, 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, who was an ancestor of the Alawiyyah. In a *fatwá* entitled, 'The Understanding on Kaum Muda and the Enemies of Islam', he described the characteristics of Kaum Muda:

> Their characteristics are negation of the *Imams* and *'ulamā'* of *fiqh* in the four Schools. They only admit the authority of Quran and *hadith* of the Prophet. They are against the *ijma'* (concensus) and spread misinterpretations in the *ummah* of Islam for the enemies of Islam (Haddad 1981, 398).

In a response to a question, 'Is Kaum Muda included in the community of Islam?', Sayyid Alawi wrote, 'They are people who made sharia arbitrarily and exited from Islam.' In his *fatwá*, Sayyid Alawi also negated Ahmad Hassan's *fatwá* and defended the theories of the Shafi'i school on *talqīn*, *tahlīl*, remarriage of once-divorced couple, among others (Haddad 1981, 398–399).

From the contemporary viewpoint, Sayyid Alawi's denunciation even gives the impression of being intolerant (Man 2008, 497–522)—given Salafism's place in contemporary Malaysian Muslim society. However, in the context of the 1930s, Sayyid Alawi was under serious pressure as a Hadhrami scholar. The occupation of Mecca by Wahhabi was recognized as being a crisis in the most important center of learning for the Shafi'i school. His homeland, Hadhramaut, was also under the Wahhabi threat. The Hadhramis in Southeast Asia perceived this threat especially following the destruction of a Sufi saint shrine in Yemen by the Wahhabi (Yahaya 1980, 73).

In addition to the crises in the Arabian Peninsula, Sayyid Alawi was involved in serious disputes with non-Alawiyyah Arabs in Southeast Asia since the 1920s. The Alawiyyah and an association of non-Alawiyyah Arabs, Jam'iyat al-Islah wa al-Irshad al-'Arabiya (Jam'iyat al-Irshad), continued polemics from the 1910s-1930s. Their controversy was over issues such as marriage between a *sharīfah* (female descendants of Prophet Muhammad) and a non-descendant male—the qualification of a Caliph not from Quraiysh family (Kaptein 2002). The issues related to the problem of equality between the Alawiyyah and non-Alawiyyah Arabs, and also to the upheavals in the Middle East. While the Alawiyyah considered the rise of Salafism and rise of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as crises, Jam'iyat al-Irshad, led by a Sudanese Arab Ahmad al-Surkati, took a pro-Saudi stance and was invited to a conference in Mecca held by the Saudi Kingdom. On the other hand, the Alawiyyah in Southeast Asia sent a delegate to the Syarif of Mecca Husayn, and demanded him to reject pilgrimages of the member of Jam'iyat al-Irshad. The delegate also described Jam'iyat al-Irshad as Khawārij (Abushouk 2002, 213–214).

In Southeast Asia, among *'ulamā'* of the traditional Shafi'i school, the spread of Kaum Muda and the Salafi methodology were equated with the Wahhabi threat even though the Salafi in Southeast Asia were largely influenced by reformists in Cairo. Many of the Hadhrami *'ulamā'* were keen on defending the tradition of the Shafi'i school and the *'aqīdah* of the Ash'ari school through the authority of the Malay sultanates.

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Table 1: Chronological Table of Events in the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt and Southeast Asia

The Arabian Peninsula		Egypt		Southeast Asia	
				1800	Establishment of the Dutch East Indies
				1824	Anglo-Dutch Treaty
				1831	Rebellion against Thailand in Patani
		1869	The opening of the Suez Canal		
		1898	The launch of *Al-Manār*		
				1906	The launch of *al-Imam* (–1908)
				1908	The fall of the Sultanate of Patani
				1915	The establishment of the Majlis Agama Islam in Kelantan
		1922	The founding of the Kingdom of Egypt		
1924	The occupation of Mecca by the Wahhabi				
		1928	The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood		
1934	The establishment of Madrasa Dar al-'Ulum al-Diniyya				
		1952	The Egyptian Revolution by the Free Officers	1945	The Indonesian declaration of independence
				1957	The establishment of the Federation of Malaya

Conclusion

Until the early 20th century, the predominant place of origin for the Islamic interpretation of Southeast Asian Muslims was the Arabian Peninsula. In particular, Mecca was the biggest center of learning. Yemen was important also as a provider of the Hadhrami *'ulamā'* who migrated to Southeast Asia. Mecca and Hadhramaut were the two most important strongholds of the Shafi'i school until the Wahhabi occupied Mecca in 1924. After that, the center of Islamic learning for Southeast Asian Muslims shifted to Egypt, which was the center of Salafi thought. As a result of the shift of the origin of Islamic interpretation, Salafi thought gradually became influential during the 20th century. Official *fatwá* and control over 'deviant' groups were also deeply influenced by the shift in the centers of learning.

Mecca was an autonomous space for the Shafi'i *'ulamā'* until the early 20th century. They were free from administrative authority and able to send *fatwá* to Southeast Asia based on the traditional Shafi'i theories. After this autonomous space was lost, the government in the Malay Peninsula played a larger role in interpreting Islam through Majlis Agama Islam and official *fatwá*. It was also a period in which there was an influx of outsiders. When new interpretations of Islam flowed through the ports of the Malay Peninsula, especially in Johor, Selangor and Penang, the Malay rulers and their followers, including *'ulamā'*, intended to defend their authority by emphasizing themselves as the guardians of Islam. The Hadhrami *'ulamā'* played a crucial role in this. Sayyid Alawi al-Haddad and other traditionalist *'ulamā'* succeeded in prioritizing the theology of the Ash'ari school and the jurisprudence of the Shafi'i school in the Malaysian Islamic legislative system. The upheavals in the Middle East, especially the occupation of Mecca by the Wahhabi, put pressure on the Hadhrami in Southeast Asia. Sayyid Alawi Tahir al-Haddad's strong effort to defend the tradition as a Hadhrami *'ulamā'* made a large contribution in implanting the Shafi'i school in the concepts of modern Malay society.

Although Malay Muslim society had a historical tradition of following the Shafi'i school, Kaum Muda, proponents of Salafism, became dominant in the 1930s. At the same period, Ahmadiyah and other new groups flowed into the peninsula. As a result of the implantation of the Shafi'i school in Malay Islamic authority, the priority of the Shafi'i school has remained an indispensable part of

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official Islam in all the states of Malaysia—except Perlis—up until the present day. Meanwhile, Salafism has established a footing among *'ulamā'* in Malaysia. The Syafi'I school can be considered part of the official religion of Islam in Malaysia.

The development of control over 'deviant' groups in Malaysia can be classified into three periods. From the 1910s-1920s, the Majlis Agama Islam was established in each state and *fatwá* committees were set up under its authority. Official *fatwá* were authorized as binding sentences for Muslims. From the 1930s-1960s, an influx of Muslims to Southeast Asia brought new streams of sharia interpretations. Official *fatwá* were issued against Ahmadiyah, Taslim, Kaum Muda and other new groups. Enactments to regulate Islamic teaching and sharia interpretation were developed in each state. After the 1970s, because of the *dakwah* movement in Malay society, many new groups arose, including Darul Arqam. At the same time, the confrontation between Barisan Nasional and PAS became intense. The Barisan Nasional government standardized the official *fatwá* of each state, and JAKIM became the coordinator of official *fatwá*. Official *fatwá* were utilized to restrain PAS and other *dakwah* movements.

Throughout the history of the development of official *fatwá* and control over 'deviant' groups, the influx of new groups into the Malay Peninsula triggered developments. The 1930s were characterised by strong reactions, as expressed in official *fatwá*, to Kaum Muda and other new streams of *sharia* interpretation. Among the issuers of *fatwá* against 'deviant' groups at this time, Sayyid Alawi al-Haddad was one of the most significant figures. His *fatwá* and activity as the *muftī* of Johor against 'deviant' groups illustrated the early utilization of official *fatwá* to regulate deviant groups. His *fatwá* can be considered an origin of the efforts of control over 'deviant' groups through official *fatwá*.

Endnotes

1. The controversy between Sufi and Salafi appeared as a competition over *fiqh* methodologies between traditional *fiqh* schools (*madhhab*) and Salafi. *Salafi,* or *al-Salafiyah,* is a current of Islamic thought deriving from Ibn Taymīya (1258–1328). The principle of the Salafi is to remove *bid'ah,* or additional innovations, from the original Islamic teaching. Ibn Taymīya intended to pursue the pure Islamic teaching practiced in the period of the Prophet Muhammad. For this objective, Ibn Taymīya rejected the interpretations of the four *fiqh* schools and established his own interpretations by interpreting the Quran and Hadith directly. Ibn Taymīya considered Shi'a and Sufi to be the most problematic *bid'ahs* in the Muslim world. In the eighteenth century, Ibn Taymīya's ideas were revived by Abdul Wahhāb (1703–1791). In the late nineteenth century, Salafi thought was embedded in some parts of the Muslim world, especially in Egypt. *'ulamā'* such as Muḥammad 'Abduh, Rashīd Riḍā and the disciples of Abdul Wahhāb shared the beliefs of Ibn Taymīya, including the rejection of the four *madhhabs* and antagonism toward Shi'a and Sufi. See Laoust (1939, 541–563). On the conflict between the Salafis and the Sufis in Southeast Asia in the early twentieth century, see Kaptein (2002).
2. On the overview of Sufi orders in the Malay Peninsula, see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (1963).
3. Majlis Agama Islam dan Isti'adat Melayu Kelantan (1917).
4. In the Malaysian government, Islamic affairs are the exclusive jurisdiction of the Malay Rulers. Contemporary Malaysia consists of thirteen states and the Federal Territory. In nine of these states the constitutional leaders are hereditary Malay Rulers. These Malay Rulers are called Raja in Malay. Seven of them have the title Sultan. In four states, the heads of state are elected by the state legislative councils. At the federal level, the constitutional head of the Federation is the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, elected by the nine Malay Rulers every five years. Only the Malay Rulers are eligible to be Yang di-Pertuan Agong, and they choose one of their own as the constitutional head of the Federation in rotation. Article 3 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia declares that the Malay rulers are not only the constitutional head of each state, but also "the Head of the Religion of Islam" in their states. In the four states without Malay Rulers, along with the Federal Territory, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is given the status of "the Head of the Religion of Islam." To execute the absolute authority of the Malay Rulers over Islamic affairs, there are Majlis Agama Islam in every state and in the Federal Territory.
5. The main accusation in the official *fatwa* against PAS in the 1980s concerned the denunciation of the Barisan Nasional by Abdul Hadi Awang, the vice president of PAS at that time and his followers. After study in Madinah and Cairo and under the strong influence of Sayyid Qutub, Abdul Hadi Awang accused the Barisan Nasional Government of being a "system of *kafir*" in 1982. After this denunciation, the tension of the confrontation between Barisan Nasional and PAS escalated. In 1985, armed conflict erupted between the security forces and PAS members in a village of Memali, in the northern state of Kedah. In each state, official *fatwa* were issued against the denunciation by Abdul Hadi Awang and the PAS members in the Memali incident. See Shiozaki (2013).
6. *Wahdat al-wujūd* or *wujudiyah* is a doctrine formulated by the school of Ibn al-Arābi (1165-1240). It has been a problematic doctrine in the whole Islamic world including Southeast Asia, because it postulates that Allah and His creation are one, and often pursuit even individual's union with Allah. The doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* was denounced by many schools including al-Ghazālī's sharia-oriented *taṣawwuf* stream. Later the Salafi stream also denounced this doctrine very fiercely. On the acceptance and popularization

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of *wahdat al-wujūd* thought, see Moris (2011) and Fathurahman (2012).

7. *Martabah tujuh* or the emanation in seven stages is a variation of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*. It is a metaphysical concept which categorizes the emanation of the beings from Allah into seven stages. According to the study by A. H. Johns, the source of the *martabah tujuh* theory which was popularized throughout Southeast Asia was *al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah ilā al-Nabī* by an Indian Sufi scholar Muḥammad Fadl Allah al-Burhānpurī in the seventeenth century (Johns 1965).
8. On Darul Arqam's thought and activities, see Abdullah (1992); Ann (2005), and Lawee (2004).
9. On the spread of Salafi thought in Southeast Asia in the 20th century, see Shiozaki (2015).
10. On the function of Mecca as the learning center for Southeast Asian Muslims before the 20th century, see Azra (2004).
11. Bearman et al. (1960a).
12. Bearman et al. (1960b).
13. The downfall of the Sultanate of Patani in Southern Thailand caused an exodus of Patani *'ulamā'*. Patani was the center of Islamic learning in the Malay Peninsula until the nineteenth century. After the failed rebellion against the Thai Kingdom in 1831 and 1832, many *'ulamā'* migrated from Patani to Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah and Mecca. In the rebellion, the ruler of Patani allied with rulers in Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kedah in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. The downfall of Patani led to the rise of centers of Islamic learning in other areas of the Malay Peninsula, especially in Kelantan, Kedah, and Terengganu. Many of the *pondoks*, or boarding learning centers, were established by *'ulamā'* who were part of the diaspora evacuated from Patani. The downfall of Patani laid a twofold foundation for the flourishing of Islamic learning in the Malay Peninsula in the twentieth century: (i) the activation of *pondoks* in the Malay Peninsula, especially in Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kedah; and (ii) support for Southeast Asian Muslims who undertook Islamic learning in the Middle East. Finally, in 1908, the Sultanate of Patani was completely merged with Thailand. When the Federation of Malaya declared independence in 1957, Patani was not included in the Federation. See Syukri (1985, 62–64).
14. On the shift of the learning center from Mecca to al-Azhar, and the rise of the Salafi stream in Southeast Asia, see Shiozaki (2015).
15. Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin was born in Minangkabau, Sumatera Island, in 1869. After he studied both in Mecca and at al-Azhar in Cairo, he was appointed as a *muftī* in Perak in the Western Malay Peninsula. After his service as a *mufti*, he worked for Islamic education in Johor in the Southern Malay Peninsula. He promoted the Reformist thought of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā through periodical publications such as *al-Imam*, *al-Ikhwan* and *Saudara*. See Othman (2005a).
16. Even before the Salafi stream denounced the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*, there had been criticisms from a part of Sufi scholars. Sharia-oriented *taṣawwuf* stream including the Hadhrami *'ulamā'* – mainly al-Ghazālī's followers – often reproved advocates of *wahdat al-wujūd*. On the other hand, there were attempts to reconcile the tradition of al-Ghazālī's sharia-oriented *taṣawwuf* stream with that of Ibn 'Arabi's philosophical Sufism. On the attempts by Abdul Samad al-Palimbani and others, see Azra (2004, 128–139) and Moris (2011).
17. On the life and the thought of Ahmad Hassan, see Federspiel (2009).

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