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Historiography and Religious Reform in Brunei during the Period 1912-1959¹

Abstraksi: Karya ilmiah yang membahas reformasi Islam di Asia Tenggara sudah cukup banyak. Literatur tersebut biasanya mengupas persoalan reformasi yang memiliki hubungan langsung dengan kota-kota pusat Islam, seperti Kairo atau Istanbul. Contoh yang paling umum adalah reformasi yang diinspirasi oleh Wabhâbisme, Tanzimat atau Abduhisme yang semuanya berasal dari wilayah pusat tersebut. Namun karya serupa yang memfokuskan kajiannya pada masyarakat Brunei dapat dikatakan sangat jarang. Kenyataan ini dengan mudah dapat dijawab: karena Brunei tidak pernah mengalami reformasi seperti yang dialami oleh masyarakat Islam di sekitarnya.

Meskipun demikian, jawaban ini tidak seluruhnya sesuai dengan kenyataan tentang perkembangan Islam di Brunei. Sejak akhir abad sembilan belas sampai abad dua puluh, masyarakat setempat mencatat perkembangan kehidupan keagamaan yang sangat signifikan, baik pada tingkat kelembagaan maupun penerapan ide-ide reformis. Proses skripturalisasi di Brunei terutama ditandai oleh arus perkembangan keagamaan dan administrasi. Wujud utama dari arus yang pertama adalah masuknya ordo sûfi Shâdhiliyyah dan Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah serta penekanan pada teks standar fiqh. Sementara itu, arus perkembangan administrasi terjadi pada saat sultân yang berkuasa memutuskan untuk mendudukkan Brunei di bawah perlindungan Britania Raya. Dua macam kondisi ini turut mendorong perkembangan keagamaan di Brunei.

Masuknya ordo sûfi secara langsung berpengaruh pada perkembangan skripturalisasi kehidupan beragama. Sumbangannya yang paling penting adalah memperluas informasi perkembangan keagamaan yang terjadi di

wilayah-wilayah Islam lainnya. Keterbatasan akses literatur yang sifatnya sangat umum di Asia Tenggara, khususnya bagi rakyat biasa, dapat diatasi oleh kalangan ordo ini. Intensitas hubungan antara pimpinan ordo, yang jelas memiliki akses informasi luas, dengan pengikutnya dapat memperkecil ketidaktahuan masyarakat tentang ilmu keagamaan. Arus informasi tersebut semakin lancar, karena pola hubungan antaranggota di dalam ordo *sūfi* sangat personal. Perkembangan skripturalisasi ini semakin diperkuat oleh kenyataan adanya standardisasi teks dalam wilayah hukum.

Perubahan administrasi ketatanegaraan pada peralihan abad ini juga besar andilnya terhadap proses skripturalisasi dan reformasi keagamaan. Keputusan sultân untuk berada di bawah protektorat Britania Raya bukan tanpa alasan. Justru dalam beberapa hal rakyat Brunei mendapatkan keuntungan yang sangat besar artinya bagi keberlangsungan reformasi. Memang benar bahwa masuknya Britania Raya ke dalam sistem pemerintahan secara langsung memperkecil kekuasaan sultân. Namun pada saat yang sama, karena sultân hanya memiliki wewenang penuh dalam bidang agama, hubungan antara Sultan dan agama menjadi sangat kuat.

Proses administrasi yang dilancarkan oleh pemerintah protektorat juga berimbas pada reformasi kehidupan agama. Bidang garapan hukum Islam memang semakin terbatas, karena wilayahnya dibatasi hanya pada persoalan keluarga. Meskipun demikian, hukum Islam mengalami proses institusionalisasi sebagai hasil keinginan pemerintah untuk memiliki satu rujukan hukum Islam yang mapan. Maka pada saat itu pemerintah mulai memasukkan lembaga agama sebagai salah satu bagian administrasi kenegaraan.

Reformasi lain yang tidak kalah penting juga terjadi dalam bidang pendidikan. Sebelum abad dua puluh pendidikan agama dilakukan secara pribadi oleh para *‘ulamâ* melalui lembaga yang dimilikinya. Namun pada periode pemerintahan pendudukan, pendidikan modern yang lebih sistematis mulai diperkenalkan. Guru-guru agama harus mendapatkan pendidikan yang memadai dari sekolah-sekolah agama yang dikenal. Agama juga menjadi salah satu mata pelajaran yang diterapkan di seluruh sekolah. Semua yang berkembang selama paruh pertama abad dua puluh ini memberikan basis bagi reformasi keagamaan pada periode sesudahnya. Maka jika reformasi diartikan sebagai upaya merealisasikan nilai-nilai keagamaan yang benar menurut pandangan masyarakat kontemporer, masyarakat Brunei jelas memiliki pengalaman tersebut.

علم تدوين التاريخ والإصلاح الديني في بروناي دار السلام في مدة ١٩١٢-١٩٥٩

خلاصة: إن العمل العلمي الباحث عن الإصلاح الديني في جنوب شرق آسيا قد كثر عددا. تلك المؤلفات عادة تتناول موضوع الإصلاح الديني الخاص بالعلاقات المباشرة بالمدن هي سرية الإسلام، مثل القاهرة والقسطنطين. والمقال الأكثر عموماً ذلك الإصلاح الديني الذي أوحته الرهانية في تنظيم حركة محمد عبده اللذان نعا في هذه المنطقة المركزية، بيد أن مثل هذه الحركة المركزة تعاليمها في مجتمع "بروناي دارالسلام". يمكن القول بأنها نادرة للغاية، ولكن هذه الظاهرة من السهولة الإجابة عنها، لأن بروناي لم تتناول بعد مثل هذا الإصلاح الديني كما جربته المجتمعات الإسلامية المجاورة لها.

رغم كل ذلك، فإن هذا الجواب لم يكن بكامله متفقا والحقيقة المتعلقة بانتشار الإسلام في بروناي. منذ أواخر القرن التاسع عشر إلى القرن العشرين كان المجتمع المحلي قد سجل تطورا في الحياة الدينية ذات معنى كثير الأهمية سواء في مستوى المؤسسات أو في مجال تطبيق الآراء الإصلاحية الدينية. فالآثار الكتابية في بروناي تشير إليه أولا عن التيار الديني والإداري. فالركيزة الأولى لهذا التيار الإصلاحية دخول الطرق الصوفية كالشاذلية والجيلانية والنقشبندية ثم التأثير الفقهي المذهبي. وفي نفس الوقت قيام التيار الإداري التطوري وذلك أثناء حكم السلطان المسيطر على البلاد قد قرر الاستقرار "بروناي" تحت حماية بريطانيا العظمى. فهذان الأمران قد دفعا بروناي إلى التطور الديني.

دخول الطرق الصوفية كان بطريقة مباشرة، وهذه الطرق نفوذ في تحول التطور الكتابي إلى حياة دينية أكثر مساعدة في الفعالية على توسع الإعلام عن التطور الديني الجاري في المناطق الإسلامية الأخرى. والنمو العلمي العام الصيغة محدود في جنوب

شرق آسيا ولاسيما لعامة الناس. فلهذا يمكن التغلب عليه تلك الطرق الصوفية. والعلاقة القوية بين قيادات هذه الطرق التي تملك وسائل الإعلام مطرد التقدم لأن العلاقة بين إعضاء هذه الطرق فى غاية الدقة والفردية ولاسيما التطور الكتابى فى التأليف ازداد اتساعا من واقع توحيد النصوص فى ولاية سيطرتها.

إن تغيير نظام الحكم الإدارى فى هذا القرن الانتقالى له سهم كبير فى الإجراء التأليفى والإصلاح الدينى. وقرار السلطان لتكوين بروناى تحت حماية بريطانيا العظمى لم يكن عبثا دون أدلة، بل فى بعض الأمور يتحصل شعب بروناى على فوائد جمة فى استمرارية الإصلاح الدينى. وفى الحقيقة إن وجود بريطانيا العظمى فى داخل النظام الحكومى بطريقة مباشرة قد قلل من نفوذ السلطان، ولكن فى نفس الوقت فإن للسلطان سلطة كاملة فى المجال الدينى، فالعلاقة بين السلطان والدين أصبحت قوية للغاية.

إن الإجراءات الإدارية التى تجريها الحكومة المحلية المحمية تتحرك لبناء الإصلاح الدينى فى الحياة الدينية الخاصة، وفى مجال تطبيق الحكم الإسلامى قد حدد فعلا سوى فى المسائل العائلية. رغم ذلك فإن الأحكام الشرعية تأخذ طريقها فى التفنين كنتيجة لإرادة الحكومة امتلاك مرجع قانونى إسلامى اللائق. ففى تلك الآونة أدرجت الحكومة المؤسسة الدينية كأحد أقسام الإدارة الحكومية للدولة.

هناك إصلاح دينى آخر وليس أقل شأنا وهو فى المجال التربوى. قبل القرن العشرين كانت التربية الدينية تودى عن طريق مجهود شخصى من العلماء الذين يملكون مؤسسات تعليمية، بيد أن فى فترة الحكومة الاحتلالية بدأت التربية الحديثة الأكثر تنسيقا تنفذ، إذ لا بد أن يكون المدرسون الدينيون من حاصلى التربية العلمية اللائقة من المدارس الدينية المعترف بها. وبجانب ذلك صار الدين مادة مقررة فى جميع المدارس. والتطورات الحادثة فى النصف الأول من القرن العشرين كله يعطى حقا للإصلاح الدينى للمستقبل. وإذا اعتبرنا الإصلاح الدينى يقابل التطبيق القيم الدينية الحقيقية بناء على الرأى المعاصر، فإذن نستطيع القول بأن مجتمع بروناى من الواضح قد ملك هذه التجارب.

I am becoming more curious about traditional Southeast Asian historiography when pursuing the study of the 'ulamâ' of Madura, and later those of Brunei. Why is it not easy to find indigenous texts on historical events and personalities in these regions? This is despite the fact that texts can be found in abundance, especially on literary and religious subjects. This becomes more puzzling. If the 'ulamâ' were busy and interested in writing on many aspects of Islamic studies such as fiqh, tafsîr, kalâm, hadîth and tasawwuf, the question automatically arises as to why history failed to attract their attention. More specifically, historical writing is highly developed in the Islamic intellectual tradition. Indeed, Muslim historians have been recognized for their outputs both qualitatively and quantitatively.²

I believe that Southeast Asian writers actually put forward their historical ideas and interpretation in ways that differ from Islamic historiography, not to mention modern historiography.³ Therefore it is no wonder that many modern historians doubt the value of indigenous texts including *hikayat*, *silsilah*, *syair perang* and *babad* in the study of local histories.⁴ As I will show in this paper, information and data can indeed, be gathered from various types of texts in order to study Islam in this region.

The choice of this topic was also influenced by the availability of the "proper texts." At present, opting to study the older period of Brunei history, especially Islam, is not an easy task. Local sources are limited, including *Syair Awang Semaun* (SAS), *Hukum Qanun Brunei* (HQB), and *Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei* (SRB). Nineteenth century Brunei witnessed the growth of documentation and records which significantly contributed to the accumulation of facts and information in a more accessible fashion. Even the world of the Brunei 'ulamâ' and scholars changed. Many of them composed different works. Indeed, the SRB was enriched with information and data until 1930s, significantly elaborated with dates and facts of historical value.

By using diverse and rather "non-conventional" texts, I want to present in this essay, my attempts at uncovering the dynamism of Muslims in Brunei Darussalam during the first half of this century. These texts include fragments, travel reports, observations by foreigners, religious formulae, works on Islamic subjects, sermons and oral traditions/history. In fact only rarely did I utilize conventional sources. This was because the latter are more concerned with matters

other than Islamic affairs, and they are also not that numerous.

Islamic reform in Brunei followed a different path compared to that in many other parts of the Islamic world, or even in Southeast Asia. No equivalent of Haji Miskin or Persatuan Islam can be found in Brunei. Interestingly, it was during the period of the British Residency (1906-1959) that many aspects of Islamic reforms took place in Brunei. These encompassed education, law enforcement, scripturalization and administration of Islamic affairs.

Background to the Study of Reform in Brunei

A number of works have been written on Islamic reforms in many parts of Southeast Asia since the nineteenth century. These reforms are usually related to the movements started in the Holy Cities of Cairo and Istanbul and in the Indian Sub-Continent, including Wahhabism, Tanzimat and 'Abduhism. An immediate question arises as to why scholars avoided talking about the identical phenomenon in Brunei. The ready answer is, of course, that Brunei obviously never experienced the propagation of such ideas on its soil. I believe that this is not fully in accord with the development of various Islamic institutions and the implementation of religious reforms in Brunei since the beginning of this century. This paper is a modest attempt at presenting some historical evidence on religious reform in Brunei and clarifying some issues pertaining to it. More importantly perhaps, it raises questions for further research.

Before launching into discussion of the topic, it is necessary to clarify some of the issues involved. The terms reform and reformism used in this essay are intended to imply the attempt at the realization of the true value of religion, i.e Islam, according to the vision of contemporary Muslim communities.⁵ The specification of the period 1912-1959 should not be taken too seriously. The year 1912 is adopted to highlight a major reform in the field of Islamic law. Nonetheless our discussion of the topic, because it is grounded in history, often refers to earlier periods in the history of Brunei. The year 1959, on the other hand, is seen as milestone in the development of modern Brunei. Indeed, our discussion stops before the formal promulgation of the 1959 Constitution. Thus the periodization used in this paper serves as a guideline, not a fixed entity.

In Brunei, the turn of the century was marked by many events, religious and otherwise, which have had an extended and significant

impact upon its society.

Why was reform necessary? Was it natural in Islamic history? What were the conditions that were conducive to Islamic reform? First of all, the background to the period of reform should be examined. This paper adopts the view which asserts that social and economic changes taking place in any part of society have certain impacts on other domains.⁷ At the same time the introduction of new ideas and other intellectual debates in society also led to changes in diverse fields.

In Islam, ideally and to some extent historically, materialistic and ideological factors are not seen as mutually exclusive. They are parts and elements of society at the same time. Thus our analysis of a facet of Islamic history logically follows the concept and, to a degree, the reality of historical Islam.

What happened in Brunei at the turn of this century cannot be isolated from its surroundings and milieu as well as its ties with the Muslim world and, more importantly, its past. No climax exists in intellectual history. Ideas and inventions may be accumulated but can never be fossilized, or even ossified. Some events which anticipated the changes that were to follow had taken place in nineteenth century Brunei. For example, the foundation of "Brunei House" (*rumah wakaf*) in Mecca in 1807,⁸ the writing of *Syair Rakis* by Pengiran Shahbandar⁹ and the socio-religious circumstances which surrounded the emergence of Haji Muhammad during the second quarter of the 19th century (see Iik Arifin, *ibid.*).

In Brunei scripturalization was marked by new waves of religious and administrative development such as the introduction of the Shâdhiliyyah and Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah orders, emphasis on reference to the standard fiqh texts (Islamic law according to the Shâfi'î school), and the introduction of a new system of government from 1905/1906. All these developments facilitated the institutionalization of Islamic visions and teachings within new bodies and forms.

What was novel in Brunei society by the turn of this century? Despite the small size of its population—between 12,000 and 25,000 (Low 1848:106; St. John 1862:248; Treacher 1889:27; BAR 1906; Blundell 1924:77; Brown 1970:40-1)—, Brunei looked positively toward the twentieth century. The ruling sultân was a strong, experienced and intelligent leader. His decision to put his country under the protection of Great Britain in 1888 and 1905/1906 was a well-

calculated action. What impact did all these political and economic changes have on the socio-religious life of the Brunei people? The sultân became, more than ever before, the paramount symbol of Islam in the state. The sultân responded to this favorable socio-religious development by, for example, initiating closer ties with the Ottoman Sultan, 'Abd al-Hamîd (1876-1909). Within this context it is not surprising, therefore, to find that, as reported by Treacher (1889:40), a Brunei youth was sent to study and train in Istanbul in the 1880s. Indeed, parallel to identical phenomena in Southeast Asia, it is possible that more Bruneis would have had better access to the Middle East, especially through pilgrimage and prolonged stays (*mukim* or *iqâmah*) among the Jâwî community in Mecca (cf. BAR 1911:12-3). Moreover, these ties were confirmed by a letter allegedly sent to the Ottoman sultân, requesting help against the threat of the Brookes.¹⁰

Furthermore, the pilgrimage undertaken by Haji 'Abdul Mokti bin Nassar and his consequent prolonged stay in Mecca around the turn of this century provides us with an interesting case study to be closely examined. First of all, the ability of more Bruneis to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca at this time shows, *inter-alia*, the better socio-economic condition of the people (see BAR 1911). Political stability, reforms and administrative efficiency were among the factors which helped to enhance the economy and production in the country.¹¹

The decision by Haji 'Abdul Mokti to stay in Mecca is interesting in two respects. In addition to his personal inclination for study, it is possible that he was stimulated to study in Mecca because he had achieved a higher level of Islamic scholarship at home. This can be gleaned from the fact that despite his stay of only three years in the Holy City of Mecca, he had mastered Arabic and read a number of books. Upon his return to Brunei he was given an important post delivering sermons and teachings. Indeed, his *balai* (religious and educational center) was to become the most influential religious center in Brunei during the first half of the twentieth century.¹² Secondly, Haji 'Abdul Mokti's stay in Mecca indicates the existence of ties between Brunei and the Jâwî community in the Holy City. It is not clear whether the House of Brunei (*rumah wakaf*) in Mecca was still in operation at that time.¹³ Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the Jâwî community in Mecca must have included some Brunei pilgrims

and students. Thus Haji 'Abdul Mokti's stay served to strengthen already existing ties.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, Brunei had welcomed the newly-propagated *tarîqah* orders¹⁴ in Southeast Asia such as Khalwatiyyah, Sammâniyyah, and Shâdhiliyyah. Interesting features in this development were, as far as this paper is concerned, their emphasis on al-Ghazâlî's reformulation of Muslim worship in a Sufi manner and vice versa.¹⁵ Unfortunately, further research on the development of these *tarîqah* orders in Brunei remains to be done.¹⁶

By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, a large segment of the Jâwî community in Mecca was strongly in favor of the Qâdiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, or the newly formed Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah. The latter was reformulated by the famous Bornean Sufi master, Shaykh Ahmad Khatîb Sambas.¹⁷ Brunei was also not spared from the influence of this new *tarîqah*. For example, we now know that two Brunei masters, Haji Ahmad bin Dato Imam and Haji 'Abdul Mokti, acted as links to Shaykh Ahmad Khatîb Sambas.¹⁸

For our study of Islamic reform, the introduction of Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah to Brunei is significant. The adoption and propagation of this *tarîqah* by a group of *sharî'ah*-oriented scholars¹⁹ created closer ties between popular religious practice and scripturalized teaching of Islam in the forms of *fiqh*, *'aqîdah*, *tafsîr* and *hadîth*. In other words, the *tarîqah* followers were more exposed to learning, or were at least following some conventional forms of worship as expounded by the *'ulamâ'*.²⁰ This development explains the widespread circulation of short treatises on the basic tenets of Islam among Muslims in Southeast Asia, including Brunei.²¹

The available texts were not limited to those written in Arabic as more basic religious texts were also translated into Malay. Some were written locally, even though many were still imported. What is the significance of these texts for Islamic reform in Brunei? The most obvious result of the growing number of religious texts was increasing scripturalization in Brunei. The texts were read and explained by the better trained scholars, either Bruneis who had studied locally and/or abroad or peripatetic scholars from many different parts of the Islamic world.

This development was related to many changes in both the Middle East and Southeast Asia since the nineteenth century. First, the reac-

tion of the *tarîqah* orders and the *fiqh* schools to Wahhabism resulted in the proliferation of simple religious texts for the masses. Many of these were specifically composed by Jâwî scholars or were translated from well-known treatises, mostly by Shâfi'î scholars (*fuqahâ*).²² Secondly, the Ottoman Sultan, 'Abd al-Hamîd (1876-1909), who vigorously adopted Pan-Islamism in his foreign policy, was in favor of Islamic solidarity and unity. Not surprisingly, the publication of religious books was encouraged and supported. Indeed, in 1884 an official Ottoman press was established in Mecca (Snouck 1931:286). The press's publications included many Jâwî/Malay texts. This was facilitated by the appointment of a Jâwî scholar, Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Patânî, as head of the Malay section in the press. Thirdly, better communication between Southeast Asia and the Middle East after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had a significant impact on the increasing numbers of Southeast Asian pilgrims, including Brunei (see BAR 1911). Accordingly, more people joined the Jâwî community in Mecca to study and also more books were sent home to Southeast Asia. Fourthly, the proliferation of the printing press in Southeast Asia since the last quarter of the nineteenth century was partly responsible for the publication of religious texts for local consumption. Finally, the response of the proponents of the *fiqh* schools to Muhammad 'Abduh's reform stimulated the publication of texts which were addressed either to the educated or to the masses, calling on them to state their position on issues. We shall return to this point later.

The return of better trained scholars in larger numbers from Mecca facilitated the establishment of religious educational centers. In many parts of Java, Sumatra and the Peninsula, such religious educational centers such as *surau* and *pondok* were founded.²³ Through these institutions of learning, the dissemination of more organized and advanced knowledge of Islam was undertaken seriously. In Brunei, the period was signified by the reinvigoration of scholarly circles in Kampung Air. The balai of Burung Pingai led the revival of scholarly undertakings in Brunei.²⁴ Many prominent religious figures reference to Haji 'Abdul Mokti indicates that reform had taken place in his *balai*. There were several factors which had contributed to the prominence of Haji 'Abdul Mokti. Firstly, he was an erudite scholar, having stayed in Mecca for more than three years. He was also known for his writings on socio-religious subjects which directly answered

many of the questions and problems of his contemporaries. Moreover, he introduced the *sharī'ah* oriented *tarīqah*, Qâdiriyyah [wa-Naqshbandiyyah], to many people in the country. Haji 'Abdul Mokti was a man of action, teaching, counselling and preaching. Indeed, as I shall elaborate below, he introduced new religious elements in his teaching, based on the more scripturalized form of Islam.

Administrative Reform and Islam

Criticism and attacks by Wahhâbî followers and 'Abduh's disciples about many practices of Muslims who had followed the fiqh schools and adopted many facets of Sufism, prompted a strong reaction from, in the context of the Jâwî community, the Shâfi'î scholars. At first, the reaction was more defensive in nature. This included the doctrinal refutation against "innovation" and ideological justification of their own views.²⁵ Later, the reaction can be better termed a "compromise", although inadvertent. This step was more institutional and practical than doctrinal in form. In many parts of Southeast Asia the period was signified, as we shall see shortly, by the "rationalization" and "reorganization" of religious institutions, resulting partly from the policy of the Colonial or Protectorate regimes.²⁶

The establishment of the British residency in Brunei between 1906 and 1959 was an important factor in facilitating the institutionalization of many features of religious life. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Resident was in no way involved in the internal matters and mechanism of Islamic affairs.²⁷ This was clearly stated in the 1905/1906 Agreement.²⁸ Nevertheless, the administrative changes which were introduced during the British residency had some impact on the organization of Islamic affairs. This can be seen, for example, in the administration of justice for some cases in accordance with Islamic law (*sharī'ah*). Since criminal law was "fully secularized" being based on Western law, Islamic law was in general, left to deal with family law. This was, in fact, limited to the registration of marriages, divorces and other related matters. Yet the British Resident wanted, as had been the case in many other Islamic lands, to implement a fixed body of Islamic law, known then as Mohammedan Laws. In Brunei, a new body of Court Law (Undang-Undang Mahkamah) was first introduced in 1908 (Masnon 1988:46). In 1911 the Court Law was replaced by what the State Council later called the Mohammedan Laws.²⁹ Concurrent with that, a Tuan Kadi (Ar. Qâdî) was

appointed to apply the law (BAR 1913:8).³⁰

Before 1913, the Tuan Imam was responsible for the administration of Islamic law in general. For example, Pehin Tuan Imam Muhyiddin held the post until 1913 when he was replaced by "Tuan Kathi" 'Abd al-Razaq. Later, in 1919, he was awarded the title of Pehin Siraja Khatib (see Sweeney 1968:B44). Tuan Imam Muhyiddin, however, seems to have remained in the service of the government; even in 1917 he was awarded the title of Datu Serimaharaja Mufti Berunai.³¹ Furthermore, only 70 days later he was awarded Pehin Datu Perdana Menteri (Sweeney 1968:B44; 46). The promotion of religious officials (*manteri agama*) is not novel in Brunei. But it is interesting that the new administrative system emphasized and clarified their role in the judiciary, even though their scope, as I shall show, became more restricted.

The range and the number of cases under their jurisdiction were limited and fixed. They were expected to solve cases which were related to family law, especially marriage and divorce. The Kadi Court was only assigned to adjudicate minor cases, which included those involving a penalty/fine of less than ten *ringgit* or 14 days' detention (see Masnon 1988:48, note 47).

In a sense the Kadi Court was in charge of very limited matters. Most cases were put under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate court. Even some civil cases relevant to the Kadi's authority were taken over by the Magistrate (see Masnon 1988; Hooker 1984:176-77). It is possible that this low respect accorded to the kathi's court was related to the general superior attitude of the British towards the native institutions of the time. Anyway, by the beginning of the 20th century, the British had many good reasons not to let the kathi's court handle "severe" cases.³²

From the above brief discussion it is clear that the Residency marked a new development in the application and administration of Islamic law.³³ During this period the application of Islamic law was circumscribed and restricted to family matters. Yet under the residency system the application of the law became more systematic and fixed. If previously most legal issues were dealt with at the local level through the '*ulamâ*' and other local leaders³⁴—and only if no solution could be reached at this level, in which cases they were submitted to the ruler—, by this time certain cases on legal matters were reported and transferred to the Kadi Court. Although such a legal

institution was not a novelty in Islamic law and history, in Brunei it meant much in terms of the systematization of Islamic reform and institutionalization of law.

Religious Education: Major Changes

Concomitant with the introduction of formal schooling in Brunei starting in 1914,³⁵ various attempts were made to improve religious education. The absorption of kadis into the modern bureaucracy indirectly stimulated more organized preparation and training for the new candidates to the post. Seen from this perspective, we can understand better the increasing number of 'ulamâ' who graduated from the Burung Pingai *surau/balais* around the period.

Moreover, it is worthwhile mentioning that, in 1922, the *surau* which belonged to the sultân's household, perhaps in Kampung Air, was, by his permission, used as an educational center (see BAR 1922:12).³⁶ Here we are given a clue about the relationship between the palace and education. The idea of permitting the use of the sultân's *surau* for educational purposes seems to suggest that previously a section of the palace (*istana*) was specifically set up as a special educational center, popularly known in Islamic literature as "the palace school". Perhaps we have to do more research to reconstruct a better picture of the palace school in Brunei, if indeed it ever existed. Later, in the 1930s, voluntary religious instruction was given twice a week in the afternoon following the regular classes in some public schools in Bandar Brunei. This was followed by the establishment of a private religious school (*madrasah*) in 1941. Its foundation was approved and supported by the ruler.

The madrasah was unique in many ways. Its prominent teacher was an Egyptian, al-Ustadh 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Shâmî.³⁷ It is possible, like that which had taken place in many other educational centers of Islamic Southeast Asia,³⁸ that this teacher was sent from al-Azhar University to help and support local Muslims to improve their religious knowledge through more organized and standardized education. Again, many important figures, such as Pengiran Bendahara, Pengiran Pemancha and Pengiran Shahbandar were involved in the foundation of the madrasah. This madrasah, however, stopped its activities with the arrival of the Japanese forces in Brunei in December 1941.³⁹

During the Japanese occupation, religious education continued to be carried out voluntarily by private citizens, especially the 'ulamâ'

in their *balais*. Although the Japanese generally adopted a conciliatory policy toward the Muslims, such a policy was not specifically applied in Brunei. In the field of education, the pupils of "Primary School" who had Muslim parents were lined up to go to the mosque on Fridays.⁴⁰

Shortly after the end of the Japanese occupation, religious instruction was revived in the public schools. Religious contents was included in the curriculum. This was given once a week on Thursday (Rashidah 1990:8). The teachers of religious subjects, as in the 1930s, were recruited from among the imams and bilals of the neighboring mosque. The improvement of religious instruction can be seen in the appointments of two religious officials, *Nazir [Pendidikan] Agama*, and *Ketua Pengajar Agama* in 1948/1949. They were responsible to the Chief Kadi.

Moreover, by 1950, the Brunei government was able to send three of its more promising students to pursue their religious studies at a higher level at the Madrasah al-Junied al-Islamiah in Singapore (Rashidah 1990:9). If in the past the Brunei students went abroad to study on their own, this time, intending religious students, like their teacher counterparts,⁴¹ were funded by the state. Indeed, the impact of religious bureaucratization during the Residency on Islamic institutions in Brunei deserves much closer examination. For example, the demand for greater efficiency and better skills in the modern bureaucracy required well planned training for government officials, including religious functionaries. The sending of religious students and teachers abroad was thus, among other matters, intended to meet the challenge of modernization.

The religious reforms in Brunei accelerated after the ascension of Sultan Begawan to the throne in 1950. Many Islamic institutions were reformulated and reinvigorated. Islamic education and the management of Islamic affairs were reformed in accordance with the new spirit.

At the center of the reforms was the establishment of the *Majlis Mesyuarat Syari'ah* (Islamic Law Council) in 1954. This was followed by many developments in the religious field, including the creation of *Jabatan Hal Ehwal U gama [Adat Istiadat dan Kebajikan]*, *Majlis U gama Islam*, and a full Islamic school.⁴² In October 1956 new religious classes were organized at seven public schools in the afternoon. The primary purpose of these schools was to inculcate better knowl-

edge of Islam. According to the 1954 report on religious instruction in public schools, it was necessary to open an independent program of religious education as the current instruction was inadequate.⁴³ Most of program staff came from Johor. However, since 1957, more Bruneis have joined the teaching staff of the program. Adhoc training for prospective teachers was also undertaken.

It is clear that the reform of religious education in Brunei had much to do with the government's efforts undertaken modernization in various fields. The government's role can be seen in the foundation of the Department of Religious Affairs, especially the organization of religious instruction at public schools and, eventually, an independent program of religious education and the provision of more regular and advanced training for religious functionaries, scholars and teachers.

Ideological and Doctrinal Features

What was the impact of religious reform on the field of ideas and thoughts and vice versa? By examining and comparing the writings used in Brunei during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is apparent that this issue is complex. The contents of *Hukum Qanun Brunei*, for example, show us that in the past knowledge of Islamic law among the Bruneis was not superficial, even though the text was also full of references to adat law. Even Sultan Kamaluddin (d.1740) was hailed in the *Salasilah Raja-Raja Berunai* as a strict ruler in applying Islamic law (*memakai isti'adat orang yang salih*). He introduced many changes to state customs and formalities (Sweeney 1968:A37). Religious texts found in Brunei such as Ibn 'Atâ' Allâh's *al-Hikam* (commented upon and translated by a Bruneian in 1805),⁴⁴ al-Palembânî's *Sayr al-Salikin* (written in 1778), al-Banjârî's *Sabîl al-Muhtadîn* (composed in 1781), and Haji 'Abdul Mokti's various works, indicate the desire and potential of the Brunei 'ulamâ' to participate in Islamic scholarly undertakings.

However, if we look at the local writings on religious issues, it is apparent that only a few original ideas arose.⁴⁵ The 'ulamâ' of Brunei were perhaps more occupied with Islamization and practical or administrative works. Their concern with scientific investigation and research was limited. Access to written material was limited to a few elite people, including the 'ulamâ'. Orality thus played an important role in public instruction on Islam, as is evident in Friday sermons,

religious lectures and other religious sessions.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the use of the mass media for the purpose of disseminating religious knowledge since the 1950s improved public access to Islamic teachings. Indeed, the media revolution significantly improved the wider distribution of cultural and religious knowledge to the population. Concurrently the demand for the 'ulamâ to improve their scholarship and presentation of Islamic teachings materialized in the increasing sophistication of their religious outlook, primarily through better and more systematic education. For example, many were sent to famous educational centers. Also they had to respond to current issues and other questions from the newly educated masses and others, not infrequently through the mass media.⁴⁷

Now let us look at another facet of Islamic spirituality. The influence of the *tariqah* orders and Sufism in Brunei helped nurture the popularity of Sufi literature. For example, a text on the teaching of the Shâdhiliyyah, *al-Hikam*,⁴⁸ was copied and commented upon extensively by a Brunei disciple in 1220/1805. Contemporary to this was the proliferation of the Sammâniyyah, introduced to Brunei by Khatîb 'Abd al-Latîf. We do not as yet know exactly what literature the followers of the Sammâniyyah in Brunei produced. But, from the collection of Islamic manuscripts in this country, it is evident that such texts as al-Palimbânî's *Sayr al-Sâlikîn* and *Silsilat al-Tariqat al-Sammâniyyah* were known and read in Brunei (BM/2/75; BM/112/81).

Moreover, the introduction of the Qâdiriyyah order, or to be more precise, the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah,⁴⁹ during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century needs to be explained. It is possible that by that time the Sammâniyyah and the Shâdhiliyyah had almost fallen into oblivion, degenerated or popularized. It is also possible that many Brunei brethren welcomed the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah. What is clear, however, is that the recitation of the *Ratib Sammân* or *Dhikr al-Sammân*⁵⁰ did form the common feature in most religious meetings among Brunei Muslims. The Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah thus might have filled the gap in this intellectual-spiritual Sufi vacuum. Since the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah emphasized both the sharf'ah and Sufism,⁵¹ its appearance in Brunei, as in many other parts of Southeast Asia,⁵² can be reviewed as a further phase of scripturalization. In order to understand the dual structures of the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah in

Brunei we need to examine the works written by its first local teachers. So far we have only piecemeal understanding of their ideas, as can be seen in the writings of Haji 'Abdul Mokti bin Nassar, Pehin Mohd Sa'd bin Juru Apong, and Khatib Sa'id Tengah.

One of Haji 'Abdul Mokti's works presents multifarious information for Muslims. He quoted diverse interesting daily events and household matters as examples. Although the general atmosphere of the text was Islamic, it contained various aspects of local customs. For example, Haji 'Abdul Mokti cited ways to enhance women's fertility by drinking water boiled with a certain tree bark (*damar putih*). Various tricks designed to attract one's love can even be found here (n.d.:14-15). Such points are actually not alien to the literature widely read by Muslims in Southeast Asia. This literature is commonly known as *kitâb al-mujarrabât* (the book of wonders). Many titles such as *Shams al-Ma'ârif* by Ahmad bin 'Alî al-Bûnî al-Maghribî, *Hayat al-Hayâwan*, and *Nuzhat al-Majâlis wa-Muntakhab al-Nafâ'is* by 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Safûrî al-Shâfi'î al-Misrî are known here in Brunei. Indeed, in the above text Haji 'Abdul Mokti often referred, to *Hayat al-Hayâwan* and *Nuzhat al-Majâlis* n.d.:13, 14).

Haji 'Abdul Mokti used an evolutionary approach to scripturalization. The tenor of his teachings was Islamic spirituality. They were closely oriented to the Qur'ân and other Islamic texts. Many lines were illustrated with citations from the Qur'ân, the Hadîth, the sayings of the 'ulamâ', and some well-known texts which, interestingly, as stated above, belonged to the "book of wonders" (*mujarrabât*).⁵³

Generally speaking, the scholarly world of Haji 'Abdul Mokti belonged to the period of transformation and transition. He was at once an adat-oriented expert and a scriptural 'âlim. He used popular vocabulary which was certainly familiar to his society in order to evolutionarily transmit a scripturalized version of Islam to the people's religious understanding and practices. In fact, he attempted to bridge the complex process of adaptation to Islam among his Muslim countrymen.

On the other hand, the text which is attached to the Brunei version of *al-Hikam al-'Atâ'iyyah*⁵⁴ contains a straightforward emphasis on scripturalization. It deals with the question of intention (*niyah*) in prayers. Reference was always made to prominent Shâfi'î scholars such as Imâm Haramayn al-Juwaynî (d.1105), al-Ghazâlî (d.1111), al-

Nawawî (d.1278), al-Zarkashî, al-Subkî, al-Sharbinî (d.1569), Ibn al-Hajar al-Haytamî (1565), al-Ansarî (d.1520), and al-Ramlî (d.1596).

This brief text is very important, for our present scholarly understanding of the period, in helping us to determine the level of scripturalization in Brunei at the turn of this century. The author warns Muslims not to follow "the teaching of the ignorant people who did not study under the knowledgeable figures" (*pengajar[an] orang yang jabil yang tiada mengambil daripada orang yang 'alim*) (see Anonymous 1906:105). It is clear that the text was written in response to the confusion in society resulting from the spread of the teachings of a particular religious group. Interestingly this religious group ridiculed those people who had followed the 'ulamâ's (fuqahâ') way of performing intentions (*niyah*) as "novices." The arguments contained in the group's criticisms and the alternatives they offered indicate that the group based its views on the Sufi approach to divinity. What mattered most for these people was the attainment of unity with God. For example, the *niyah* was not just pronouncement and intention but, more importantly for them, connoted approaching God directly (*apabila hadirilah dhat Muhammad di dalam hati maka serasa hadir kan dhat Allah ta'ala*) (Anonymous 1902:106).

Yet it is possible that the text was written to resolve the controversies around the *niyah* raised by the literalists and 'Abduh's followers. For them the attachment of the wording *usallî* etc. was regarded as useless or even religiously wrong (*bid'ah*).⁵⁵ But for the Shâfi'is a *niyah* connoted three basic elements, that is *qasad* (purpose), *ta'arrud* (concentration), and *ta'ayyun* (specification), which usually materialized in the wording of the "intention" for the prayers. As far as the study of intellectual history is concerned the response of the 'ulamâ' towards the reform movement can be clearly categorized as reform, especially in the context of Islam in nineteenth and twentieth century Southeast Asia. Anyway, this response also contained many elements of readjustment and restatement of well-accepted religious practices and ideas.

If the above discussion shows the internal dynamism of Islamic society, then the administrative reform and socio-political changes since 1906 can be regarded as external factors in the religious reforms. For administrative efficiency, in 1911, the British Resident,⁵⁶ inspired by the British experience in the Peninsula, requested the 'ulamâ' to formulate a legal document concerning family law.⁵⁷ The enactment

then became the sole reference in any religious dispute and adjudication in the subject. This reform made religious administration uniform, standard and central (the kadiship was led by the Tuan Kadi⁵⁸ who later, in 1941, was given the titled Chief Kadi). This was also shown by the centralization and unification of religious education since the 1930s. The post-war period witnessed further systematization of the religious administration by the establishment of the *Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama* (Department of Religious Affairs).⁵⁹ All institutional changes in the field of religious organization during the residency, however, remained fully under the umbrella of the highest religious authorities in Brunei, the ruler, who was assisted by the ulama and other experts.⁶⁰

Further examination of the *Undang-Undang Islam* of 1911 and *Undang-Undang Nikah Cherai Islam* ratified by the State Council on 19 November 1912 and 17 June 1913 respectively,⁶¹ is necessary in order to understand the development of religious intellectual life in Brunei during the Residency. If the text which discusses the *niyah*, as mentioned above, emphasizes the centrality of upholding the Shâfi'î scholars' opinions, the new legal enactments opened the possibilities of using, for example, a non-Shâfi'î 'ulamâ's view if it conformed to the general welfare of the community (*Undang-Undang Uqama* 1955:17).⁶² Even though this is stipulated only for cases where the Shâfi'î school offers an opinion (*qaul*) which contradict the general welfare of the community (*berlawanan dengan m[a]s[al]ahat orang ramai*), the spirit is novel in the context of the Islamic law school, particularly among the Shâfi'îs.⁶³ If previously the choice was limited to the Shâfi'î scholars' opinions, including those based on weak arguments (*kaul yang da'if*), now the jurisprudential bases were broadened to cover: general welfare, rationalization (*difikirkan*), explanation and interpretation (*diterangkan*).⁶⁴ Here it is only appropriate to recast the general view about religious change: Islam has central meanings and symbols which motivate and become a model for Muslims. Yet individual Muslims have no stable and unified decoding mechanism,⁶⁵ which is of course open to challenges and changes, to internalize and fully grasp the symbols, despite the claim that these symbols and meanings are central and eternal.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, identical to the processes of institutionalization and bureaucratization found in any modernizing administrative system, the spirit of reform above has to be curbed and conducted through

the patterns of unification and centralization of religious affairs. The *Undang-Undang Ugama* 1955 contains many ideas and programs which are geared towards increasing the efficiency and modernization of religious management. Despite this apparent contradiction and paradox, we have to bear in mind that we are actually dealing with at least two phenomena at the same time, religion and modernization or reform and institutionalization.

The New Generation of 'Ulamâ'

The reorganization of religious education in Brunei since the 1930s has resulted in the systematization and sophistication of religious teaching methods.⁶⁷ For instance, the bearers of Islamic knowledge have to go through formal education which usually involves the issuing of certificates and degrees. Brunei's connection with many Islamic centers within Southeast Asia and further west is as old as the Indian Ocean trade route when it was dominated by Muslim traders.⁶⁸ Brunei had been a favorite destination for many Middle Eastern scholars since the 15th century.⁶⁹ Even in 1807 a *rumah wakaf* (Brunei House) was built in Mecca, originally reserved for the members of the Sammâniyyah and Brunei pilgrims. By the early twentieth century, many Bruneis had joined diverse educational centers in the Middle East. For example, Haji 'Abdul Mokti and others stayed for some years in the *Haram* (Holy City of Mecca) to study (Iik Arifin 1992). Unfortunately we have no record about such voluntary students.⁷⁰ Much improved economic conditions after the 1930s must have a direct impact on the increasing numbers of Brunei pilgrims and students to the Middle East, to mention only the most favored.⁷¹

The impact of the Pacific War on Brunei education, as in many other fields, was negative. Religious education suffered from the closure of the only known private madrasah in the country. There are no record of its revival even after the war. Nevertheless, in 1946, religious instruction was re-opened in the Malay schools. In 1948 the ruler formed a body of Mohammadan Religious Advisers. Concurrent with this the organization of religious education was improved by the appointment of a *nazir* and head of religious teachers. Later, in 1950, three students were sent to Madrasah al-Junied al-Islamiah of Singapore.⁷² In 1951, a religious official applied to the government for permission to study in Mecca for three years (BRO/440/1951).⁷³ During the 1950s more foreign 'ulamâ', especially from the Penin-

sulā, were invited to teach at religious educational centers and to manage Islamic institutions in Brunei. It is thus not an exaggeration to suggest that the post-war period was a time of major regeneration in the leadership of Islamic administration. Various attempts were made to improve the quality and/or level of scholarship, services and institutions of the Brunei 'ulamâ', corresponding to the phase of modernization in other fields of the state administration.

Since 1946, specific measures were undertaken to improve the organization of religious centers and their functionaries. As can be seen in the official reports of the period (BRO/451/1946), the salary for these functionaries was reformed and readjusted. New appointments were made to various posts, including various mosque officials. Up until 1947 the kadiship had offices in Bandar Brunei, Tutong and Kuala Belait. For example, in 1950, the kadiship of Kuala Belait, was held by Awang Suhaili (BRO/366/1950) and in 1951 a proposal was made to appoint a Deputy Kadi for the Temburong District.

During the Residency a number of noted Brunei 'ulamâ' were promoted or rose to prominence. Some of them held important positions in the religious bureaucracy; for example, Pehin Tuan Imam Haji Muhyiddin (until 1917),⁷⁴ Khatib 'Abd al-Razaq (1918; 1919 as Pehin Siraja Khatib), Haji 'Abdul Mokti (1917 as Pehin Datu Imam), Pg. Mohammad Salleh (1941 as Kadi Besar), and Khatib Muhammad Sa'd bin Juru Apong (1939; 1945 Pehin Tuan Imam; 1957 Pehin Siraja Khatib). The fact that most of these 'ulamâ' had written several treatises on Islam⁷⁵ indicates that, besides their formal duties, they had ample opportunities to serve the people directly and provide them with religious references and guidance. This societal preoccupation resulted in the emergence of interesting and unique scholarship which partly depicted the local understanding and reformulation of Islamic teachings.

Pilgrimage to Mecca

The significance of the pilgrimage to Mecca for Muslims has been recognized in modern literature.⁷⁶ It is in fact one of the pillars of Islam. A Muslim who has the capacity to perform the pilgrimage is obliged to do so at least once during his/her life time. In traditional Southeast Asia, the hardship and challenge that Muslim pilgrims had to encounter on their way to Mecca accorded them the socio-religious privilege of an honorable title of *hajji/hajjah*.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is often regarded as the best channel of communication between different Muslim societies.⁷⁷ Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the numbers of Southeast Asian pilgrims increased rapidly primarily due to better shipping services after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and improvements in the local economy, in particular with the introduction of cash crops into many parts of the region and the opening of certain industries (see Wertheim 1956:90-117). The mobility of greater numbers of pilgrims and also students eased the flow of information on various subjects, including religious studies. In Brunei the organization of pilgrims was occasionally mentioned in the official reports. In a report of 1911, the Acting Resident, Harvey Chevalier, wrote about the large number of the Brunei pilgrims (BAR 1911:12). Some of them came from Temburong. Indeed, they were according to the report, the first pilgrims who had ever come from that district.⁷⁸ If the Brunei pilgrims continued to leave for Mecca, is it not possible that some of them, like many other Jâwîs, remained there for longer periods to study? Furthermore, these pilgrims must have been acquainted with diverse news and scholarly developments from other fellow pilgrims. In the context of this paper, it is interesting to know what impact these pilgrims had on religious scholarship and traditions in the country.

The pilgrimage undoubtedly encouraged changes in society. First of all, the eagerness of many Bruneis to perform it forced them to work harder and save more. Secondly, the pilgrims' religious experience in Mecca encouraged them, particularly the religious elite among them, to improve their own and their fellows' understanding of Islam through reading and teaching. The case of Haji 'Abdul Mokti is a clear example. Again, the easier access to religious texts, books and journals in Mecca must have encouraged some Brunei pilgrims to buy and bring them home. Finally, the religious controversies which were encountered, and different practices witnessed during the pilgrimage may also have encouraged Brunei pilgrims to improve their own understanding of diverse religious views. The text attached to *al-Hikam* shows how such controversies were dealt with by the 'ulamâ'. Not only did they reject these novelties but they pointed out the necessity to consult and refer to well-known Shâfi'î texts such as Nawawî's *Minhâj*, Ansari's *Fath al-Wahhâb*, Sharbinî's *Mughnî*, Ibn al-Hajar al-Haytami's *Tuhfab*, and Ramlî's *Nihâyah* (see Anonymous 1902:106-7). In this endeavor the 'ulamâ' were directly advocating

the scripturalization of Islam among the Bruneis.

Although I do not fully agree with the popular even older, scholarly, notion that pilgrimage per se automatically enhanced a Muslim to 'ulamâ'ship, I concur that pilgrimage offers a ladder to social mobility. It is not of course true, as claimed by some scholars, that a returning pilgrim was automatically given the status of 'alîm.⁷⁹ Indeed, only those pilgrims who belonged to the *muqîmîn* or who had previously studied or occupied the position of 'alîm could earn this honor. Perhaps, when there was no one in the community who had mastered Islamic knowledge, then a *haji* was preferred merely because of his/her pilgrimage. But the point is that, by the turn of this century, the Brunei pilgrims had eased the transmission of ideas from the homeland to Mecca and vice versa. Accordingly, the Bruneis had actively participated in the intellectual development and institutional changes experienced in many Muslim countries. In Brunei, this phenomenon was expressed in the contents of institutional changes propelled since the early part of the Residency.

Tarîqah and Mosque

There were a number of *tarîqahs* (brotherhoods) in Brunei, including the Khalwatiyyah and its offshoots, the Sammâniyyah and the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah. They attracted some followers, but they did not become large brotherhoods. With their small concentrated population, the Bruneis were of course overwhelmed by the paramount symbol and center of Brunei's Islam—the ruler. Only those more intellectually inclined disciples may have been deeply involved in Sufi thought and practices. This characteristic seems to have influenced the limited spread of *tarîqah* membership and networks in Brunei. More importantly, with the growing sophistication of religious institutions and educational facilities after the War, the *tarîqahs* played only a minor role in bringing about socio-religious reform.

Yet it should be borne in mind that the *tarîqahs* continued to enjoy influence among many Bruneis. The *tarîqahs* often provided a warm social environment for many Muslims to reevaluate their dissatisfaction with the complexities of urban or modern life. In rural areas, they may have attracted villagers for their provision of access to wider networks and outside contacts.

At a popular level, the *tarîqahs* have left many legacies in the daily

religious life of the Bruneis. For example, various *dhikrs* and *ratibs* which originated from Sufi formulae were recited at public events. On the other hand, it is the *tarîqahs* more than any other local Islamic institutions which have carried on and preserved the popular belief in *keramat/barakah* (special gift, dignity, grace, luck, and awe). Without doubt after the 1950s the emphasis of religious leaders on scriptural Islam had strongly undermined the links and popularity of the *tarîqah* which were dependent on the notion of *keramat*.

In the context of religious reform in Brunei, the *tarîqah* were among the first elements which introduced scripturalization into society. In the first place, the local leaders of a *tarîqah* (*murshids*) must receive authorization from the higher authorities in the order. They were usually men well-trained in Islamic teaching, in addition to having sophisticated knowledge of the order. Haji Abdul Mokti, for example, stated clearly from whom he received his authority on the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah (Hj. 'Abdul Mokti n.d.; Pehin Mohd. Sa'ad n.d.). Secondly, the regularity of meetings between the brethren and the *murshid* had a positive impact on the religious understanding and practices of the *tarîqah*'s followers. Thirdly, many practices in the *tarîqah* were closely related to the timing and contents of Islamic worship. Fourthly, extensive communication and high spatial mobility among the brethrens and *murshids* facilitated easier and greater flow of religious information, including current issues in the Muslim world. Accordingly, the *tarîqah* can be said to have provided a channel for information and a way of improving one's religiosity.

The mosque means many things to Muslims in Brunei. Since the 1905/1906 agreement had left the Sultan with independent power only on Islamic affairs, he naturally became more attached to the mosque, the obvious physical symbol of Islam. When the new Brunei mosque (*jâmi'*) was completed in 1911 (BAR 1911:12), it enjoyed a prominence among his subjects never before attained. Why? Firstly, the palace was no longer the *de facto* source of power, since the Resident's office had practically taken over political and administrative power. For Brunei, this shift of the power center was compensated by the Islamic symbol remaining with the Sultan. Secondly, the new mosque had its own elegance and attraction for Brunei. It was built on land and with such magnitude and beauty. Indeed, the mosque exemplified the new vigor and resilience of Islam as represented by the ruler during the Residency. Or, put differently, the mosque formed

the last great frontier to be upheld in the context of Brunei's national pride. And it was pride, at that time. Therefore, viewed in a historical perspective, the foundation of the most magnificent mosque in contemporary Southeast Asia in 1954-8 was the logical outcome of the Bruneis' point of view about the ruler-mosque-Islam.

In summary, the process of religious reform in modern Brunei can be divided into three periods: a) early Islamization; b) an intermediary phase; and c) intensive reform.

Early Islamization reached its peak with the composition of treatises on "Islamic medication," the introduction of such *tariqahs* as the Khalwatiyyah and its offshoot, the Sammâniyyah, and the codification of the *Hukum Qanun Berunai*. The intermediary phase was signified by the introduction of activist *tariqahs* such as the Shâdhiliyyah and the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah, the production of religious texts by Brunei scholars, extensive links between the 'ulamâ' of Brunei and other centers of religious learning, and the legislation of Islamic law during the Residency. The period of intensive reform was triggered by vigorous administrative reforms and the establishment of systematic education after the War. Indeed, during the 1950s Brunei experienced various developments such as the foundation of the new *jâmi'* mosque in the capital, the opening of formal religious schools, the establishment of the Department of Religious Affairs, and the sending of students to famous centers for higher religious education, to mention just a few.

Moreover, as seen in this essay it is clear that Islamic historiography in Southeast Asia did emerge, even though it did not taken the same form as that found in the central land.

Endnotes

- 1 The original idea for this paper was stimulated by the discussion of Malay historiography in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo in Spring 1992. I would like to mention many contributions which made possible the presentation of my paper at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. First of all, I thank the University of Brunei Darussalam for its Conference Grant, which enabled me to present this paper at this seminar. Secondly, I am grateful to the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, which provided me with fellowships and a comfortable place of study during the spring of 1992. Indeed, my affiliation with this Institute has allowed me to start writing on many subjects of Southeast Asian history, including this paper. Again, thanks are due to my colleagues and students at the Department of History, University of Brunei Darussalam, who have contributed in their respective capacities to the completion of this paper. Since their suggestions and opinions were not all used, they are not in any way responsible for its shortcomings.
2. See for example F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968)]. Indeed, al-Tabarî, to cite a Muslim historian whom I know better, is a good example. Despite some criticism leveled at him, especially in his non-involvement and style of writing, al-Tabarî has shown his best in having clearer ideas about periodization, appreciation of sources, an open attitude in presentation, concerted efforts in seeking "facts", and "comprehensive treatment" of his subject period. Yet almost none of these features are found in older Muslim historical writings in Southeast Asia. Why is this so? I suggest, for further discussion, some factors which may have worked to perpetuate this tendency. Firstly, the Muslims of Southeast Asia, particularly the scholars, were occupied more with the new faith and religious practices. Secondly, the persistence of Indic and Persian influence on local literary traditions. Thirdly, local styles of writing were functional to the state structure. Next, Islamic Arab historiography reached the region when its form had ossified. Lastly, was it an original attempt at emulating the Qur'anic style of presentation? Donald Brown has suggested very stimulating arguments on the problems of traditional historiography in Southeast Asia, particularly that in the Malay world. In the broader context he is concerned with "how social stratification and the quality of historiography correlate in general" (Brown 1988:75).
3. I see two important internal factors which influenced the development of historiography in Muslim Southeast Asia. Politically the rulers were the state; socio-religiously the scholars ('ulamâ') were occupied with the domestication and also "vernacularization" of Islam. Is it thus possible that historiography was seen as a field of moralizing and preaching?
4. Their views are represented in Soedjatmoko, *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).
5. Earlier scholars such as Smith (1957), Gibb (1962), Rahman (1966, 1984), Voll (1983), and Watt (1988) have put forward some characteristics of the reform movement in Muslim society.
6. In Islamic literature the idea of reform is expressed in many different ways. Among them are the emergence of *mahdî* (saviour), the expectation of a *mujaddid* (reformer) around the turn of each century, and not least the inherence of *mujtahid* (original thinker and interpreter) for every age and place. On these topics see

- Abdulaziz A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981); G. Lewy, *Religion and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
7. For some comparisons, see Burke III and Lapidus 1984.
 8. See my article, Brunei Sebagai Sebuah Pusat Jaringan (*Network*) Intelektual Islam di Asia Tenggara", in Dato Hj Abu Bakar Hj Apong ed, *Sumbangsih UBD: Essays on Brunei Darussalam* (BSB: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Akademi Pengajian Brunei, 1992), pp.148-163; Sweeney 1968: B31.
 9. On the significance of *Syair Rakis* in the intellectual history of 19th century Brunei, see Hj. Matussin Omar nd:139-69.
 10. The relationship was close as evidenced by the letter sent in 15 Safar 1321/1903 whereby the Sultan told his Ottoman counterpart about the difficult situation in Brunei. A copy of the letter is kept at Pusat Sejarah Brunei, Bandar Seri Begawan. Cf. Ranjit Singh 1984:96, note 71.
 11. Blundell's story (1924) gives us a glimpse of the economy of Brunei during the period.
 12. Information on Haji 'Abdul Mokti is scattered throughout various notes and paragraphs written by different scholars, see Pehin Yahya 1989; Ahmad 1989; Suhaili *et al.*, 1986; 1992.
 13. On the purchase of this house by Khatib 'Abdul Latif in 1807, see Sweeney 1968:B31.
 14. *Tariqah* is often spelled *tarekat* in Malay/Indonesian. It is used to denote Islamic brotherhood which emphasizes experiential exercises in order to attach oneself closer to God. The followers of the *tariqah* generally maintain that their exercises are relevant to and derivative of the *shari'ah* (Islamic teaching). For more detailed information on the *tariqah*, see de Jong 1978; Hawash Abdullah 1980.
 15. For more information on this development, see M. Chatib Quzwain 1985; Johns 1984; 1988.
 16. Some preliminary studies can be found in Haji Abdul Karim [1989]; Iik Arifin 1992.
 17. For more details on this Shaykh see Snouck Hurgronje 1931:262, 276-8; al-Attas 1963:32-3; Hawash Abdullah 1980: 177-82; Zamakhsyari 1982:85-87; van Bruinessen 1990a:169-70.
 18. See the writings of Haji 'Abdul Mokti, for example BM/Arkib/63/80; also the writings of Pehin Mohd. Sa'd bin Juru Apong, for instance BM/Arkib/69/80.
 19. For a brief but helpful insight into the *shari'ah*-mindedness of the followers of the Qâdiriyyah wa-Naqshbandiyyah, see Algar 1976:144-5; Voll 1980:268-70; van Bruinessen 1990:156.
 20. In this paper the word "ulamâ'" (religious scholars and/or leaders) is used both as a singular and a plural form. The grammatical contrast between Arabic forms 'alîm (singular) and 'ulamâ' (plural) is not retained.
 21. The wide circulation of such texts as 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî's *Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn* (1778), 'Abd Allah ibn Husayn Ba'alawi's *Sullâm al-Tawfiq* (1854), and Salîm ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Sumayr al-Hadramî's *Safinat al-Najâh* (prior to 1853) among Muslims in Southeast Asia is well acknowledged (see Zamakhsyari 1982; Mohd. Nor bin Ngah 1983; Hooker and Matheson 1987; van Bruinessen 1990b).
 22. See for example Arshad al-Banjârî's *Sabil al-Muhtadîn* (1781), his *Perukunan* (edited by his disciple 'Abd al-Rashîd al-Banjârî), Daud ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Idrîs al-Patânî's *Kashf al-Ghummah* (1841), and Muhammad ibn Isma'îl's *Matlâ' al-Badrayn*

- Badrayn* (1885).
23. On this phenomenon see Zamakhsyari 1982; Hooker and Matheson 1987. The presence of such institutions in Brunei was rejected, see Matassim Hj Jibah 1983:2. But as we shall see, by the second decade of the 20th century a number of *balais* in Kampung Air were extensively used for religious and educational purposes.
 24. For more information on this, see Hj. Abdul Latif Hj. Ibrahim, "Peranan Rumah-Rumah Perkumpulan dalam Masyarakat Melayu Brunei," in *Ikhtisar Budaya* (Bandar Seri Begawan: DBP, 1986-1976-), pp.87-9.
 25. For some examples of the defence see Kelantan's case (Roff ed. 1974:101-69) and NU's (Choirul Anam 1985:33-56).
 26. It is important to note in this context that by the 1890s Islamic revivalism in Sabah was marked by Muslims' increasing interest in modern education, religious and otherwise, see Tregonning 1965:176. Furthermore, as noted by C.A. Lockard, Islamic revivalism in Kuching was a manifestation of the response to missionary activities in the region (1973: especially 188-90, 192-6).
 27. This is despite the fact that the Resident was one of the authorities who ratified the Sultan's appointment of the officials in the religious courts, see *The Subsidiary Legislation of Brunei 1958*, p.130. For an interesting analysis of an identical phenomenon in the Peninsula, see Ahmad Ibrahim, "Undang-undang Islam di Malaysia," in Ismail Hussein et al., eds. *Tamadun Melayu* (Kuala Lumpur: DBP, 1989), v.1, pp.334-53. According to Ahmad Ibrahim, the British Resident did influence the process of administrative changes, including the administration of religious affairs, in Perak and others states in the Peninsula from the latter end of the 19th century.
 28. ...The Resident will be the Agent and Representative of His Britannic Majesty's Government under the High Commissioner for the British Protectorate in Borneo, and his advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion,...
 29. On this see Jabatan Hal Ehwal Ugama 1954-1979, p.1; Hooker 1984:176; Masnon 1987:46. This law consisted of 18 chapters based on both the *shari'ah* and *adat*, focusing on offences and crimes such as failure to perform Friday prayers, developing a relationship with virgin, running away from a guardian, adultery, breach of engagement, religious teaching without proper authorization, deserting of a husband, failure to provide an allowance for a wife, prostitution, and illegal relations, see Masnon 1988:47.
 30. It is important to point out here that the famous writer and official Datu Imam Ya'qub was also known as *al-qâdî*, see Sweeney 1968:A50. By 1913 the Mohammedan Marriage and Divorce Enactment was ratified by the State Council (No.3/1913).
 31. The term *muftî* used in this context still awaits better explanation. It is possible that the term was known in Brunei earlier; however, this office is not necessarily identical to the one officially formulated in 1955, see *Undang-Undang Ugama 1955*, pp.16-19.
 32. For a detailed assessment of such a view, see A.V.M. Horton, ed., *Report on Brunei in 1904 M.S.H. McArthur* (Athens, Ohio:Ohio University, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No.74, 1987), especially pp.11-31.
 33. Nevertheless we have to bear in mind that the universal context of the reform movement in the Muslim world during this period must also be taken into account. Muslims in Southeast Asia to differing degrees, were involved in the on

- going process of Islamization. This means that communication between them on the one hand and with many other fellow Muslims in other parts of the world on the other hand, was strengthened by the advance of modern transportation and mass media. Their better knowledge of each other had the effect of magnifying exchanges of experience and information. For more information on this phenomenon see, Vredenberg 1962; Deliar Noer 1973; Voll 1980; Zamakhsyari 1982.
34. My thanks are due to Hj. Mohd. Yusop Hj. Damit, who is completing his Ph.D. program, for providing me with more information on this issue.
 35. Since 1908, the idea of a Malay school had been circulated in the meetings of the State Council, see *Minutes of State Council*, p.9.
 36. It is not quite clear whether the *surau* belonged to the sultan's old *istana* (palace) or to the new one on the land, see BAR 1922:12, 15.
 37. Much data and information on religious education in Brunei was gathered from various sources and studies such as Pehin Dato Hj Mohd Zain 1983; Hj Asbol 1989; Hjh Rashidah [1990].
 38. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the al-Azhar University of Egypt had been active in sending teachers to many Muslim concentrations in Southeast Asia. For example, in 1908 Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyyah was founded in Singapore under the directorship of an Azharite, Shaykh Osman Rif'at al-Misri (Roff 1967:58). Again, in the early 1920s, Shaykh Ahmad Ghana'im al-Misri was sent to lead a modern Islamic school (al-Madrasah al-Asasiyyah) in Surabaya, East Java, see Penders, ed. 1977:272; Choirul Anam 1985:54, 78.
 39. For more information on Brunei during the Japanese occupation, see Rosli Madaros 1990.
 40. Pehin Dato Hj Mohd Zain (1988:6-7) mentions several features of the Islamic policy which was applied by the Japanese military administration in Brunei.
 41. Since the 1930s many Brunei teachers were sent to various teacher training colleges in the United Kingdom, Sabah, Sarawak and the Peninsula, see Matassim Hj. Jibah, "Perkembangan Persekolahan Melayu di Brunei dalam Pentadbiran Sistem Residen 1906-1959," (1983), pp.13-4; Hj Jaafar 1991.
 42. For discussion of these developments see Asbol 1989:7-19.
 43. For further details on the 1954 Report, see *Ibid.*:35-6.
 44. The popularity of *al-Hikam* among Southeast Asian Muslims can be seen in the number of translations undertaken by local 'ulamá', see van Bruinessen 1990b:258-9.
 45. Some examples of these originalities can be found in the texts attached to the manuscript of *al-Hikam* written by a Brunei scholar. Moreover, many points developed in the writings of Haji 'Abdul Mokti show some serious attempts at making Islamic ideas easily available to and understood by his local audiences.
 46. So far concerted efforts to unearth the quantity and wealth of such collections have not been satisfactorily undertaken. Further classification, publication and study of such collections, I am optimistic, will enrich and improve our knowledge of the religious and intellectual history of Brunei during the transition period.
 47. It is interesting to note that on 15 February 1956, *Pelita Brunei*, a government weekly journal, was first published: It had a section on Islam.
 48. This text was originally composed by Shaykh Ibn 'Atá' Allâh al-Iskandarî (d.1309).
 49. Among some brethren in Southeast Asia the *tariqah* was known as Naqsyabandiyyah Qâdiriyyah. The emphasis is thus on the Naqshbandiyyah;

- whereas the Qâdiriyyah is given only a complementary role.
50. At the present time several collections of *dhikr* (praise to God) such as *Sharaf al-Anâm*, *al-Dibâ'i*, and *Dhikr Brunei* are widely practiced. Many elements of these collections, however, contain many features of the *Dhikr al-Sammân*. After all, the *tariqahs* in general uphold the practice of praising and memorizing the names of God. For some historical analyses of the *tariqah* see de Jong 1978; Aboebakar Atjeh 1990:303-380.
 51. For more information on the background and characteristics of the Naqshabandiyyah, see Yohanan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi* (Montreal: McGill University Press), 1971; Algar 1976:140; Mardin 1991:123-7.
 52. On this phenomenon see, for example, Snouck Hurgronje 1931:276-83; Hawash Abdullah 1980:177-82; van Bruinessen 1990:156.
 53. The text is so interesting that every single page of it contains both Islamic and local references, see Appendix 1 for an example (copy of one page).
 54. My thanks is due to Prof. Tonaga of the University of Tokyo for giving me more information on the various texts of Ibn 'Atâ' Allâh's *al-Hikam* as well and his Sufi ideas.
 55. Several works have discussed such issues, especially in the contexts of Southeast Asian Muslims; see for example Alfian 1968; Federspiel 1970; Deliar Noer 1973; Roff ed. 1974:159-61; cf. Iik Arifin 1988.
 56. It is stated in the Minutes of the State Council from 29 June, 1907 to 31 August, 1949, p.13: "The Mohammadan Laws Enactment is submitted [to the] Council and is passed - To be brought into force when approved at a further Council Meeting." Dated 10 December 1911.
 57. It is also possible that the Resident merely asked the Brunei 'ulamâ' or the State Council, after some amendments, to approve the Enactment. Nevertheless it is stated clearly in the *Minutes of the State Council* from 29 June, 1907 to 31st August, 1949, p.17 that the Resident in 1913 "drafted a Law for that purpose on the lines of the law now obtaining in the Negri Sembilan.... he therefore lays it before the Council for consideration."
 58. The appointment of *qâdî* seems to have taken place some time after 1913 and before 1915, see Minutes pp.17-23.
 59. The original name for this department was Jabatan Hal Ehwal Uagama, Adat Istiadat dan Kebajikan. Only in 1960 did the Department of Religious Affairs become a full department, see Jabatan Hal Ehwal Uagama 1954-1979 (Bandar Seri Begawan; Jabatan Hal Ehwal Uagama, 1981), pp.1-2.
 60. On this phenomenon see the information provided in *Minutes*, p.12.
 61. See *Minutes*, pp.13-7; BAR 1912, 1913, p.8. After some changes these Enactments were released in 1955 under the title of *Undang-Undang Uagama 1955*. The latter was partly revised and re-published in 1984, see *Laws of Brunei*, Revised Edition 1984: Chapter 77, Religious Council and Kadis Courts.
 62. This option is given in cases where the views of the Shâfi'is are against the general welfare of the community, see *Undang-Undang Uagama 1955*, p.17.
 63. It should be mentioned that among the fuqahâ' a negative term (*talfiq*) has been used to indicate an individual's way of following the shar'ah eclectically, by choosing suitable opinions from the diverse schools for very personal reasons.
 64. See *Undang-Undang Uagama 1955*, pp.17-8.
 65. In Islamic societies, it is not uncommon to find the emergence of the living

- reference for the masses, in the forms of 'ulamâ', Sufi masters, healers and others.
66. It can be argued that the Islamic civilization has produced various works on many different fields, including tafsir (Qur'anic exegesis), *usûl al-dîn* (principles of belief), *fiqh* (Islamic law), *usûl al-fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and Sufism. All claim to derive from the two original sources, the Qur'ân and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Are these works intended to provide Muslims with the standard means and references? Nevertheless, the history of Muslim societies has shown the recurrent emergence of original thinkers (*mujtabids*) and reformers (*mujaddids*) who have also been sanctioned by Islam.
 67. It can also be argued that the formalization of Islamic education in Brunei has negatively affected the survival of traditional Islamic centers of learning such as the *balai*. The end of the *balai*'s role in providing instruction and developing Islamic scholarship in general must be acknowledged as a loss for Brunei. Of course modern and sophisticated educational centers have been built to compensate for this; but as we know they are still working hard to replace the loss caused by the downfall of the *balai* as educational centers in this country.
 68. For more information on the role of Muslim traders in the link between the West, Far East and Southeast Asia, see di Meglio 1968; Tibbetts 1979; Wink 1990:25-85.
 69. The coming of the then Sultân Shârif 'Alî to Brunei was a good example of this phenomenon, see Sweeney 1968.
 70. It should be pointed out that in the first decade of the 20th century Brunei seems to have enjoyed better economic conditions as can be seen by the completion of four mosques and the departure of more pilgrims, see BAR 1911:12.
The lack of data on the Brunei students in the Haram may be compensated for by study of the biographies of the Brunei 'ulamâ'. We have the names of some prominent 'ulamâ' of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. In order to better understand the intellectual history of Brunei it is imperative to gather more organized information on them.
 71. After 1930, Brunei regularly sent their students to be trained as teachers in many centers in the Peninsula, England, Sarawak, and Sabah, see Matassim Hj. Jibah, "Perkembangan Persekolahan Melayu di Brunei dalam Pentadbiran Sistem Residen 1906-1959," 5, 3(1983), pp.13-4; Hj Jaafar 1991.
 72. See *Pameran Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Brunei*, Bandar Brunei, 1979; Rashidah [1990]:9] This was recalled by many in Brunei as the first government scheme for training Brunei religious students abroad. I am sure this was to mean the first during the period of the British residency.
 73. The candidate was Mudim Ismail bin Mat Serudin. He applied for permission and also full payment of his salary while studying.
 74. He was then, on 28 January 1918, promoted to a non-religious post, as Datu' Perdana Menteri, see Sweeney 1968:B44-46.
 75. Further studies of these works are needed not only for the sake of collecting religious information and teaching, but also for our better understanding of the intellectual history of Brunei during the period.
 76. See, for example, Snouck Hurgronje 1931; Vredenberg 1962; Matheson 1984; Roff 1984; McDonnell 1986; Hj. Abdul Latif 1989.
 77. The significance of the pilgrimage for the provision of information and the for-

mation of public opinion was recognized even in early Islamic history. For example, many leaders of religio-political movements took Mecca as their activities base during the pilgrimage season, see Shaban 1971:92-3, 164; Iik Arifin 1982:64-6.

In our own era, Mecca continued to be regarded as a strategic center to attract Muslim sympathy world wide. During the pilgrimage season of 1979, for instance, a group of gunmen and activists announced their political program in the Haram of Mecca. Also during the 1980s, Iranian pilgrims were active in propagating their ideas and causes in Mecca and Medina.

78. We have to be cautious about this last statement, since many Brunei Muslims had settled in Temburong for a long time. It is quite probable that many of them might have previously joined their fellow citizens to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.
79. Blundell's note (1924:46) which argues that Brunei pilgrims (*hajjis*) were fanatical should however be viewed cautiously.

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