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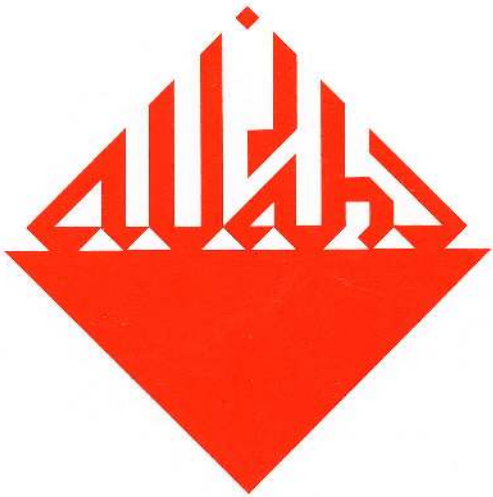

Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of *'Ulamā'* in Malaysia

William R. Roff

The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia

Jajat Burhanudin

On the Genesis of Intellectual Crossroads: Early Fragmentation in the Formation of Modern Indonesian Intelligentsia

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Jajat Burhanudin

The Fragmentation of Religious Authority:
Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia

Abstrak: *Ulama berperan menentukan dalam perkembangan Islam. Mereka adalah "penerjemah" ajaran Islam untuk konteks lokal, dan selanjutnya ikut menentukan corak keberagamaan Muslim. Peran inilah yang kemudian dikenal sebagai "pialang budaya"* (cultural broker). *Pesantren yang mereka pimpin, beserta penguasaan khazanah kitab kuning, merupakan basis institusi ulama.* Setting *pedesaan pesantren memperbesar peran dan otoritas ulama melampaui wilayah keagamaan. Mereka juga terlibat dalam persoalan-persoalan sosial- politik kaum Muslim.*

Di Indonesia, proses konsolidasi ulama berlangsung demikian intensif pada akhir abad ke-19. Periode tersebut ditandai dengan meningkatnya jumlah pesantren dan tarekat, tersebarnya kitab kuning, dan hubungan erat dengan Mekkah. Pengalaman sebagai komunitas Jawi—Muslim Indonesia yang tinggal untuk menuntut ilmu di Mekkah—menjadi salah satu faktor penting yang ikut memperkuat wibawa ulama. Pada periode itu pula peran politik ulama, sebagai satu kekuatan menentang kolonialisme, bisa dilihat.

Artikel ini membahas satu periode historis di mana peran ulama di atas mulai berubah. Ini berlangsung pada awal abad ke-20, saat modernisasi yang didorong kebijakan Politik Etis kolonial Belanda telah melahirkan corak mayarakat baru yang berbasis di perkotaan. Di sini, kaum Muslim tidak hanya hidup dalam suasana baru modern, tapi juga akrab bersentuhan dengan gagasan kemajuan (progress). *Bersamaan dengan itu, komunitas Jawi di Mekkah juga mulai berubah. Sebagian dari mereka mulai tertarik dengan gagasan pembaharuan Islam di Kairo, Mesir. Dan jumlah mereka meningkat pada 1920-an, yang selanjutnya melahirkan generasi baru Muslim (kaum muda), yang menyuarakan perlunya pembaharuan Islam guna mencapai kemajuan. Generasi baru kaum Muslim inilah yang mulai menggeser peran tradisional ulama dalam pembentukan wacana intelektual Islam di Indonesia. Salah satu bukti penting dari proses ini adalah media*

cetak—dalam bentuk jurnal, koran, dan buku—yang menjadi pembahasan artikel ini.

Dalam hal ini, al-Imam *di Singapura (1906-1908) dan* al-Munir *di Padang (1911-1916) adalah jurnal pertama yang dibahas. Jurnal ini diterbitkan sebagai corong untuk gerakan pembaharuan Islam di Asia Tenggara. Maka, pengaruh Kairo melalui jurnal* al-Manar *oleh Muḥammad 'Abduh dan Rashīd Riḍā demikian kuat, khususnya* al-Imam. *Ini bisa dilihat baik dari susunan redaksional, dipegang alumni Kairo, maupun substansi corak penyajian. Tidak sedikit tulisan dalam* al-Imam *berupa terjemahan dari* al-Manar. *Selain itu, yang terpenting,* al-Imam *dan* al-Munir *menyajikan pemikiran Islam yang berbeda dari para ulama di pesantren.*

Penerbitan media cetak selanjutnya dilakukan oleh hampir semua organisasi Islam pada awal abad ke-20. Didorong kegiatan serupa oleh elit baru hasil didikan sekolah modern, kalangan pembaharu Islam telah menjadikan media cetak sebagai salah satu agenda utama mereka. Sarekat Islam (SI), Muhammadiyah, dan Persis menerbitkan sejumlah jurnal dan harian. Bintang Islam *(1923) dan* Bendera Islam *(1924) adalah dua di antara media cetak yang diterbitkan tokoh SI dan Muhammadiyah. Di samping itu, kita mencatat lahirnya antara lain* Adil, Panjtaran Amal, al-Chair *dan media cetak lain yang diterbitkan cabang-cabang Muhammadiyah. Sementara itu Persis menerbitkan antara lain* Pembela Islam, al-Fatawa, *dan* Soal-Jawab.

*Penting dicatat, pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia, sebagaimana juga di Kairo, tidak bisa dilihat terpisah dari media cetak. Di samping lembaga pendidikan modern, media cetak berperan penting tidak hanya dalam proses diseminasi gagasan, tapi juga pembentukan satu corak baru keberagamaan yang berbasis pada bacaan independen terhadap teks (*print culture*). Pada titik inilah, gerakan pembaharuan Islam menghantam sendi bangunan otoritas tradisional ulama. Media cetak ini menggeser kitab kuning sebagai satu-satunya sumber pembelajaran Islam. Peran ulama sebagai pemegang monopoli dalam penciptaan makna-makna keagamaan dengan sendirinya mulai tertandingi oleh penulis jurnal atau harian.*

Dengan demikian, kehadiran media cetak telah membuka ruang lebar bagi kaum Muslim secara umum untuk mengkaji Islam, dan akhirnya menerjemahkan ajaran Islam yang relatif bebas dari dominasi para ulama dengan kitab kuningnya. Proses ini semakin kuat dengan terbitnya buku-buku keagamaan, yang meliputi bidang-bidang kajian Islam sebagaimana disediakan kitab kuning. Sehingga, dari sini keragaman dalam pemahaman dan praktik Islam tumbuh di kalangan Muslim Indonesia. Gerakan pembaharuan Islam pun telah memberi sumbangan penting di dalamnya.

Jajat Burhanudin

The Fragmentation of Religious Authority: Islamic Print Media in Early 20th Century Indonesia

خلاصة

يلعب الشيوخ والعلماء دورا حاسما في انتشار الإسلام إذ يقومون بترجمة التعاليم الإسلامية طبقا للظروف المحلية ويشاركون في تحديد الطابع الديني الذي يكون عليه المسلمون، وهذا الدور هو الذي كان يعرف باسم "دور الوسيط الثقافي"، وكان المعهد التراثي الذي يديرونه مع الإلمام التام بما تحتويه كتب التراث قاعدة رئيسية لمؤسساتهم، وكان وضع القرى والأرياف التي ينشئون فيها معاهدهم قد زاد من دورهم وسلطانهم بحيث يتعدى الحدود الدينية، فكان لهم تورط في القضايا الاجتماعية والسياسية للمسلمين.

وفي إندونيسيا كانت محاولة تعزيز موقف العلماء تسير بشكل مكثف في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي، فلقد شهدت تلك الفترة تزايد عدد المعاهد التراثية والطرق الصوفية مع سعة انتشار الكتب الصفراء وتوطد العلاقة مع مكة المكرمة، وكانت حالة الطلاب الإندونيسيين كجماعة من الجاويين المقيمين في مكة تمثل عاملا هاما في زيادة ثقل العلماء، وفي تلك الفترة أيضا يتضح دورهم السياسي كقوة ضد الاستعمار.

يتناول هذا البحث فترة تاريخية تعرض فيها ذلك الدور إلى التغير؛ ويحدث هذا في أوائل القرن العشرين عندما شهدت حركة التحديث التي باركتها الحكومة الاستعمارية الهولندية – نتيجة اتخاذ سياسة الأخلاق– طابعا جديدا في المجتمع اتخذ من المدن قاعدة له؛ وهنا لم يعش المسلم في ظروف جديدة وحديثة فحسب إنما أيضا صار قريب العهد بالأفكار التقدمية، وذلك في الوقت الذي كان المجتمع الجاوي بمكة المكرمة يبدأ في التغيير حيث بدأ بعضهم يتأثر بفكرة التجديد الإسلامية بالقاهرة، وكان عددهم يتزايد في العشرينات الأمر الذي يؤدي إلى نشوء جيل إسلامي جديد يؤمن بضرورة التجديد حتى يتحقق التقدم؛ وهذا الجيل الإسلامي الجديد هو الذي حول الدور التقليدي للعلماء والفقهاء في تكوين الفكر الإسلامي بإندونيسيا؛ ومما يشهد على ذلك الوسائل الطباعية — سواء كانت في صورة دوريات علمية أم صحف يومية أم الكتب — التي هي موضوع هذا البحث.

وفي هذا الصدد كانت الجورنال *الإمام* الصادرة في سينغافورة في الفترة ١٩٠٦ حتى ١٩٠٨ والجورنال *المنير* الصادرة في بادانج (Padang) إندونيسيا أولى هذه الوسائل الطباعية التي يتناولها البحث؛ فقد تم إنشاؤهما لتكون المتحدث الرسمي عن حركة التجديد الإسلامية في جنوب شرقي آسيا، فكان تأثير مجلة *المنار* التي أدراها الشيخان محمد عبده ورشيد رضا عليهما من القوة وبالأخص جورنال *الإمام* بحيث يظهر ذلك التأثير واضحا في ترتيب نصوصها وبحيث تديرها كوادر من المتخرجين المتفوقين من القاهرة، وكذلك من حيث الموضوعات الرئيسية التي تعرضها؛ وليس بقليل من المقالات الواردة في *الإمام* ما كانت مترجمة من *المنار* والأهم كذلك أن الأفكار الإسلامية التي تعرضها كل من *الإمام* و *المنير* مختلفة عما كانت عند العلماء وشيوخ المعاهد التراثية، ولم يلبث أن صارت معظم الجمعيات والمنظمات الإسلامية تستخدم وسائل الطباعة في أوائل القرن العشرين، وانطلاقا من النشاط المشابه الذي كان يقوم به أولئك الذين تمتعوا بالتعليم الحديث، فقد جعل رواد الحركة التجديدية الوسائل الطباعية للنشر جدول أعمالهم فأصدرت جمعيات شركات إسلام (Sarekat Islam) والمحمدية (Muhammadiyah) واتحاد الإسلام (Persis) عددا من المجلات والدوريات العلمية والصحف اليومية؛ فجورنال *Bintang Islam* أي *نجم الإسلام* (١٩٢٣) و *Bendera Islam* أي *لواء الإسلام* (١٩٢٤) من الوسائل الطباعية التي أصدرتها شركات إسلام والمحمدية، وبجانب ذلك نلاحظ وجود وسائل طباعية أخرى بعنوان *عادل* و *الخير* أصدرتها فروع المحمدية، بينما أصدرت جمعية اتحاد الإسلام *Pembela Islam* أي *المدافع عن الإسلام والفتاوى وسؤال وجواب*.

ومن الأهمية ملاحظة أن الحركة التجديدية في إندونيسيا وكذلك في القاهرة لا ينبغي فصلها عن الوسائل الطباعية فبجانب المؤسسة التعليمية الحديثة تحتل الوسائل الطباعية مكانة من الأهمية ليس فقط في عملية ترويج الأفكار وإنما أيضا في تكوين طابع جديد للتدين القائم على قراءة مستقلة للنصوص، وفي هذه النقطة بالذات توجه الحركة التجديدية ضربة على السلطة الدينية التي كان يتمتع بها الشيوخ والفقهاء؛ وتحتل الوسائل الطباعية محل الكتب الصفراء فلم تعد هذه الكتب المصدر الرئيسي لتعلم الإسلام وبالتالي فإن دور الفقهاء والشيوخ الذين كان لهم أن يحتكروا تحديد المفاهيم الدينية بدأ يتعرض لمنافسة كتاب المقالات في الجورنال والصحف.

وهكذا فإن ظهور الوسائل الطباعية قد فتح آفاق واسعة للمسلم أن يتعلم الاسلام وتعليمه بعيدا عن هيمنة الفقهاء والشيوخ مع كتبهم الصفراء، وهذه العملية تزداد تقدما بظهور الكتب الدينية الجديدة التي تتناول نفس الموضوعات التي كانت تتناولها الكتب الصفراء الأمر الذي أدى إلى تنوع في فهم الإسلام وتطبيقه عند المسلمين بإندونيسيا، وقد أسهمت الحركة التجديدية بدور هام في ذلك.

The early twentieth century was the period during which Islamic reformism began in Indonesia. Based on the reformist ideas of the Cairo *'ulamā'*, Indonesian Muslims began to engage in the project of purifying Muslims' religious practices and voicing the need to reformulate Islamic doctrines in the light of the modern spirit of progress. At the same time, the Dutch-supported modernisation, under the banner of the Ethical Policy (Niel 1984), provided the Islamic reform project with modern devices and facilities. Therefore, they also engaged in founding modern organizations, Dutch-style educational institutions, and publishing modern media: journals, newspapers and books. With this development, the Islamic reform movement signalled not only the rise of new Islamic thought, but also the formation of a new Muslim community, the urban-based Muslims, which contributed to creating a new configuration of Indonesian Islam.

This article will attempt to investigate an important element that constitutes one of the basic pillars of Muslim religious life, the institution of the *'ulamā'*. With the growth of Islamic reform, the *'ulamā'*—who had played such an important role as "cultural brokers" (Geertz 1959-60: 228-249) in Indonesian Islam— were the first Muslim elites to face the increasingly strong criticism and an urgent call for the thorough renovation of the *'ulamā'*-ship. The Islamic reform movement launched a direct attack on the foundation on which the power and prestige of the *'ulamā'* had traditionally been established, i.e. the *pesantren* (the traditional Islamic educational institution) and the *kitab kuning* (the Islamic classical books).[1] The reformists proposed replacing them with modern schools and print media.

As the title suggests however, the *'ulamā'* institution that this article intends to deal with is not exclusively associated with the traditional religious leaders as addressed by Geertz and other scholars.[2] Here, the term *'ulamā'* is used in a broader sense, denoting those who have legitimate authority primarily in the field of religion, i.e. reproducing socially accepted religious meanings within the Muslim community. Instead of viewing the *'ulamā'* as merely the local elites who perform a broker function "in the communication of Islam to the mass of the peasantry" (Geertz 1959-60: 230), in this article the discussion will focus on those crucial elements within the Muslim community who contribute to making the Muslims "Islamic", regardless of the nature and the articulation of their "Islamicity". Conceived as such, the definition of

'ulamā' is extended to include "almost every possible classification of groups within Islamic society, playing a multiplicity of political, social, and cultural roles" (Humphreys 1995: 187).

On the basis of the above argument, it is thus the style and mode of the religious leadership —far from exclusively referring to the leaders— that is the main focus of the discussion. In early twentieth century Indonesia, alongside the socio-political and cultural change within the society, this mode of religious leadership experienced a radical transformation. The modernisation process created a new social structure in Indonesian society, and at the same time led to the rise of the new religious leadership. Hence, those who had traditionally been recognized as the *'ulamā'* were no longer regarded as an authoritative body and could no longer monopolise the formation of Islamic intellectual discourses. The new social structure laid down strong foundations for a space in which the new Muslim leaders were involved in a contest to define the new standards of Indonesian Islam. As a result, the religious authority started to rest not only with the traditional Muslim leaders of *pesantrens*, but also with the writers of journals, newspapers, and books, as well as with political activists. The religious authority become fragmented and contested in nature. It is this fragmented authority that will be discussed in this article, with reference mainly to journals, books and newspapers.

The Institutionalisation of the *'Ulamā'*: The Late Nineteenth Century

> "Those who have ever been students of *pesantren* would have believed that their teacher [the *'ālim*] is a saint (*waly*) who has a [spiritual] power to communicate with Allah in order to gain His blessing... or, those who come and go to the villages introducing new ideas and thoughts to the villagers would realise how great the power of the *'ulamā'* (*kyais*) over the spiritual life of the Muslims is" (Djajadiningrat 1936: 199).

For reasons I will elucidate below, the period of the late nineteenth century is of special importance for the discussion in this paper. During this period, the history of Islam in Indonesia witnessed an important process that resulted in the formation of what can be termed as—to quote Gilbert (1980: 105-34)—"the institutionalisation" and even "the professionalisation" of the *'ulamā'*. Through the educational institutions they established, the *pesantrens*, the *'ulamā'* emerged as independent religious elites who

played a major role not only in the formation of Muslims' religious life, but also in the regulation of social and political affairs. The quotation above confirms such a condition of the *'ulamā'*.

It is worth of briefly explaining here that the demise of maritime kingdoms in the eighteenth century —partly because of the European intrusion into the trade network in the Indonesian ocean— was a turning point in the history of the *'ulamā'*. They transformed from being the appointed-officials, mainly as chiefs of religious courts (*qāḍī*),[3] into religious teachers in the *pesantrens*. Here, instead of being part of the "urban notables" in the royal domain (Lapidus 1967: 11-12), the *'ulamā'* became a part of rural community life in the interior areas, which in turn led them to be integrated into the rhythm of village life. Based on his observation of Javanese villages, Raffles stated that, besides being consulted "in all cases of marriage, divorce, and inheritance", the *'ulamā'* were "bound also to remind the villagers of the proper season for the cultivation of the lands" (Raffles 1978: II, 3). The *'ulamā'*'s position can also be gleaned from the work of Crawfurd, in which he described them as being a "respectable portion of the Javanese peasantry, living in terms of perfect equality of the ordinary cultivators" (Crawfurd 1820: II, 266).

Aside from the scarcity of historical sources, it is not the intention of this article to determine when the *pesantren*—or *pesantren*-like institutions, namely *surau* in West Sumatra and *dayah* in Aceh—began to exist.[4] Here, the main concern is that in the nineteenth century the *pesantrens* were established as the educational institutions of Indonesian Muslims. Dutch statistical sources from this period recorded that there were about fifteen thousands (15,000) *pesantrens* in Java and Madura, and about twenty-three thousand (23,000) *santris* (the students of *pesantren*) (van den Berg 1886: 518-9). This data is also supported by the account of Snouck Hurgronje during his travels to many areas in Java, also in the nineteenth century. He showed that the *pesantrens* could be found in many areas, and were firmly established as *'ulamā'*-led institutions that provided Muslims with Islamic learning (Wijoyo 1997: 36-45).

On a piece of land usually donated by the head of a village, an *'ālim* established a *pesantren*, which consisted of at least a mosque, a dormitory for *santris*,[5] and a house where the *'ālim* and his family lived (Dhofier 1982: 44-5). It was within the *pesantrens* that the *'ālim* gave the *santris* instructions on Islamic knowledge and ritual practices. When the number of *santris* increased, the *pesantren* was

transformed into a "religious community", with a specific mode of life where learning and practicing Islam were the main concerns. The *pesantren* became an exemplary Islamic centre within the village. Supported by the rural circumstances, the *'ulamā'* emerged as highly respected elites with great spiritual power, as the above quotation reveals. From the *pesantren*, the Islamic mode of life was gradually nurtured in the village community. Beginning with this process, the *'ulamā'* then acted as what Geertz termed "cultural brokers", who played a major role in the development of the "orthodoxy and heterodoxy of local practices in terms of the Koranic Law, and who adjust this rather inflexible ideal system to Javanese realities" (1959-60: 238).

The authority of *pesantrens* became stronger as the *'ulamā'* had the opportunity to live and study in the Middle East, in particular Mecca. Here, Mecca became a destination for intellectual pursuits and the centre of the religious authority of the *'ulamā'*. In the late nineteenth century, in line with the increasing number of Indonesian Muslims who performed the *ḥajj* (Verdenbregt 1962: 91-154), the intellectual network with the Middle East intensified. The growing number of Indonesians in Mecca, the "*Jāwah*", meant that the Holy City played a more significant role in the formation of Islamic intellectual discourses in Indonesia than it had during the two previous centuries (Azra 1992). The *Jāwah* were responsible for Mecca becoming "the heart of the religious life of the East-Indian archipelago" (Snouck Hurgronje 1931: 291). They greatly contributed to the transmission of Mecca-oriented Islam to Indonesia. The *pesantrens*—the majority of which were led by the returned *ḥajj* and Mecca-trained *'ulamā'*—functioned as the institutional foundations for this transmission.

The role of the *pesantrens* as sites of transmission can obviously be seen in the circulation of religious books in the institutions (van den Berg 1886: 519-55).[6] These books, which came to be popularly known as "*kitab kuning*", were the textbooks for Islamic learning in the *pesantrens*. They were written by both the Meccan and the Indonesian *'ulamā'*, in both Arabic and Indonesian languages, using Arabic script, and contained the subjects studied in the *pesantrens*. Based on their contents, the *kitab kuning* can be roughly classified into several categories: jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology (*'aqīdah*), Arabic grammar (*naḥw* and *ṣarf*), *ḥadīth* collections, Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), morality (*akhlāq*), and other collections of prayers and invocations as well as those in praise of the Prophet (van Bruinessen 1990: 229).

In addition to writing and translating the *kitab kuning*, the important role of the *Jāwah* is confirmed by the *fatwā* collection. The increase in the number of *Jāwah* led them to become actively involved in social and religious affairs in their home countries. Being a distinct community, intensive interaction was established amongst the *Jāwah*, which then led to a growing awareness of belonging to their own Muslim countries. Therefore, the *Jāwah* were no longer solely concerned with seeking Islamic knowledge (*talab al-'ilm*) from the Meccan *'ulamā'*, but were also engaged in requests for advice (*istiftā'*) in order to solve disputed social and religious matters in Indonesia. As a result, Meccan *fatwās* that dealt with various topics concerning Indonesian Islam began to appear. Here we have the *Muhimmat al-Nafā'is*.

As studied by Kaptein (1997a; 1995: 141-60), the *Muhimmat al-Nafā'is* is the most exemplary *fatwā* collection dealing with Indonesian Islam in the nineteenth century. Most of the *fatwās* in the *Muhimmat* were issued by the Meccan *muftī* of the Shāfi'ītes, Aḥmad ibn Zainī Daḥlān (1817-1886). He issued the *fatwās* on the basis of requests (*istiftā'*) from Indonesian and Southeast Asian Muslims. The *fatwās* in the *Muhimmat* indicated its being a part of the transmitted Islamic discourse in the nineteenth century. Aḥmad ibn Zainī Daḥlān was one of the popular authors of the *kitab kuning*. Seven of the works circulated in *pesantrens* are identified as being from his collection (van Bruinessen 1994: 236). As well, the main substance of the *Muhimmat* concerns ritual practices (*'ibādah*), which formed the core of the *pesantren* tradition of Islamic learning.

One *fatwā* from the *Muhimmat* therefore stressed the importance of Muslims, both the *'ulamā'* (orang yang *khāss*) and ordinary Muslims (orang yang *'ām*), studying the *kitab* by Ibn Ḥajar, *Kitāb al-Zawājir 'an Iqtirāf al-Kabā'ir*, and credited this *kitab* as being a noble one (Kaptein 1997a: 164, 199). The *fatwā* is of special importance. One of the works of Ibn Ḥajar, *Tuhfāt al-Muḥtāj*, was studied in highly prestigious *pesantrens*. The *Tuhfāt* was an ultimate reference for the Shāfi'ī school of legal thought, which the Indonesian *'ulamā'* consulted when solving difficult cases (van Bruinessen 1994: 244-5). Hence, the previously mentioned *fatwā* from the *Muhimmat* not only reveals the same discourse of *kitab kuning* in the *pesantrens*, but also reflects "the nature of and level of traditionalist Islamic thinking" in Indonesian Islam (Kaptein 1997a: 15).

Mecca was very important as the intellectual centre for Indonesian Islam in the nineteenth century. The experience of studying

there enhanced the authority of Indonesian *'ulamā'* (Djajadiningrat 1936: 201), and in turn saw the firm institutionalisation of the *'ulamā'*. Supported by the *Ṣūfī* element of the *pesantren* tradition (Madjid 1974: 103-15),[7] as well as facilitated by the traditional culture of the rural social setting, the *'ulamā'* of *pesantrens* became venerated figures who determined almost all aspects of *pesantren* life. They tended to be regarded as "embodying the religious ideals", and the *santris* completely followed their instructions (Wahid 1974: 45-6; Dhofier 1982: 82-3).

The obedience of *santris* to their *'ulamā'* extended beyond the *pesantren*. The *'ulamā'* were recognized as spiritual mentors for their entire life. For the *santris*, the lifestyle of the *'ulamā'* became an idealised mode of living that they attempted to emulate. Most *santris* tried to build *pesantrens* in their respective areas of origin after they "finished" studying with certain *'ulamā'*. As a result, the *'ulamā'*-*santri* relationship remained intact, and even became a foundation for the formation of *'ulamā'* networks. Building *pesantrens* came to be recognized as a yardstick of the success of the *pesantren* tradition of Islamic learning (Wahid 1974: 41). In turn, it also came to be accepted as a requirement of being recognized as an *'ālim*. The expansion of *pesantrens* in the nineteenth century resulted from this relationship between the *'ulamā'* and the *santris*.

In addition to indicating a religious revival, as Kartodirdjo asserts (1966: 155-6), the increasing numbers of *pesantrens* marked the rise of an "*'ulamā'* community" in nineteenth century Indonesia. They became a distinct community with a specific lifestyle, who defined themselves as religious advisers with superiority both in terms of Islamic knowledge and their social position within the Muslim community (Dhofier 1982: 61-2). This position led the *'ulamā'* to engage in the protest movements against colonialism. The *'ulamā'* provided the movement—which was basically economically and politically motivated—with ideological justification formulated in Islamic terms. The Bantenese revolt of 1888, the Padri war in West Sumatra and the Java war, are some examples where the *'ulamā'* was involved in the movement.[8]

This development not only strengthened the social position of *'ulamā'* within the community, but also meant that, along with their *pesantrens*, they became institutionalised to the extent that they emerged as a "sub-culture" (Wahid 1974: 39-60) in Indonesian Islam. Since then, the term "*santri*" has had a broader mean-

ing, denoting the *'ulamā'*-led communities. This process intensified as the *'ulamā'* encountered the new Islamic voices presented by Dutch-appointed *'ulamā'*, the *penghulu*, and the Honorary Advisor on Arab Affairs, an official government position (Hisyam 2001; Suminto 1985). A well-known Ḥaḍramī scholar, Said Oesman, is a good example. He was appointed to this governmental post as Honorary Advisor on Arab Affairs in 1891 on the recommendation of his future patron, Snouck Hurgronje. He not only voiced Islamic discourse supporting the Dutch colonial policy on Islam, blaming the *'ulamā'* of *pesantrens* and the followers of *ṭarīqahs* (*Sūfī* orders) for their "foolishness" in backing the revolt of Banten in 1888, but he also accused them of practicing local innovation (*bid'a*) and heresy in their religious life (Laffan 203: 87-8).[9]

Far from threatening the *'ulamā'* of the *pesantrens*, the above development meant that they became more firmly consolidated. It was in the early twentieth century, with the emergence of new urban Muslims, that the established sub-culture of *pesantrens* began to be challenged.

Changing Perceptions and Networks: The Early Twentieth Century

While most of the *'ulamā'* continued to hold consolidated power over the rural Muslim communities, new developments began to take place in the newly urbanised areas of Indonesia. It started with the changing colonial policy that was concerned with the welfare of Indonesians, the "Ethical policy". Voiced notably by a lawyer who had experience living in Indonesia (1889-97), van Deventer, this new policy began to put into practices in the hands of W.F. Idenburg as he became Minister of Colonies (1902-5, 1908-9, 1918-19). In addition to the economic developments and social changes, the most notable impact of the Ethical Policy was the growth in the number of new elites with modern education. Although their number was insignificant in terms of the total population of Indonesia,[10] this newly emerging elite constituted a crucial segment of society who determined the course of Indonesian history.

The new elites advocated the progress (*kemajuan*) of Indonesia. They emerged as the first group to take the initiative to call for progress for Indonesians. Here, Abdul Rivai, a Minangkabau graduate from the Dokter-Jawa school, played an important role. In *Bintang Hindia* (Star of the Indies)—an influential Malay-language

journal he published with Clockener Brousson in the Netherlands in 1902— Abdul Rivai advocated not only the notion of, but also the need for *kemajuan* for Indonesians. Designed in the framework of the Ethical Policy, *Bintang Hindia* equated *kemajuan* with achieving Western standards of modernity.[11] Abdul Rivai stressed that Indonesians did not "follow antiquated rules [*atoeran koeno*] but are, on the contrary, anxious to achieve self-respect through knowledge and the sciences [*ilmoe*]" (*Bintang Hindia*, 14, 1905: 159; Adam (1995: 104).

Through *Bintang Hindia*, Abdul Rivai not only introduced and popularised the idea of progress amongst the "*kaum muda*"(young faction), but also contributed to the inclusion of *kemajuan* in the heart of intellectual discourse. Although he offered a different definition of progress—arguing that it should be used to elaborate local wisdom—Datuk Sutan Maharadja of Minangkabau nevertheless supported and led the Malay "Young Faction" in 1906. He also backed education for women. He established the first weaving school in Padang in 1909 and organized the publication of the first feminist newspaper, *Soenting Melaju* (Malay Ornament) in 1911. This newspaper, edited by Ratna Djuita (his daughter) and then Rohana Kudus, became the first forum for educated Minangkabau women (Abdullah 1971: 12-3).

In Java, the idea of *kemajuan* inspired Wahidin Soedirohoesodo (1857-1917), who graduated from the same school as Ahmad Rivai, to build the first modern organization for Javanese *priyayi* (upper class), Budi Utomo, in 1908. As he was concerned with the status of *priyayi*, he became the editor of *Retnadhoemilah*—a periodical for the *priyayi* readership—and Wahidin also inspired Budi Utomo to define its prime area of interest as providing Western education for the Javanese *priyayi* (Ricklefs 2001: 207-8; Nagazumi 1972).

With the growth in the number of educated Indonesians, the idea of *kemajuan* became a prominent issue in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. The educated Indonesian elite became a community who greatly appreciated the idea. This issue was also supported by the development of the local press, which facilitated the communication of ideas amongst the elites in accessible language and script—Indonesian in roman script. Included in this community readership were the urban and entrepreneurial Muslims. Mostly concentrated in the religious centres of Javanese towns, *kauman*, these urban Muslims were not only familiar with

the modern lifestyle of urban communities, but were also open to the idea of progress.

Here, Tirtoadisurjo (1880-1918), a graduate from OSVIA, played important role. In 1909 he founded Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) in Batavia, and one year later he set up a similar organisation in Bogor. Both were aimed to support the Indonesian traders, who were increasingly in conflict with the Chinese. In addition, he was also involved in publishing. *Soenda Berita* was the first Malay-language weekly he published, in 1903, and was financed by indigenous Indonesians and was printed in Cianjur, West Java. In 1907 he founded the weekly *Medan Prijaji* in Batavia, which then changed into a daily in 1910 (Ricklefs 2001: 210-1). It was also Tirtoadisurjo who inspired a successful *batik* trader in Solo, H. Samanhudi (1868-1956), to establish a SDI in 1911 (Noer 1980: 115-6). However, before we turn to the discussion on Islamic movements, I will discuss the *Jāwah* community in Mecca.

At the turn of the century, whilst enjoying being at the heart of the traditional mode of learning, the *Jāwah* community in Mecca did not escape from the rise of the new religious orientation. The Islamic reform in Cairo, Egypt, propagated by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Rashīd Riḍā, reached the *Jāwah* in Mecca. *Al-Manar*, the Islamic reform journal of Cairo—first published in 1898 under the editorship of Rashīd Riḍā—received attention from the *Jāwah* community in Mecca. The circulation of *Al-Manar* had impacts in that it led to the emergence of a new scholarly interest in Cairo by the *Jāwah*. Here, the experience of Ahmad Khatib (d. 1915)—a Minangkabau *'ālim* who lived in Mecca and became an intellectual master for the *Jāwah*—provides us with an illustration. He was at the centre of the traditional mode of Islamic learning, yet he did not disregard the new scholarly orientation that began to emerge amongst the *Jāwah* community in Mecca. He is said to have encouraged his *Jāwah* students to read *Al-Manar* in order to refute its reformist message (Noer 1980: 39).

Thus, the Islamic reform movement of Cairo began to attract some of the *Jāwah* of Mecca, albeit only a few. Thaher Djalaluddin (1869-1956), a maternal relative of Ahmad Khatib, was one of those who became interested in Islamic reform.[12] After spending fifteen years in Mecca, in 1895 he moved to al-Azhar to complete his studies in astronomy (*'ilm al-falāk*). It was during his four year period of study at al-Azhar, as a resident of *riwāq al-Jāwī*, that Thaher Djalaluddin came into contact with Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā

(Laffan 2003: 129; Othman 1994: 227). This Cairo experience greatly contributed to his future career as an editor of the reformist journal *Al-Imam* in Singapore in 1906, as I will discuss below.

Cairo, thanks largely to the modernisation efforts of its rulers, became one of the most urbanised cities in the Middle East (Vatikiotis 1969: 74-89). Especially under the French-educated Khedive Ismā'il Pāshā (r. 1867-79), Cairo not only experienced a rapid change into a modern metropolitan city, but it also witnessed the rise of new intellectuals who promoted the foundation of modern institutions, in addition to the emergence of the reformist *'ulamā'* previously mentioned. Rifā'a Badawī Rāfī' al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873) is one of the most important figures in this context. After studying in Paris, he became the editor of the official gazette, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriya*, which played an important role in creating modern public opinions in Egypt, and he was also Inspector for Education and the Head of the State Translation Bureau (Hourani 1983: 71). Another figure that must be mentioned here is 'Alī Mubārak Pasha (1823-1893). Like al-Ṭahṭāwī, he studied in France, from 1867-1868, before being appointed as the Minister for Schools and Public Works during the reign of Khedive Ismā'il Pāshā. Figures such as al-Ṭahṭāwī and Mubārak became the main actors in the modernisation of Egypt through the foundation of modern schools, journals and infrastructure.

It was this modernisation, along with the direct contact with reformist 'Abduh and Riḍā, that attracted the *Jāwah* students to Cairo. It provided them with the experience of living in an urban climate, in which the modern spirit of *kemajuan* enlightened the Muslim way of life. It was perhaps this modern circumstance that inspired Sayyid Shaikh al-Hadi (1867-1934), a close friend of Thaher Djalaluddin and also an editor of *Al-Imam*, to choose Cairo as a setting for his literary work, *Taridah Hanum* (Hooker 2000: 20-1). Sayyid al-Hadi once visited Cairo as a guide for relatives of the Sultan of the Riau-Lingga kingdom who enrolled at a private preparatory school in Cairo (Laffan 2003: 129-30; Roff 1967: 62-4). This modern Cairo also captured the attention of *Al-Munir*, the reformist journal of West Sumatra in 1911. In one edition (3, 1913: 35-36), *Al-Munir* praised the Egyptian rulers for having cooperated with the British and thus creating progress for the society. This experience in Egypt was used by *Al-Munir* as an example to support its mission of encouraging Indonesian Muslims to cooperate with and have loyal attitudes towards the Dutch government.

Thus the Islamic reform movement developed only one aspect —albeit an important one—of the modernisation that the *Jāwah* students observed in Cairo. The use of newspapers and printing presses also inspired the *Jāwah* students. Cairo, endorsed by the relatively tranquil policy of the British towards the press, emerged as the centre of a new modern Muslim print-culture (Laffan 2003: 143).[13] The experiences of 'Abduh and Riḍā showed the effectiveness of the printing press. *Al-Manar*, the journal they published, significantly contributed to the Islamic reform movement of Cairo reaching a worldwide Muslim readership.[14] The printing press — which had been rejected by Muslims due to its secularising impacts on the sacred transmission of Islamic learning (Anderson 1993: 229-351)— became an inherent part of the reform movement in the Muslim world. It was partly due to the use of the printing press that Cairo became an increasingly important centre of religious authority, gradually replacing Mecca as "the heart" of Indonesian Muslims' religious life.

Thus, while the number of *Jāwah* in Cairo increased —mostly coming from Padang and other areas in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula (Laffan 2003: 136-7)— and peaked as the *Jāwah* community in the 1920s (Roff 1970: 73-87), the number of requests for *fatwās* (*istiftā'*) by Indonesian and South East Asian Muslims to *Al-Manar* mounted (Bluhm 1983: 35-42). The requests for *fatwās* not only signalled the "links in the chain of transmission" from the Cairo Islamic reform movement to Indonesia and South East Asia (Bluhm 1997: 295-308), but also proved, I would ague, the power of the printing press in the spread of Islamic reform. *Al-Manar* functioned as an effective means of channelling the dissemination of Islamic reform in "a synthesised and easily digestible form" (Bluhm 1997: 298). The huge number of *istiftā'* clearly indicated that *Al-Manar* had a wide Muslim readership in Indonesia and South East Asia. More importantly, this journal facilitated the involvement of Muslims in the discourse on Islamic reform. As briefly discussed above, it was on the power of the printing press that the relaxed attitude of Ahmad Khatib towards the Islamic reform movement rested.

Facilitated by Dutch printing technology, therefore, the reformist Muslims of the early twentieth century—including the Arabs (Monini-Kesheh (1996: 237-256)—prioritised the printing presses as a leading component of Islamic reform. They not only indicated the rise of the new face of Islam, the "reformists", but also

demonstrated a distinct characteristic that distinguished these reformists from the *'ulamā'* of *pesantrens* with their *kitab kuning*. With the printing press, in addition to modern educational institutions, the Islamic reform movement of Cairo was "positioned" to become an inherent part of—and contribute to—the process of change for Muslims in modern Indonesia in the early twentieth century.

The Pioneers: *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir*

Let me begin with *Al-Imam*. It has to be stated from the outset that *Al-Imam* had a very special place in the history of Islamic publications in the Malay-Indonesian world. The journal was not only the first Islamic reformist publication to appear in the area, but it also provided historical evidence of its established networks with Cairo. *Al-Imam* was based and modelled on *Al-Manar*, the Islamic reformist journal in Cairo (Roff 1967: 59; Abaza 1998: 93-111). First appearing in Singapore in 1906, *Al-Imam* was concerned with the dissemination of Cairo-based reformist ideas in the Malay-Indonesian world. Like *Al-Manar*, the idea of progress (*kemajuan*) for Muslims was an important issue in *Al-Imam*; the journal was purported "to remind those who are forgetful, to awaken those who are asleep, to give direction to those who are led astray, to give a voice to those who speak with wisdom, to persuade Muslims to try their utmost to live in accordance with the commands of Allah, and to achieve the greatest happiness in this contemporary life and gain God's pleasure in the Hereafter" (*Al-Imam*, I, July 1906).[15] In addition, the networks with Cairo can also be seen from the editors of this journal. Thaher Djalaluddin from Padang, West Sumatra, Sayid Shaikh al-Hadi from Singapore, and Hadji Abbas bin Mohamad Taha from Aceh had close contact with the Islamic reform movement in Cairo and actively engaged in the Islamic reform movement in the Malay-Indonesian world.[16]

Another journal to be included here is *Al-Munir* from Padang, West Sumatra, the first area in Indonesia where the seeds of Islamic reform can be clearly seen (Noer 1973: 30).[17] Published from 1911 to 1916, *Al-Munir* was founded as the reformist journal of the *kaum muda* in West Sumatra, to continue the role and spirit of *Al-Imam* (which ceased publishing in 1908) in spreading Islamic reform in Indonesia (Adam 1995: 140).[18] Haji Abdullah Ahmad, the founder and editor of *Al-Munir*, even "copied the motto as well as the form of *Al-Imam* in his periodical" (Noer 1973: 35).[19] In fact, Abdullah Ahmad had close contact with *Al-Imam*, as he was its

representative in Padang Panjang. His visit to Singapore in 1908 may have provided him with the opportunity to learn the technical and management skills to publish a journal (Azra 1991: 92). He was the sole pioneer of *Al-Imam*. His name was so often associated with this journal that he was even called "H. Abdullah Al-Munir" (Yunus 1979: 157).

Taking into account its genealogy, *Al-Munir* had almost the same concerns as *Al-Imam*. *Al-Munir* was designed to be the "beacon that illuminated the environment". The editor of *Al-Munir* explained the objectives of this journal. First, to lead the Malay Muslims of Sumatra to have true religious beliefs and practices; second, to nurture peace and harmony among human beings and to loyally serve the government; and third, to enlightened Muslims with knowledge and wisdom (*Al-Munir* 1, 1, 1911: 6; Azra 1999: 94). In the 1913 edition, the editors of *Al-Munir* were required—due to increasing objections to its publication—to reconfirm and emphasise it main objectives: "to present the true Islamic religion and to establish the true *sharī'ah* of the Prophet Muhammad by encouraging the revitalisation of the Prophetic tradition (*sunnah*) and condemning the religious innovation (*bid'ah*) in Muslim religious practices" (*Al-Munir* 3, 2, 1913: 18). *Al-Munir* explained the above objective in order to locate the practices of Islam in terms of the main sources of Islamic teachings: the Qur'ān, the Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*), and the tradition of the Prophet's Companions. They must be the "foundation" (*neraca*) on which all religious differences and controversies are solved (*Al-Munir* 3, 2, 1913: 18).

Thus, both *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir* were concerned mainly with the religious affairs of Malay-Indonesian Muslims, not directly with the social and political movement that began to appear in Malay-Indonesia. These two journals presented Islam in a new way, which was appropriate to the increasingly modernised society, and served as a new force in creating progress. Therefore, the traditional Muslim religious practices in Malay-Indonesia, which were deemed to be contaminated by local customs (*adat*) and beliefs, became the subject of criticism in the journals. *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir* strongly emphasised that the impurities in religious beliefs and practices should be cleansed. For this reason, these two journals stressed the urgency of Muslims returning to the true Islam in the Qur'an and Hadith, and practicing *ijtihād* (independent investigation) rather than *taqlīd* (blind obedience) when understanding Islamic doctrines.[20]

It is not my intention to delineate the entire contents of these journals. Here, the discussion will concentrate on several issues that reveal the transmission of Islam from Cairo to Malay-Indonesia and its related networks. It must be remembered that the emergence of these journals, and Islamic publication in general, constituted a reformist phenomena. With the availability of modern print technology in Malay-Indonesia urban centres in the early twentieth century (de Graaf 1969), the reformist *'ulamā'* began to involve themselves in the field of publication. They presented Islam as a central discourse for the urban Muslims, especially the Western-educated elites, who also created their own press (Adam 1995: 108-124). As such, the transmission of Islamic reform, in particular the views published in *Al-Manar* of Cairo, became the main concern of the journals. This proceeded in line with the changing scholarly direction of Malay-Indonesian Muslims, as they began to see al-Azhar in Cairo as a source of religious authority. The journals *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir* are taken to be the most important examples. In addition to their objectives, models and editors, as identified above, the influence of *Al-Manar* of Cairo on these journals can be gleaned from the fact that they published several articles and other pieces of writing from *Al-Manar*.

Transmitting Islamic Reform

In the edition of August 29 1908, the editors of *Al-Imam* informed its readers that this journal would start publishing Qur'ānic commentary (*tafsīr al-Qur'ān*) and from then on *Al-Imam* had a special space for regularly publishing *tafsīr*. What is important to stress is that the Qur'ānic commentary in *Al-Imam* is a Malay translation of that published in *Al-Manar*. *Al-Imam* frankly stated its source and the origin of the *tafsīr*, as can be seen in the quotation below:

> As already mentioned in the previous edition of *Al-Imam*, we promised to provide our readers with a translation of the Qur'ānic commentary in *Al-Imam*, which is derived from the lectures by the late al-Ustādh Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh at al-Azhar. In order to fulfil our promise, here in this volume we begin by presenting the Introduction [of the Qur'ānic commentary], which was delivered in a lecture by Muḥammad 'Abduh at al-Azhar on the month of Muḥarram 1316 H, and it was also published in the third volume of *Al-Manar* (*Al-Imam*, No. 4, vol. 3, 1908).

This quotation strongly proves the cited opinion that *Al-Imam* adopted, to a significant extent, the writings in *Al-Manar*. Moreover, with this Qur'ānic commentary *Al-Imam* provided obvious evidence of the increasing importance of Cairo as the bastion of Islamic intellectual discourse for the Malay-Indonesian world in the early twentieth century. The *tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, the subject that *Al-Imam* translated for Malay audiences, formed one of the foremost sections of Islamic knowledge. The *tafsīr* provides the core framework of Muslims' understanding of the basic source of the Islamic doctrine, the Qur'ān, which in turn determines Muslims' religious thoughts and practices. With the translation of this *tafsīr*, the journal *Al-Imam* presented one of the most fundamental pillars of Islamic doctrine to the Muslims of Malay-Indonesia. *Al-Manar* of Cairo, and in particular the ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh, were taken as the foundation for its efforts to introduce and spread the Islamic reformist ideas.

Added to this is the fact that the Qur'ānic commentary of Muḥammad 'Abduh, which came to be included in the *Tafsīr al-Manār* by Rashīd Riḍā —his pupil who completed 'Abduh's work on *tafsīr*— represented a modern tendency and the rationalistic attitudes of this Muslim interpretation of the Qur'ān (Jansen 1974: 20-21).[21] For the Muslims of Malay-Indonesia, and also for the Egyptians, the Qur'ānic commentary of 'Abduh was a radical departure in the field of *tafsīr* literature, different from the *tafsīr* works that had already been circulated in the traditional Islamic learning institutions, *pesantren* and *surau*, in which the classical *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by al-Suyūṭī and al-Maḥallī was the most ubiquitous work (van Bruinessen 1990: 253-254). Muḥammad 'Abduh, and perhaps also *Al-Imam*, intended to explain the Qur'ān in a practical manner to a broader public than the classical *tafsīr* could provide, whose audience mostly consisted of professional theologians and the *santri* community of *pesantrens* and *surau*.

Hence, *Al-Imam* with its *tafsīr al-Qurā'n*, significantly contributed to providing its Malay-Indonesian Muslim audience with new and rationalistic perspectives for understanding the Qur'ān. Moreover, this *tafsīr* was published in a Malay translation, so that it could be accessed more easily by a larger number of Malay-Indonesian Muslims, especially those in urban areas who were increasingly in intense contact with modern circumstances. Although I could not establish a direct response to *Al-Imam*'s publication of this *tafsīr*, it can argued here that 'Abduh's Qur'ānic commentary

—and the ideas of Islamic reform in general— were appreciatively received. *Al-Imam* continued publishing the *tafsīr* in its following editions, and even in its headlines. During the subsequent few years of the early twentieth century the Cairo-based Islamic reform movement had important impacts in Malay-Indonesia. Before we come to this discussion, however, others aspects of the transmission of Islam from Cairo to Malay-Indonesia should be noted.

The influence of Cairo can be seen from another major section of *Al-Imam*, *"Ilmu dan Ulama"*. It was a translated version of the work by an Egyptian *'ālim*, Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmadī. It began to appear in *Al-Imam* on July 1908, one month before the Qur'ānic commentary of Muḥammad 'Abduh. As in the case of 'Abduh's *tafsīr*, *Al-Imam* mentioned the origin of its article *"Ilmu dan Ulama"*:

> This ["Ilmu dan Ulama"] is translated from the work of Shaikh Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmadī, one of the leading *'ulamā'* in al-Azhar, Egypt. We publish this article in *Al-Imam* piece by piece, so that the readers of *Al-Imam* know the characters, the position, and the occupation (*pekerjaan*) of the *'ulamā'* (*Al-Imam*, vol. 2, No. 3, 1908).

As its title reveals, *"Ilmu dan Ulama"* (*'Ilm* and *'ulamā'*) presented a discussion on the nature of those associated with religious authority in the Islamic tradition, the *'ulamā'*. In this respect, besides describing the *'ulamā'* as contributing to the provision of religious knowledge for Muslims, *Al-Imam* strongly urged the *'ulamā'* to play a leading role in creating progress for Muslims in the contemporary world. For *Al-Imam*, the role of the *'ulamā'*, which had been concentrated mostly in the field of Islamic education, "ought to be expanded to those concerned with worldly affairs, so that they benefit the wider public" (*Al-Imam*, 2, July 1908). As in the case of the *tafsīr* discussed above, with "Ilmu dan Ulama" *Al-Imam* concerned itself with an important aspect of Muslim religious knowledge, which was regarded as one of major contributing factors in the creation of the expected progress of Muslims.

As was also evident in other writings, cultivating knowledge was one of the main concerns of *Al-Imam*. For instance, in the introductory editorial of its first edition, *Al-Imam* strongly emphasised the importance of having knowledge as "the weapon by which victory in the battlefields of life can be achieved; it is the connect-

ing factor that brings most people to their destination of greatness and excellence" (*Al-Imam*, 1, July 1906). At the same time, *Al-Imam* also attributed the backwardness of Muslims in Malay-Indonesia to their laziness in acquiring knowledge. It was here that *Al-Imam*'s publication of *"Ilmu dan Ulama"* had social and religious significance. It was part of the strategy of reform that *Al-Imam* tried to establish in the Malay-Indonesian world. As with the *tafsīr*, *Al-Imam* took the Cairo *'ulamā'* as a source for its efforts at reform.

The above articles are just two examples of the transmission of Islamic reform from *Al-Manar* in Cairo to *Al-Imam* in Malay-Indonesia. References to *Al-Manar*, and also other Egyptian journals and *'ulamā'*, were sometimes made in *Al-Imam*. In the edition of May 1907, for instance, *Al-Imam* published a translation of a work by an Egyptian Nationalist, Muṣṭafā Kāmil, *al-Shams al-Mushriqah* (Cairo: 1904), which became an article with the title *"Matahari Memancar"* (The Rising Sun).[22] In the *fatwā* column, *tanya-jawab*, *Al-Imam* frequently quoted *Al-Manar*. To mention just one example, *Al-Imam* obviously followed *Al-Manar* when answering a request for a *fatwā* (*istiftā'*) concerning the *Ṣūfī* order (*tarīqah*) of Naqsybandiyyah. In this case, *Al-Imam* stated that "as already explained in our partner, the journal *Al-Manar* in Egypt", Muslims' practice of the order should be based on *sharī'ah*. *Al-Imam* then stressed that "there is no doubt in the legal explanation *Al-Manar* has already given on this subject" (*Al-Imam* 5, October 1908).

In addition to *Al-Imam*, references to *Al-Manar* can be found in the *Al-Munir* journal of Padang, West Sumatra. Published in order to continue the spirit of *Al-Imam*, as already discussed above, *Al-Munir* had almost the same aims and attitudes in relation to the Cairo journal, *Al-Manar*. One of the best examples of this is the *fatwā* dealing with the issue of dress. This *fatwā* is of specific importance in that it not only proved the transmission from *Al-Manar* to *Al-Munir*—as *Al-Munir* took and published the *fatwā* from *Al-Manar*— but it also demonstrated an obvious dialogue between these two journals, which occurred alongside the mounting requests for the *fatwā* to *Al-Manar* (Bluhm 1983: 35-42). *Al-Manar* (14, 1911: 669-671) published questions from Abdullah Ahmad, the editor of *Al-Munir*, who requested *fatwā*s on several disputed subjects, two of which dealt with the issue of dress in Islam.[23] He asked about the legal status of Muslims who wore European dress, mentioning in particular hats (*topi*) and neckties (*dasi*), and wheth-

er these Muslims overstepped the boundaries of Islam or not. He posed this question because of the *fatwā* issued by the local *'ulamā'* of West Sumatra[24] forbidding the wearing of European dress, with the argument from the Prophetic tradition that "Whosoever imitates a group belongs to them". Abdullah Ahmad then questioned the nature and authenticity of this saying of the Prophet, and the meaning of term "imitate" (*tashābuh*) in it.

It was the answer by Rāshīd Riḍā in *Al-Manar* that became the basis of Abdullah Ahmad's issuing a *fatwā* on the same issue of dress in *Al-Munir*. In an edition of the same year (17, 1911: 231-233), *Al-Munir* published a *fatwā* that was the same in substance as the one in *Al-Manar*, stating that Islam does not have any particular instructions about dress or a particular style of wearing it, except for in the specific ritual of *iḥrām* during the *ḥajj* and *'umrah*, and even then it does not mean that those who do not wear the ritual dress of *iḥrām* are unbelievers. In this discussion, what is of specific importance is the fact that *Al-Munir*, like *Al-Imam*, made *Al-Manar* of Cairo its foundation when dealing with disputed religious subjects in Malay-Indonesia. Abdullah Ahmad frankly stated that the *fatwā* of "the Egyptian *'ulamā'* and their journal" (*ulama Mesir dan Majalah mereka itu*) should be taken into account in his issuance of the cited *fatwā* in *Al-Munir*.

Al-Munir's reference to *Al-Manar* of Cairo can also be identified in the *fatwā* dealing with the issue of the movement of certain body parts as a sign of something about to happen to a particular individual. This question was sent by Mahmud bin Shaikh Muhammad Idris from Tilatang, Bukit Tinggi West Sumatra (*Al-Munir*, 3, No. 12 1913: 190). The answer to this question was delivered in the next edition of this journal (*Al-Munir* 3, No. 13 1913: 203-204), in which a quotation from *Al-Manar* was clearly made. "For *Al-Munir*", the editor wrote, "it is a priority to present the answer [to this question] made by the journal *Al-Manar* on the same issue". Again following *Al-Manar*, this journal stated that there is no relation at all between moving certain parts of the body and the nature and characteristics of certain individuals, nor did it have meaning for their future life. It not the intention of this paper to delineate the *fatwā* in *Al-Manar* and *Al-Munir*. What is important to emphasise is the fact that, as with the issue of dress, *Al-Munir* referred to *Al-Manar* of Cairo as a source when issuing its *fatwā*, which strongly indicated its active engagement in the

transmission of Islamic reform to the Malay-Indonesian world in the early twentieth century.

This evidence of the transmission of Islam from *Al-Manar* of Cairo to both *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir*, the pioneer journals of Malay-Indonesia, proves the important role of publications in the dissemination of Islamic reform in these areas. These journals provided the Cairo-based Islamic reform movement with an effective channel through which it gained much attention and appreciation from Malay-Indonesian Muslims. Although they did not establish reform-oriented organisations, the journals stimulated the further expansion and impacts of the reformist movement within the Muslim community; they provided the organization with strong ideological support, which contributed to their growing influence amongst Indonesian Muslims in the early twentieth century (Azra 1999: 97). As a result, the ideas of Islamic reform became an important component of the Islamic intellectual discourse in Indonesia during that period.

In the field of publishing, this can be proved by the fact that the works of the reformist *'ulamā'* of Cairo began to play an important role for Indonesian Muslims. The *Tafsīr al-Manār*, for instance, was used especially for advanced students in modern Islamic educational institutions in West Sumatra, the Sumatra Thawalib Schools of both Padang Panjang and Parabek (Noer 1973: 46-47). These two schools, established by Haji Rasul in 1921 and Ibrahim Musa in 1921 respectively, provided Islamic education whilst adopting modern methods and facilities—such as a system of classes, the use of schools desks and the seminar system of teaching—and included in their curricula modern sciences, along with the traditional subjects of Islamic knowledge (Junus: 1979: 73-77). Hence, both schools, and other modern Islamic schools established during that period, emerged as leading centres for the spread of Islamic reform in Indonesia in the early twentieth century (Noer 1973: 42-47; Daya: 1995).

In addition, the increasing influence of Cairo can be found in the religious books published and circulated in early twentieth century Indonesia. The works of 'Abduh were translated into Malay and also the Javanese language, and were available in public bookstores and libraries. They also appeared in the advertising columns of dailies and periodicals. The list of books and periodicals by Ockeleon, which was based on his research from 1870 to 1937, mentioned five of 'Abduh's books (Ockeleon 1939/40: 1-2).

They were: *Al-Islam wa Nachraniyah atau Islam dan Kristen pada menyatakan sikap kedoeanya terhadap pada ilmoe pengetahoean (wetenschappen) dan peradaban (beschaving)*, (Batavia: Drukkerij Boro-Budur, 1926); *Tafsir "Al-Fatihah"*, (Batavia: Drukkerij Boro-Budur, 1925); *Tafsier al-Qoeran al-Hakim, Djoezoe' Alief Laam Miem*, (Batavia: Drukkerij Boro-Budur, 1925); *Tafsier wa al-'Asri*, (Batavia: Drukkerij Boro-Budur, 1925); *Ilmoe Tauhid*, (Yogyakarta: Harmonie, 1928); and *Ngilmoe Tauchid*, in Javanese (Solo 1929–1931).

The Ideological Journals and Newspapers

> "Newspaper is the light of reason, the window of knowledge, the teacher of those who need guidance, the mission for all people..." (*Al-Imam* 5, I, 17 November 1906).
>
> [However,] for us, people of this place, there has as yet been no single newspaper or journal that could lead our people in particular, or us Sumatrans in general, on the way of promoting understanding about the religion of Islam (*Al Munir* I, I, April 1911, cited Laffan 2003: 175).

In addition to disseminating Islamic reform, the pioneer journals, *Al-Imam* and *Al-Munir*, as revealed in the above quotations, paid attention to the importance of publications in the Islamic movement. These journals made a major contribution in that they laid down the foundations for the rise of publications as an organ of Islamic movements. Subsequent to these journals, other periodicals and newspapers appeared in Indonesia, which were published in affiliation with certain Islamic reform organisations that began to emerge in the early twentieth century. These "ideological publications" seem to have constituted the second phase in the history of Islamic publications in Indonesia. Although still founded in the spirit of reform, these publications, as I will discuss below, aimed to present the ideological position and the activities of various organizations, as well as spreading Islamic reform.

We begin with Muhammadiyah. Founded in 18 November 1912, Muhammadiyah was, and still is, one of the leading Islamic reformist organizations in Indonesian Islam. Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923), its founder, initially had contact with Islamic reform when he was a student of Ahmad Khatib in Mecca in 1930. Although not sourced directly from Muḥammad 'Abduh, in theological terms (Lubis 1993; Laffan 2003: 169-70), the spirit of reform that the two pioneer journals advocated created the conditions that perhaps

inspired Dahlan to establish Muhammadiyah. His upbringing in the urban centre of Yogyakarta (Darban 1980) and his close friendship with the modern *priyayi* group of Budi Utomo (Nagzumi 1972) led Dahlan to engage in the project of Islamic reform through Muhammadiyah. Hence, Muhammadiyah developed its program of reform, mainly through building modern education systems, purifying Muslim religious practices, and creating publications.[25]

Bintang Islam is the first periodical to mention in this collection of publications. It was published in 1923 by prominent members of Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam (SI), another modern Islamic organization that I will discuss below. H. Fachrodin and HOS Tjokroaminoto (from Muhammadiyah and SI respectively) were the editors of this journal. Published fortnightly, *Bintang Islam* was designed mainly to espouse the religious and social affairs of Indonesian Muslims, in addition to informing the audience about international events in other Muslim countries throughout the world. In 1924 the Yogyakarta members of Muhammadiyah and SI also published another journal, *Bendera Islam*. Also published fortnightly, with HOS Tjokroaminoto as its Editor-in-Chief, this journal was intended as the channel for disseminating the reformist ideas and activities of Muhammadiyah and SI. It is said that this journal was aimed at "defending the nation and the fatherland on the basis of Islam".

In line with the expansion of this organization, other journals, published by many branches of Muhammadiyah, appeared. The Muhammadiyah branch in Solo, Central Java, published *Adil* from 1932 to 1942. In Jakarta, the Muhammadiyah branch had *Pantajaran Amal* as their journal from 1936 to 1939. The same was true for Muhammadiyah in East Java. In Boyolali, Muhammadiyah members published *al-Kirom* in 1928 as an official medium. It lasted only one year. In Malang, the youth section of Muhammadiyah founded *Ichtiyar* as their journal, which was also published for one year (1937-1938). Other journals and newspapers that belonged to the Muhammadiyah movement were *Al-Chair* (1926) in Surakarta, *Soengoenting Moehammadijah* (1927-1929) in Yogyakarta, and *Swara Islam* (1931-1933) in Semarang.

Persatuan Islam (Persis), established by Ahmad Hassan in 1928, is another organization that was involved in publishing. Compared to Muhammadiyah—which preferred to spread its ideas quietly and peacefully—Persis enjoyed public debates and polemics. Persis was

in favour of challenging those who did not agree with its ideas and standpoints to debates (Noer 1973: 90). Publications became the main concern of Persis, besides public debates.[26] They defended the position of the organization and put forward challenges to its opponents. Thus, the publications of Persis, mainly magazines, obviously expressed the ideological position of the organization, and also provided its audience with activists' commentary on their investigations into religious doctrines and practices. Hence, Federspiel (2001: 92) called the magazines of Persis "ideological" in nature, in that they served as the backbone of Persis' reputation within the Indonesian Muslim community.

The first periodical published by Persis was *Pembela Islam*. First published in 1929, this bimonthly journal was intended to uphold the cause of Islam, both by responding to attacks made on Islam and by spreading Persis ideas. *Pembela Islam* had a circulation of about 2,000, largely in modernist circles, in particular to supporters of Muhammadiyah and Al-Irsyad in many areas in Indonesia, and some in the Malay South of Thailand (Federspiel 2001: 92-93). Articles and other compositions published in *Pembela Islam* were mostly concerned with religious affairs, with an emphasis on proper religious practices and rituals in Muslim life, in addition to issues concerning social and political spheres. *Pembela Islam* ceased publication in 1935 after producing a total of 71 editions from its first appearance in 1929.[27]

Persis' second journal was *al-Fatawa*. It was first published in November 1931, dealing exclusively with religious questions from Muslims, without taking up issues with non-Muslim groups. This journal had a circulation of about 1,000, and was widely read in many areas of Indonesia and Malaysia (Noer 1973: 91). As its name implies, *al-Fatawa* was designed for religious consultation and requests for instruction (*istiftā'*), especially among Persis members and Indonesian Muslims in general, and also included reprints of some of the articles from *Pembela Islam*. This monthly journal issued twenty editions before it ceased publication in 1933 (Federspiel 2001: 93). The periodical *Sual-Djawab*, which appeared in the 1930s, was perhaps a replacement for *al-Fatawa*. The content of Sual-Djawab was almost the same as that of *al-Fatawa*. It published articles in the form of questions and answers that were submitted by its readers, and dealt mainly with issues concerning religious practices (Noer 1973: 91-92).

Sarekat Islam (SI) is another organization that contributed to the rise of ideological publications. SI was founded in 1911, in the spirit of the emerging Muslims traders of Solo who had their own organi-

zation, Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI).[28] Therefore, compared to Muhammadiyah and Persis, SI had economic and political characteristics from the time of its inception. This political nature became even stronger with the rise of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto to the top position of SI in 1916. SI therefore contributed to the field of publishing by engaging the Islamic periodicals and newspapers in the political movement, as I will show below.

Oetusan Hindia was the first publication of SI. This daily newspaper was published in 1913 in Surabaya by prominent SI members, with Tjokroaminoto as its editor. A few months later, on January 1913, another SI periodical, *Hindia Serikat*, was published in Bandung, West Java, under the editorship of leading SI members: Abdoel Moeis, Soewardi Soerjaningrat, and Lembana Wignjadisastra (Adam 1995: 171-172). In Batavia, Goenawan, the chairman of the local SI published *Pantjaran Warta* in 1913, after an SI-affiliated publishing company —N.V. Java Boekhandel en Drukkerij Sedio Leksono— purchased it from the Chinese owner of the Seng Hoat publishing company. Hence, *Panjaran Warta* became the publication of the SI branch in Batavia. In the same year, the SI branch of Semarang, Central Java, also managed to purchase the firm's printing press and began publishing the newspaper *Sinar Djawa*. Raden Mochammad Joesoep, the Vice-President of Semarang SI, became the editor of the newspaper. *Sinar Djawa* ceased publication in 1918, and it then transformed into *Sinar Hindia* until 1924 (Adam 1995: 172).

In 1916 Tjokroaminoto published and became the editor of a monthly journal, *Al-Islam*, with Abdullah Ahmad of *Al-Munir* from Padang as co-editor. Founded in Solo, Central Java, this journal became an official channel of the SI branch in Solo. First published on 15 June 1916, *Al-Islam* was designed to facilitate the Islamic political movement of SI, as "the voice of Indies Muslims who love their religion and their homeland" (*tempat soeara anak Hindia jang tjinta pada igama dan tanah ajernya*). *Al-Islam* strongly emphasised the urgency of creating progress (*kemajuan*) for Indonesian Muslims, elaborating on the Islamic doctrines that serve as the principle driving force of progress (Laffan 2003: 178-179). *Al-Islam* had a specific important role as the movement's publication. It presented a newly emerging trend in Islamic reform, which became increasingly integrated into the political movement of the Muslims of the Indies. With Abdullah Ahmad as its co-editor, the reformist spirit of *Al-Munir* was taken to be the main concern of *Al-Islam*.

But this spirit was translated into the framework of the political movement (*gerakan bumi putera*), embodying the radical attitudes of Tjokroaminoto (Noer 1973: 108).

The political tone of *Al-Islam* is an indication of the rise of a new trend in SI in 1916, as it became increasingly engaged in political affairs. Tjokroaminoto is credited as being the person most responsible for the establishment of the political nature of the SI movement. He transformed the concerns of SI from developing the "welfare, prosperity, and greatness of the country", into an attempt to "strive for self-governance, or at least Indonesians being given the right to express their voices in political affairs" (Noer 1973: 104, 112). Hence, under the leadership of Tjokroaminoto, SI contributed to turning the *kaum muda* spirit of reform in *Al-Munir* into a politically oriented movement. *Al-Islam* functioned as an effective medium for building the political nature of Islamic reform. In *Al-Islam*, the "Muslim people of the Indies" began to be introduced as a nation (*bangsa Islam tanah Hindia*) in a political sense, and —more importantly— this was stressed as an objective of Cairo-based Islamic reform.

Of course, *Al-Islam* was not the only journal voicing the political concerns of SI. In the same year that it started publishing, three other journals belonging to SI were published. Abdoel Moeis —a leading SI member and the editor of *Hindia Sarekat* in Bandung— published the daily *Neratja* in Jakarta, together with Hadji Agus Salim, an important SI leader. First published in 1916, *Neratja* was deliberately presented as the voice of the SI political movement. For instance, the idea of "nationalism" that Abdoel Moeis presented in the first national congress of SI (20-27 October 1917) —that it had to be the foundation for the "independence of the nation and the country"— was paid much attention by *Neratja* (22 October 1917). In addition, this daily was dedicated to providing news and opinions concerning the political aspirations of SI. *Neratja* stopped publication in 1924 and transformed into *Hindia Baru*, with Hadji Agus Salim as its chief editor. Like *Neratja*, *Hindia Baru* also functioned as a channel for voicing the political concerns and aspirations of SI and was published until 1926. Another SI journal from the same year was *Simpaj*. It was a fortnightly journal, published in Bandung by those who declared themselves as the "*kaum muda*" of SI, and *Simpaj* was their publication for supporting the SI movement (*penjokong gerakan SI*). While in Semarang, Mas Marco Kartodikromo —who is well known for his critical attitudes towards the Dutch government— published *Sarotomo* in 1916, also as the voice of SI (*swaranipoen Sarekat Islam*).

The Rise of Islamic Books

The discussion above provides us with strong evidence of the increasing importance of publications, mainly in the form of periodicals and newspapers, in the development of Islam in the early twentieth century. They constituted a category of Islamic reform with which new ideas in Islam penetrated the hearts of Muslims in Malay-Indonesia. Added to this was the fact that the growth in the number of urban Muslims in many areas in Indonesia was the result of the process of modernisation carried out by the colonial government. They became the audience for the Islamic teachings presented in the journals and periodicals and other Islamic publications. Hence, the journals and periodicals had their own communities, the readers, who were different from the readers of the classical religious books (*kitab kuning*) circulated in the traditional *pesantren* and *surau*. Presenting Islam in the Malay language, the journals and periodicals firmly established themselves as a source of Islamic guidance for urban Muslims.

The important role of journals and periodicals was further strengthened by the arrival of Islamic books. The previously cited study by Ockeleon (1939) supplies an obvious fact: that the Islamic books published in early twentieth century Indonesia were not only great in number but they were also concerned with almost all disciplines of Islamic knowledge found in the *kitab kuning* of the traditional Islamic institutions, the *pesantren* and *surau*. Here are some examples of the Islamic books in Ockeleon's study, classified according to various disciplines of Islamic knowledge in the *kitab kuning*.

The first are the books on Arabic language. The books in this category, which provide instructions on how to study Arabic, were written in Malay by Malay-Indonesian scholars, with some translated from Arabic sources. They include *Djalan ke Qoeran (pengajaran Bahasa Arab dan Nahwoenya)*, (Yogyakarta: Penjiaran Islam, 1936), vol. IV, by A.D. Haanie; *Pengadjaran bahasa Arab & Grammaticanja*, (Yogyakarta-Pekalongan: Kita, 1931), vol. II, by A.D. Haanie and Moehammad Farid Wadjdi; Achmad bin Abdullah Assagaff's, *Kitab akan beladjar membatja dan menoelis toelisan Arab di terangkan dengan bahasa Melajoe hoeroef Woelanda*, (Surabaya: Perkumpulan al-Islamiyah, 1918); Fadloe'llah Moehammad and B. TH. Brondgeest's *Kamoes Arab-Melajoe*, (Batavia: Volkslectuur Batavia, nd), 4 vols; and Siradjuddin 'Abbas's *Himpoenan Peribahasa Inggris, Belanda, 'Arab dan Minangkabau*, (Djild I, (Port de Kock: Ts. Ichwan, 1934).

The following can be categorised as the *fiqh* books: Abu Dardari's *Kitab'l salat* (Poerbalingga: Persatuan Muhammadiyah, 1926); Sajid Oemar bin Alaoei Alatas's *Zakatoel Fitir* (Batavia: Drukkerij Boro-Budur, 1925); *Bab Djinadjah* by Soeharti binti M. Ihsan (nd. Np); Persatuan Islam's *Boekoe aosan solat (Soenda) kangge moerangkalih sareng anoe nembe beladjar salat*, (Bandung: Bagian Tama Pustaka-Persis, 1935), 2nd edition. A. Hassan, the Persis leader, wrote several manual books on Islamic rituals: *"Al-Boerhan", (the fiqh book in Soendanese language adapted from "al-Burhan" in Malay language)*, (Bandung: Persis, 1929), 2 vols; *Kitab Fiqh "al-Boerhan"*, (Bandung: Persis, 1928/29), 2 vols; *Kitab Riba*, (Bandung: Persis, 1932); *Pengadjaran salat*, (Bandung: Persis, 1929); and *Pendahoeloean dan risalah djoem'ah oentoek kitab khoethbah djoem'ah*, (Bandung: Persis, 1934). Other books worth mentioning here are: Abd al-Malik Siddik's *Mabadi al-fikhiyah*, (Pajacombo: Druk Limbago Minangkabau, ± 1929); Abd al-Mannan Burhan al-Din's *Al-Salsalatu l-dhahabiyah fi l-durusi l-nahwiyah*, Djuz I, (Padang "Timoer", 1930); and A. Karim Amroellah's *AlQawloesh Shuhih* (Yogyakarta, Persatuan Muhammadiyah, 1920).

Books on Qur'ānic commentary also circulated in Indonesia in the early twentieth century. In addition to the books on *tafsīr* by Muḥammad 'Abduh cited earlier, there were several books written by other Muslim scholars: Abdul Karim Amroellah's *Al-Boerhan. Mentapsirkan doea poeloeh doea soerat dari pada al-Qoeran* (Bukit Tinggi: Tsamaratoel-Ichwan, 1930) 2nd edition; *"Gajatoel-Bajn", Nerangkeun harti maksoed sareng rahasiah-rahasiah Qur-an Soetji* by Mochammad Anwar Sanusi (Garoet: Papandayan, 1934); *Boekoe tafsir soerat ichlas* by H. Fachrodin (Dokja: Persatuan Muhammadijah, 1928); A. Hassan's *Tafsir al-Foerqan*, (Bandung: Persis, 1928), which was translated into the Sundanese language in 1930.

The next category of the Islamic books is theology and Sufism. In addition to the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī, many books by other scholars were circulated. These include: H.A. Malik Karim Amrullah's *Arkanoe'l-iman dengan jalan soal-djawab* (Makassar: (Drukk. Al-Mahdi, 1933) and his *Sendi Iman Tiang Selamat*, (Bukit Tinggi: Tsamaratoel-Ichwan, 1930), 3rd edition. Abdullah Ahmad wrote three books on this subject: *Ilmoe Sedjati*, (Padang: al-Moenir, 1910), vol. I-IV, *Pemboeka Pintoe Soerga* (Vol I. Padang, al-Moenir, 1914), and *Titian kesoerga, Kitab oetsoeloeddin*, (Padang, al-Moenir 1916). Tengkoe Fachroeddin also wrote three books, *Kitab fath'ldjalil Sjarch 'lchalil ('ilmu tauhid)* (Medan: Inlandsche Drukerij,

1934), *Risalah Kamal 'l-iman (Kesempurnaan Iman)* (Medan: Sinar Deli, 1934), and *Risalah "Koetoeb 'Imoe badi', Ilmu oesoeloeddin bagi orang jang permoelaan* (Medan: Sinar Deli 1934). The books that deal directly with Sufism were written by Sjarafoe'ddin Maneri, who produced *Tasaoef dalam agama Islam*, (Batavia: Indon. Drukkerij, 1916), and Sjihaboeddin Effendi Idris with his *Ilmoe Rohani* (Padang Pandjang, Druk. Tandikat, 1930).

In relation to the *hadīth* we can mention the translation of the standard work on the subject, which was also known in *pesantrens*, Abū Abdillāh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī's *Hadits Tardjamah Melajoe, Diterjemahkan oleh Marwon Iboe Ali* (Dojgjakarta: Kemajuan Islam, 1936), vol. I-6, 8. Other works were written by Abi Haiban, including *Boekoe Ahadith al-Nabawiyah (The Book of al-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyyah)*, (Yogyakarta: Muhammadiyah Bagian Taman Pustaka, 1922/23); Abdoellatif Soekoer's 'Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyyah *Perkoempoelan Seriboe hadis-hadis Nabi s.a.w., mengandoeng beberapa hadis yang baik-baik teratoer menoeroet hoeroep edjaan*. Vol I. (Bukit Tinggi: Drukkerij Tsamaratoel-Ichwan, 1926); and A.D. Haanie produced *DJawahiroel-Boecharie*, Part I, (Yogyakarta: Kita, 1931).

These books from Ockeleon's list —in addition to many other books on other subjects, as well as periodicals and newspapers— sufficiently prove the increasing role of publications in presenting Islam to new Muslim audiences in the urban areas of Indonesia. Taking into account the areas of concern mentioned above, these publications began to appear as the main sources of information in urban Muslims' religious life, and played a similar role to that of the *kitab kuning* in the *pesantren*, *surau* and traditional Muslim communities in general. Thus, these publications contributed to the formation of a new Muslim community, with their mode of religious ideas and practices different from those of the traditional Muslims from the *pesantren* and *surau*. With this, the Islamic reform movement created a stronghold in the urban Muslim community.

Concluding Remarks

In this final section I will pay attention to one other important aspect in the emergence of Islamic publications. The development of Islamic reform, in which publications played a major role, led to the creation of a space within which Muslims with different outlooks and orientations became involved in a struggle to define

Islamic standards in Indonesia. Alongside the development of publications, Muslims in early twentieth century Indonesia began to engage in debates on religious issues, contested opinions and interpretations of Islam that were entrenched in their different backgrounds of religious education and world views. Thus, polemics, debates, discussions and contests were a major feature of the development of Islam during the early twentieth century.

The issues that emerged in debates and contests covered many important aspects of Islamic teachings. The cases of legal reasoning (*ijtihād*), the attributes of God (*sifat-sifat Tuhan*), blind obedience to the Islamic schools of thought (*taqlīd*), instructions to the dead (*talqīn*) and visiting the graveyard (*ziarah ke makam*), were among the most disputed matters (Noer 1973; Federspiel 2001: 53-66). The contested issues in turn widened in scope and substance, so that they began to concern not only religion but also social and political affairs. Debates about the relationship between Islam and nationalism and even communism can be taken as examples (Federspiel 1970: 38-39; Shirasihi 1990).

These developments can be explained by the fact that the publications provided Muslims with easy and broad access to Islamic teachings; Muslims began learning Islam without attending and staying in *pesantren* and *surau*, which had been credited as the most authoritative centres for Islamic learning in Indonesia (Dhofier 1982). Muslims could instead find religious books, journals, and newspaper in bookshops, libraries, and other places that had previously hardly been associated, from a traditional point of view, with Islamic learning. Moreover, through these publications Islam was delivered in a more vernacular manner and was more everyday in its nature. The sacred aspects of the Islamic classical texts began to decrease with the acceptance of modern publications (Robinson 1993: 229-351).[29] This process was even more pertinent in the case of publishing translated editions of certain classical Islamic texts, which had previously been limitedly used and which were circulated exclusively among religious elites. Thus reading the hadith and the manual practices of Islamic rituals could be carried not only in *pesantren* in the presence of *'ulamā'*, but also in schools and houses.

With this development, the Islamic reform movement contributed to the growth of a new mode of religious thinking based on these publications. For the urban Muslims, oral tradition, which had been firmly established in the transmission of Islamic knowledge, began to be replaced by written texts. Books, journals, newspapers and pam-

phlets, not merely the speeches by the *'ulamā'* in *pesantren* and *surau*, contributed to the production of religious meaning. In other words, print culture, not the traditional oral culture, began to constitute the main element of Muslims' learning and understanding of Islamic teachings (Eisensetin 1979). Of note is the fact that these publications gave rise to the reconfiguration of Islamic religious authority. As Eickelman suggested in the case of Morocco, the respected position of the *'ulamā'*, who derived their authority from learning in *pesantren* from a recognized shaikh, began to erode in urban Muslim communities (Eickleman 1992: 645-652). The new source of religious authority was established with the printing press, not merely with the *'ulamā'* of *pesantrens*.

Thus, the Islamic reform movement created the fragmentation of religious authority, which had previously been monopolised by the *'ulamā'* in their traditional institutions. With this, the Islamic reform movement contributed to the formation of an important foundation for the rise of "civic pluralism",[30] and —it can be assumed— to the growth of "civil society" in Indonesia.

Endnotes

1. For further discussion on these subjects, see Dhofier (1982), van Bruinessen (1994: 226-9), Steenbrink (1984).
2. In this article, Geertz identified the *'ulamā'* as limited to "the local Muslim teachers", or *kyais* in Java, and juxtaposed them with the "metropolitan-based intellegentia", including the reformst Muslims. See also Hiokoshi (1987), Mansurnoor (1987).
3. For further discussion on the *qād+* in Indonesian Islamic kingdoms, see for instance van Langen (1986: 54-9), Ito (1984: 155-60), Milner (1983: 24-29), Rahim (1998), van Bruinessen (1995), Hisyam (2001: 20-35).
4. Some scholars assume that *pesantrens* are a perpetuation of the pre-Islamic institution, *mandala*, which functioned as sites of mystical meditation (de Graaf dan Pigeaud 1989: 246). Other scholars credit *desa perdikan* —Javanese villages that were exempt from paying taxes for religious reasons— as the basis of *pesantren* (Fokkens 1886: 478-480; Schrieke 1919: 391-432; van der Chijs 1864: 215). For further discussion on this subject, see also van Bruinessen 1995: 25-26; Steenbrink 1984: 169).
5. It must be explained here that term *"santri"* also has a broad meaning, refering to the Javanese people who seriously hold onto Islamic principles (pious Muslims). They are distinguished from the animistic-oriented *abangan* and the royal aristocrats or *priyayi*. For further discussion on these three Javanese religious and social-cultural orientations, see Geertz (1960); Muchtarom (1988).
6. For a recent study on these religious books, see van Bruinessen (1990: 226-69).
7. It is important to note here that most of the *'ulamā'* of the *pesantrens* were also followers and even the leaders of the *Sūfi* orders, mainly the Qādiriyyah-Naqsybandiayyah *Sūfi* orders. See Kartodirdjo (1966: 157-65), van Bruinessen (1994: 177), Dhofier (1982: 135-47).
8. See Kartodirdjo (1966 and 1973), Dobbin (1983), Carey (1987: 271-318).
9. For further discussions on Said Oesman, see Azra (1995: 1-33; 1997: 249-63), Steenbrink (1984: 75-6); Kaptein (1997b: 85-102; 1998: 158-77).
10. In the 1930s over 1.7 million Indonesians went to Western educational institutions. This number revals a significant increase if compared to the 269,940 Indonesians who had the opportunity to go to school in 1900. See Ricklefs (2001: 202-3).
11. *Bintang Hindia* was published with the intenion of "promoting the cultural development of the indigenous population and strengthening the bond between the Netherlands and her colonies." For furtherdiscussion on the politics of publishing this journal, see Adam (1995: 98-107), Laffan (2003: 95-7).
12. It is worth mentioning here that, besides Thaher Djalaluddin, other *Jāwah* noted as studying at al-Azhar included Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain bin Mustafa al-Fatani, a 19th century Patani *'ulamā'* (Matheseon and Hooker 1988: 29-30), and To' Kenali or Muhammad Yusof (Salleh 1975: 87-100) one of leading figures of Majlis Ugama in Kelantan, Malaysia (Roff 1975: 101-152).
13. For an extensive discussion on "print-culture", see for instance Eisenstein (1979: chapter two); Fawzi (1993).

14. The *fatwā* column of *Al-Manar* indicated that this journal received *istftā'* from Muslim countries throughout the world. See al-Munajjid and Khoury (1970).
15. For further discussion on the aims and objectives of the journal *Al-Imam*, see also Roff (1967: 56), Hamzah (1991: 28-29).
16. For further discussion on these editors of *Al-Imam*, see for instance Roff (1967: 60-65), Noer (1973: 33-35), Hamzah (1991: 119-138), Azra (1991: 83-87).
17. For an extensive discussion on the Islamic reform movement in West Sumatra, see Abdullah (1971; 1972: 126-178); also B.J.O Schrieke (1973).
18. *Al-Munir* was the first journal to appear after *Al-Imam* in Indonesia. In Malaysia, *Neratja* appeared in 1911 and Tunas Melayu in 1913, both of which were edited by H. Abbas, the former editor of *Al-Imam*. See Roff (1972: 7-8).
19. For further discussion on the foundation of *Al-Munir*, see also Yunus Hamka (1958), Alfian (1989: 108), Djaja (1966: II, 700), Ali (1997: 26).
20. For the general contents of these two journals, see Roff (1967: 56-59), Hamzah (1991: 21-22), Noer (1973: 39-40), Azra (1991: 87-96), Ali (1997).
21. 'Abduh offered his commentary on several verses of the Qur'ān. Rash+d Riḍā, who attended and took notes on 'Abduh's lectures at al-Azar, continued his work after 'Abduh died in 1905. The Manar commentary, with the complete title *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm al-Mushtahar bi-Tafsīr al-Manār*, was published for the first time in its present form in 1925. For further discussion on the nature of this *tafsīr*, see Jansen (1974: 23-24), also Adams (1968: 273).
22. For further discussion on this subject, see also Laffan (1996: 156-175; 2003: 160-165). This indicated the emerging influence of Meiji Japan on the formation of nationalism in Indonesia, as was also the case in Cairo. For Tokyo-oriented voices in *Al-Imam*, see Andaya (1997: 123-156).
23. The wearing of European dress by Muslims became a highly debated issue in Malay-Indonesia in the early twentieth century, as distinct identities for Muslims who were opposed to Europeans and those who became familiar with the European lifestyle developed in the social and political discourses of the area. For further discussion on this subject see van Dijk (1993: 39-83). Nico Kaptein (2003) wrote an article on almost the same issue from the point of viewpoint of *fatwā*, including the *fatwā* in *Al-Munir*.
24. The local *'ulamā'* that this *istiftā'* refers to is Chatib Ali, a traditionalist *'ālim* in West Sumatra who opposed the reformist movement. He forbade the wearing of European dress and accused the *kaum muda* (the reformist *'ulamā'*) of allowing Muslims to wear ties in order to appear the same as Christians. See Kaptein (2003: 6).
25. For a discussion on Muhammadiyah, see also Alfian (1989), Peacock (1978).
26. Persis is reported to have held public debates, the most significant of which were those with Ahmadiyah Qadiyani, concerning the latter's claim that its founder was a prophet and other similar theological questions. They also held debates with traditionalist organizations like al-Ittihad al-Islamiyah in Sukabumi, West Java, as well as with the NU *'ulamā'* in Cirebon. See Noer (1973: 90).

27. Quoting Atjeh (1957: 221), Federspiel wrote that *Pembela Islam* lost its license to publish due to a strongly worded rebuttal against Christian writers, in response to an article attacking Islam. See Federspiel (2001: 93).
28. SDI was founded in 16 October 1905, with Hadji Samanhoeddi, a prominent *batik* trader from Solo, as its first leader. See Noer (1973: 102).
29. For an example of the experiences of another Muslim country, Morocco, see A. Abdulrazak Fawzi (1990).
30. See Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson (1999: 1-8; and 1997: 77-103).

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Bintang Islam, Yogyakarta (1923-1926)
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Neratja, Jakarta (1916-1924)
Pembela Islam, Band ung (1929-1935)
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