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The Origin of the Islamic Reform Movement in Minangkabau: Life and Thought of Abdul Karim Amrullah

Abstraksi: *Pemikiran pembaharuan Islam yang tumbuh di kalangan ulama Minangkabau, Sumatera Barat, pada akhir abad 19 dan awal abad 20, seringkali dipandang banyak peneliti sebagai inspirasi bagi berbagai gerakan pemikiran baru Islam di kepulauan Melayu-Indonesia. Di samping lebih awal menyerap ide-ide pembaharuan, ulama Minangkabau pada periode tersebut memainkan peran penting dalam penyebaran cita-cita pembaharuan ke daerah-daerah lain di wilayah ini. Salah seorang ulama yang turut mempelopori gerakan baru Islam adalah Abdul Karim Amrullah.*

Perjalanan hidup Abdul Karim Amrullah barangkali hampir sama dengan banyak ulama lain di Nusantara pada masa itu. Lahir pada 1879, Abdul Karim Amrullah memperoleh pendidikan dasar secara tradisional pada berbagai tempat di daerah Minangkabau. Pada 1894 ia berangkat ke Makkah meneruskan pendidikannya selama tujuh tahun. Kemudian ia kembali Makkah untuk beberapa tahun dan pulang ke Minangkabau pada 1906. Abdul Karim lalu mendirikan sebuah surau, lembaga pendidikan tradisional Minangkabau, di Padang Panjang, yang merupakan cikal-bakal Madrasah Sumatera Thawalib. Dari sinilah gagasan-gagasan pembaharuannya dikenal secara lebih luas.

Abdul Karim Amrullah merupakan prototipe ulama modernis-puritan yang secara keras mengecam praktik-praktik keagamaan yang dipengaruhi adat. Bahkan persoalan kecilpun tidak luput dari perhatiannya. Ia pun dikenal sebagai ulama yang keras terhadap keluarganya sendiri

dalam menerapkan pembaharuannya. Abdul Karim sangat menentang praktik *ninik-mamak*; khususnya dalam hal waris yang, menurut dia, bertentangan dengan hukum Islam.

Lebih jauh, perhatian Abdul Karim Amrullah pada agenda-agenda pembaharuan menjangkau luas ke lapangan-lapangan sosial politik. Antara 1915 dan 1918, ia sering mengadakan perjalanan ke daerah-daerah lain di Nusantara, khususnya ke Malaya (1916) dan ke Jawa (1917). Pada saat berkunjung ke Jawa ia mengadakan pertemuan dengan pemimpin-pemimpin Sarekat Islam dan Muhammadiyah. Lalu, pada 1925, ia memperkenalkan gerakan organisasi modernis ini ke Minangkabau, dan memperoleh sambutan luar biasa di daerah itu. Tak heran, kalau pada masa berikutnya banyak propagandis Muhammadiyah yang gigih berasal dari Minangkabau.

Pandangan sosial-politiknya membawanya pada sikap oposisi terhadap pemerintah kolonial Hindia-Belanda. Pada 1928, Abdul Karim Amrullah menentang keras diberlakukannya ordinansi guru, dan juga ordonansi "sekolah liar" yang dikeluarkan pada 1932. Dua kebijakan politik Belanda di bidang pendidikan untuk menyudutkan lembaga pendidikan pribumi. Ia juga menentang paham komunisme, ketika ideologi ini diperkenalkan di kalangan umat Islam di Sumatera pada awal 1920an. Akhirnya, pada 1941, ia ditangkap Belanda dan dibuang ke Sukabumi dengan tuduhan menyebarkan paham-paham keagamaan yang merongrong wibawa pemerintah. Pada 2 Juni 1945, ia meninggal di Jakarta di rumah seorang puteranya yang di kemudian hari meneruskan gagasan-gagasannya, HAMKA.

Pemikiran pembaharuan Abdul karim Amrullah menggoreskan titik penting dari matarantai perkembangan pembaharuan di kalangan masyarakat Muslim di Indonesia. Hubungan yang terjalin antara ulama Minangkabau dengan tokoh-tokoh pembaharuan yang datang kemudian, baik melalui pendidikan maupun politik, menggambarkan bagaimana sebuah pemikiran keagamaan menyebar luas melintasi batas wilayah dan komunitas keagamaan di Nusantara.

أصول الحركة التجديدية فى مينانجكاباو: دراسة عن حياة عبد الكريم امر الله وعصره

خلاصة: يلوح لكثير من الدراسين أن يعتبروا نشوء الأفكار التجديدية لدى العلماء مينانجكاباو ابان أواخر القرن العشرين الميلادي مصدر إلهام لقيام الحركات التجديدية الاسلامية فى أرخبيل الملايو-اندونيسيا. فجانبا استيعابهم المبكر للأفكار التجديدية فى تلك الفترة قام أولئك العلماء بدور هام فى نشر الطموحات التجديدية إلى المناطق الأخرى من الأرخبيل. وكان من بين العلماء الرواد فى هذا المجال هو عبد الكريم امر الله.

ولربما كانت سيرة عبد الكريم أمر الله غير مختلفة عن حياة علماء الارخبيل فى تلك الفترة، فقد ولد سنة ١٨٧٩م وتلقى دروسه الاسلامية الأساسية على غرار النظام التقليدي فى مختلف المناطق مينانجكاباو، وفى سنة ١٨٩٤م رحل إلى مكة المكرمة ليواصل الدراسة ومكث هناك لمدة سبع سنوات. وبعد إتمام دراسته رجع إلى مسقط رأسه ثم ذهب مرة أخرى إلى مكة، ليقضى بها ما شاء له القدر من سنوات ثم رجع إلى مينانجكاباو سنة ١٩٠٦م، وأنشأ مسجدا وهيئة تربوية تقليدية بمدينة بادانج بانجانبج (Padang Panjang) هي ما كانت تمثل البذور الأولى لنشوء مدرسة سومطرة طوالب (Madrasah Sumatera Thawalib) التى منها انطلقت أفكاره التجديدية لتنتشر وتأخذ الشهرة بشكل أوسع.

و يمثل عبد الكريم امر الله النموذج الأمثل للعلماء المصلحين الأصوليين الذين يعارضون الممارسات الدينية المتأثرة بالعرف والتقاليد، فخطبه كانت مفعومة بالتشنيعات والهجوم على جميع الممارسات التي لم يوافق عليها، بل يشمل ذلك أصغر الأشياء، وكان يعرف عنه تشدده حتى مع أسرته في تطبيق أفكاره التجديدية، ومن الأمثلة على ذلك موقفه من نظام الارث للنساء فقط الذى تفرضه الأحكام العرفية التي تتعارض بدورها مع الشريعة الإسلامية.

وعلاوة على ذلك كانت اهتماماته التجديدية تتوسع لتشمل المجالات الاجتماعية والسياسية، وفيما بين سنتي ١٩١٥ ١٩١٨ م كان يكثر من الرحلات إلى المناطق الأخرى من الأرخبيل، وكان أهمها تلك التي قام بها إلى مالايا (Malaya) سنة ١٩١٦ م وإلى جاوه سنة ١٩١٧ م، وخلال هذه الزيارة إلى جاوه بالذات التقى مع زعماء جمعيتى شركات اسلام (Sarekat Islam) والمحمدية، وقام على أثره سنة ١٩٢٥ م بالدعوة إلى هذه الحركة التجديدية فى مينانجكاباو، وقد لقي فى ذلك ترحيبا من الناس واسعا، وبالتالي فلا عجب أن جاء كثير من دعاة هذه الحركة المناضلين من مناطق مينانجكاباو.

ولقد أفضى به موقفه السياسي المتمشى مع حركة المحمدية إلى وضع يتواجه فيه مع الحكومة الاستعمارية الهولندية، ففى سنة ١٩٢٨ م قام عبد الكريم امر الله بمعارضة تطبيق قانون المراقبة على المعلمين (المسلمين) (Ordonansi Guru) وقانون "المدارس الفوضوية" أي المدارس الإسلامية التي لا تعترف بها الحكومة الاستعمارية اللذين تم تشريعهما سنة ١٩٣٢ م، وهما يعبران فى الحقيقة عن السياسة التعليمية الهولندية لتشديد الخناق على

المدارس الأهلية. وكان عبد الكريم امر الله يجاهد ضد الشيوعية عندما كتب لها الانتشار فى الأوساط الاسلامية بسومطره فى أوائل العشرينات من القرن، وكان يقوم برحلات إلى مناطق سومطره لنشر موقفه السياسي، الأمر الذى يعرضه كثيرا للمواجهة مع الجانب الهولندي، وقد انتهى أمره إلى أن قبضت عليه هولندا ونفي إلى سوكابومى (Sukabumi) بتهمة القيام بدعوة دينية من شأنها أن تسمى إلى سمعة الحكومة، وتوفي - رحمه الله - بجاكرتا فى ٢ يونيو ١٩٤٥م بمنازل نجله الحاج عبد الملك عبد الكريم امر الله المعروف اختصارا باسم همكا (Hamka) الذى سوف يواصل مسيرته التجديدية.

إن الأفكار التجديدية التى قام عبد الكريم امر الله بنشرها، تعد من الناحية الفكرية والثقافية دررا فى سلسلة الدعوات التجديدية لدى المجتمع الاسلامي باندونيسيا، وإن العلاقة التى توثقت بين علماء مينانجكاباو وبين زعماء الحركة التجديدية التالية، سواء كانت من خلال العمل السياسى أم عن طريق التربية والتعليم لتعبر كيف أن أفكارا دينية استطاعت أن تنتشر ويتسع مجالها وأثرها بحيث تجاوزت حدود المجتمع الدينى الذى نشأت فيه.

The Origin

The originator of the Islamic reform movement in the Minangkabau area was Shaykh Ahmad Khatib, who propagated his ideas in Makkah throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the present century. He was born in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, in 1855 into a family with both religious and *adat* inclinations (Arabic, *âdat*, customary law). He obtained his education at Sekolah Raja (school for sons of native rulers), an elementary school teachers training in his home town.¹ In 1876, at the age of twenty-one he left for Makkah where he was to spend the rest of his life. There he had the privilege of marrying one of the daughters of an upper class Arab family, and most importantly, he was eventually honored with the rank of *imâm* (leader) in the Shâfi'î *madhhab* (jurisprudential school among the Sunni Muslims) which gave him the privilege of teaching in Masjid al-Harâm, the sacred enclosure of Makkah's mosque. In time he became one of the most learned and important persons of the Indonesian colony in the Holy City.²

Ahmad Khatib, besides being an *imâm* of a *madhhab*, was also said to have been a *sûfi* who rejected the *bid'ah* (innovation) aspects of his *tariqah*, such as *wahdat al-wujûd* (unity of being) and the use of *râbitah* or *wâsilah* (mediators), while he continued to adhere to the school of law of Shâfi'î.³ He placed the emphasis of his teachings on the application of religious law and rejected the contemplative practices of the sufistic orders. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that the main target of his attack on the practices of Minangkabau life were the numerous *tariqah* orders and the *adat* inheritance law. In his opinion, both were syncretic and unlawful remnants of an unenlightened society, which needed to be removed from the daily practices of the Muslims in Minangkabau before they could begin to practice the true teaching of Islam. He wrote a book called *Izhâr Zughal al-Kâdhibîn* (clarifying the legends of the liars), containing his rejection of practices of the *tariqah* Naqshabandiyyah, especially their use of *râbitah* in the beginning of the *sulûk* (mystical practices) and their abstinence from eating meat.⁴

Ahmad Khatib also wrote other books about his rejection of the *adat* inheritance law in Minangkabau. In fact, he was better known for his tireless efforts in fighting the maternal inheritance law than for his teachings refuting the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah. He seemed to continue the nineteenth century efforts of the Padri movement who

regarded maternal inheritance as contrary to the teachings of Islam. According to Schrieke, Ahmad Khatib in one of his *fatwās* (a decision of sacred law made by a religious scholar or *ʿālim*) declared that:

Anyone who still obeys the *kāfir* (infidel) institution (law of inheritance) which was originally established by satan, i.e. Datuk Perpatih Nan Sebatang and Datuk Ketemanggungan, should not put it in line with the law of God. If he does it, in fact, he is a *kāfir* (infidel) who is prepared to enter the hell.⁵

On the same question, Ahmad Khatib was also reported to have said that, "anybody who practices *adat* inheritance law is in fact, a *fāsiq* (sinner) who may not become the *saksi* (testifier) in any ceremony of marriage contract, otherwise the marriage will be automatically illegal". He furthermore asserted that, "Someone who practices *adat* inheritance law, may not be buried in the Muslim public ceremony, and the ceremony itself may not be arranged in accordance with the Islamic regulation".⁶

His strong criticism of the practice of maternal inheritance law was responded to by an *adat* leader, Datuk Sutan Maharaja (1894), a famous journalist of his time, in several of his magazines such as *Pelita Kecil* (small lamp), *Warta Berita* (news report), *Cahaya Sumatra* (the light of Sumatra) and later in *Oetoesan Malajoe* (the messenger of Malay). Apparently the ancestors of Datuk Sutan Maharaja were killed during the first Islamic reform movement (Padri Movement) in Minangkabau in the early nineteenth century because of their opposition to the movement. Resentful of this, and stimulated by his hatred of any kind of religious movement he rejected the teaching of Ahmad Khatib and accused the latter of being a *Wahhābī*. He warned the people of Minangkabau: "Do not let the Padri episode repeat itself; we have to strive not to lose our independence subjecting ourselves to the people of Makkah."⁷

The above polemic between Ahmad Khatib from Makkah on one hand and the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah *shaykhs* and the *adat* chiefs on the other, was fervently continued by each group's followers. The pupils of Ahmad Khatib such as Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, Dr. H. Abdullah Ahmad, and Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek became important voices in the early 1900s reform movement.

Ahmad Khatib also wrote books on the explanation of *mi'rāj* (the ascension of the Prophet) and on the five pillars of Islam as well as a treatise on mathematics. Ahmad Khatib did not prohibit his students from reading Muhammad 'Abduh's writings such as published in *al-*

Urwat al-Wuthqâ (the indissoluble link) and his interpretation of the Qur'ân. He felt they should read them so they could refute the ideas of this Egyptian reformist. He evidently agreed with the ideas of a return to the Qur'ân and Hadîth of 'Abduh, but he disagreed with the latter's theory of abandoning *taqlîd* (blind acceptance), since he was a loyal follower and the *imâm* of Shâfi'î *madhhab*.

Ahmad Khatib himself was reported to have forbidden his former pupil, Abdul Karim Amrullah to publicly discuss the attitude of *taqlîd* in the early 1910's. Abdul Karim Amrullah, instead of following his former teacher's advice, openly declared his abandonment of *taqlîd* and attacked the attitude of *taqlîd* as a "destroyer of one's intelligence".

Ahmad Khatib was able to spread his ideas and teachings to the East Indies, (Indonesia and Malaya), especially to the Minangkabau area, since a great number of his students came from West Sumatra. He was evidently successful in equipping his students from Minangkabau with two important lessons: First he exemplified what he thought was the proper liberal attitude, which meant that he had opened the door for his students to exercise *ijtihâd* (independent reasoning). Second, he instilled them with the need for purifying the faith of incorrect religious practices existing in the Minangkabau area. As such, he was able to inspire his students to determine intellectually the best ways provided by the faith to save itself from the dangers of incorrect practice.⁹

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib had many students who studied with him in Makkah, but there were four among them who became the first propagators of his ideas and thus became the originators of the Islamic reform movement. They all came from the Minangkabau area, his own region. They were Syeikh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari (1869-1956), a cousin of Ahmad Khatib himself, Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek (1860-1947), Haji Karim Amrullah (1879-1945) and Haji Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933).¹⁰

After returning to their home areas, they soon started working to purify religious teachings and practices as they had been taught by their teachers in Makkah, particularly Syeikh Ahmad Khatib. Some of them were restricted in viewpoint and strongly attached to their teacher (*taqlîd*), while others seemed to have been able to adjust their views to the new ideas surrounding them, and even incorporated the modernist ideas of 'Abduh. The rigid students, who were probably influenced by Syaikh Yusuf al-Nabhâni,¹¹ became the defenders and

leaders of the *Kaum Tua* (Traditionalists). On the other hand, the adaptable students, including many who were influenced by Ahmad Khatib rapidly became familiar with the ideas of Islamic modernism and were usually grouped into the *Kaum Muda*, the Reformists. Among them were those whose names have been mentioned above. It was these figures of the *Kaum Muda* who successfully carried out and spread the ideas of Islamic Reform movement in Minangkabau in the first quarter of the twentieth century.¹²

It is important to discuss the nature of 'Abduh's influence in Minangkabau. The first introduction of 'Abduh's ideas to Indonesia, particularly in Minangkabau, was carried out by Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari, one of the former students of Ahmad Khatib, whose name was mentioned previously. He studied with Shaykh Ahmad Khatib in Makkah for about twelve years, and after returning from the Holy City, spent nearly the rest of his life in Singapore. He was called in his youth, Muhammad Tahir ibn Shaykh Jalaluddin, and was born in Ampek Angkek, Bukittinggi. He visited Minangkabau in 1923 and again in 1927 when he was detained by the Dutch for six months, after which he never came back to the area again. "His father was a well-known *'âlim*, called Shaykh Cangking who was the son of Ahmad Jalaluddin or Tuanku Sami", a judge of the Padri during the Padri Movement".¹³ After spending twelve years in Makkah, Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin went to Cairo in 1893 and spent four years studying at al-Azhar where he was introduced to the teachings of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashîd Ridâ.¹⁴

Shaykh Tahir's influence on his colleagues and students in Minangkabau was exercised through his monthly periodical *al-Imâm* (the leader). The periodical often cited the ideas of 'Abduh and Rashîd Ridâ since Tahir had direct contact with al-Azhar in Cairo and had seen more of the world than the other reformers. First published in 1906, *al-Imâm* contained articles of popular knowledge, discussion of religious questions, and comments on events of importance in the world focusing especially on the Muslim World. It promulgated the idea of the need for progress in the Muslim community and urged that Muslims not be left behind in the competition with the West; ideas which had previously been advocated by al-Afghânî and Muhammad 'Abduh. In these questions, especially those directly concerning religion, *al-Imâm* often repeated the ideas of 'Abduh gained through his journal *al-Manâr* (The Light). Because of his love for al-Azhar which had opened his eyes, Shaykh Tahir added al-Azhari to

his name.

In the third issue of *al-Imâm*, a question was raised by Haji Abdullah Ahmad on the justification of standing while reading *marhaban* (welcome) when celebrating the *mawlid* (birthday of the Prophet). This response was unacceptable to the *Kaum Tua*, because the practice was part of their religious ceremonies. In the same magazine also appeared a question on whether the seven heavens consisted of bronze, in which the third level was made of iron, the second of stone, and the first created of gold, as had always been taught by the *Kaum Tua*. *Al-Imâm*, in response, stated that such a story was false, because it did not come from a sound *hadîth* but was simply fabricated by untrustworthy story tellers, and was, therefore, nonsense. *Al-Imâm* furthermore said that only logic and reasoning as well as *dalîl sam'î* of the Prophet should be accounted in judging these unreasonable problems.¹⁶

The same issue of *al-Imâm* decried what it considered the rigid and unreasonable thoughts that were held by the Minangkabau Muslims at that time. It expressed the view that their understanding had been fully dominated by ignorance, and asserted that their mistakes should quickly be corrected. In this way, *al-Imâm* evidently enlarged its contribution to the discourse of reform by sending its publications to the area. *Al-Imâm* in its twelfth issue, vol. II, strongly criticized traditional practices in Minangkabau by saying:

Al-Imâm is a severe enemy to all innovations (*bid'ah*) and superstitious beliefs (*khurafât*) and blind acceptance of established practices as final (*taqlid*) as well as *adat* which has been mixed with Islam.¹⁷

Here, we can see what the main objectives of Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin were with his *al-Imâm*. He believed that Islam in Indonesia, particularly in the Minangkabau region had to be purified of various misunderstandings and incorrect practices which had diverted Islam from its purity for a long time. According to him, the deviations of the *tarîqah* Naqshbandiyyah's practices, *taqlid*, *bid'ah* (unwarranted innovation), and *khurafât* (delusion) were the main diseases of society which had to be cured quickly. His statement that *al-Imâm* was the enemy of the mixture, between *adat* and Islâm, partly indicates his disagreement with maternal inheritance law in Minangkabau which he regarded as being contrary to the teachings of Islam. His call for a reform movement in Singapore was not in vain. His friends, as well as his students from Minangkabau responded positively to him and later continued such work by establishing a magazine of

their own, *al-Munîr*.

According to Shaykh Tahir, in order to cure the Malays of these inappropriate practices, they first needed to return to the Qur'ân and hadîth and to exercise *ijtihâd* rather than *taqlîd*. Furthermore, Shaykh Tahir al-Azhari, through *al-Imâm*, advocated a reform in the system of religious education in which, in addition to religious subjects, Arabic, English and other secular subjects would be taught. In this direction *al-Imâm* itself was instrumental in establishing a modern *madrasah* (religious school), al-Iqbâl al-Islâmîyyah (the application of Islam) in Singapore in 1908 in which Shaykh Tahir was to become a teacher.¹⁹ It was this school which was taken by Dr. H. Abdullah Ahmad as a model for the establishment of a reformist school system in Padang in 1909.

There is an inherent difference that is evident in the nature of the teaching and influence of Ahmad Khatib and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari especially in their efforts to make the Muslims in Minangkabau aware of the perceived diseases which attacked their religious practices and understandings. Ahmad Khatib put the emphasis of his teachings on the ideas of purification while Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari stressed in his ideas the importance of modernizing Islamic education, and interpreting Islamic teachings in light of modern science and knowledge, and thus enabling Muslims to respond to the challenges of the modern world.

As we shall see, as far as the Minangkabau Islamic movement is concerned, of the three fathers of the reform movement in the region, it was Haji Abdullah Ahmad who was deeply influenced by Tahir, while the other two, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Shaykh Jambek seemed to have mainly relied on their own *ijtihâd* rather than outside influence.

Three Main Figures of the Reform

Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, Dr. H. Abdullah Ahmad, Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari were four of the most influential reformers in Minangkabau. But since the last of these was not directly involved in reform activities in Minangkabau the name of Shaykh Muhammad Thaib Umar of Sungayang, Batusangkar is often added to the list. Shaykh Tahir, who was the oldest of the '*ulamâ*' we are discussing, was regarded not only as their colleague, but as one of their teachers. The first three '*ulamâ*' mentioned above are discussed below.

Abdullah Ahmad

Haji Abdullah Ahmad was born in Padang Panjang in 1878, the son of Haji Ahmad, an *‘alim* and textile trader. After completing his elementary education at a government school and his religious instruction at home, he went to Makkah along with Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek, and studied under Shaykh Ahmad Khatib. He joined the fight against *bid‘ah* and *tariqah* practices,²⁰ and was also interested in the spread of reformist ideas through publications. He first contributed his ideas by becoming an agent for various periodicals of a reformist character such as *al-Imâm* of Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari in Singapore and *al-Ittihâd* of Cairo.²¹ In addition, influenced by Shaykh Tahir’s *al-Imâm* and his modernist *madrasah* al-Iqbâl al-Islâmîyyah, Haji Abdullah Ahmad established his periodical *al-Munîr* (the light) in 1911-1916, and founded Adabiyah, the first modernist school in Padang in 1909. This school offered religious as well as secular subjects.

In 1926, he went to the Caliphate Conference in Cairo with Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah as a delegate from the PGAI (Persatuan Guru-Guru Agama Islam [Association of Muslim Religious Teachers]). On this occasion, the two Minangkabau *‘ulamâ* received honorary doctoral degrees in religion from the Hay’at al-Jam‘iyat Kubbar al-‘Ulamâ (The Organization of the Society of the Chief *‘Ulamâ*) [“of the Middle East”].²² Since this particular reformer’s name will be mentioned frequently in this essay, further details about him will be related in the course of later discussions.

Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek

Another important reformer in Minangkabau was Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek. He was born in Bukittinggi in 1860. His father was Muhammad Saleh Datuk Malaka, head of the *nagari* (village) Kurai. He was trained at an elementary school which prepared students for teacher training (Kweek School) but he was more attracted to the idea of *parewa* (see note 23) and turned to serious study (Qur’ân and religion) only when he was about 22 years old. According to Hamka, when Shaykh Jambek was in Makkah, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib was one of his teachers and did much to lead him to a pious life. In addition to his religious study, he also learned magical practices from a Moroccan in the Holy City. It was reported that he practiced magic for sometime after coming back from Makkah but abandoned it completely around 1905.²³

Jambek started teaching along traditional lines upon his return to Bukittinggi from Makkah in 1903. His pupils consisted mostly of teachers and *kulipah* (Arabic, *khalifah*, assistant teachers in sufistic practices) in the *tariqah*, who respected him as he was considered a genuine Shaykh of the Naqshbandiyyah *tariqah*, an attribute discomfiting to Jambek.²⁴ He introduced the *tabligh* (public religious gathering) system, a method which had never been known in Minangkabau previously. This system was later adopted by other reformers later, particularly by the Muhammadiyah organization.

To reach out to the community in Minangkabau, particularly in Bukittinggi and villages surrounding the city, Jambek personally visited followers, instituted his *tabligh* and called on them to return to the true teaching of Islam. His *tabligh*, which was frequently given in the theatre or some other large building, was attended by his followers in massive numbers. In his *tabligh*, he would attack various incorrect practices of the people such as *bid'ah*, superstitious beliefs (*khurafat*) and others. He also attacked the *tariqah* practices which he regarded as deviations from the true teaching of Islam and called the Muslims to improve their *imân* (faith).²⁵

In contrast to the method of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah who severely attacked any practices which he regarded as not being in line with Islamic teachings, Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek expressed his criticism in a diplomatic manner without offending the feelings of those people who were still engaged in the *tariqah* and other traditional ways. He died on December 31, 1947.²⁶

Abdul Karim Amrullah

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah known as Haji Rasul or "Inyik deer" (Doctor), was born in Sungai Batang, Maninjau in 1926H/1879M and died in Jakarta on Saturday 21, Jumâd al-Awwal 1364H/June 2, 1945. He received elementary education along traditional lines in various places in Minangkabau. He went to Makkah to continue his study in 1894 and returned to Minangkabau seven years later. He traveled to Makkah a second time in 1903 and returned to Minangkabau in 1906. Before leaving for Makkah, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah studied Qur'anic recitation with Haji Muhammad Salih and Arabic grammar with Haji Hud at Tarusan (West Sumatra). He continued studying *fiqh* (Islamic Law) and *tafsîr* (the interpretation of Qur'ân) under his own father, Shaykh Muhammad Amrullah, as well as Sutan Muhammad Yusuf at Sungai Rotan, Pariaman (West

Sumatra).²⁷

Like many other young men of his time, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah did not obtain a Western education such as that available at the Sekolah Raja, the school where his teacher Ahmad Khatib and his other colleagues had studied. This is understandable because the school was intended to produce government officials, but also at that time, the *'ulamā'* regarded sending children to a government school as entrusting their education to the *kāfir* (infidel) government.²⁸ It can be seen, therefore, that the education which Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah obtained from Shaykh Ahmad Khatib and his father, as well as his self study, was largely religious in character.

He traveled a great deal outside of Minangkabau, mainly to Java and Malaya. In 1916 he went to Malaya, but did not stay there long because his teaching was considered by the government authority at that time to be "un-orthodox". Later he went to Java to contact the Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah leaders. His introduction to the latter caused him to bring the Muhammadiyah organization to Minangkabau in 1925, a movement which spread very rapidly throughout the region several years later.²⁹

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah was very active in the reform movement. His *surau* (Minangkabau Islamic traditional educational institution) in Padang Panjang grew into the Sumatra Thawalib, a Muslim reformist school system which gave birth to the Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia, PERMI (Indonesian Muslim Association). In addition, he became the advisor to the Persatuan Guru-Guru Agama Islam, PGAI in 1920 and he lent his assistance to the establishment of the secondary school, Normal Islam in Padang in 1931. In the 1920's Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah fought against communism in Minangkabau, particularly in the Sumatra Thawalib. In 1928 he became the leader of a movement that compelled the Dutch government to cancel its plan to implement the Guru Ordonantie (teacher's ordinance) and in 1932 he combated the Ordonantie Wilde Scholen (illegal school ordinance) in Minangkabau. From 1929 to 1939, intending to spread his reform ideas outside Minangkabau, he travelled throughout Sumatra in order to give lectures.³⁰

The Reform: General Ideas and Activities

The personal character of the above reformers was described by Ph.S. van Ronkel, a Dutch official for the study of Indonesian languages, in his report to the Dutch government in 1916:

"Haji Abdullah Ahmad was more a writer than a teacher, more a universalist Muslim than a Malay. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah was the most aggressive of the modernist '*ulamā'*', the fanatic and the most feared by his opponents. Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek was a 'practical man'. He was the most persuasive and the most influential of the modernist '*ulamā'*'. He lacked the oratory of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah nor could he compete with the prolific writer, Haji Abdullah Ahmad but he exceeded them in promoting the modernist ideas without exacerbating his audience..."³¹

In addition, Hamka, the son of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, described his father's character as stubborn, blunt, puritan, proud, fanatically firm, as well as hot tempered.³²

Thus, even though these three reformers had the same desire to change the tradition of religious life in Minangkabau, their personal character led them to use different methods to approach the people. Haji Abdullah Ahmad, with his greater capability for writing, seemed to have been open-minded and flexible. His adaptable attitude in approaching people allowed him to cooperate with the Dutch government. For instance, for the continuation of his school, Adabiyah in Padang, he received a subsidy from the government. Perhaps for the same reason, he approved the plan of the Dutch government to implement the Guru Ordonantie (teacher's ordinance) in Minangkabau in 1928.³³

Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek seemed to have had more success in his reform activities by using a persuasive approach. His criticism was expressed in a diplomatic manner which tended not to hurt people's feeling. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, as has been mentioned above regarding religious practices, did not offer a compromise policy either to the local authorities who implemented the *adat* inheritance law, or the *Kaum Tua* (traditionalists); he remained steadfast against the Dutch government who became a partner with the previous two reformers mentioned. He strongly attacked anyone who practiced what he regarded as *bid'ah*, such as *usallî* (intention) ini prayers, *marhaban* (welcome), *talqîn* (suborning of witness). His criticism of those who defended the attitude of *taqlîd* and the practice of the *tarîqah* Naqshbandiyyah which he regarded as having deviated from its original teaching in Minangkabau, distinguished him from his contemporaries.

In their program to purify Islam of what they regarded as deviations from Islamic teachings the leaders of the *Kaum Muda* (Reformists) renewed the effort of their teachers Shaykh Ahmad Khatib and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari who strongly rejected the prac-

rites of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah and *adat* inheritance law. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah in Padang Panjang, Haji Abdullah Ahmad in Padang and Shaykh Jambek in Bukittinggi, being strategically located in the three largest city in Minangkabau, urged the Muslims to abandon the incorrect practices of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah especially in using *râbitah* in the beginning of the *sulûk* (mystical practices) and of abstaining from eating meat. Regarding these practices Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said:

“... there were others who called themselves mystics, who bowed their heads using their turbans and long coats... [“the *sîfis*”] did not desire nice clothes... [“they”] separated themselves from others, did not desire pleasant and tasty food... and [they] gave themselves up entirely to devotion and the repetition of the *dhikr*.... Those practices were not really mysticism and must be regarded as misleading.”³¹

By attacking those practices the reformists had challenged the *tariqah* leaders whose authority in the society, particularly within the brotherhood, was still strong. At the same time they condemned the ‘*ulamâ*’ who were, according to them, responsible for the deterioration of Islamic teaching and its practices which brought the Muslims in Minangkabau into a state of “darkness.” They also attacked and criticized the attitude of *taqlid* of the ‘*ulamâ*’ who used to be grouped in the *Kaum Tua*. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said:

Do not be one-sided, as if you defend the *madhhab* (school of Islamic jurisprudence) of Shâfi‘î and condemn the others, because it is an obstinacy which is strongly forbidden by Allâh and His Apostle. You should accept their opinions, if they are right, and leave them if they are contrary to the Qur’ân and hadîth.³³

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah then stated: “The four *imâms* of Islamic jurisprudence did not allow their followers to blindly accept their teachings without studying and analyzing the correctness and validity of their argument in comparison with the Qur’ân and the hadîth.” Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah furthermore stated that, “They (the four *imâms*), even asked their followers to return to the Qur’ân and hadîth, if their opinions were found contrary to the Qur’ân and hadîth.”³⁶

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah’s view, according to Schrieke, was supported by Haji Abdullah Ahmad in his book, the *Muqaddimah*. In the Preamble he asked: “What was really meant by the *madhhab* of Shâfi‘î? Which *madhhab*? His original or fabricated teachings by other

people which came after him? Is the *madhhab* of Shâfi'î the most correct and acceptable one while the other *madhâhib* (plural of *madhhab*) are not true?"³⁷

By attacking those who maintained the attitude of *taqlid* and on the other hand advocated *ijtihad*, the *Kaum Muda* with their reform program had opened the road for intellectual development of the Muslims. Through this, they expected that Islâm would be able to produce its own intellectual thinkers (the *mujtahidîn*) who would be able to interpret Islam from its true sources, i.e. the Qur'ân and hadîth, according to the situation of when and where they lived. They believed that their efforts would cure their fellow Muslims in Minangkabau of their anti-intellectual slant originating from *taqlid*, a mental disorder which had attacked the religious life of the Muslims for a long time.

In addition to carrying out their reform activities, the reformers in Minangkabau also opposed the *adat* authorities, the people who held leadership in the society, particularly in the administration of *nagari* (village) affairs and in the affairs of their own *suku* (clans). The *Kaum Muda* did not think these people could change many things since they (*adat* authorities) had the duty of maintaining their traditional position in the *suku* and maintaining the social order of the *nagari*. To change the social life of the Muslims in Minangkabau the reformers were of the opinion that it would have to begin with the personnel who held important positions in the *nagari*, especially those of the *penghulu* (*adat* chiefs). Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, for example, maintained his opinion that since Islam (Religion of God) was higher than the *adat* law (customary law)—the law which was created by men—the '*ulamâ*' must be higher than those people of the *penghulu*. In other words, according to Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, religious teachers were responsible for guidance of the secular authorities so that the authorities could operate their government in the proper way and remain loyal to their religion and their people. On the other hand, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that the religious teachers should deepen their own knowledge of Islam so that they would not lead the people astray. In addition, the *adat* authorities should have greater religious knowledge and understanding than the common people, so that they would be able to lead the people along the path of God. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah furthermore stated "Only when the *penghulus* (*adat* authorities) who became headmen of their *sukus* (clans) were correctly guided by the '*ulamâ*', could

Islamic teachings be implemented in the society."³⁸

In connection with the practices of *adat* inheritance law, the *Kaum Muda* followed their teachers Shaykh Ahmad Khatib and Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin al-Azhari. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, for example thought that the maternal inheritance law as it had been practiced by the Muslims in Minangkabau, was unjust and contrary to the *farâ'id* (Islamic Law of Inheritance). Islamic law stated that, when someone died, his property would be inherited by one's children and one's wife, while *adat* law stated that such property should be handed down to one's nephews or nieces. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah then suggested that the people of Minangkabau implement the *farâ'id* instead of the *adat* inheritance law.³⁹

It was around these questions mentioned above, the problem of *taqlid* and the question of *bid'ah*, the maternal inheritance law, the role of 'ulamâ' and *adat* chiefs in society, as well as the incorrect practices of the *tarîqah* Naqshbandiyyah that the *Kaum Muda*, the *Kaum Tua* and the *Adat* Factions became involved in a long series of conflicts. The *bid'ah* practices, such as saint worship, the reading of *usallî, talqîn, khutbah* in Arabic, *marhaban* and *kenduri* (feast) which had become parts of religious practices of the *Kaum Tua*, had been strongly criticized by the *Kaum Muda*. They asserted that such practices had never been taught by the Prophet, and therefore were unlawful. At the same time, supporters of the *Kaum Tua* rejected the reformist ideas of the *Kaum Muda* and accused them of being Mu'tazilah, Wahhabiyah, and the like.

In the beginning of the 1910's, the *Kaum Muda* in Minangkabau intensified their reform activities by establishing their modernist, periodical *al-Munîr* (illuminative). It was the continuation of the magazine *al-Imâm* of Shaykh Tahir which in 1909 was about cease its publication. Haji Abdullah Ahmad in collaboration with Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah published *al-Munîr* from 1911 to 1916,⁴⁰ following the ideological tendencies of *al-Imâm*.

In this magazine, the reformists strived to present what they believed were the true teachings of Islam which should be followed by Muslim. The contents, as well as types of criticism, were almost the same as those of *al-Imâm*. The aim of *al-Munîr* was to guide the people to true religion, to augment their knowledge, strengthen their brotherhood and create peaceful relations. The general contents of this fortnightly, according to Noer, were divided into the following:

There were articles which had the aim to augment the knowledge of its readers. These included religious questions, like the need for religion, the biography of the Prophet, what *madhhab* is, the need for *hisab* (calculation for the reckoning of the month); instead of *ru'yah* (observation of the moon to determine the beginning of the month), and worldly matters (e.g. the importance of science, the advantage of the newspapers and the periodicals), of organization as well as events abroad especially in the Middle East. There were besides philosophical articles which had a religious character (e.g. *ta'whid*, the Oneness of God). The above articles were often written when the date of this *mi'raj* (The Ascension of the Prophet) was approaching; articles on fasting were published during the *Ramadân* month.⁴¹

In addition, sometimes articles were written in reply to questions submitted by readers. These, in general were concerned with *fiqh* (law). There were also translated articles from the Middle East, including several from *al-Manâr* of Egypt. The publication also discussed problems which stimulated the Minangkabau Muslims to use their reasoning (*ijtihad*), abandoned *taqlid* and get away from unreasonable legends, superstitious beliefs and false innovations (*bid'ah*). Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and Shaykh Mahammad Jamil Jambek contributed considerable support to this magazine (*al-Munîr*).

Ahmad Khatib who followed the school of law of Imâm Shâfi'î disagreed with the activities of his former pupils in the *al-Munîr*, who publicly attacked the attitude of *taqlid* and propagated the ideas of 'Abduh and others. He condemned them as the rationalist thinkers (*Mu'tazilah*).⁴²

In its relation to the *adat* faction, the publication of *al-Munîr* faced weak attack through the periodical *Oetoesan Melajoe*. Needless to pay all opponents of *al-Munîr* were overshadowed by the significant influence of this periodical. Because of this, there can be no doubt that H. Abdullah Ahmad, as one of the notable fathers of the Islamic reform movement in Minangkabau, had a considerable influence toward the rise and development of the reformist movement of the region.⁴³

Because of financial difficulties the periodical *al-Munîr* ceased its activities in 1916. The publication was however continued in Padang Panjang by another *Kaum Muda* leader, Zainuddin Labai al-Yunusi, the former student of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah. Because of the death of Labai in 1924, the *al-Munîr* in Padang Panjang was forced again to stop its activities. Nevertheless, this periodical had accomplished much in spreading Islamic reform which was starting to take hold in the fields of education and in religious public gatherings

(*tabligh*).⁴⁴

The other side of the story reveals that the conflict between the *Kaum Muda* and the *Kaum Tua* was still going on until the time that Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah revamped Surau Jembatan Besi, which became the Sumatra Thawalib, a reformist religious school system in Padang Panjang. After that time, Dr. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and his followers in the *Kaum Muda* were no longer busy with debates and polemics on the questions of *bid'ah* and the attitude of *taqlid* with the *Kaum Tua*; rather they were able to educate and produce teachers and leaders who would carry forward the ideas of reformism. In 1915, steps in the reformation of religious schools were carried out by the establishment of the Diniyah School also at Padang Panjang, by the famous young 'alim (learned man) in the region, Zainuddin Labai el-Yunusi.⁴⁵

Surau Jembatan Besi itself, after undergoing several changes, emerged in its new form in 1920. In this year, with the inclusion of the students from another religious school outside Padang Panjang, the organization was formally installed as the Sumatra Thawalib. After its establishment, the Sumatra Thawalib played a dominant role in the political and social development of Minangkabau until the end of the colonial regime.

The group connected with *al-Munîr* also established a school where religious and secular subjects were offered. With the close cooperation of a teacher of the First Class School in Padang, Haji Abdullah Ahmad founded the Adabiyah in 1909. Its establishment was intended to fill the demand for modern schooling which was not provided by the Dutch government, and at the same time, to act as a channel of communication by which the reformists could launch their programs.⁴⁶

Another effort to carry out the program of the reform movement was implemented by the establishment of a teacher's organization. The Muslim religious teachers of the *Kaum Muda* in 1919 formed an organization called Persatuan Guru-Guru Agama Islam, PGAI (the association of Muslim religious teachers) in which Haji Abdullah Ahmad and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah were to become leaders.

Later conscious efforts of the *Kaum Tua* of establishing schools or organization such as al-Ittihâd al-'Ulamâ' of Minangkabau (Minangkabau Association of the 'Ulamâ') formed in 1921 in order to restrain the influence of the *Kaum Muda* and counter the PGAI, eventually decreased the intensity of the conflict. In the course of events, the

reformists, instead of being defeated, were successful in forcing their opponents to adopt their more effective methods. The use of the reformist school system was, however, only slowly accepted. Not until 1928 were its advantages recognized by the *Kaum Tua* (traditionalists) in general when they transformed their *surau* into an organized *madrasah*. The *Kaum Tua*, with several of their formal schools, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (School of Islamic Education) and the organization of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah remained loyal to the *madhhab* of Shâfi'î. In 1945, the organization of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah was changed to become a Muslim political party, Perti (Association of the Islamic Education).⁴⁷

On the other hand, the *Kaum Muda* went on with their effort to reform Islamic education. Some of them got involved in political parties, such as the Permi and Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim association) in early 1930's, and in Masyumi in early 1940's, while many others were active in a Muslim social organization, Muhammadiyah.

The Sumatra Thawalib, the Diniyah as well as the Adabiyah schools of the *Kaum Muda*, were not only able to bridge the gap between the so-called Western and the *surau*-educated intellectuals, but they were also able to produce a newly-oriented intelligentsia whose influence reached its peak in the 1930's.

Abdul Karim Amrullah: Main Ideas and Views

This section is intended to discuss the main ideas and views of the reformers. Nevertheless, since these three people's ideas and views were almost identical to one another and since the writer has also mentioned some of Abdullah Ahmad and Shaykh Jambek's ideas in the preceding discussion, the present section will emphasize Abdul Karim Amrullah's ideas in order to give a clearer picture of this important reformer during the Islamic Reform Movement in Minangkabau.

On Tawhîd (Theology)

Ilm al-tawhîd (the science of unity or theology) according to Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah is an important and great science in Islam. This science discusses the attributes of God and all His Messengers. Holy prophets have been sent by God to human beings beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammad. Therefore, *tawhîd*, he said, is an illustrious type of knowledge because it is charged with discuss-

ing God and the Holy prophets as well as the most important problems of religion.⁴⁸

In discussing the nature of Unity of God he focused on one verse of the *Sûrah al-Ikhlâs*, Chapter CXII of the *Qur'ân*. "*Allâhu Ahad*" of this *sûrah* must be interpreted as meaning "Allâh is Absolutely One," Allâh who is not constituted of various elements. If he were, he could be divided into particles or touched by any of the five senses and thus could not be Absolutely One. He added that God is Absolutely One in His Essence, His Attributes, His Deeds and His Rights. He is the only One who has the right to forbid or recommend all affairs of *shar'i*. No person, whether he be a *Nabi* (Prophet) or *Rasul* (The Apostle), may reject the law which has been decided by God.⁴⁹

His ideas seemed to be manifested in his criticism of the Japanese belief that Tenno Heika was the Almighty God who should be worshipped by the Japanese and all people of the nations under their occupations especially in Eastern Asia before the second World War. Worship of Tenno Heika was known at that time as *Seikerei*, meaning to bow in the direction of the Tenno Heika's Imperial palace, towards the northeast from Java. In early 1943, Abdul Karim Amrullah, father of the famous writer Dr. Hamka, was co-chairman of a meeting of fifty nine religious leaders from all over Java. It met in Bandung and he was the only Indonesian seated on the platform. During the *seikerei* he was the only person to remain seated, an open challenge to the Japanese and a reproach to his fellow Muslims. Hamka explained it as follows:

Everybody—every body indeed was standing up. One man shouted the command, "*seikerei*." All bowed their heads in salute towards the palace. All the good Muslims, clad in turbans and *tabards*, they all stood at attention. Only one slender old man, whose eyes still shone fiery religious conviction and whose heart was of steel... he alone remained seated, and did not participate in the ceremony... this man was Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah. And he did so despite the fact that he was surrounded on all sides by the Japanese, each of them wearing his long sword.⁵⁰

A few minutes after the "*seikerei*" ceremony was over, he then said:

"To keep and maintain a belief does not always invite a danger, as long as we can pay our devotion only to God. Do not merely think of danger of what you have done or of what you will do, but you have also to think about the benefit you would pick up from your conducts. Do not you watch what I have just done? Although I remain seated while the "*seikerei*" ceremony was still going on, this did not mean that I wanted to resist the Japanese military command, but

it was because I obeyed my God's command. It is Allah who forbade me to make "rukū" (deeply bow) to anybody else except Him. As you see, now, Mr. Colonel Horie (Head of Department of Religious Affairs of the Japanese Military Occupation in Indonesia) does not disappoint me, because I have already firmly held my religious command likewise he has shown his loyalty to his religion."

The above events show us how strong the religious stand of Abdul Karim Amrullah was. It had taken him exactly half a minute to show the proper attitude of Islam, and to manifest his strong faith in the Absolutely One, in defiance of the "Empire of the Idolators." For him, God was the only One to Whom the human being must surrender his life completely, not to the King, the President, or the Emperor of the Emperors. It seems that from the time of the above events, the Japanese had to overlook this defiance so that they could prevent an undoing of the work already accomplished with the help of Muslim leaders. Ultimately, Muslims won the right to dispense with the *seikerei* before religious meetings.

Several days later, Abdul Karim Amrullah was asked by Colonel Horie to comment on, and if necessary to criticize the book, *Wajah Semangat* (the face of spirit) which contained the basic beliefs of the Japanese people, and also asked him to describe the principal beliefs of Islam which had been embraced by a great majority of the Indonesian people. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah accepted the request and began to read the contents of the book. He came to the conclusion that the ideas of such a book were completely antagonistic to the teachings of Islam. For example, he strongly criticized the view point which stated that the Japanese spirit of sacrifice meant that Japanese people were to fully surrender their souls for the honor of the nation and the Emperor Tenno Heika. He replied that in Islam all sacrifices material and spiritual should be offered to the Absolutely One, Allah, because He is the only One who can reward the sacrifices of His Worshippers in the hereafter. He suggested that the Japanese people obey all commands of their Emperor Tenno Heika but on the other hand he also reminded them to purify their hearts from any kind of wrong beliefs and incorrect practices which could turn them away from belief in the True God, Allāh.⁵¹

Abdul Karim Amrullah strongly criticized the main Japanese beliefs, which according to him were contrary to Islamic teachings. He believed that all creatures had to surrender themselves only to the Absolute One, whatever position and power they had, and had to

put all types of laws and regulations they might create under the supervision of God's law, or at least had to formulate them in a manner which did not conflict with it.

It is told that the criticism of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah toward the basic belief of the Japanese people was accepted by the Japanese authorities especially by Colonel Horie. In the beginning, the Japanese officials expected that the clarification and comparison on the basic religious beliefs between these two nations would create a political impact. They hoped that if they knew the religious beliefs of the Muslims in Indonesia, they would be able to approach them through various religious channels which would be formed. The result of this was, it was hoped, would be the maintenance of their military occupation of the country.⁵²

On the other hand, Abdul Karim Amrullah was also successful in his work because he had shown to his fellow Muslims in Indonesia that when seen from a religious point of view, the Japanese and the Indonesian people were separated by an unbridgable valley. At the same time, he rejected opinions of some Indonesian leaders who trusted the Japanese official, in particular Haji Abdul Muniam Inada, who said:

The spirit of Dai Nippon and that of Islam (wrote one of the Japanese Muslims on Java) are very close to one another, and no small degree of identity prevails among the two. The Indonesian people must come to understand this point ...⁵³

Colonel Horie, soon after discovering the content of the Indonesian Muslim's belief returned to Tokyo, leaving in charge several Japanese who were all Muslims. On the other hand, Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, who challenged Dai Nippon and its Emperor uncompromisingly, was appointed by the Japanese officials in Jakarta to become the organizer of numerous religious activities in Indonesia.

On the Qur'ân and Hadîth

Qur'ân and hadîth were of great importance to Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, for the fundamental viewpoint is stressed, that these sources presented Islam in its pristine form and that Islam in this form could be adapted to conditions and concepts prevailing in the modern world. The Qur'ân is unique, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah maintained, in that it is different from any other writing, and mankind has been

unable to produce anything similar or equal to it in either style or content. The Qur'ân itself contains the challenge, not only to Arabic speaking people but also to all of mankind as well—to create a chapter like one of the chapters of the Qur'ân. But until the present age, “there has been no one who can take up that challenge”. The Qur'ân itself guarantees that none will be able to do so.⁵⁴

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah began his discussion on the nature of the Qur'ân and the nature of Islam, by mentioning one verse of the *surah al-Baqarah* (The Cow); “O mankind, worship your Lord who had created you and those before so that ye may ward off (evil).”⁵⁵ He said that the commands and prohibitions of God cannot be practiced unless a man embraces religion, because “religion” is the standard for all the conduct of a human being. He stated furthermore that it is required for human beings to become religious. When someone accepts this idea, he is able to understand that the religion for mankind is Islam. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah was of the opinion that there was no choice left for the Muslim (he who embraced Islam as a religion) except to study this Holy Book, the Qur'ân, and understand its interpretation, and then to bring it into practice in daily life. It is the Book where all God's rules and regulations are recorded, and it can easily be understood by any man in accordance with the degree of his knowledge. In connection with this point, he said that those who did not want to take the Qur'ân as guidance for their lives were people who walked in darkness and did not know where to go.⁵⁶

He strongly warned Muslims, and particularly black magicians not to use Qur'ânic verses for the wrong purposes such as *azimat* (amulet) suspended around the neck, or to make them into tools of *larab* (fortune-telling). On the other hand he advised Muslims to study the Qur'ân intensely, to remember its teachings and to observe all its hidden meanings. All *qissahs* (tales) in the Qur'ân, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah stated, should be taken as good examples to be followed in daily practice; the Qur'ân should be made to be the *imâm* (leader) in all conduct and all deeds and be made to be the touchstone in every type of thinking and *ijtihâd* (independent judgment in a legal or theological question).⁵⁷

When he talked about the *sunnah* (speeches, deeds and behavior of the Prophet), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that it was an independent source of Islamic teachings alongside the Qur'ân because it decided and regulated, as well as interpreted what was not found or

was not clearly described in the Qur'ân. It was true that the Qur'ân was complete, but to make the Muslims really understand a specific problem mentioned in it the Qur'ân itself needed interpretation and thus if necessary, the Prophet would issue a new law to describe that which was not mentioned in great detail in the Holy Qur'ân. This was done only in case of emergency or *darurîyah* if one particular case existed in the society and it needed to be overcome. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah cited an example, the Sunnah decided that it was unlawful to eat the meat of an animal which used its canine tooth to fall upon prey; that was a question which has not been mentioned in the Qur'ân. It should be noted, however, that the general concept of this can be found in the Holy Qur'ân. One thing must be remember, however, that not all of the conduct of the Prophet became law to be followed in Muslims' lives since there were some deeds which he did not demand to be followed.⁵⁸

Since there were certain people both inside and outside Muslim circles who tried to ascribe things to the Prophet and claimed that these things had come from him while actually they were merely fabricated by those who disliked Islam, Abdul Karim Amrullah advised his fellow Muslims to be very careful in distinguishing true hadîth from those reported sayings which were not really hadîth. Muslims must be aware of such harmful sayings he said, because only careful efforts to evaluate hadîth could save the Muslim people from unexpected mistakes. In order to know the genuine hadîth from the false one, he advised his fellow Muslims to study of *Mustalah al-hadîth* (the science of hadîth).

On Sufism

Abdul Karim Amrullah's ideas on sufism partly appeared in an article written in Malay and published in the Muhammadiyah Almanak (general information on the Muhammadiyah organization) in 1932-1933.⁵⁹ He described the purpose of the *tasawwuf* (sufism) as follows:

- a. To cleanse one's purpose of faith from innovations, that is purposes of faith which are not founded 'upon the teachings of the Qur'ân and the Tradition or which are in opposition to the faith and the purpose of the Prophet and his illustrious associates.
- b. To cleanse the secrets of man and his hidden purpose from hypocrisy and envy which may manifest themselves in a very refined manner.⁶⁰

According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, when he was able to establish the purposes of the *tasawwuf*, he was a follower of the Prophet's Tradition, and one of the true chosen people of the Lord on the face of the earth. Commenting on contemporary practices of sufism where the people regarded *râbitah* (mediator) as necessary to mediate between a *sûfi* and his God, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that such a practice had no foundation in the teaching of the Prophet and his companions. He was of the opinion that,

"besides those who are sufi at heart and in their works, there were others who called themselves sufi, who bowed their heads using their turbans and long coats, who after much praise and the performance of many devotional exercises, did not desire nice clothes, wanted but little of worldly things, separated themselves from others, did not desire pleasant and tasty food, denied themselves this and that, and gave themselves up entirely to devotion and the repetition of the *dhikr* (lit, remembrance God)."⁶¹

Progress in Islam connected with the search for higher learning, which was necessary to elevate the standing of Muslims said Abdul Karim Amrullah was false and useless in *sûfi*'s estimation. Those practices were not real mysticism and must be regarded as a misleading.

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah then said that the books which are used by the *sûfis* were composed largely of quoted traditions which were false. He said that the *sûfis* used these books to strengthen their innovations and to prevent progress in the affairs of the world; such beliefs have only brought the followers of Islam into the valley of ridicule and stupidity which is not in accordance with the name of *tasawwuf*, a name which was greatly honored in the religion of Islam. He was quick to warn the people not to study any *sûfi* books without first carefully considering them because materials which had been inserted in such books originated largely from the experience of the *sûfi* and very often those teachings did not accord with the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad. He, furthermore stated that in order to support their teachings and to persuade the people to follow them, the *sûfi shaykhs* had taken various weak and unacceptable hadîth such as *marfû'*, *maudû'*, *munkar* and *shaz* types and then put them into their books so that the common people would believe them. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah gave examples of the books on *tasawwuf* such as *Tanbîh al-Ghâfilin* (notification of the neglectful people), *Durrat al-Wâ'izin* (a variety of preachers), and *Nuzhat al-Majâlis* (entertainment of councils), which have in thee many mistakes.⁶²

Abdul Karim Amrullah then said, that when someone wanted to be a good *sūfi*, he must cleanse his heart from all attributes of uncleanness, cleanse his faith from innovations which were not found in the Qur'ân and the hadîth, and cleanse his secret and hidden purposes from hypocrisy and envy. He was of the opinion that by following the perfect character of the Prophet Muhammad, the real *sūfi* "could guard and purify all outward members of all sin and base conduct, and thus they would be able to practice good behavior and sensible disposition in the presence of all creatures."⁶³

His strong attack on mystical practices, particularly those of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah, initiated the era of the second Islamic Reform Movement in Minangkabau. In 1906, after returning from Makkah, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and several of his colleagues got involved in a long discussion on the question of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah with a group of their opponents (who was later known as the *Kaum Tua* (Traditionalist). Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, Haji Abdullah Ahmad, Shaykh Daud Rasyidi, and Shaykh Abbas were young '*ulamâ*' who happened to come from the *darat* (heartland), whereas their adversaries were older '*ulamâ*' who came from Padang (the West Coast of Sumatra). Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, as the only spokesman of this group from the *darat* attacked the practices of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah followers who regarded the *shaykh* (*sūfi* teacher) as a link between God and His devotees, which, according to him, was a practice never known of nor taught by the Prophet Muhammad. He was of the opinion that anyone who wanted to come nearer to God may directly contact Him by himself, alone, anytime and wherever he wished. To use a *shaykh* and regard him as a mediator (*râbitah*) between God and human beings was a kind of *mushrik* (heresy), he added.⁶⁴

It is said that the older '*ulamâ*' (traditionalists) who were later known as the *Kaum Tua* were defeated in the field of discussion, for they did not have strong and reasonable arguments to defend their point of view. Nevertheless, those old '*ulamâ*' such as Shaykh Khatib Ali, Shaykh Bayang, Tuanku Syeikh Seberang Padang, continued to reject the ideas of the *Kaum Muda*. They defended their views by saying that since the *murids* (novices) did not know how to find a good and perfect way to come to worship God by themselves, they certainly needed guidance. The guide must be someone far more knowledge than the novices so that the *shaykh* might lead the *murids* to the, true path leading to God. Therefore the *shaykh* (*râbi`ah*) was

necessary. From then on, the terms *Kaum Muda* and *Kaum Tua* were used to distinguish the Reformist Group from the Traditionalist one.

On Taqlid

In his effort to advocate *ijtihad* and abandon *taqlid*, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and his group in *Kaum Muda*, first of all discussed the importance of 'aql (logic, reasoning). According to the *Kaum Muda*, 'aql was one of the important means given by God to human beings, by which they could study and understand the universe and thus benefit by it in gaining happiness in their lives. Nevertheless, it was very surprising, they said, that people only liked to use reason in the mundane aspects of their life, and many did not want to use it in religious matters. It was useless, the *Kaum Muda* consented, if the *Kaum Tua* felt satisfied with the laws and regulations concerning religious problems which had been decided upon by the medieval jurists and theologians, and had no intention of observing them again or making any necessary amendments. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah argued that the *muqallid* (he who maintained *taqlid*), did not want to use their 'aql to come to an understanding that some of the established laws could no longer be fitted to the demands of modern life. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that: "the orang *berakal* (wise man) must understand their God and His regulations so that His commands and prohibitions can be properly carried out." Because the understanding of God's regulations can not be correctly obtained by blind acceptance to the law established in medieval times (*taqlid*), the Muslims in general, especially their leaders (*'ulamā'*) must return to the original sources of Islamic teachings, the Qur'ān and the hadīth, from which they would find out the real injunctions of God on specific questions of a religious nature. To enable them encounter and understand the contents and wisdom of the Qur'ān and hadīth, these religious leaders of the Muslims should master the *usūl al-fiqh* (the science of jurisprudence).⁶⁵

To know the *usūl al-fiqh* is very essential, Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah argued, because it could help someone understand the Divine Law, regulations which are basis of one's daily religious deeds. The science of Islamic jurisprudence is very useful to help Muslims understand Islamic knowledge as a whole through individual effort, without blindly basing opinions upon what had been established before. In addition, by mastering this science, the Muslim would see for himself the difference between religious practices which were

acceptable to God and those which were not. "We may not do religious practice," Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah stated, "unless we know what God's decision on it was."⁶⁶ The *mujtahid mutlaq* (the absolute *mujtahid* or the highest type of *mujtahid*) such as Imâm Hanafî, Mâlikî, Shâfi'î, and Hanbalî or *mujtahid madhhab* (the *mujtahid* of one certain *madhhab*), like Imâm Muzammî (a colleague of Imâm Shâfi'î), Imâm Rifâ'î and Nawâwî as *mujtahid fatwâ*, and Ibn Hajar and Ramlî as *ahl al-Tarjîh* said Abdul Karim Amrullah, "would never have attained the stage of *mujtahid* if they had not mastered and utilized the science of Islamic jurisprudence."⁶⁷

Al-Ghazâlî's book on *ushûl al-fiqh*, *Al-Mustashfâ* (hospital) was considered by Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah the best source to study, particularly on the question of the *ijmâ'* (the agreement of the 'ulamâ' on a certain problem on religious question) and the *qiyâs* (analogy), because that book advised its readers to abandon *taqlîd* and implement *ijtihâd*. In addition, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah also suggested studying *'ilm al-mantiq* (logic) to prevent Muslims from going astray when they studied philosophy. Thus, according to his ideas, in-order to liberate Muslims from the attitude of *taqlîd*, they must study Islam in its original sources, the Qur'ân and hadîth and pursue their study by using *usûl al-fiqh*, *mantiq*, and by mastering Arabic in all its branches.⁶⁸ Beside the *usûl al-fiqh* book of al-Ghazâlî, the Kaum Muda took the *Bidâyat al-Mujtahid* (the beginning of *mujtahid*) of Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 520-595 H) as an essential book on Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and thus to be used in their school, Sumatra Thawalib in Padang Panjang.

It should be noted however, even though Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah rejected the attitude of *taqlîd*, this does not mean that he negated the significant efforts of the medieval jurists and theologians in the field of Islamic law. As we have seen in some parts of this discussion, he remained respectful of contributions of these medieval theologians, but he disagreed with those who regarded what had been established by these theologians as final. To him, the opinions of those great theologians have to be re-studied and re-analyzed; they were not meant to be accepted blindly. If their teachings and ideas were not contrary to the Qur'ân and hadîth, follow them he encouraged; on the other hand, if those ideas were in opposition to the true sources of Islamic teachings, his instruction was to leave them.

One thing that may be added however, is that Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah himself was formerly a defender of *taqlîd*. His acquaint-

tance with the books of the four *madhâhibs* and other sources written by Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim and other Muslim thinkers on Islamic jurisprudence and its roots caused him to change his mind and to pronounce his real position as champion of *ijtihâd*. On December 12, 1914/Muharram 24, 1333 H, in his book *Sullam al-Wusûl* edited by his son Dr. Hamka and given the name *Pengantar Usul Fiqh* (introduction to the roots of Islamic jurisprudence), he formally announced his change of attitude. He said:

Any words I have utilized in my previous writings such as *Izhâr Asâtir al-Mudillîn* (the description on the legend of misleading people) in which I have said *mujtahid* was discontinued after the death of the four *imâms* of Islamic jurisprudence it should be understood by now that those opinions were just based on my *taqlid* to the ancient '*ulamâ*' namely in the time before I knew by myself how to observe and analyze their reasons. Beginning of today, I pronounce to all Muslims that I have completely abandoned my former stand (i.e. defending) *taqlid* and will fully support the opinions of other '*ulamâ*' who maintained that the *mujtahid* will never end until the day of Doom.⁶⁸

He furthermore said that Qur'ân and *sunnah* were the two main sources of the Islamic teaching, while *maslahah mursalah* (taking the public interest or human welfare into account) could only be used in an emergency. He advised everyone not to pretend to be learned men, when they knew nothing. Beware, he said, because "you will guide people, so do not guide them astray." In his warning to the defenders of *taqlid* in the *Kaum Tua* (Traditionalists), he said that none of the famous '*ulamâ*' in Islamic jurisprudence suggested to their followers merely to blindly accept what they had taught. On the contrary, they advised them to observe and analyze their teachings through the eyes of the Qur'ân and hadîth. He then emphasized his criticism by saying: "Do not become *muqallid* (*taqlid* people) to Shâfi'î and condemn the others because you are the followers of him. Rather you must keep in mind, that you have to follow the *imâms* whose teachings and *fatwas* are right and correct, and leave them if their teachings are wrong".⁷⁰

The attitude of *taqlid* and incorrect religious practice, mainly *tasawwuf* (mysticism), were two among the main objectives of the attack which had been launched by Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah in the early period of the reform movement in Minangkabau. *Taqlid* must be abandoned, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah emphasized, because it hindered the Muslims from using their intelligence to know more about Islam and prevented them from acquiring knowledge

about that aspect of the universe”.

On the other hand, any attack on any part of the religious system was regarded by the *Kaum Tua* as denying religion itself and they responded by charging that the *Kaum Muda* were unbelievers and blasphemers. The depth of feeling among the *Kaum Tua* is apparent in the emotional attacks levelled against the ideas and teachings of Abdul Karim Amrullah who was accused of being Wahhabi, of deviating from the path of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah*, of rejecting the accepted schools of thought (*madhhab*), of ruining the religion, of being a Mu'tazilah of being a Shi'ah etc.⁷¹

On other religious questions such as *usallî*, *talqîn*, *ru'yah* (observation of the moon), *khutbah* (sermon in Friday prayer) and its language, *kenduri* (communal feasts) and the veneration of saints, the question of *tashabbuh* (resemblance) to non-Muslims, as well as practice of “cina buta” (literally, the Blind Chinese), both *Kaum Tua* and *Kaum Muda* remained adamant in their stand throughout this period.⁷² Yet their attitude to each other was much friendlier in the later half of the thirties than during the early spread of reform movement.

It should be noted however, that the reaction against Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah in his effort to purify Islam from any kind of incorrect practices, did not come only from the *Kaum Tua* who claimed to base their activities in Islam, but also arose from the *adat* authorities. This group was usually comprised of people who were Muslims, but who adopted a neutral and often indifferent, if not a hostile, attitude to Islam.

On the Leadership of the Society

According to Abdul Karim Amrullah, in order to change Minangkabau society, the effort must be begun with its social structure, especially with the personnel who were in charge of the *nagari* council (*balai*). He said that Islam must be higher than the *adat* law; therefore the *adat* religious functionaries such as the *imâm*, *khatîb*, and the *'ulamâ'* should know and understand Islamic teachings and its practices more than the *penghulus* (*adat* chiefs), the fourth member of the *balai*, while the *penghulus* themselves should be elected from among the ablest persons of their clans. The *penghulus* were supposed to become good Muslim and understand Islam better than the common people. Only when the *penghulus* who became the headmen of their

sukus (clans) were correctly guided by the '*ulamâ*' could the Islamic teachings be implemented in the society. He said furthermore that, when each of the 500 *nagaris* (villages) in Minangkabau could create this type of teamwork in which the *penghulus* and the '*ulamâ*' were fully directed and could live together under religious teachings, the rule of Allâh would be well-established in the society.⁷³

He believed that the law of Allâh was the only law that should rule the society. Since the rights of inheritance had been corrupted by the ruling *adat* functionaries in Minangkabau from the pure teachings and laws of God, the *adat* functionaries had, in fact, implemented the wrong laws for which they were bound to be punished by God. He attacked the *adat* functionaries and regarded them as the tools and agents of the Dutch Government. He warned them by saying that if the *adat* functionaries were to avoid the animosity of their own people, they should first adjust their rules and regulations to make them conform to Islamic teachings before making any decision or adjustment. According to him, the *adat* functionaries should seek the right advice from the religiously knowledgeable '*ulamâ*'; consequently he thought that the '*ulamâ*' should play an important role in governing the society. He said:

"...the so called *raja* (king) rules his people, while those who gives orders (*perintah*) to *raja* (kings) are the '*ulamâ*' (*orang alim*); then it is obligatory that those *raja* be governed (*terperintah*) by the truth originating from those who are knowledgeable in Islamic religion."⁷⁴

It is indisputable that Abdul Karim Amrullah intended to stress his ideas that the ruling *adat* functionaries in Minangkabau, i.e. the *penghulus*, should not only implement the rules and laws of Islam, but that they should be guided by the religious leaders ('*ulamâ*'). He emphasized his opinion that Islamic Law must be followed rather than the *adat* regulation. He posed the question of what to do when the rules and laws derived from the *adat* functionaries or *orang berpangkat* are contrary to the religion which they are supposed to follow? He said furthermore, that if the rules which were derived from these human beings were not followed, we would be jailed or exiled, but if they were to be followed, it would be contrary to Allâh's law for which hell would be our punishment. What should we do then in that particular situation? He answered himself by saying "... it would be better to be dead than alive."⁷⁵

It was that kind of fanaticism for religious and puritanical revival-

ism which Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah seemed to have inserted with significant success into the Kaum Muda group, particularly influencing the Sumatra Thawalib graduates and the members of the Muhammadiyah organization.

On Adat Law of Inheritance

Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah stressed that the Islamic inheritance law (*al-farâ'id*) must be practised by the Minangkabau Muslims instead of the *adat* inheritance law which had been created by the Minangkabau ancestors, Dt. Perpatih Nan Sebatang and Dt. Ketumanggungan and Cati Bilang Pandai, all of whom were Buddhists.⁷⁶ To him there could be no bargaining and no compromising in implementing Islamic law; it could not be mixed with the teachings of any other doctrines. Islamic practices, he stated, must be purified from all kinds of deviations. He emphasized that the maternal inheritance law as it had been practiced by the Minangkabau Muslim was unjust because, father, mother and children, who naturally were closely related in life, physically and spiritually do not inherit anything when one of them died. On the contrary, the nieces or nephews whose blood relationship was less close and whose sufferings were less severe than the children or parents of the dead person, had been chosen by the *adat* inheritance' law as the sole and legal heirs of their uncle's property. This type of unlawful regulation must be discarded, he stated.⁷⁷

He emphasized the above ideas by arguing:

1. The *adat jabiliyah* (the regulations before Islam) concerning the law of inheritance which had been created by ancestors of the people of Minangkabau in which the father's property should be handed down to his nephew or niece instead of his children, was contrary to the Islamic law which decreed that the deceased's property must be bestowed upon some certain people, such as the father or mother, children, husband or wife ect. Which one should we follow as Muslims, Islamic Law or Buddhist creation? Answering his one question, he insisted that Muslims must follow Islamic Law.
2. *Adat* law itself had decided the primary of Islamic law as was stated in the Minangkabau aphorism, the *adat basandi syara'*, *syara' basandi Kitabullah* (*adat* is based on *syara'* and *syara'* is based on Kitab Allâh (Qur'ân) which meant that *adat* regulations should not be allowed to contradict the Islamic Law.⁷⁸ Now, since the

maternal inheritance law was clearly antagonistic to the teaching of Islâm, we should not follow the *adat* law.

3. In the Minangkabau *tambo* (the history of Minangkabau) it was said that, "the *adat*, when it was contrary to the *shara'* (Islamic regulations), the *adat* (tradition) law must be rejected or thrown away.

He continued his discussion by mentioning various weakness of material inheritance law and illustrating the beauty of Islamic law of inheritance. He then called upon the kings, government officials and the *penghulus* to strive hard to throw away such *jâhiliyyah* traditions until they all disappeared from the life of Minangkabau society. He also directed some warnings at the judges who were supposed to render judgement in any affair between clan members and to strengthen and apply Islamic law if they really wanted to find out the good and just solution for their people. Without working together to change and eliminate those wrong *adat* regulations (the law of inheritance) he said, the property, peace, and security which were always sought by the Minangkabau people would never be realized.⁷⁹

In his book *al-Farâ'id* (Islamic Law of Inheritance) (1932), seven years after he wrote *Sendi Aman Tiang Selamat* (foundation of peace and pillar of happiness), Abdul Karim Amrullah discussed again the problem of inheritance in Minangkabau, but this time he included in his discussion the problem which was known in the region as *harato tuo* (Ancestral Property). According to him, the *harato tuo* was the property whose origins were not known. However it was managed by the elders of each house of the clan; it was inherited from one generation to another, from a great grandfather to grandfather, from grandfather to uncle and from uncle to the nephew. That kind of property, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said, "the Islamic Law of Inheritance could not and may not be applied at all." It may not be handed down by the deceased holder to his or her children, wife, husband or other heirs as had been properly decreed by the Islamic Law, because that property did not belong to the dead person who during his lifetime had managed it. It was the property of the clan, not the possession of one particular member of one, certain *suku*, or clan. He considered this type of property as "*waqf*" (endowment).⁸⁰

Abdul Karim Amrullah rejected the ideas and teachings of his former teacher, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib on this question. The latter had said that all *harato tuo*, which were found in Minangkabau were

ghasab (property which was taken by force), because it had been handed down by the Minangkabau ancestors from the *jāhiliyyah* time to the generations to come. Therefore, to manage it was *harām* (unlawful). Ahmad Khatib furthermore stressed his opinion by saying that if the original possessor of such property (*harato tuo*) was not known under the observance of the Islamic Law, it meant that the Minangkabau people had continuously managed the unlawful property.⁸¹

In contrast to his teacher's ideas, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that *ghasab* meant the confiscation of property belonging to other people in an outrageous and forceful way. The *harato tuo* could not be regarded as *ghasab*, because the first Minangkabau ancestors did not obtain it by force or seizure, but they settled on it freely without having known anybody who might have owned it previously, since they were the first human beings who ever lived in the region. They were urged not to steal other people's property, because the number of people who inhabited this region was very small compared to the large area that they had discovered. Because they had lived there a long time before the coming of Islam to Minangkabau, they had created their own laws to administer such things as property, in which they decided that property could be inherited only by the nephew or nieces of the dead person, or in another word, it must remain the possession of the clan. It may not be sold or ceded to other people, as was decreed by the Islamic Law. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that the property was administered according to the *adat* law which stated "*Tajua indak dimakan bali, tasando indak dimakan gadai*" or ancestral property can never be sold or pawned and if sold or pawned the action is not valid. Religiously, he said, the *harato tuo* could be compared to *waqf* in which the Prophet Muhammad prohibited the selling or pawning of property.⁸²

He emphasized his opinion by arguing that *harato tuo* in Minangkabau was not a kind of *ghasab* (seizure), but its nature was similar to what has been known in Islamic teaching as *musâbalah*, (a property which one had made use of and had taken its profits in conformity with the *adat* law since ancient times); Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that to this kind of property, Islamic inheritance law may not be applied, rather it should be regulated by the *adat* law. This property must remain the possession of the clan or *suku*, and no one should be allowed to sell, pawn or cede it to his children or wife, and no one may alienate the rights of property to any other community.⁸³

In summation, Abdul Karim Amrullah seemed to agree with the *adat* law of inheritance on the *harato tuo*, that property may not be sold, pawned or inherited. But, he maintained his idea that to the *harato pencabarian* (individual property), *al-Farâ'id* (Islamic law of inheritance), in which the deceased's property must be handed down to his children, wife, his parents or some other legal heirs should be applied, as decreed by God in the Holy Qur'ân, instead of nephews or nieces as had been decreed by the *adat* law.

Here we can see, how Abdul Karim Amrullah resolved this kind of sensitive problem, which had not yet been done so clearly by other religious leaders in the region before him. He did not merely want to follow what his teacher Shaykh Ahmad Khatib had taught him, but he tried to use his own logical reasoning and issued his own *ijtihad* so that it could be implemented in accordance with the condition of its society.

On Women

His views on women were very similar to the views of Muslim thinkers and the '*ulamâ*' of the middle ages where women were expected to obey their husbands, stay at home and take care of the children. It seems that he was not very concerned with changing the status of women in the sense of what is known as "women's emancipation" as was demanded by the women's organization at that time. His orthodox view was clearly seen in various books he wrote, and polemics occurred between him and his women students as well as with several individuals in Minangkabau and outside the region.⁸⁴

It seemed that he was still able to maintain this orthodox view until the Muhammadiyah organization held its conference in 1929 in Minangkabau, when he had to face the fact that women should be allowed to participate in religious activities just as men were able to, for example by going to a conference outside Minangkabau or to some other places in the region. Compared to his views in previous years, after the conference, Abdul Karim Amrullah seemed to change somewhat in his position on women and Muslims in general, particularly in regards to what was called the idea of *kemajuan* (progress). He said:

O, Muslims! Let us study every necessary and useful knowledge for our life in the world and the hereafter from the European, American, African, Hindustan, Turkish, Australian, Turkish and Japanese people. Study all types of their knowledge and abilities for our own purposes without neglecting and intentionally

revolting Allāh and His Apostle's commands and prohibitions. Attain the highest level of *kemajuan*, but remember that your conduct on religious affairs should merely be regulated by Qur'ān and the hadīth not b the way of thinking of the Western teachings."⁸⁵

Nevertheless, particularly on the idea of "women's emancipation," in which men and women were expected to have equal rights in all affairs of their lives, Abdul Karim Amrullah was always in opposition. He maintained his opinion that a woman who herself was physically weak could not have equal rights with a man whose body was created by God to be strong in order to enable a man to protect a woman's life. Briefly speaking, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah seemed to accept the idea of progress for men and women as can be seen from his support for the establishment of educational institutions for boys and girls and other organizations where women took part.

Endnotes

1. Hamka, Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, *Sejarah Islam di Sumatra* (the History of Islam in Sumatra) (Medan, n.p., 1950), p. 38.
2. Hamka, *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama* (My Father: Biography of Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah and the Struggle of Religious Community) (Jakarta: Penerbit Wijaya, 1967), pp. 230-231. This book is excellent for the study of the history of Islamic reform movement in Minangkabau. See also Alfian, "Islamic Modernism in Indonesian Politics", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Wisconsin: 1969). For further information on the subject, see Ph.S. van Ronkel *Betreffende de Godsdienstide verschijn selen ter Sumatra's Wetkust* (Batavia, n.p.: 1916), p. 15.
3. Deliar Noer, "The Rise and Development of Muslim Modernist Movement in Indonesia During the Colonial Period 1900-194221", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Cornell University: 1963), P. 48.
4. Ahmad Khatib also wrote two more books on the subject, (a) *Al-Ayât al-Bayyinât li al-Munsifin fi Izâlat al-Khurâfât ba'd al-Mu'tasibîn* (the clear description of the right men to eliminate the superstitious beliefs of some fanatically enthusiastic people), (b) *Al-Sayf al-Battâr fi Mahq Kalimât ba'd Ahl al-Ihtirâr* (the sharp sword to efface the teachings of the misleading people). These two books were printed in Egypt in 1326 H. This writer, unfortunately, has not been able to locate these books. Ahmad Khatib's rejection of the *tariqah* Naqshbandiyyah practices was strongly challenged by the famous shaykhs of the *tariqah*, such as Shaykh Munkar Sa'ad ibn Tanta at Mungkar (Payakumbuh), and another Shaykh by name H. Muhammad Ali ibn Muthalib known as Shaykh Khatib Ali. For information on this topic see B.J.O. Schrieke *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi*, P. 31. This article was translated by Soegarda Poerbawakatja from, "Bidrage tot de Bibliografie van de huidige godsdienstige beweging ter Sumatra's Westkust", T.B.G., 59, (1919-1921), pp. 249-325. The Indonesian translation was published by, Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI), (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1973).
5. S.B.J.O. Schrieke, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat*, *ibid.*, pp. 36-38. On Ahmad Khatib's refusal of the practice of *adat* inheritance-law in Minangkabau, see his book, *Al-Da'i al-Masnu' fi al-Radd 'Alaman Yurwarriith al-Ikhwat wa al-Awlad wa al-Akhwât ma'a Wujuh al-Usul wa al-Furû'* (the audible call of rejection to those who leave property to nephews and nieces by presenting the argument of *usul* and *furû'*) Misr, n.p., 1309H). See for this information, Schrieke, *Pergolakan*, P. 35.
6. B.J.O. Schrieke, *ibid.*, P. 36.
7. *Ibid.*, P. 38
8. Hamka, *Ayahku*, 3rd. ed., pp. 279-280. Also Deliar Noer, *op. Cit.*, P. 48.
9. Alfian, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-156.
10. Hamka, *Sejarah*, p. 39.
11. Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf al-Nabhânî was a teacher of the Shâfi'î *madhhab* in Makkah under whom some students from Minangkabau also studied. He repudiated the Islamic modernist ideas of Muhammad 'Abduh and told his students that when 'Abduh died his tongue would be about one cubit long. This slander was also scattered by Shaykh Jamil Jaho in Minangkabau when he repudiated the ideas of Islamic reform movement of Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah. See this

- information in Hamka's book, *Ayahku*, 3rd ed. pp. 249-251.
12. Like his teacher, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib, Shaykh Jamil Jaho also repudiated the practices of *adat* inheritance law in Minangkabau. In this question, Kaum Muda (who strongly rejected the practices of *adat* inheritance law) and Kaum Tua had the same opinion. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 187.
 13. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
 14. Hamka, "Pengaruh Muhammad Abduh di Indonesia" (the influence of 'Abduh in Indonesia), a speech delivered by the author in the al-Azhar University, Cairo, when he was granted an honorary doctoral degree by the University (Jakarta: n.p. 1958), pp. 27-28.
 15. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 48. Noer, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.
 16. The periodical *al-Imām* was published and distributed in Indonesia where Malay was spoken and written. Its publisher had agents in Java such as Jakarta, Cianjur, Surabaya, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah was also mentioned as an agent of this periodical in Maninjau. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 79.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 94; 76-77.
 18. William R. Roff, *Sejarah Surat Kabar Melayu* (the history of Malay newspapers), (Pulau Pinang: Sandaran Sinaran Berhard, 1967), pp. 14-20.
 19. William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 56-57.
 20. Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (the history of Islamic education in Indonesia) (Jakarta: Pustaka Mahmudiyah, 1960), p. 137.
 21. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
 22. Nawawi Duski. "Perjuangan Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah," *Hikmah* (wisdom), XIII No. 12 (June, 1960), p. 8. Also H. A. Mukti Ali, "Liberalism and Islam in Indonesia", term paper (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, 1957), p. 5.
 23. Umar Usman, "Mengenang Almarhum Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek (in memorium of Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jambek) *Hikmah*, IX No. 48 (Jakarta: 26 Jumadil al-Awwal 1376 H/29 December 1956), p. 15. Also Tamar Jaya, *Pusaka Indonesia* (the heritage of Indonesia) (Jakarta: Penerbit Bulan Bintang, 1965), p. 285. The following is the explanation of the word "*parewa*" which is frequently used in the Minangkabau language:

There are young people in the Minangkabau who are called "*parewa*". They do not disturb the family's life. They live by gambling, cock-fighting, etc. They are also experts in *pencak* and *silat* (system of self-defence). They have wide contact, the *parewa* of different villages respect and honor each other. But they very strongly defend the honor of a *suku* (clan) or a village. As far as their relationship with friends is concerned, they will defend them to death; they regard their friend's brothers as their own brothers, as if they are of one mother of the same blood, the same clan. They refrain from flirting and from referring to girls with bad names. To those who lose in the game of dice, so that all money is gone, the winner will give some clothing and money, the loser's expenses for travelling home are paid by the winner. The *parewa* honors religious people, and sometimes they are generous. They are loyal and ready to give help.

This explanation is quoted from Deliar Noer's, *The Rise*, p. 53, which he had translated from Hamka's book, *Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1957), 5th printing — a novel-first printed in 1938.
 24. Tamar Jaya, *Pusaka Indonesia*, pp. 287-288.

25. Mahmud Yunus, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
26. Mukti Ali, "Liberalism and Islam in Indonesia", a term paper (Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1957), p. 5.
27. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 23.
28. Tamar Jaya, *Pusaka*, pp. 273-274.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.
30. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, who never registered as a member of any political party, but was detained by the Dutch and exiled to Sukabumi (West Java) in 1941 on the ground that he was hindering the "authority" of the legal government as well as the functioning of the *adat* in Minangkabau. Soon after the Japanese defeated the Dutch army in 1942, Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah was freed from prison. Then, the Japanese military authorities, for political purposes, appointed him as the advisor of Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (the center for the people's power), an organization led by Soekarno and Hatta (who later became the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia), Dewantoro and K.H. Mas Mansur. Afterwards he was appointed to be the advisor of the Pusat Kebudayaan (cultural center), and also became an advisor to the Pusat Keagamaan (center of religious affairs). In addition, the Japanese also appointed Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah to become an instructor in the Latihan 'Ulamâ' training center for Islamic teachers for the Islam of Java; these courses was organized by MIAI, Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslim). See Nawawi Duski, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Also, Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp., 149-151.
31. Taufik Abdullah, *Minangkabau 1900-1927; Preliminary Studies in Social Development*, unpublished Master's Thesis (Ithaca; Cornell University, 1967), p. 87, footnote 8.
32. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 117.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 182..
34. R. L. Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," *JMBRAS*, 15 (September, 1937), pt. 2, p. 112.
35. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman Tiang Selamat* (foundation of peace, pillar of happiness), Vol. I (Sungai Batang, 1340H), pp. 17, 33.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 17. To support his opinion, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah quoted one of the four *imâm*'s (he did not mention which *imâm*) saying that who asked that his followers to leave his opinions, and go back to the Qur'ân and Hadîth, if the opinions of the four *imâms* were very contradictory. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah quoted. "*Idhâ ikhtalafâ al-kalâmu yu'khdhu bimâ yurwâfiqû al-adillat al-Zâbirah*" (when the teachings of the four *imâms* were contrary to each other, the one which was in accordance with the Qur'ân and Hadîth should be taken).
37. B.J.O. Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
38. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman II*, pp. 110-111.
39. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman Selamat*, vol. I (Sungai Batang; n.p., 1930), pp. 134-140.
40. Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 49-50.
41. Deliar Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 60. It was noted that almost all activities of periodical *al-Munîr* were directed by Haji Abdullah Ahmad and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah. This periodical had a very wide circulation in Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Malaya. It is significant that K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of the Muhammadiyah organization in Indonesia (1912) was one of the subscrib-

- ers of the *Al-Munir*, and translated several of this magazine's articles from Indonesian to the Javanese language for the common readers in Java. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 49-50. Like the Kaum Muda who published *Al-Munir*, *Al-Bayân*, *al-Imâm*, *al-Bashîr*, *al-Ittiqân*, *al-Mizân* around 1919-1920, the *Kaum Tua*, also published their periodicals such as *Suluh Melayu* (the torch of Malay) in 1913 and *al-Mizân*. As was the case with the *Kaum Muda*, the periodicals of the *Kaum Tua* could not appear continuously over long periods.
42. Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 72-75.
 43. Taufik Abdullah, *Minangkabau*, p. 89, note 12.
 44. Deliar Noer, *op.cit.*, p. 6.2.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64. Concerning educational reform in Indonesia, Prof. Dr. G.F. Pijper says: "The education in Indonesia would never have been so rapid if religion itself had not come to life again. New ideas were pre-allied new forms of religious life sprang up". See his book, *Islam and the Netherlands* (Leiden, n.p., 1957), p. 23.
 46. An attempt to establish modern schooling can be seen in the establishment of the Sumatra Thawalib, a reformist school system in Minangkabau.
 47. Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah*, pp. 59-60. The *Kaum Tua* in Minangkabau also founded numerous schools of their own, such as Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in Bukittinggi founded by Shaykh Sulayman Ar-Rasuli (1907), in Padang Panjang by Shaykh Muhammad Jamil Jaho (n.d.), at Tabek Gadang by Shaykh Abdul Wahid (1906), and in Batusangkar they founded a school as the center for studying Qur'ân in Minangkabau.
 48. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Al-Burhân* (the proof) (Sungai Batang: n.p.5 1922), pp. 297-298.
 49. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-296.
 50. Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 150-151. See also Harry J. Benda, "My Father", in *Indonesian Writings in Translation* (New York: Ithaca, Modern Indonesia Project Southeast Asia Program, Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1956), p. 40.
 51. Further information on his criticism on the Japanese belief see, "Hanya Allâh" (Save Allâh), appeared in the last part of Hamka's book *Ayahku*, pp. 202-216. For a Dutch translation, see J.L. Swellengrebel (ed. and transl.) "God en de Keizer, een fatwah van Dr. Abdul Karim Amrullah", *Indonesie*, 6 (1952-1953), pp. 77-92.
 52. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 210.
 53. Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (The Hague, Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd. 1958), p.123, footnote 3. This book discussed in great detail the policy of the Japanese military occupation on the Muslims in Indonesia.
 54. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Al-Burhân*, PP. 12-14.
 55. Qur'ân II: 21
 56. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Al-Burhân*, PP. 7-10.
 57. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. Hamka in his book, *Ayahku* mentions types of magic which were practiced by the villagers of Maninjau when Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah began his reform movement, such as *pekasih*, to make a woman fall in love; *kebenci*, to create hatred between a husband and wife; *gayung*, to read a sacred formula which causes someone to die; and many other kinds of magic in which Qur'anic verses were misused. See, especially pp. 32-33.
 58. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
 59. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman*, II, pp. 33-35.

60. R.L. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 112 (full quotation).
61. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
62. Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Pengantar Usul Fiqh* (introduction to the science of Islamic jurisprudence), ed., by Hamka, 3rd edition (Jakarta: Penerbit Jaya Murni, 1966), p. 63,
63. R.L. Archer, *op. cit.*, p.112
64. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p.77. For general information on the *tarīqah* Naqshabandiyyah, see Madelain Habib, "Some Notes on the Naqshabandi Order," *Muslim World*, LIX (1969), pp. 40-49.
65. B.J.O. Schrieke, "Pergolakan Agama di Sumatra Barat," pp.58-59.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Pengantar Usul Fiqh*, pp. 17-18.
68. Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 288.
69. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Pengantar Usul Fiqih* p. 122. See also., *Sendi Aman Tiang Selamat* II, PP. 16-17. *Izhâr Asâtir al-Mudillîn* (the descriptions of the legends of the astray people) was the first book written by Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, as soon as he returned from his second visit to Makkah in 1906. Unfortunately, this writer was not able to consult it. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah rejected the influence of the *tasawwuf* of Al-Hallaj with its pantheistic doctrine which in Indonesia, particularly in Aceh and Minangkabau was developed by Hamzah Fansuri (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). He evidently agreed with the type of *tasawwuf* (mysticism) which had been taught by al-Ghazâlî, even though he disagreed with the latter whose Ihyâ also contained many da'if hadîth (unsound tradition). He also wrote another mystical book, *Riqâb al-Mulh al-Dîn* (1910), the book which could not be found by the writer. This book was reportedly written to reject the teaching and incorrect practices of the *tarīqah* Naqshbandiyyah in Minangkabau. See, Hamka, *Ayahku*, 1st. ed. pp. 172-173, and 3rd ed. pp. 278-279.
70. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman II.*, pp. 16-17.
71. Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 280-281. When he was said to have been influenced by Mu'tazilah thought, Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah said that he had no objection to that sect, particularly in regard to its teachings which stimulate the Muslims to use reason. Nevertheless, on the *'aqidah* (the faith), he said that he remained in accordance with Salâf Madhhab. In its teachings that *mujtahid* would never end until the day of Doom, "I could agree with the Shî'ah sect while on its other doctrines I rejected them", he said.
72. The question of the *usallî*, a short declaration of purpose stated by a Muslim about to perform a required religious act and generally incorporated as part of ritual worship known as *niyah* (intention) whether it was going to be said inwardly or repeated aloud, was one of the important discussions between Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah and the Kaum Tua. The dispute originated from 1910 when Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah declared that the practice of repeating aloud this vow of intention (*usallî*) could not be traced back to the Prophet but was an innovation from a later date. This declaration brought the two factions into long discussions which reached their climax when Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah declared his abandonment of *taqlid*. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, 3rd ed., pp. 279-281.
Talqîn: Some Muslim theologians maintain that the questions were posed by the angels (Mungkar and Nakir) who come to ask a man in his grave about what he did while he was alive on earth immediately after the completion of the

burial ceremony, could be answered properly only if the deceased had lived pious life. The practice grew up in Islamic circles of giving one last prompting to the deceased during the burial ceremony by reciting the confession of faith. This practice is known by the religious term, *talqin*. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah disapproved of this practice while arguing that it was not commanded in the Qur'ân or in the Sunnah. He stated that all Hadith introduced by the Kaum Tua as evidence of the correctness of their position were weak, and therefore should not be taken as the basis for religious practice. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 51.

Kenduri: Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah and all members of the Kaum Muda in Minangkabau objected strongly to the *kenduri* (communal feasts) held at the house of mourning on the third day of the burial and on several succeeding days, which consisted of a recitation of special prayers for the redemption of the deceased, in which meals were supposed to be served by the deceased's family. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah was of the opinion that after a death in a community, the Prophet only commanded neighbors to prepare food for mourning on the day of the burial. He said that the family should be left alone with its grief for several days and that the neighbors should prepare food for them up to three days, depending on the sorrow caused by the death of the deceased, but that the *kenduri* should not be held at that time. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, Pp. 36-37, on Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah's reaction toward this practice when his father died.

Khutbah: The standard practice in Indonesia had always been to read or recite the *khutbah* (sermon in the Friday prayer), and if asked the 'ulamâ' would presumably have answered that as part of the ritual worship it must be necessarily in Arabic. The Kaum Muda in Minangkabau, however, maintain that according to proper religious and moral behavior it should be given in a language understood by the listeners. Many mosques under the influence of the Kaum Muda consequently allowed the *khutbah* to be given in the vernacular, claiming that there was no prohibition against it. Concerning Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah's discussion on the *khutbah*'s language, see his book *Al-Kawâkib al-Durriyah* ("The Sparkling Stars") written July 7, 1940. He wrote this book intending to provide answers to the questions of Muslims in Sulawesi on the *fatwa* of Shaykh Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisî concerning the language of the *khutbah*.

Tashabbuh (Resemblance to non-Muslims): One of the early efforts of the Kaum Muda's reform movement in Minangkabau included their correction of the Kaum Tua's view which regarded Western dress such as pants, ties, suits, etc. as being *harâm* (unlawful). Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Shaykh Jamil Jambek, and Haji Abdullah Ahmad, propagated that the Kaum Tua's teaching was false and they then demonstrated various types of Western dress (which were permitted in Islâm) including carrying a rifle for hunting, driving cars, etc. See Hamka, *Ayahku*, pp. 51, 54-55.

Cina buta (Cindur Buta): Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, through the periodical, *Al-Munir*, strongly rejected the concept of marriage known as the Cina Buta (literally, the blind china), or *cindur buta*. A certain "foolish" man was "rented" for one night to "sleep" together with a divorced woman under an agreement with her former husband, in order that on the day after the night in question, the "rented husband" must divorce her. The idea of this marriage was to legalize the rights of the previous husband to remarry his ex-wife after three times of divorce (*talaq bâin*). See Hamka, *Ayahku*, p. 52.

73. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman I*, pp. 110-111.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94. Also Alfian, *Islamic*, 422 note 108.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129. Also Taufik Abdullah "Schools and Politics", unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Cornell University, 1970), P. 172.
76. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Sendi Aman II*, pp. 112-115.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129. On the *adat* of Minangkabau it was mentioned, "*al-'Adatu idhâ khalafat al-shar'î wajaba ibtâlîha*", Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah stated which means "The *adat*, when it was contrary to the *shara'* (Islamic Regulations), the *adat* (tradition or customs) must be rejected or thrown away.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137. On the criticism of the *adat* inheritance law see Muhammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta* (Bandung: N.Y. Penerbitan W. van Hoeve, 1945), pp. 151-152. Also Prof. Dr. Mr. Hazairin, *Hukum Kekeluargaan Nasional* (the national family laws) (Jakarta: Tinta Mas, 1962); and also H.A. Salim, *Jejak Langkah H.A. Salim* (Jakarta: Tinta Mas, 1954), PP. 180-184.
80. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Al-Farâ'id* (Islamic law of inheritance) (Sungai Batang, Maninjau: 1354 H), pp. 108-130.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 123. For an intensive writing concerning the discussion of Islamic law, see N.Y. Coulson M.A., *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1964).
83. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
84. Hamka, *Ayabku*, p. 128. For further information on the ideas of Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah regarding women, see his, *Cermin Terus* (the bright mirror) (Sungai Batang: 1929). This book consists of 200 pages and was written to criticize the activities of the Muhammadiyah organization's women who attended conferences and meetings held within and without *mahrâm* (being in a degree of consanguinity precluding marriage), in or outside Minangkabau, as well as delivered their speeches before male audiences.
85. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Cermin Terus*, p. 21. Also *Al-Basâir* (the insight), 2 vols. written by Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (Sungai Batang: 1938). The content of this book is mostly intended to defend his books, *Cermin Terus* and *Pelita* (the lamp) from criticism of Mahmud Yunus, Haji Abdullah, Siti Shamsiyah and Haji Pahlawan.

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