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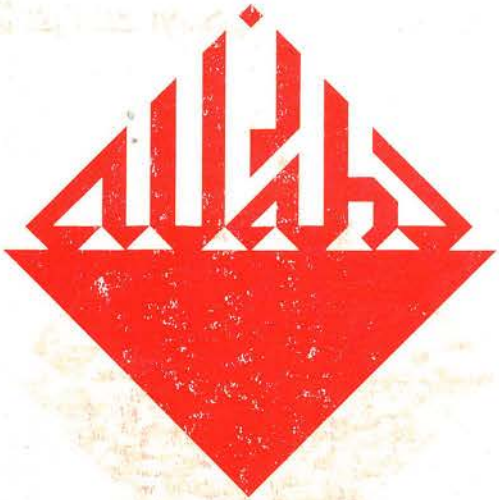

THE *ULAMA* IN ACEH:
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A SUDANESE SCHOLAR IN THE DIASPORA:
LIFE AND CAREER OF AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD
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Jamhari

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Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk

A Sudanese Scholar in the Diaspora: Life and Career of Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî in Indonesia (1911-1943)

Abstraksi: *Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî, di Indonesia dikenal dengan Ahmad Surkati, adalah seorang yang telah berjasa dalam perkembangan Islam di Indonesia. Deliar Noer, misalnya, mencatat Ahmad Surkati sebagai salah seorang berkebangsaan Arab yang cukup menonjol dengan pembaharuan pemikiran Islam di awal abad ke-20. Melalui lembaga pendidikan masyarakat Arab, Jamiat Khair dan kemudian al-Irsyad, Ahmad Surkati telah memberi sumbangan penting dalam mengembangkan pemikiran-pemikiran Islam modern.*

Lahir di Sudan pada 1875 —menurut Deliar Noer tahun 1872— Ahmad Surkati memulai pengembaraan intelektualnya ketika dia berada di Mekkah dan Madinah. Di dua kota suci tersebut, dia menghabiskan waktu sekitar lima belas tahun (1896-1911) untuk berguru pada beberapa ulama dari berbagai aliran pemikiran Islam (madhhab). Di antara ulama Timur Tengah yang pernah menjadi guru Ahmad Surkati adalah Aḥmad al-Ḥâjj 'Alî al-Majadhab, seorang Sudan yang dikenal ahli hukum madhhab Mâlikî, Falîḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Zâhirî (ahli hadis dan usul fiqh madhhab Shâfi'î), dan 'Umar ibn Ḥamdân al-Maghribî (seorang ahli filsafat dan sastra Arab). Ahmad Surkati berguru kepada ketiga ulama tersebut ketika di belajar di Madinah.

Sementara ketika di Mekkah, Ahmad Surkati belajar kepada sejumlah ulama terkemuka saat itu, antara lain adalah: As'ad Aḥmad al-Dahhân, 'Abd al-Raḥmân, Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Khayyâṭ, dan Shu'ayb ibn Mûsâ. Para ulama ini memiliki spesialisasi tertentu di bidang ilmu keislaman, seperti hukum, tafsir, tasawuf, hadis, gramatika bahasa Arab, dan beberapa disiplin ilmu Islam lain. Tegasnya, Ahmad Surkati berguru kepada beberapa ulama Timur Tengah dari berbagai disiplin ilmu dan aliran pemikiran Islam.

Karir intelektual Ahmad Surkati kemudian semakin berkembang menyusul kedatangannya di Indonesia. Setelah beberapa tahun mengajar di "al-Fallâḥ", salah satu lembaga pendidikan Islam modern di Mekkah. Pada 1911 Ahmad Surkati diundang ke Indonesia untuk mengajar di Jamiat Khair, organisasi masyarakat Arab yang secara resmi berdiri pada 1905. Dan sejak 1911 Ahmad Surkati diberi tanggung jawab memajukan lembaga pendidikan Jamiat Khair. Dia misalnya merancang kurikulum baru yang mengadopsi ilmu-ilmu, dan menerapkan visi pendidikan yang menekankan prinsip kesamaan, tanpa memandang batas-batas tradisional yang berbasis keturunan (nasab).

Namun, prinsip pendidikan Ahmad Surkati bertentangan dengan visi lembaga Jamiat Khair yang memang didukung kalangan Sayyid — masyarakat Arab keturunan Nabi Muhammad. Perbedaan prinsip ini semakin berkembang setelah dia secara terang-terangan mengetengahkan fatwa yang dianggap mengancam kedudukan istimewa yang dimiliki masyarakat Arab golongan Sayyid. Ahmad Surkati misalnya membolehkan perkawinan golongan sayyid dengan non-sayyid, dan dia juga mentolelir seorang non-Sayyid untuk tidak mencium tangan saat bertemu dengan seorang Sayyid. Oleh karena itu, pada 1914, dia memutuskan keluar dari Jamiat Khair, dan, setelah beberapa waktu, bergabung dengan al-Irshad, lembaga pendidikan masyarakat Arab non-Sayyid. Demikianlah, sejak saat itu Ahmad Surkati aktif dalam pengembangan lembaga pendidikan di bawah al-Irshad.

Melalui lembaga al-Irshad inilah pemikiran keagamaan Ahmad Surkati berkembang semakin luas. Berbekal penguasaan berbagai aliran pemikiran Islam ketika dia belajar di Timur Tengah, dia kemudian tampil sebagai seorang pembaharu yang menentang taklid buta, dan menekankan pentingnya kembali kepada sumber asli ajaran Islam, al-Qur'an dan Sunnah. Karena itu, pelaksanaan ijtihad bagi Ahmad Surkati menjadi satu keharusan bagi kaum Muslim. Dalam konteks inilah dia mengkritik kalangan Islam tradisionalis, termasuk mereka yang disebut sebagai golongan Sayyid.

Hal lain yang menjadi sasaran kritik Ahmad Surkati adalah praktek ziarah, yakni mengunjungi makam wali yang biasa dilakukan kalangan tradisionalis. Bagi Ahmad Surkati, praktek tersebut sama sekali tidak berdasar pada ajaran Islam. Begitu pula dia mengkritik masyarakat Arab yang merendahkan kedudukan kaum perempuan. Bagi Ahmad Surkati, rendahnya posisi kaum perempuan merupakan faktor keterbelakangan, umumnya kaum Muslim. Oleh karena itu, melalui lembaga al-Irshad, dia kemudian membuka sekolah khusus untuk kaum perempuan.

Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk

A Sudanese Scholar in the Diaspora: Life and Career of Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî in Indonesia (1911-1943)

خلاصة: الشيخ أحمد محمد السوركتي هو أحد من العلماء السوداني الذي كان يسهم في تطوير الإسلام في إندونيسيا. وهو —كما نقل به دليار نور (Deliar Noer)— عربي من حيث الجنسية، ومشهور بالفكرة عن تجديد الإسلام وتحديثه في أوائل القرن العشرين. فبوسيلة المؤسسات التربوية للمجتمع العربي، "جامعة الخير"، ثم "الإرشاد"، يتبرع الشيخ تبرعا حاسما بتطوير الأفكار الإسلامية المعاصرة. وفي نظر أتباعه الإرشاديين الشيخ أحمد السوركتي هو "حكيم الإسلام في الشرق" وبالنسبة لخصومه السادة العلويين هو "السوداني الدخيل" الذي غرس بذور الشقاق بين أبناء حضرموت.

يقدم هذا البحث حياة الشيخ أحمد السوركتي وسيرته الباكرة في السودان والسعودية، ثم يقيم تقييما نقديا إسهامات الفكرية بالنسبة لحركات الإصلاح والتجديد في جنوب شرق آسيا. ويتناول اهتمام خاص إلي صراعه الديني والفكري مع السادة العلويين الذين نعتوه بأنه وهابي وأحيانا بأنه داع لأفكار المهدي السوداني في جزر الهند-الهولندية الشرقية.

ولد الشيخ أحمد السوركتي في سودان سنة ١٨٧٥م —أو ١٨٧٢م عند دليار نور— وبدأ بمغامرته العلمية حينما كان في الحرمين الشريفين (مكة والمدينة) حيث درس فيهما لمدة أربعة عشر عاماً (١٨٩٧م-١٩١١م) عند الشيوخ المتنوعين من جانب أفكارهم. أما مشايخه بالمدينة، فمن أخصهم وأجلهم العلامة الشيخ فالح بن محمد بن عبد الله بن فالح الظاهري وهو محدث شاعر فقيه شافعي، والشيخ عمر حمدان المغربي وهو فقيه محدث عالم، والفقيه الشيخ أحمد بن الحاج على المجذوب المالكي، بينما مشايخه بمكة كثيرون ومن أمثلهم الشيخ أسعد أحمد الدهان والشيخ عبد الرحمن الدهان هما من أبناء الشيخ الكبير أحمد

الدهان، والشيخ محمد بن يوسف الخياط، والشيخ شعيب بن موسى المغربي. ويتخصص هؤلاء الشيوخ في العلوم الإسلامية المتنوعة كالفقه والتفسير والتصوف والحديث والعربية وما إلى ذلك من العلوم الإسلامية. فهذا يشير إلى أن الشيخ أحمد السوركتي قد تعلم عند كثير من العلماء الخبراء.

ثم بدأ حياته العلمية معلما في إندونيسيا بعد أن يعلم من قبل في مدرسة "الفلاح"، إحدى المؤسسات التربوية الإسلامية المعاصرة في مكة. وفي سنة ١٩١١م، جاء الشيخ في بلاد جاوه بدعوة جمعية الخير —أسستها أبناء آل باعلوي الحضارم سنة ١٩٠٥م— لأن يعلم في مدارس لها ويقوم بتطوير منظمتها، فبدأ الشيخ أن يرتب البرامج التعليمية الجديدة التي تمكنه وأصدقائه أن يطبقوها في مدارس جمعية الخير، وكانت هذه البرامج تنادي بتطور التعليم على نمط يزاوج بين المعارف الإسلامية والعلوم الحديثة، ويهتم بتعليم الذكور والإناث على حد سواء، ويشجع تعلم اللغة العربية كلغة للتفقه في أمور الإسلام، ويستحسن الإلمام باللغات الأوروبية الحية دون تكدر بأنها لغات شعوب مستعمرة. من هذا يتضح أن الشيخ يحاول أن يطبق اتجاها تربويا يضع التوكيد على الحرية والمساواة دون النظر إلى الحدود التقليدية المتأسسة بالنسب، فكانت روح الحرية والمساواة تتدفق في الطلبة حتى خاف العاقبة القائمون بالأمر، وهم من آل باعلوي (sayyid) —مجتمع العرب المنسوبون إلى النبي.

ومع ذلك، يتحدى الأساس التربوي الذي رتبه الشيخ بما يتجه إليه آل باعلوي، وتشد الخصومة بين الشيخ وبين السادة العلويين بعد أن يقدم تصريحا الفتاوى التي يعتبرها هؤلاء السادة تهديدا لمترلتهم المتميزة. فالشيخ، على سبيل المثال، جوز التزويج بين آل باعلوي ومن دونهم (non-sayyid)، ثم يشير إلى أنه ليس من الضرورات لأحد من غير آل باعلوي أن يقبل أيدي آل باعلوي حينما تلقاهم. فضايق السادة العلويون الشيخ في عمله حتى اختار الخروج من جمعية الخير في سنة ١٩١٤م وقام بعد الأحيان بمدرسة الإرشاد وهي مؤسسة تربوية أسستها غير آل باعلوي.

وانتشرت الأفكار الإسلامية للشيخ أحمد السوركتي انتشارا بعد أن يقوم بالإرشاد، واعتمادا على مهارته في كثير من التعاليم الإسلامية التي قد تعلمها في الحرمين الشريفين صار الشيخ عالما مجددا الداعي إلى الانعتاق من قيود التقليد والرجوع إلى مبادئ تعاليم الإسلام يعني القرآن والسنة، فالاجتهاد عند الشيخ شئ ضروري ينبغي أن يقوم به المسلمون. وفي هذا الصدد، قام بكثير الانتقاد إلى الجماعة التقليدية (*tradisionalist*)، ما فيه رجال من آل باعلوي. والنشاط الآخر الذي ينقده الشيخ هو زيارة القبور أي زيارة مقابر الأولياء التي قام بها عادة الجماعة التقليدية لأن تلك الزيارة عند رأي الشيخ غير موافقة بتعاليم الإسلام.

In the course of the last quarter of the nineteenth century intellectual discourse between Southeast East Asia and the Middle East (i.e. Mecca and Cairo) was intensified owing to the introduction of steamboats, the telegraph, and printing techniques. The outcome of these developments resulted in the emergent of several *Iṣlâh* and *tajdîd* movements in Southeast Asia.[1] The founders of these movements were greatly inspired by the ideas of Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghanî (1839-1897), Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) and Muḥammad Rashîd Riḍâ (1865-1935), who called for a return to the pristine purity of early Islam and an introduction of a new modern system of education based on revealed and secular disciplines. From these Southeast Asian reformist leaders one can single out al-Shaykh Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî, who was a Sudanese by birth, studied in Mecca and Medina for fourteen years (1897-1911), and established his career in Indonesia (1911-1943) as a school teacher and a celebrated reformist figure. In the eyes of his Irshadi followers, al-Surkittî was "the philosopher of Islam" in the East and for his 'Alawî-sayyid opponents he was the "Sudanese intruder who sowed the seeds of dissension among the sons of Hadramaut in the Diaspora". In this article I shall examine his early life and career in the Sudan and Saudi Arabia, and critically assess his contribution to the *Iṣlah* and *Tajdîd* movements in Southeast Asia. Special attention will be as well paid to his intellectual and religious encounter with the 'Alawî Sayyids, who branded him as a "Wahhâbî" and sometimes as a "preacher of the Sudanese Mahdî's teachings" in the Netherlands East Indies.

His Early Life and Career

The early life of Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî has been studied by some scholars like Ṣalâh al-Bakrî and Deliar Noer, who based their accounts on personal observations and interviews with al-Surkittî's family and his Sudanese collaborators in Indonesia. Al-Bakrî claims that al-Surkittî was born at Idfu in Upper Egypt in 1292/1875-6,[2] while Noer says in "Dunggula (Sudan) in 1872".[3] But the accurate date and place of his birth seems to have been given by Sattî Muḥammad al-Surkittî who points out that his brother Aḥmad was born on the Island of Arqu near Dongola in 1292/1875-6, from two parents who trace their descent back to Jâbir ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Umru al-Anṣârî.[4] As Sattî mentions, the closest ancestors of al-Surkittî drew their fame from their role as principal representatives of Islam in their home district, responsible for the transmission and propaga-

tion of the Islamic faith, Sharî'ah and Arabic culture.[5]

The nickname "al-Surkittî" was first given to the fourth grandfather of al-Surkittî (Muḥammad), particularly after he completed his education in Egypt (Cairo) and returned home with many books. In the Dongolawi-Nubian language, the nickname al-Surkittî means "many books" (*surr*, book; *kitti*, many). Through the course of time the nickname was conferred upon the father of Aḥmad al-Surkittî, who finished his study at al-Azhar University in Cairo, and returned home to found his career a teacher of Islamic Law and the Qur'ân.[6]

During his formative years, Aḥmad al-Surkittî received his preliminary education at the hands of his father, with whom he began the memorization of the Qur'ân. He later joined several Quranic schools in the district, where he completed the memorization of the Qur'ân and graduated as a professional *ḥâfiẓ* (one who knows the Koran by heart). After his father's death, the plan of the family was to send the son Aḥmad to al-Azhar University to complete his education and return home to maintain the message of his father and the religious business of the family. However, the closing of the northern Sudanese borders with Egypt by the Mahdist regime (1885-1898) had made the proposed trip to Cairo very difficult,[7] and at same time led al-Surkittî to consider the Hijaz as an alternative for Egypt. In 1896 al-Surkittî found his way via Sawakin on the Red Sea to the holy cities in Arabian Peninsula (Medina and Mecca), where he spent about fifteen years (1896-1911) studying and tutoring. In Medina he stayed for four and a half years and spent the rest of his period in Mecca, where he completed his education and obtained the international certificate from the scholars of Mecca.[8]

His Teachers and Educational Background

When al-Surkittî landed in the Hijaz, Mecca and Medina were among the most significant centers of Islamic learning in the Muslim World. In the two holy cities the educational system consisted of governmental and native-Quranic schools. Besides these two forms of schooling there were a number of regular tutorial lessons on different Islamic-revealed disciplines. These lessons were usually attended by several hundred students from different parts of the Muslim World and the educational curriculum was divided in line with the teachings of the four schools of law (Ḥanafî, Shâfi'î, Mâlikî and Ḥanbalî). This form of education seems to have been mainly founded for the mature students, who completed their preliminary education whether

at their home countries or in the Hijaz.[9] Al-Surkittî joined this open system of education and received his lessons on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), ḥadîth, Quranic exegesis and Arabic language at the hands of several celebrated shaykhs from Mecca and Medina. Brief biographies of the key figures of these shakyks would help us to understand his educational background, investigate to what extent he was influenced by their teachings, and to what degree this system of education contributed to the establishment of his future career in Indonesia.

A recommendation of a well-known shaykh seems to have been important for getting acceptance at the open tutorial lessons in Mecca or Medina. Due to this requirement al-Surkittî first joined the tutorial lessons of Aḥmad al-Ḥajj 'Alî al-Majâdhib in Medina. Al-Shaykh al-Majdhûb was a Sudanese by birth and a descendant of a celebrated religious family in the northern Sudan. He completed his study in Medina and specialised in the Mâlikî Law. After his graduation he taught in Medina for sometimes during the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1899 he quitted his job in Medina and moved to Cairo. After a short stay in Cairo, he proceeded to the Sudan, where he maintained the business of his family as a Quranic teacher and a well-respected scholar of the Mâlikî Law until his death in 1943.[10]

Al-Surkittî's second teacher in Medina was Falîḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Ẓâhirî, who received his education in the Hijaz and Egypt. After his graduation he taught in Mecca, Istanbul and Cairo. Towards the end of his life, al-Ẓâhirî was nominated as a *muftî* of the Shâfi'î School of law until his death in Medina in October 1910. Besides his extensive works on the Shâfi'î Islamic jurisprudence, he was also well versed in ḥadîth.[11]

The third teacher was 'Umar ibn Ḥamdân al-Maghribî (1875-1949) of Tunisia, who received his education in the Haramayn, Tunis, Fez, Damascus and Hadramaut; and specialized in ḥadîth beside his interest in philosophy and poetry. After obtaining his international certificate from the scholars of the Hijaz, he was authorized to teach in the Haramayn, and then respectively at al-Falâḥ and al-Sulwatiyyah schools in Mecca. He died in Medina in August 1949.[12]

The last two teachers in Medina were al-Shaykh al-Khiyârî of Morocco and Aḥmad al-Baraznjî. We know little about the former, except that he was a North African scholar and a professional *ḥâfiẓ* of the Qur'ân in Medina.[13] The latter was Aḥmad ibn Isma'îl ibn Zayn al-'Abidîn al-Barzanjî, born in Medina and studied with the most distinguished scholars of his time. After completing his educa-

tion, he was appointed as a teacher and then a *muftî* of the Shâfi'î school of law in Medina. Before the outbreak of the First World War he was elected a member of the Ottoman Council of Representatives in Istanbul. During the war he moved to Damascus, where he spent the rest of his life until his death in 1919.[14]

In Mecca, al-Surkittî studied at the hands of many scholars such as As'ad Aḥmad al-Dahhân, his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmân, Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Khayâṭ and Shu'ayb ibn Mûsâ of Morocco. As'ad al-Dahhân (1863-1920) was a Makkan scholar by birth. He specialized in the Ḥanafî Law and ḥadîth. He also held a number of leading positions in Mecca, including the residency of the sharî'ah court and leadership of the *mutawis'* (*ḥajj* operators) organization. Besides his administrative and judicial career, he taught at al-ḥarâm al-Makkî and published several books on the fiqh and ḥadîth.[15]

His brother 'Abd al-Raḥmân was born in Mecca in 1866 and specialized in Arabic grammar, Quranic exegesis, ḥadîth and astronomy. He devoted his life for teaching these disciplines and refused to accept many positions of authority offered to him in Mecca.[16]

Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Khayâṭ was one of the most celebrated Shâfi'î scholars and teachers in Mecca. He specialized in Islamic jurisprudence and astronomy, and produced a number of books on these disciplines. He died in Indonesia in 1912.[17]

As Noer mentions, Shu'ayb ibn Mûsâ was a Makkan scholar, disliked by the Ottoman authority in Istanbul. To avoid any form of confrontation with Istanbul regime, he went to Bokhara and obtained a Russian passport in order to protect himself from the harassment of Ottoman authorities. In 1914 he went to Malaya and became a *muftî* of Qadah. During the period of his stay in Qadah, he frequently visited East Sumatra and remained active in transmitting his reformist teachings at the grass root level of the society until his death in Penang (Malaysia) in 1915.[18]

This presentation emphasizes that al-Surkittî had studied with various shaykhs from different schools of law and became specialized in varied Islamic disciplines including the ḥadîth, Quranic exegeses and Arabic language. It seems that this education background had led him to be influenced by the school of Ibn Taymiyyah, who rejected the blind imitation of the schools of law and called for a return to the revealed texts. This attitude gradually developed and became very evident after al-Surkittî moved from the Hijaz to Indonesia.

In Hijaz, al-Surkittî obtained his international certificate from the scholars of Mecca in 1908 and was accordingly given a teaching position at the Ḥarâm al-Makkî.[19] Later on he established a Quranic school (*Kuttâb*) at the quarter of al-Bâb in Mecca for memorizing the Qur'ân, and studying the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, the Arabic language and arithmetic. When Muḥammad 'Alî Zaynal established a modern-type Islamic school given the name of al-Fallâḥ in Mecca in 1911 al-Surkittî closed down his *Kuttâb* and joined al-Fallâh school, where he was appointed to a teaching position under administration of his Sudanese friend 'Abdullâh Ibrâhîm Ḥamdu al-Sinnarî.[20] The primary aim of al-Fallâh was stated as to teach the basic Islamic disciplines, the Arabic Language and various secular courses on geography, history, arithmetic and bookkeeping. The school also introduced a graded program of schooling, rationalized methods of instruction, and emphasized comprehension and reasoning rather than memorization. In this sense it attempted to accommodate some secular disciplines within the framework of its educational curriculum in order to adjust its primary goal to contemporary educational and social needs. Within a few years al-Fallâh school achieved conspicuous success and attracted many students from in and outside the country and became one of the most important and reputable schools in the Hijaz.[21] It seems that the reputation of al-Fallâh school was one of the main reasons that encouraged al-Shaykh Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Khayâṭ and Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥabshî to recommend one of its staff, Aḥmad al-Surkittî, for a teaching position at the Khayr Schools in Indonesia in 1911.[22]

Al-Surkittî and Jam'iyyat al-Khayr (Welfare Organization)

There is a general consensus among contemporary scholars that the first signs of the Hadrami awakening rolled out in 1901, when a group of wealthy 'Alawî traders and property owners formed the Jam'iyyat al-Khayr in Batavia (Later Jakarta).[23] But from the view of the Irshâdis, the foundation of the Jam'iyyat al-Khayr resembles the second phase of the development of the Hadrami awakening in Southeast Asia. They trace the roots of the Hadrami awakening to Singapore, where a group of intellectual 'Alawî Sayyids launched a campaign against their traditionalist peers, who used to proclaim the possession of supernatural power on the earth. The ordinary Muslims should kiss their hands in greeting, make pilgrimage to their ancestors' graves for *baraka* (blessing), and their daughters should

not be married off to non-'Alawîs. The pioneers of this anti-'Alawî legacy were Ḥasan ibn Shihâb, Abû Bakr ibn Shihâb and Muḥammad ibn 'Aqîl ibn Yaḥyâ, who relatively succeeded in recruiting a large number of fans among the Hadramis in Java as well as in Singapore.[24] The members of this group used to have active intellectual contacts with the elite of the *iṣlâḥ* and *tajdîd* movements in the Middle East and Egypt in particular. Thus Muḥammad ibn 'Aqîl ibn Yaḥyâ was the correspondent of *al-Manâr* magazine in Singapore and used to have an intimate contact with its founder and editor-in-chief Muḥammad Rashîd Riḍâ in Cairo. These intellectual contacts gradually culminated in the establishment of a pre-mature *iṣlâḥ* and *tajdîd* movement in Singapore and from Singapore this movement found its way to other principal cities of Southeast Asia.[25]

In Java leading figures such as 'Abdallâh ibn Abî Bakr al- Ḥabshî, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Shihâb and Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallâh al-Saqqâf were influenced by the attitude of their Singaporean counterparts, and consequently formed and activated their contact with Middle Eastern scholars such as Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muḥammad Rashîd Riḍâ. The reformation of the Hadrami community on the fundamental principles of the Qur'ân and Sunnah and ethics of Islam was the focal concern of the members of this group. In order to translate this idea into practice, in 1901 they founded a charitable organization given the name of Khayr in Batavia and set up its aim as to support the poor and provide a modern system of schooling for the Arab children in Java.[26] In 1905 the organization was recognized by the government with a formal constitution, a governing executive committee, and registered members. Around the same time, Muḥammad ibn 'Alî ibn Shihâb was elected as the first chairman of the organization. A few years later the Khayr Organization established its first modern-style elementary school in Pekojan in Batavia.[27]

In 1911 the Khayr administration sent one of its members, 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Ma'bûd, to the Hijaz so as to select qualified teachers for the Khayr elementary schools in Indonesia. In the Hijaz 'Abd al-Ma'bûd invited the device of the two Makkan scholars, Muḥammad Yûsuf al-Khayâṭ and Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥabshî, who strongly recommended the appointment of Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî, Muḥammad 'Abd al- Ḥamîd of the Sudan and Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib of Morocco as competent teachers for the Khayr schools. After their arrival in Java, al-Surkittî was given the headmaster-ship of the old school of the Khayr in Pekojan, and his two companions, Muhammad

al-Ṭayyib and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, were respectively appointed as teachers at the Khayr schools in Krukut and Bogor.[28]

Due to the remarkable achievements of these schools, the Khayr Organization in 1913 authorized al-Surkittî to nominate more qualified teachers for its educational institutions from abroad. This time the Hijaz was not the place of inspiration, but the Sudan. The list of the Sudanese teachers who joined al-Surkittî in 1913 included (a) Aḥmad al-'Aqîb; (b) Muḥammad Nûr ibn Muḥammad Khayr al-Anṣârî (or Abû al-Anwâr); (c) Sattî Muḥammad al-Surkittî (or Abû al-Faḍl; al-Surkittî's brother); and (d) Ḥasan Ḥamîd al-Anṣârî.[29] All of them, as Noer argues, were well aquatinted with the works of Muḥammad 'Abduh and regarded themselves as his devout followers.[30] The first two of them received their preliminary education in the Sudan and completed their study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo.[31] Sattî graduated at the school of religious teachers in Halfa (Sudan) and started his career as a professional tutor.[32] Ḥasan Ḥamîd, we know little about his early career in the Sudan but in Jakarta he was appointed to a teaching position. By the arrival of these new teachers, al-Surkittî introduced a more comprehensive curriculum at the Khayr schools based on Islamic and secular disciplines, including exegesis of the Qur'ân, Arabic language and linguistics, sciences of ḥadîth, principles of Islamic jurisprudence, history, geography, arithmetic and bookkeeping.[33]

Besides this educational program, al-Surkittî attempted to inculcate the idea of equality among the students. For him the merit of education was to reform the hearts and minds of the students and make them free and independent in their thought and vision. Therefore, he introduced a poem entitled the mothers of morality (*Ummahat al-Akhlâq*) into the school curriculum and asked the students to recite it together whenever entering or leaving the school. Some verses of the mothers of morality can be read follows:

> No pride of descent or dress
> Nor of accumulation of silver or gold
> But pride should be of knowledge and ethics
> And religion is the light of men of understanding.[34]

From the point view of the Irshadis, the introduction of this poem into the school curriculum had aroused the suspicion of the traditionalist 'Alawî Sayyids towards al-Surkittî's attitude and led them to realise that if "this Sudanese intruder" remained in office he would create a serious challenge for them. Because they believed that al-

Surkittî should teach the non-sayyid students about their noble status and train them of how to respect their sons at the Khayr schools. But on the contrary the mothers of morality came to emphasize that al-Surkittî was completely against such kind of ideas and heartily believed that the students should be treated as equal regardless of their social background. The 'Alawî sayyids kept their anger and remained suspicious about his *salafî* attitude and his role towards the development of their Hadrami community.[35]

During this period of tension, al-Surkittî left Jakarta on his annual holiday for Solo in East Java, where he was invited to give a legal opinion on a marriage that would take place between a *Sharîfah* (a daughter of a 'Alawî Sayyid) and a non-Sayyid Muslim. Basing his argument on the Qur'ân and Sunnah, al-Surkittî recognized the legality of such a marriage.[36] His *fatwâ* on this issue was collectively denounced by the 'Alawî Sayyids, who showed their sincere inclination to the *fatwâ* of 'Umar Salîm al-'Attâs, which nullified any form of a marriage between a daughter of a sayyid and a non-sayyid husband. Al-'Attâs based his argument on the concept of the superiority of the Sayyids over the rest of Muslims.[37] In this way the traditionalist 'Alawî Sayyids succeeded in mobilizing the support of the "pro-reformist Sayyids" to their side and driving al-Surkittî to quit his job at the Khayr school on 6 September 1914.[38]

The 'Alawî Sayyids denied that the issue of *Kafâah* was the main factor behind the resignation of al-Surkittî. They argued that his resignation was instigated by 'Umar ibn Yûsuf Manqûsh[39] and Doctor Rinkes, a Dutch official of the Office for Native and Arab Affairs.[40] For them the main concern of these two persons was to create a politico-religious entity in the Hadrami community that would support their political and personal aspirations. The 'Alawî Sayyids proclaimed that they had advised al-Surkittî several times to disassociate himself from Dr. Rinkes and Manqûsh. But when they realized that he was giving cold shoulders to their advice they appointed an educational inspector to supervise his work and report on his performance. As they argue, when al-Surkittî found himself in such a critical position he resigned from office on 6 September 1914. A week later he held a meeting at the house of 'Umar Manqûsh, where his supporters among the Hadramis drafted and approved the constitution of the *Jam'iyyah al-Iṣlâḥ wa al-Irshâd al-'Arabiyyah* (Arab Association for Reform and Guidance). Three months later the Irshad was recognized by the government as a legal organization and given a government house to resume its activities.[41]

Al-Surkittî and The Irshad Organization

Despite the discrepancy of these two accounts al-Surkittî had resigned from his office at the Khayr Organization in 1914 and paved the way for the establishment of a new organization that would meet with his expectations and personal aspirations of his supporters. He first moved from Pekojan to Jati quarter in Jakarta, where he established a private school named *Madrasah al-Irshâd al-Islâmiyyah* (the Islamic School of Guidance).[42] In the process of the establishment of this school he was supported by 'Umar ibn Yûsuf Manqûsh, Ṣalîḥ 'Ubayd 'Abdat and Sa'îd ibn Salîm Mashabî. The next step taken by al-Surkittî and his supporters was that they established a socio-political organization to sponsor the activities of the Irshad School and function as their mouthpiece. A few months later, the constitution of the organization was approved by the government and the Irshad was legally recognized as a social and educational entity. Its first executive committee was composed of Salîm ibn Awai Balwal (chairman), Muḥammad ibn 'Abîd 'Ubayd (secretary), Sa'îd ibn Salîm Mashabî (treasurer), and Ṣalîḥ 'Ubayd 'Abdat (advisor).[43] Needless to say that this Irshadis' initiative had widened the rift between the Sayyids and non-Sayyids, and made the rectification of this rift a vital problem for the Hadramis at home and in the Diaspora.

The Irshad Organization gradually extended its branches and schools from Jakarta to the other principal towns of Java such as Tegal, Pekalongan, Surabaya and Cirebon. The administration of the Irshad schools was placed in the hands of al-Surkittî, his Sudanese collaborators and some of his brilliant students who graduated at the Khayr Schools. The administration of the Irshad in Jakarta and its regional branches was founded on a decentralized basis. Each branch was authorized to conduct its own activities with less interference from the center, but at the same time they were obliged to follow the course of the center in general matters associated with the betterment of the whole community.[44]

It appears that when the 'Alawî Sayyids realized that the establishment of the Irshad Organization would undermine their religious and political prestige they again raised the issue of *kafâah* on the grounds that this issue would enable them to strengthen their internal front against the Irshadis. In this respect they tried to make the *kafâah* as a key issue in their conflict with their Irshadi rivals. In October 1915 they raised the question of *kafâah* through Sulu Hindia Newspaper, where they invited the legal opinion of al-Surkittî on

the marriage between a Sayyid's daughter and a non-Sayyid Muslim. On his part al-Surkittî issued a long *fatwâ* founded on the Qur'ân and Sunnah, given the name of *Ṣûrah al-Jawâb* (the Form of the Answer). In this *fatwâ* he advocated the equality of Muslims regardless of their descent, race and language, and denounced the 'Alawî's claim that the eligibility in marriage should be founded on an ideology of descent. For him the equality of Muslims and eligibility in marriage should be understood in the terms of the following Quranic verses:

> O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honored of you in the sight of Allâh is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allâh has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things).[45]

As a first counter-response, the 'Alawî Sayyids contacted and asked the government to ban the circulation of al-Surkittî's *fatwâ* on the grounds that it was in contrast with the Shâfi'îi school of law which the majority of the Indonesian Muslims followed. When they realized that the government was disinterested of being apart of this religio-political discord the Sayyids entered into a public debate wittheir Irshadi rivals. A series of *fatwâs* were issued and published, advocating the noble descent of the Sayyids and denouncing the validity of "the Sudanese intruder's" *fatwâ*. Here one can single out the famous *fatwâ* of 'Abd Allâh ibn Ṣadaqa al-Daḥlân, entitled: "*Irsâl al-Shihâb 'alâ Ṣûrah al-Jawâb*" (Sending Flame for Burning the Form of the Answer) .[46] In this *fatwâ* al-Daḥlân attacked al-Surkittî personally and marked him as a "Sudanese liar, ignorant and back", and a "resentful intruder", who would like to build his celebrity in Indonesia at the expense of the noble status of the 'Alawî Sayyids. As the Irshadis argue, al-Surkittî himself did not respond to al-Daḥlân's criticism, but his Sudanese collaborator, Aḥmad al-'Aqîb, took the initiative and wrote a book entitled: "*Kitâb Faṣlu al-Khiṭâb fî Ta'yîd Ṣûrah al-Jawâb*" (The authoritative argument in the support of the Form of the Answer). In this book al-'Aqîb praised al-Surkittî's *fatwâ*, and refuted that of al-Daḥlân, whom he branded as a non-qualified and unfair scholar who could tackle such a delicate matter.[47]

The issue of *kafâah* seems to have not been the only trap that the 'Alawî Sayyids had set up for the Irshadis. The number of the cases listed in "A History of the Irshadis and their Shaykhs" shows how the conflict between the two parties was bitter and full of intrigues.

In 1920 for example, a group of the 'Alawî Sayyids approached the Kâthirî chairman of the Irshad Organization, Salîm Awai Balwal (1914-20), to change the name of the Irshad to "A Kâthirî Organization".[48] They founded their request on the account that the name of the Irshad had divided the sons of Hadramaut into two groups, and the British were disinterested in dealing with any organization that bore the name. To Put the 'Alawî's "proposal" into effect, shaykh Salîm invited the members of the Irshad for a general meeting that would be held at the headquarters of the Irshad Organization in Batavia on 15 February 1920. It seems that the Irshadis in Batavia had discovered the "conspiracy" of the 'Alawî Sayyids and contacted their clients at the regional branches to attend the proposed meeting.[49]

On 14 February 1920 the regional delegations arrived in Batavia, where they were well received by 'Umar ibn Manqûsh and his colleagues. When shaykh Salîm realized that he was in no position of carrying out his proposal he issued a newspaper statement postponing the meeting for an indefinite period. But the meeting took its place on the proposed date and shaykh Salîm was fired from the chairmanship of the executive committee and his membership of the organization was terminated. A new executive committee consisting of Ghâlib Sa'îd ibn Tubay (chairman), Muḥammad 'Ubayd 'Abûd (secretary), 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Qâdir Harhara (treasurer), and Salîm 'Umar Balfas (adviser) was formed. On 26 May 1920 the fired chairman, shaykh Salîm, held a counter-meeting at his house and declared the dissolution of the Irshad Organization. But his resolution seems to have been born dead and the Irshad Organization continued with its new leadership.[50] However, on the long run this internal conflict generated tension between al-Surkittî himself and some leading figures of the Irshad, who later suspended (if not rejected) one of his educational reform programs for the Irshad schools. As a result of this suspension, al-Surkittî resigned from the administration of the Irshad schools and froze his activities at the Irshad Organization for more than two years (1920-22). His justification was that the Irshadis themselves —at that particular stage— were less genuine in transmitting his mission to the members of the grass root level of the society but were much affected by their local and family politics. Therefore, he believed that his resignation might let the Irshadis reevaluate their situation *vis-a-vis* the 'Alawîs sayyids and enable themselves to overcome their own differences and prepare the ground for a better move towards the development of the organization.[51]

The Shaykh-Sayyid Discord and Its International Dimension

When the 'Alawî Sayyids failed to challenge the power of the Irshadis in Indonesia they invited an outside support. They reported to the British Ambassador in Batavia, acquainting him with anti-imperialist activities of the Irshadis against the colonial existence of the British forces and their allies in the Middle East. They accused the Irshadis' leader, al-Surkittî, of playing a role similar to that of his maternal nephew, "the Sudanese Mahdi", who routed the Turco-Egyptian and their British allies out of the Sudan in the 19th century.[52] They went on to say that al-Surkittî was much influenced by the role of his maternal uncle and was hardly working to unite and mobilize the non-Sayyid Hadramis for his own political ends.[53]

In response, the British colonial administration ordered the Kâthirî and Quaytî sultans in Hadramaut to instruct their subjects at home and in the Diaspora to disassociate them from the Irshad. On 16 June 1919 the Sultan Ghâlib ibn 'Awad al-Quaytî and his counterpart 'Alî ibn Man?ûr al-Kâthirî issued a joint circular instructing the Hadramis to disassociate themselves from "the intruders and cultivators of dissension." By intruders and cultivators of dissension they meant al-Surkittî and his Sudanese collaborators. In their joint circular, they also advised them to be united towards the betterment of their own Hadrami community at large and the 'Alawî sayyids in particular. They warned those who would not follow their mandate with punishment like that "of those who wage war against Allâh and His Apostle, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land". In the circular they did not complete the second part of the Qur'ânic verse, which states the punishment as "execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter." [54]

Shortly after the circular had been put into effect, the Irshadis wrote two separate appeals to the Sultan Ghâlib Quaytî and the British Ambassador in Batavia, denying the 'Alawîs' accusation and emphasizing that their organization had no interest in politics. They stated that its primary aim was only charitable and educational. By these two letters they gradually normalized their relations and contacts with the British administration and their Hadrami Sultans in Yemen.[55]

The second case is associated with an appeal sent by twenty-one

'Alawî sayyids to al-Sharîf Ḥusayn of the Hijaz.[56] The signatories of the appeal informed the latter that they had in Java a group of dissenters (*khawârij*), who directed their activities towards "the hatred of the Prophet's descendants, spread of intrigues and awakening of dissension." To suppress the spread of the "corrupt beliefs and ideas" mentioned, they requested him to ban the Irshadis from entering the Hijaz and the Holy Cities. To achieve this goal they asked him to appoint one of them as an agent who would responsible for the defense of the Muslim faith in Java and for the issuance of travel documents for those who were interested to visit the Holy places in Arabia for ritual and educational purposes. The Sharîf of Mecca seems to have been less interested in putting his nose in the 'Alawî-Irshadi discord therefore he published the 'Alawîs' appeal in *al-Qibla* Newspapers, the issue of Dhû al-Ḥijjah 1338/August 1920. The release of the appeal's contents came as a great shock to the 'Alawî Sayyids and at the same time relieved their Irshadi rivals, who came to know that the Sharîf of Mecca was quite reluctant to be apart of their conflict with the Sayyids.[57]

The 'Alawîs' appeal also opened an avenue for the Irshadis to consolidate their future contacts with King 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Sa'ûd (1876-1953) of the Arabia, particularly after the overthrow of the Sharîf of Mecca in 1924. For instance, in 1926 a delegate of three Irshadis was invited by King 'Abd al-'Azîz to attend the international conference of Muslims held in Mecca. Three years later al-Surkittî himself paid a short visit to the Holy lands as a guest of the royal Sa'ûdi family and its Wahhabi advisors.[58] All these incidents indicate that the 'Alawî Sayyids had lost their support in the Hijaz and the Irshadis gained a new ground of support and inspiration for their future activities.

Hopes of Reconciliation and Disappointments of Failure

The shaykh-sayyid discord seems to have created a state of tension among young generations of the Hadramis and weakened their political status and contribution to the nationalist movement in Indonesia. Thus in January 1919, Ismâ'îl ibn 'Abd Allâh al-'Attâs, representative of the Arabs in the Indonesian People's Council (*Volksraad*), formed a steering committee of twenty members in Batavia. He stated the objective of this committee was to invite the Arab emigrants for a general conference that would be held in Batavia on 9 February 1919. The agenda of the conference was confined to the

following issues:

(a) to discuss the reunification of the Arab emigrants in a political form that would safeguard their rights and defend their interests at the Indonesian People's Council.

(b) to discuss their reaction to the martial law that made their recruitment in the Indonesian military forces obligatory as for the other citizens.

(c) to solve the practical problems that waterdowned their participation in the development of the Indonesian society.

(d) to establish a Malay newspaper that would voice out their grievances and demands, and as well facilitate their contact and communication with other ethnic communities in the country.[59]

This conference agenda reflects the political and personal aspirations of al-'Attâs and his supporters among the Hadramis who had been born in the Netherlands East Indies. It also shows how this group was motivated by the idea of establishing an ethno-political party that would secure their representation in the Indonesian People's Council and other state governing institutions. As de Jonge argues, this move indicates that there was a growing number of the Hadramis who relatively overcame their isolation and "became more open to developments in the wider Indonesian society". They also realized that "Indonesia rather than Southern Arabia had become their motherland."[60] But when the conservative 'Alawî Sayyids realized that al-'Attâs's proposal did not meet with their own ambitions they conditioned their participation in the conference on the dismissal of "the foreign intruder" Aḥmad al-Surkittî from the membership of the steering committee.[61] However at the end the conflict between the 'Alawî Sayyids and the Irshadis over the membership of al-Surkittî generated a real challenge for al-'Attâs's proposal and finally resulted in its rebuff.

The failure of al-'Attâs's initiative seems to have not driven 'the neural mediators' to despair. From 1921 to 1933, more than four major reconciliation proposals were presented respectively by Ḥusayn Abdin of Singapore in 1921, 'Abd al-Raḥmân ibn 'Ubayd al-Saqqâf in 1928, Muḥammad 'Abd Allâh al-'Amûdî in 1929, and King 'Abd al-'Azîz ibn Sa'ûd via Ibrâhîm al-Saqqâf in 1933, but all of them ended up in total failure.[62]

This external dimension of the shaykh-sayyid discord reflects the contrasting situation of the Hadramis themselves, who had been torn between their loyalty towards their homeland in Yemen and their

reality as an ethnic minority in Indonesia. The feeling of the minority led them to depend on the Middle East in solving their local problems in the Diaspora. The involvement of Middle East mediators shows that the old-timers of the Hadramis were less interested in assimilating themselves into the mainstream of the Indonesian society, where they used to lead their life and career. At the same time, the present writer does not believe that the Dutch imperialists and their British allies were interested in developing any form of integration between the Hadramis and their hosts, because the idea of integration itself was in contradiction with the concept of "divide and rule".

At the grass-root level of the Hadrami community the shaykh-sayyid discord can be viewed as a form of struggle for power, where the sayyids would like to maintain their *status quo* and their Irshad rivals were interested in destroying their traditional castle of power and building their supremacy at their expense. In this respect I do agree with 'Abdullah Burja, who argues that:

> "the conflict between the two groups was a struggle for power. The 'Alawîs wanted to maintain the system of stratification amongst the Hadrami community in the Far East, for the system gave them political power both at home and abroad ... the Irshadi wanted to reform the community abroad, and in the process abolish the stratification system. In this way they would gain power within the community in the Far East and eventually in Hadramaut itself."[63]

From this point one can argue that the debate over legibility in marriage, *ijtihâd* and *taqlîd*, and title of sayyid was not more than symptoms. The essence of the conflict itself was associated with struggle for power and socio-political prestige in the society. Once again these symptoms were used as tools for mobilizing the support and enthusiasm of the clients who were less aware that the real concern of the conflict was centered on the emancipation of the non-sayyid Hadramis from the hegemony of the 'Alawî sayyids.

Al-Surkittî and His Intellectual Contribution

From his educational background mentioned earlier, Aḥmad al-Surkittî can be classified as a well-versed scholar in Islamic jurisprudence, the Qur'ân and its sciences, and a competent litterateur on the ḥadîth and the Arabic language. The actual foundations of his Islamic knowledge seems to have come primarily from the school of Ibn Taymiyyah (1269-1328) and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292-

1350), who favored reform on conservative lines. This attitude can be observed in his major writings and *fatwâs* that deal with the issue of *ijtihâd-taqlîd* and visitation of saints' graves for mediation and intercession.[64]

On the question of the *ijtihâd-taqlîd*, al-Surkittî rejected the blind imitation of the four schools of law and called for the restoration of *ijtihâd*. He criticized the traditionalist *ulama* who denounced the validity of *ijtihâd* due to the absence of a competent *mujtahid* after the death of the founders of the four schools of law. He elucidated that "his purpose for the opening of the *ijtihâd* gate is not to disprove or violate the soundness of the consensus of the founders of the schools of law, but is to follow their sayings which are supported by the Qur'ân and Sunnah." He criticized the fanaticism to or the association of the Islamic jurisprudence with a certain school of law and encouraged true Muslims to follow the Qur'ân and Sunnah. Whenever they disagreed on a certain matter they should restore to the two authentic sources of revelation.[65] To support this argument, al-Surkittî referred to al-Shâfi'î who said that: "if you see that something I have said contradicts the words of the Messenger of Allah, reject it"; and to Abû Ḥanîfah who argued that: "it is forbidden for someone who does not know my revealed source to issue legal judgments on the basis of my teaching"; and to Mâlik who confirmed the argument of this companions by saying that: "no one among us has put forward a refutation without then being refuted himself, no one that is except the inhabitant of this noble tomb", and he pointed to the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad.[66] By quoting the sayings of these great scholars al-Surkittî attempted to emphasize that the founders of the four schools of law themselves did not encourage Muslims to follow their own teachings but to follow their judgments based on the two authentic sources of revelation. In other words, al-Surkittî tried to argue that Muslims are not obliged to follow the teachings of a certain *madhhab* if they are not sure that the teachings of the *madhhab* concerned have been based on the Qur'ân and the Sunnah. According to his argument, the followers of the *madhhab* in this manner should not be regarded as *muqallid* but rather as *muttabi'* who should be placed in a middle position between the *muqallid* and the *mujtahid*.[67]

In this field al-Surkittî was not a pioneer himself but to a great extent followed the steps of many scholars in the Muslim World such as Shâh Walî Allâh Dihlâwî (1703-1762) of India, Muḥammad ibn

'Alî al-Shawkanî (1760-1834) of Yemen, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb (1703-1792) of the Hajiz and Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) of Egypt, who recognized the Qur'ân and Sunnah as the basic sources of their ideas and thoughts, and rejected the idea of *taqlîd*.[68] For them, as for al-Surkittî as well, the validity of any *fatwâ* (legal opinion), idea or practice issued by any religious authority after the Prophet's death should in principle be judged on the basis of the Qur'ân and Sunnah. In spite of their broad consensus on this matter these scholars disagreed on details related to the qualifications of the *mujtahid* who would be competent to practice *ijtihâd*.[69] For example, al-Shawkanî acknowledged the capability of any Muslim with a certain modicum of knowledge and understanding to practice *ijtihâd*,[70] while al-Surkittî and the other Muslim scholars argued that the *mujtahid* should be well acquainted with the sciences of the Qur'ân and Sunnah, the *uṣûl al-fiqh*, the Arabic language.[71] Thus the issue of the *mujtahid's* qualifications became a controversial and vital issue that led the traditionalist *ulama* to denounce the validity of *ijtihâd*. On this issue Akh. Minhaji recently wrote an article on the intellectual debate that took place between Ahmad Hassan of Bandung as a representative of the reformists in Indonesia and his traditionalist opponents among the elite of the Nahdlatul Ulama (Renaissance of Religious Scholars) and the 'Alawî Sayyids.[72] Al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Habshî and some activists of the Nahdlatul Ulama, for example, acknowledged the validity of *taqlîd* on the ground that the founders of the schools of law had based their judgments on the Qur'ân and the Sunnah. The call for the restoration of *ijtihâd,* from their point of view, was a baseless claim since these scholars were better versed on the two authentic sources of revelation compared with their successors. They denied the restoration of *ijtihâd* on the assumption that there was no qualified *mujtahid* to practice this business after the death of the founders of the four schools of law. In this respect al-Habshî attacked Ahmad Hassan personally and accused of not having "enough knowledge of Arabic to support his ambition as a scholar" or as a *mujtahid* who would be qualified to practice *ijtihâd*.[73] On the same ground, the 'Alawî sayyids branded al-Surkittî as a *mujaddid* (renewer) of the Muslim Faith and sometime as a *zindiq* (unbeliever or atheist) who did no believe in Islam. One of their prominent scholars, 'Alawî bin Ṭâhir al-Ḥaddâd, proclaimed that the main objective of the restoration of *ijtihâd* was to establish a new *madhhab* that would undermine the authority of the four schools of law and enable its founders to satisfy their own

political aspirations and personal interests. From the point of his view the sponsors of this ideas should not be classified as from *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah* (the Adherents of the Sunnah and the Community) but rather being considered as innovators and divergent who would like to destroy the fundamentals of Islam and create *fitnah* (temptation) among Muslims. As a result of this *fitnah* the Muslim *Ummah* would be divided into seventy-three groups. All of them would go astray from the right path of Islam except one that its members would (1) support what had been decided by the *imam*s, (2) acknowledge the consensus of the companions of the Prophet and their successor *ulama*, (3) interpret the Qur'ân and the ḥadîth in accordance with the terms and meanings which had been recognized by the Muslim scholars, and (4) respect the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.[74]

Another issue that attracted the attention of al-Surkittî, as other reformist scholars in the Muslim World, was the issue of the Sufi-practices associated with the visitation of saints' tombs and graves for mediation and intercession. These practices were condemned by al-Surkittî on the grounds that they would waterdown the concept of the oneness of Allâh and let Muslims to associate other beings with Him. As a direct response leveled against this criticism, the 'Alawî sayyids attacked al-Surkittî and marked him as a mere imitator of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb (1703-1787)[75] because in many of his writings he criticized the cult of their saints and denounced their Sufi practices (i.e. visitation of saints' graves and intercession between the Muslim and Allah) as innovations (*bid'ah*).[76] He only acknowledged the visitation of Muslim graves in general as a means for the remembrance of the Hereafter and emphasized that such a visitation should not be accompanied by any kind of blameworthy practices like loud weeping or believing that the visiting saint could mediate or intercede between his visitor and Allah.[77] In this respect the 'Alawî sayyids seem to have been right because al-Surkittî was greatly influenced by the attitude of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb who dismissed all Sufi-practices in Arabia and considered them "as un-Islamic and, more seriously, as polytheistic (polytheism is the only unforgivable sin in Islam)."[78] For Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb, as for al-Surkittî, many Sufi shaykhs and their followers "were worse than *kâfir* (infidels), because they strayed very far from the right path of the Prophet Muhammad's *Sunnah*.[79]

As was mentioned earlier, this issue of the sufi practices was among the other reasons that led al-Surkittî to enter in direct encounter with

his 'Alawî employers, who afterward fettered him to resign from the administration of the Khayr schools in 1914. The 'Alawî sayyids refused to accept any form of compromise with al-Surkittî on this matter because they were aware that the spread of such *salafî* ideas would undermine their political and social prestige in the Diaspora and home. For this reason, they tried to mobilize the support of their clients and sometimes their colonial patrons against al-Surkittî by branding him as a mere imitator of Muḥammad ibn al-Wahhâb, as a preacher of the Sudanese Mahdi's teachings in the Netherlands East Indies or as a communist who would like to dismantle the social *status quo* of the Hadrami community. In the previous paragraphs we have discussed these controversial accusations, and investigated why the 'Alawî sayyids raised them against al-Surkittî and to what extent they enabled them to undermine the power and prestige of the Irshadis.

Another primary concern of al-Surkittî was also directed towards the education of Arab-Muslim youths in Java. The development of the educational system adopted by the Khayr Organization was the focal purpose behind his invitation from the Hijaz and appointment as a headmaster of the Khayr schools in Jakarta. In this field al-Surkittî gave priority to three major issues including the development of school curriculum, cultivation of Islamic ethics among the students, and improvement of the status of women in the society. He first started with the school curriculum, where he introduced new secular subjects such as arithmetic and bookkeeping and put further emphasis on the Islamic jurisprudence and the Arabic language. His argument was that the education should be compatible with the needs of the society and used as a means for the development of the Muslim community. After he resigned from the Khayr Organization and established the Islah and Irshad Organization, he wrote several reports, memorandums and pamphlets on this issue. For example, the constitution of the Islah and Irshad Organization itself pointed out that the schools of the Irshad would be opened for all Muslim youths and particularly the sons of the members of the organization, and would teach the Qur'ân, the ḥadîth, the Islamic jurisprudence, besides other secular disciplines including arithmetic, history, geography, engineering, logic, astronomy and Latin languages (Dutch and English).[80] In his interview with the correspondent of al-Dahna newspaper, al-Surkittî showed his interest in establishing a secondary school, where the graduates of the Irshad primary schools could put their study on the principles of economics, commerce, agriculture, law, philosophy

of religion and westerner languages. He believed that the study of these disciplines was among the factors that contributed to the renaissance of Japan and at the same time would help Muslims to develop their own communities. In March 1919 he wrote an evaluation report on the performance of the Irshad schools and suggested a series of reforms in curriculum and administration. He advised the administration of the Islah and Irshad Organization to adopt the curriculum of the Dutch primary and secondary schools besides their religious disciplines, and argued that the introduction of such an educational programme would pave the way for the graduates of the Irshad to get a formal recognition by the government and be entitled to compete at the job market. He also suggested the establishment of an academic and cultural library for the students and the foundation of a periodical journal that would enable them to exchange their ideas and views and transmit their knowledge to the other sectors of the society. It seems that the delay of the administration of the Islah and Irshad Organization in translating this proposal into practice was one of the main reasons that led al-Surkittî to suspend his administrative role for two years at the administration of the Irshad schools.[81]

Al-Surkittî as well attempted to improve the status of women in the Hardrami community. He claimed that the oppressive conditions of women among the Arabs in Indonesia as in other Muslim countries were the product of ignorance and misinterpretation of the revealed texts. For him the outcome of this oppression resulted in the weakness and laziness of the children who did not receive proper guidance and orientation during their formative from their "ignorant mothers".[82] To enable the society to overcome this problem, he encouraged women education and opened evening classes for adult women when he was working at the Khayr Organization. During his first years at the Islah and Irshad Organization, female students were admitted to the boys' schools and their number increased in a steady and gradual process. In 1929 the first Irshad school for girls was founded in Pekalongan and immediately attracted over one hundred students. As Natiale Mobini-Kesheh wrote, the curriculum of the girls' schools varied from that of the boys' schools. Girls were provided with the same Islamic education as boys but besides the Islamic disciplines other important arts such as needlework, sewing and the principles of cooking were introduced.[83] Thus by this move al-Surkittî succeeded in making a dramatic break with the dominant traditions and norms of the Hadrami community, which was against

the modern education in general and women education in particular.

Al-Surkittî also believed that the cause of the decline of the Hadrami community lay in the corrupt beliefs of the Hadramis themselves who got astray from the right path of Islam. To overcome this problem he made the hearts and minds of the Hadrami students as his main target for change. He paid special attention to their moral training in accordance with the fundamental principles of Islam. In this respect he tried to inculcate in them the concept of *tawḥîd*, equality of Muslims and prohibition of seeking help from graves, amulets, spells and soothsayers. It is obvious that al-Surkittî's attitude was purposely designed towards demoralizing the dominant Sufi practices in the Hadrami society and undermining the *status quo* of the 'Alawî sayyids who proposed them as the sole preachers of true Islam among the Arab community in the Diaspora.[84] The outcome of this policy resulted in the decline the sayyids' prestige and in creating a group of the Irshadis who were at loggerheads with their yesterday-masters.

Conclusion

Whatever the facts of the shaykh-sayyid discord, one can hardly deny the significant contribution of Aḥmad al-Surkittî to the *iṣlâḥ* and *tajdîd* movement in Southeast Asia. It is true that he was not the kind of intellectual who did extensive writing or tried to work out a complex theoretical system. He was rather one who picked up, combined and developed a number of existing intellectual themes to create a novel work that would suit the need and expectations of his *iṣlâḥ* and Irshad Movement in Indonesia. It seems that what has made him a controversial personality was his emphasis on the establishment of a revivalist and modernist Muslim society. The society that would reject the conservative attitude of the blind imitation of the four schools of law, and denounce the Sufi practices that were in contrast with the fundamentals of Islam. To achieve this goal, he introduced a pragmatic system of education that would train the Arab Muslim youths in Indonesia of how to challenge the social norms and religious obligations of their own traditional society, and of how to move towards the establishment of an "ideal Muslim community". At the end, this attitude, as was mentioned, led to the division of the Hadrami community in the Diaspora into two encountering groups that included the 'Alawî sayyids on the one hand and the non-sayyid Hadramis on the other.

Endnotes

1. The Arabic terms *Iṣlâḥ* (reform) and *tajdîd* (renewal) are often used in the context of modernist Islamic movements, but they also have important pre-modern roots. The *salafi* shaykhs of the pre-modern Islamic movements associated the term *tajdîd* with a specifically designated purifier who, according to the ḥadîth, would come at the head of each century to renew the faith and practice of Muslims.
2. Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, *Târîkh Ḥadramawt al-Siyâsî*, 2 vols., 2nd edn., Cairo: Muṣṭafâ Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1956, 255.
3. Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, Singapore: Oxford University Press. 1973, 63.
4. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., *Târîkh Ḥarakah al-Iṣlâḥ wa al-Irshâd wa shaykh al-Irshâdiyyîn Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî fî Indûnîsiyyâ*, Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia and Dâr al-Fajr publishing house, 2000, 26-27. In his book *al-Nidâ' fî Daf' al-Iftirâ'*, Cairo: Maṭba'ah al-Barlamân, 1371/1952, the Sudanese historian, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥîm, gives the same account on the date and place of birth of Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Surkittî, and to a great extent agrees with Sattî's account on his early life and career in the Sudan and the Hijaz. See pp. 285-6, 305-12. On 'Abd al-Raḥîm's account R. S. O'Fahey and Muḥammad Ibrâhîm Abû Salîm have founded their article: "A Sudanese in Indonesia: A Note on Ahmad Muhammad Surkitti". In this article they tried to locate al-Surkittî "within specific Sudanese and Hijazi contexts". See: *Indonesian Circle*, no. 63, 1993, 68-72.
5. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 27-28; 'Awn al-Sharîf Qâsim, *Mawsû'ât al-Qabil wa al-Ansâb fî al-Sudan*, vol.3, Khartoum: Sharîkat Afru Qirâf lil ṭibâ'ah wa al-taghlîf, 1996, 1057.
6. *Ibid.*, 27.
7. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
8. *Ibid.*
9. For further details see: Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Shâmikh, 1985; 'Abd Allâh 'Abd al-Majîd Baghdâd, *al-Inṭilâqah al-Ta'lîmiyyah fî al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Su'ûdiyyah*, vol. 1, Jaddah: Dâr al-Shurûq; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th Century*, 2nd edn., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970, 153-212.
10. For details on the Majâdhib religious family see J.S. Trimingham, *Islam in Sudan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949, 224-26; Awad al-Karsani, "The Majdhubiyya Tariga: Its Doctrine, Organisation and Politics" in: M.W. Daly, ed., *Al-Majdhûbiyyah and al-Mikashfiyyah: Two Sufi Tariqas in the Sudan*, Khartoum: University of Khartoum, 1985, 1-97; A. Hofheinz, *Internalising Islam: Shaykh Muhammad Majdhub Scriptural Islam and Local Context in the Early Nineteenth Century Sudan*, 2vols., PhD thesis, University of Bergen, 1996.
11. 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbâr, *Siyar wa-Tarâjim ba'ḍ 'ulamâ'inâ fî l-qarn al-râbi' 'ashar li'l-ḥijrah*, Makkah: Muassasah Makkah lil-Ṭibâ'ah wa al-Nashr, 1385/1965, 130-34.
12. K. Vikor, *Sources for Sanusi Studies*, Bergen University: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 1996, 185-86.
13. R. S. O'Fahey and Muḥammad Ibrâhîm Abû Salîm, 1993, "A Sudanese in Indonesia: A Note on Ahmad Muhammad Surkitti", *Indonesian Circle*, no. 63, 1993, 69.

14. Khayr al-Dîn al-Zirkalî, *Qâmûs Tarâjm l-Ashhar al-Rijâl wa-l-Nisâ' min al-'Arab wa-l-Musta'ribîn wa-l-Mustashriqîn*, vol. i., Beirut: Dâr al-'Ilm lil-Malâyîn, 1986, 99.
15. 'Abdullâh Mirdâd Abû al-Khayr, *al-Mukhtaṣar fî Kitâb Nashr al-Nûr wa al-Ẓahar fî Tarâjm Afâḍil Makkah fî al-Qarn al-'Âshir wa al-Râbi' 'Ashar*, (eds. Muḥammad Sa'îd al-'Amûdî and Aḥmad 'Alî), Jaddah: 'Âlam al-Ma'rifah, 1986, 129
16. 'Abdullâh Mirdâd Abû al-Khayr, 1986, 241.
17. *Ibid.*, 429-30.
18. D. Noer, 1973, 63: ft. 90.
19. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000,
20. 'Abd al-Laṭîf 'Abdullâh bin Dhaysh, 1986, 19-20, 25.
21. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Shamîkh, 1985, 53-7.
22. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 37.
23. D. Noer, 1973, 57; H. Haikal, "Syekh Ahmad Surkarti and Sayid's Leadership", Paper presented the Fifth Dutch and Indonesian Conference, Leiden, 6; Mobini-Kesheh, N., *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies 1900-1942*, PhD thesis, University of Monash, 1996, 232-33.
24. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 17-20.
25. Ibrahim Bin Bakar, *Islamic Modernism in Malaya: The Life and Thought of Sayid Syekh Hadi, 1867-1934*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1994, 15-18.
26. *Ibid.*, 36-37; 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Habshî, *Shams al-Ẓâhirah*, vol. 1, (ed. Muḥammad Ḍiyâ Shihâb, Jaddah: 'Âlam al-Ma'rifah, 1983, 166-67; Ṣalâḥ al-Bakrî, 1956, vol. 2, 255-56.
27. *Ibid.*, 141-159.
28. *Ibid.*, 36-37.
29. 'Umar ibn Sulaymân Naji, *Târîkh Thawrat al-Iṣlâḥ wa Irshâd bi Indûnîsiyâ*, Manuscript, n.d., 32.
30. D. Noer, 1973, 60.
31. *Ibid.*; Muhjub 'Umar Basharî, 1991, *Ruwâd al-Fikr al-Sûdanî*, Beirut: Dâr al-Jil, 199142-44.
32. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 36.
33. "Bayn Jam'iyyat al-Iṣlâḥ wa al-Irshâd al-'Arabiyyah", Surabaya: n.d., University of Leiden: The Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology, KLVIT, H 180/131, 3: Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 272.
34. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 224-25.
35. *Ibid.*, 223-26.
36. H. Haikal, 1986; Ṣalâḥ al-Bakrî; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 226.
37. *Al-Manâr*, vol. 8, part 15, 1905, 280-88.
38. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 226.
39. 'Umar ibn Yûsuf Manqûsh was born to a non-Sayyid family in Hadramaut and travelled to Java in his youth. In Java he began his career as a small trader and gradually worked his way up to become a wealthly merchant and property-owner by the turn of the 20th century. In 1902 he was appointed as the *Kapitein* of the Arabs in Jakarta and remained in this position until 1931. In 1921 he was awarded the title of Knight of the Order of Orange Nassau. As Natalie Mobini-Kesheh points out, this was a clear of Dutch government favour. Thus through the course of time Manqûsh became "proud of his achievements and famed for his refusal to be looked down upon by anyone, whether sayyid or European." For further details see Mobini-Kesheh, 28.
40. Al-Surkittî seems to have intimate relationship with Dr. Rinkes. For example in

Febuary 1918 he wrote a highly confedential letter to Dr. Rinkes in which he invited his support for launching a program "that would first contribute to the maintenance of law and order, secondly, wipe out the misunderstanding between the government and Muslims, and thirdly improve the conditions of Muslims and their beliefs". The original copy of this letter is kept at the University of Leiden: KITLAV: Paatsinglijst Collectie, G.A.J. Hazeu: H 1083, and published in: Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000.

41. *Ibid.*, 238.
42. *Ibid.*, 249-50.
43. Umar Naji, n.d., 114-34.
44. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 226.
45. Sûrah al-Ḥujurât: 49, 13.
46. 'Abd Allâh ibn Muḥammad Ṣadaqa Zaynî al-Daḥlân, *Irsâl al-Shihâb 'alâ Sûrah al-Jawâb*, Surabaya: Sita Awsah, 1335 AH. Dahan as the headmaster of the Khayr schools after the resignation of al-Surkittî in 1914. He was not a sayyid by origin but was one of the active clients of the 'Alawi Sayyids in their conflict with the Irshadis.
47. Ahmed al-'Aqîb, *Kitâb Faṣlu al-Khiṭâb fi Ta'yîd Sûrah al-Jawâb*,Batavia: Maṭba'at Kulif al-Kubrâ, 1336/1917.
48. Karthir is one of the major tribal groups in Hadramwaut.
49. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 336-37.
50. *Ibid.*, 337-38.
51. *Ibid.*, 279-80.
52. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdî (1844-1881) was the leader of the Sudanese Mahdist revolution against the Turco-Egyptian administration in the Sudan. In 1881 he declared himself the Expected Mahdi (*al-Mahdî al-Muntaẓar*) and called for a *jihâd* against the "infidel Turks". Because of the Urabi crisis, the Khedive of Egypt was at the same time in serious trouble at home and was not able to stem the tide of discontent in the Sudan. By the spring of 1884 the remaining Turco-Egyptians and other foreigners were trapped in Khartoum under the leadership of General Charles Gordon, who had been sent there by the British Government to evacuate them. The final battle took place on 26 January 1885 when the Mahdist forces took Khartoum and sealed off the fate of the Turco-Egyptian colonial regime in the Sudan. As the expected Mahdi, Muḥammad Aḥmad regarded the Sudan as only the beginning of his campaign. After his sudden death in 1885, his successor the Khalifa Abdullahi took the responsibility of organizing the administration of the Islamic state and carrying on the *jihâd* against his "infidel neighbours". This hostile policy put a heavy burden on the state and its subjects and gradually undermined the creditability of the government and its internal support. Thus in 1898 the combined forces of Egypt and Great Britain succeeded in overthrowing the Mahdist government and conquering the country. For further details see: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan: A Study of its Origins, Development, and its Overthrow*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.

According to standard genealogical works in the Sudan al-Surkittî had no direct blood relation with the Sudanese Mahdi. Even when he left the Sudan he was disappointed by the administrative, political and Islamic performance of the Mahdi's successor. Al-Surkittî's biographers went further to list the oppres-

sion of the Mahdist regime as one of the main reasons that led al-Surkittî to leave the county in 1896. One again this emphasizes that the accusation of al-Surkittî as a Mahdist preacher was baseless but in spite of that it had its political dimension associated with the hatred of the British to the Sudanese Mahdists. From this point the 'Alawis assumed that the British would support them against their Irshadi rival.

53. Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, 1956, 284-85
54. Qur'ân: sûrah al-Mâ'idah: v, 36.
55. Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, 1956, 289-99.
56. The list of the signatories includes: Yaḥyâ ibn 'Uthmân ibn 'Aqîl bin Yaḥyâ, Muḥammad ibn Hârûn al-'Aṭṭâs, 'Alawî ibn 'Abdullâh al-'Aydarûs, 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihâb al-Dîn, 'Abd al-Qâdir ibn 'Alî al-Shuwiy', 'Aqîl ibn Salîm al-'Aṭṭâs, 'Alî ibn Aḥmad al-Habshî, 'Alawî ibn Muḥammad Kharda, Ḥusyan ibn Salîm al-'Aṭṭâs, Muḥsin ibn Hâdî al-Habshî, Mihdâr ibn usayn al-'Aydarûs, 'Aydarûs ibn Shihâb al-Dîn, Ḥusayn ibn Shihâb al-Dîn, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmân Shihâb al-Dîn, 'Abdullâh ibn Abî Bakr al-Habshî, 'Alwî ibn 'Umar Aydid, Muḥammad ibn 'Aqîl ibn 'Uthmân ibn Yaḥyah, Shaykhân ibn Shihâb al-Dîn, Shaykh ibn 'Alawî ibn Shihâb, Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Shihâb and Muḥammad ibn Hâshim ibn Ṭâhir. All of them were holders of the sayyid title. See Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, vol.2, 1956, 288; 'Umar Sulaymân Naji, n.d., 86-7; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 430-41.
57. The complete text of this appeal is avaiable in: 'Umar Naji, n.d., 82-87; Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, vol. 2, 1956, 187-88; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 339-41.
58. 'Umar Naji, n.d. 99-101; Ṣalaḥ al-Bakrî, 1956, 339-41; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 58-63. *Al-Manâr* gives a full coverage of the conference of Mecca, see part 7, vol. 26, 540; part 3, vol. 27, 208-232, 280-294.
59. There is an original copy of al-'Aṭṭâs's proposal available at the University of Leiden: The Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology: KILVL, H 1083/131; quoted also in: Umar Naji, n.d., 94-6; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 329-33.
60. Huub de Jonge, "Discourd and Solidarity among the Arabs in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942", *Indonesia*, issue no. 55, 1993, 89.
61. For futher details on the Alawi-Irshadi conflict over the membership of al-Surkittî see: The statements of the Divisions of the Khayr Organization in Jakarkta and Surabaya. The two statements were published in: Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 334-35
62. See Hadramuat Newspapers, issues no. 298-323, 20/8/1931-30/3/1932, issues no. 325-327, 18/4/1932-5/5/1932, issues no. 380-84, 30/12/1932-12/1/1933; Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 329-61.
63. Cf. Nataile Monibi-Kesheh, 1996, 133.
64. Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk, ed., 2000, 77-141.
65. *Ibid.*, 131.
66. *Ibid.*, 114-17.
67. *Ibid.*, 123.
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73. *Ibid.*, 105.
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76. *Ibid.*, 141-159.
77. *Ibid.*
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80. "Qânûn Jam'iyyat al-Iṣlâḥ wa Irshâd al-'Arabiyyah", *Sarbiya*, 1919, 15.
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