

More Notes on the “Print Islam” in Early 20th Century Malay-Indonesian World: Cairene Reformism and Its Traditionalist Counterpart

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Abstract: The article examines aspects of three Islamic-oriented periodicals published in the early twentieth century: *al-Imām* (1906-1908), *al-Munīr* (1911-1915), and *al-Mizān* (1918-1922). Within what Kersten refers to as the “Print Islam,” existing scholarship has largely concentrated on reformist publications – particularly *al-Imām* and *al-Munīr* – while their traditionalist counterparts remain comparatively under-studied. Addressing this gap, the article highlights the traditionalist response by conducting a preliminary study of *al-Mizān*, an important periodical associated with traditionalist circles. As the principal vehicles for transmitting Cairene reformism in the Malay-Indonesian world, the periodicals *al-Imām* and *al-Munīr*, published by *kaum muda* (youth-led reformist camp), vigorously criticized established religious practices while also initiating discussions on nationhood within the reformist Islamic movement. In response to reformist challenges, the *kaum tua* launched *al-Mizān* to defend inherited religious practices while engaging contemporary issues through a traditionalist lens grounded primarily in Syāfiī fiqh. During the phase of “Print Islam”, both reformist and traditionalist actors contributed to shaping the trajectory of Islamic history in the archipelago, not only through contestations over religious discourse but also by establishing precedents for further imagined nationhood in religious terms.

Abstrak: Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji beberapa aspek dalam tiga majalah berorientasi Islam yang diterbitkan pada awal abad ke-20: *al-Imām* (1906-1908), *al-Munīr* (1911-1915), dan *al-Mizān* (1918-1922). Dalam apa yang disebut Kersten sebagai *print Islam* (Islam [dalam media] Cetak), kajian yang ada sebagian besar terkonsentrasi pada publikasi reformis – khususnya *al-Imām* dan *al-Munīr* – sementara rekan-rekan tradisionalisnya relatif jarang dikaji. Berawal dari kesenjangan tersebut, artikel ini menyoroti respons tradisionalis dengan melakukan kajian awal terhadap *al-Mizān*, sebuah majalah penting yang terkait dengan kalangan tradisionalis. Sebagai wahana utama penyebaran reformisme Kairo di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, majalah *al-Imām* dan *al-Munīr* yang diterbitkan oleh *kaum muda* (kelompok reformis) secara gencar mengkritik praktik-praktik keagamaan yang mapan sekaligus memulai diskusi tentang kebangsaan dalam bingkai Islam reformis. Sebagai respons terhadap tantangan reformis, *kaum tua* (kelompok tradisionalis) meluncurkan berkala *al-Mizān* untuk membela praktik-praktik keagamaan yang diwariskan turun-temurun, sekaligus membahas isu-isu kontemporer melalui lensa tradisionalis yang utamanya berlandaskan fikih Syāfi’ī. Selama fase *print Islam*, baik aktor reformis maupun tradisionalis berkontribusi dalam membentuk lintasan sejarah Islam di kepulauan ini, tidak hanya melalui kontestasi atas wacana keagamaan, tetapi juga dengan menciptakan preseden untuk pembicaraan tentang kebangsaan yang dibayangkan lebih lanjut dalam aksen keagamaan.

INTRODUCTION

If the role of print culture through the vernacular press has long been believed as one of the driving force of the “Indonesian consciousness”, as demonstrated, for instance, by Ahmat Adam (Adam, 1983), later studies have also increasingly emphasized the importance of print culture in the changing landscape of Islamic



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discourse and movements in this region, which is also believed to intersect with, or coincide with the emergence of, the aforementioned consciousness. Carool Kersten calls this phase "print Islam" in which the printing press became a vehicle for the transmission of Islamic reformist ideas (Kersten, 2017, 101-105). Michael Laffan characterizes these ideas as Cairene reformism which played an integral role in shaping religious aspects of national identity in the Malay-Indonesian world (Laffan, 2003, 142-180).

The main setting for this was early 20th century. It is reasonable to argue that the early decades of the 20th century marked an important shift in the trajectory of Islamic historical movements in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago which Politically went along with the transition from the localized kingdom across archipelago to the Dutch East Indies and the Republic of Indonesia. The period of national revival (*pergerakan nasional*) was one of the crucial moments in this regard. M.C. Ricklefs emphasizes that the first three decades of the 20th century has witnessed "a new territorial definition of Indonesia and the proclamation of a new colonial policy." There was also a profound transformation in Indonesian indigenous affairs, such that in political, cultural, and religious matters (Ricklefs: 1981, pp. 155-156).

The expanding intellectual mobility, the growth of modern educational institutions, and the circulation of trans-regional Islamic reformist ideas facilitated the wider diffusion of Islamic movements across the archipelago, with several regions emerging as influential centers of activity. In addition to that, Kersten also notes that the educational innovation that flourished in the archipelago in the early 20th century was accompanied by the introduction of the printing press which stimulated the establishment of new media, such as newspapers and other periodical publications which became important tools in the dissemination of reformist Islamic ideas (Kersten, 2017, p. 101).

For Laffan, although "the very imagined notion of of Southeast Asia" was shaped by the Islamic ecumene shaped by the networked experience of the *Ājī*, Cairene reformism, which flowed through the Islamic-oriented press, made a significant contribution to imagining the idea of nationhood in the modern context (Laffan, 2003, p. 2). Several important pioneering periodicals; *al-Imām* (1906-1908), *al-Munīr* (1911-1915), *al-Akhbār* (1913), and the likes, have become channels

for this Cairene reformist movement with *al-Manār*, founded by Rasyīd Ridā, acting as the fountain of inspiration. This reformist group, commonly known as the *kaum muda* (the "young") or *kaum al-manar* (*al-Manār* camp), promoted new interpretations and challenged the established religious authority of the *kaum tua* (the "old") who were commonly viewed as traditionalists. Much statements rearding the reformist press inspired by *al-Manār* in the Malay-Indonesian world has emerged through a growing body of scholarship on periodicals from this period, particularly *al-Imām* and *al-Munīr* (Othman and Haris, 2015; Burhanuddin, 2012; Azra, 1999; Laffan, 2003; Roff, 1967; Noer, 1973).

However, the strong tendency in existing scholarship to associate print Islam with the adherents of Cairene reformism raises questions about the position of their traditionalist counterpart in a lot of terms at that crucial phase of imagining (religious) nationhood. The present article undertakes a preliminary effort to situate traditionalist groups within the context of Print Islam shaped by Cairene reformism through an examination of some editions of *al-Mizān*, a periodical published between 1918 to 1922 under the auspices of Hasan Basri from Maninjau, a leading figure in *Persatuan Ulama Sumatera*, whose membership consisted largely of traditionalist clerics and who later founded the *Persatuan Tarbiyyah Islamiyyah* (PERTI).

Deliar Noer has long argued that the older generation sought to restrain the influence of the younger group by adopting similar strategies, including the formation of associations and the publication of periodicals (Noer, 1973, p. 221). However, it should be noted that the traditionalist press that emerged in response to reformist publications remains largely understudied. By first explaining how Cairene reformism was transmitted through *al-Imām* and *al-Munīr* and presenting some important issues that caused controversy at that time, this article will examine how *al-Mizān*, in several editions published in 1918, responded to similar issues.

METHOD

The primary sources for this research are some editions of *al-Imām*, *al-Munīr*, previous studies on both periodicals, and several editions of *al-Mizān* published in 1918. In examining the first two periodicals, this study draws heavily on existing scholarship to reconstruct the current state of research on the "Islamic print" phase in the history

of Islam in the archipelago in the early twentieth century. The analysis of both periodicals centers on two main concerns: religious debate and nationalism, framed within the context of the Cairene reform movement. Furthermore, this article undertakes a preliminary examination on several editions of *al-Mizan* addressing these same themes, situating them historically in relation to the dynamics generated by Cairo-inspired reforms promoted through *al-Imām* and *al-Manār*.

PRINTING PERS AND A NEW PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE 20TH CENTURY MALAY-INDONESIAN WORLD

A changing landscape emerged when Islamic intellectual history in general, preserved in the manuscript tradition, faced challenges along with the emergence of print culture. The changes brought about by printing in the Islamic world had implications for shifts in religious authority and other issues in a broader dimension. Muhsin Mahdi emphasized that the transition from the manuscript era to the printed book was the second most important segment in the "history of the book in the Islamic world," after the emergence of books in the Islamic world in its first two centuries (the 7th and 8th centuries) (Mahdi, 1995, p. 1).

It is historically notable that since 17th century, the Islamic learning in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was mainly connected to the *haramayn* (Mecca and Medina) authority. The pattern of Islamic knowledge transmission through manuscript preservation increasingly demonstrated its trans-regional network. This was further accelerated by the development of Islamic educational institutions that became centers for Islamic learning in the archipelago (Azra, 1994; Safari, et.al., 2024). In this regard, the manuscript tradition as a medium for Islamic intellectualism in the archipelago remained irreplaceable until the increasing reception of printing technology in early 20th century.

In the context of the Indonesian archipelago in particular, Jajat Burhanuddin notes that the adoption of printing, which enabled publication in new media, was one of the most important factors that gave rise to religious authorities beyond the traditional ulama. Based on these facts, Burhanuddin states that since then, something has occurred that is referred to as the "fragmentation of religious authority" (Burhanuddin, 2012, p. 1). Within Burhanuddin's framework, the term Islamic reform specifically refers to new approaches to Islam formulated in the early 20th century.

Furthermore, for Burhanuddin, "Islamic reform" also includes a new dimension that Fazlur Rahman describes as the integration of "modern thought and institutions with Islam" (Burhanuddin, 2005, p. 10).

In the context of the reformist movements occurring both in thought and institutions, there are several key moments in the dynamics in the Malay-Indonesian world. By the late 19th century, these reformist currents were introduced by Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (1869-1916) who had been exposed to Cairene reformism. He taught in Mecca, allowed his students to read the works of Egyptian reformers, and criticized the tradition of inheritance distribution in his village, West Sumatra (Noer, 1973, pp. 31-32). He also had some criticism of sufism, which was very influential in Malay-Indonesian archipelago at that time. Kersten noted that after the death of Nawawi Banten (1813-1897) and Zaini Dahlan (1816-1886), the presence of Ahmad Khatib who filled the important authority of the Syāfi'i school in Mecca had paved the way for a transition between "tradition and innovation" which became the background for the emergence debates between the *Kaum Muda* (the young reformists) and the *Kaum Tua* (the traditionalists) in the early 20th century Malay world (Kersten, 2017, p. 95).

In the next stage, the discourse of reformist movement was preserved in what might be-called the Southeast Asian exponent of *al-Manār* school. According to Azyumrdi Azra, *Kaum Muda* were also commonly referred to as the *Kaum al-Manar*, reflecting the journal's strong influence on shaping their reformist agenda in the Malay world (Azra, 1999, 82). One of the earliest exponent of this group is Tahir Jalaluddin (1869-1956) who was born in West Sumatra and a cousin of Ahmad Khatib. In 1906, he published *al-Imām* in Singapore. Previous studies state that it replicated the content and methodology of *al-Manār*. He himself settled in Singapore after returning from Mecca around 1900 and was among the early students from the archipelago who studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Ricklefs notes that Jalaluddin continued his studies in Cairo for four years, where he was influenced by the ideas of Muhammad 'Abduh and became a close friend of Rasyīd Ridā (Noer, 1973, pp. 32-33; Ricklefs, 1981, p. 161).

Following the discontinuity of *al-Imām* in 1908, the dissemination of reformist ideas was taken up by Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), a prominent reformist from Padang Panjang in West Sumatra. Widely recognized as the founder of the

first modern Islamic school in the region, Ahmad further advanced reformist discourse through the publication of *al-Munir* in Padang between 1911 and 1915, a journal that Ricklefs refers to as “the first modernist journal in Indonesia” (Ricklefs, 1981, 162). Hamka noted that Muhammad Thaib and Abdul Karim Amrullah/Haji Rasul (Hamka's father) were among the authors who wrote about religion and answered questions from the readers in *al-Munir*. The two figures, along with Abdullah Ahmad and Muhammad Jamil Jambek, were the prominent students of Ahmad Khatib, who became the first generation of *kaum muda* in West Sumatera. Later on, this reformist aspiration was transmitted to another regions of the archipelago including to Java. One of the most important figures was Ahmad Dahlan (d. 1923), the founder of *Muhammadiyah*, who was a subscriber of *al-Munir* itself and once even asked for translating some of Haji Rasul's articles published in *al-Munir* into Javanese (Hamka, 1982, pp. 101-111; Burhanuddin, 2012, p. 91).

One should also highlight that the aforementioned intellectual endeavour came along with the growth of national consciousness with the founding of *Budi Utomo* (BU) in 1908 as the important milestone. Ricklefs argues that BU functioned primarily as an organization rooted in the Javanese *priyayi* elite and failed to develop a genuine mass following among the lower social strata. This limitation, in turn, encouraged the formation of alternative organizations intended to better represent popular interests. One such initiative was established in 1909 in Jakarta by R. M. Tirtoadisoerjo, a former government official who later became a journalist in Solo, who founded *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (SDI), which was subsequently renamed *Sarekat Islam* (SI) in 1912. SDI marked the moment when Muslims entered organizational-based movement spaces whose roots were laid by the legacy of the Dutch East Indies government (Ricklefs, 1981, pp. 158-159).

Later on, it was followed by the emergence of urban-centered Muslim modernist movements such as – in Javanese case – *Muhammadiyah* (1912), and its traditionalist counterpart in the countryside, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (1926) (Kersten & Olsson, 2016, p. 3). This phase is what M. Abdul Karim calls the point of acculturation that occurred at the organizational level that occurred since the beginning of the 20th century, when the establishment of colonial legacies in terms of institutions/organizations occurred among Muslims, both in the context of negotiation and

resistance (Karim, 2014, 139-143).

Burhanuddin concludes – relying on the previous studies – that the rise of educational institution coupled with the rise of print and electronic media, has contributed to the emergence of a “public sphere,” where the *‘ulama* are only “one of many Muslims” who can speak about Islam and their role as the sole expert on contemporary Islam has ended. Furthermore, he concludes that the fragmentation of religious authority and the emergence of the public sphere are inherent parts of modernity (Burhanuddin, 2012, p. 1).

However, it would be incorrect to say that the printing revolution is only associated with the Islamic reformism in the Malay-Indonesian world, a part that is most favored to be investigated in the study of Islamic history in the region. Building on El-Shamsy's argument regarding the “rediscovery of Islamic classics” during the Arabic literary renaissance that accompanied the introduction of the printing press in the Arab world (El-Shamsy, 2020), a comparable process can also be observed in the context of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. In Laffan's study, the earliest documented use of printing machines by Southeast Asian Muslims came from Palembang in 1848, followed by the establishment of printing presses in Surabaya and Riau. From the 1850s to the 1870s, these pioneering publishing efforts produced the first printed copies of the Qur'an. It is interesting to note that among the early publications of this period were editions of the works of past traditionalist authorities such as Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658), Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani (d. 1832), and Arsyad al-Banjari (d. 1812) (Laffan, 2011, p. 55).

Laffan even mentions that printing technology had previously been utilized by the *tarikat* leaders, something he calls “Sufi Print.” He cites printing technology as one of the reasons for the Naqasybandi's dominance over the Syatariyyah in the late 19th century. Ahmad Khatib of Sambas (d. 1875) made effective use of print, as evidenced by the publication of his concise manual *Futūḥ al-‘Arifin* in 1870. Completed in Mecca and transcribed by his Palembang-born student Muhammad Marūf, this Singapore-printed work set out Khatib Sambas' interpretation of Naqsybandi ritual practice while simultaneously outlining the spiritual lineage of his own *Qādiriyyah wa-Naqsybandiyyah* sufi order (Laffan, 2011, pp. 60-61).

Thus, the traditionalist group's adoption of print technology was by no means new. It's true that there was a delay in its adoption, but that was

true for the Islamic world in general. Perhaps what was new at the time lay in the narrative and media format itself, from pattern of writings based on *matn* (core text), layered commentaries (*syarh/ḥāsiyyah*), and even interlinear translation, to the model of newspapers and other periodicals that allowed for a space for the formation of a new religious authority. As will be discussed below, during the well-known polemics between the *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* in the early 20th Malay world, both sides engaged within the same public arenas, namely oral preaching and print media. Over time, not only reformist figures but also their traditionalist counterparts turned to publication, producing comparable works in an effort to preserve and assert their established authority.

TRANSMITTING CAIRENE REFORMISM TO THE MALAY-INDONESIAN WORLD: THE CASE OF *AL-IMĀM* AND *AL-MUNĪR*

Previous studies mention *al-Imām* (The Leader/The Guide) as the early media for transmitting reformist thoughts in Malay world by the *kaum muda* in their early days. Laffan identifies *al-Imām* as "the first channel of Cairene discourse in the bilād al-jawa" (Laffan, 2003, p. 148). The publication of this kind of periodical in the Malay world was described by Othman as "almost a direct Egyptian transplant; it was as if the debates at that time raging in Cairo had been suddenly moved to this region" (Othman and Haris, 2015, pp. 467-468). Tahir Jalaluddin and other figures including Ahmad al-Hadi (d. 1934), Muhammad Salim al-Kalali, and 'Abbas bin Muhammad Taha (d. 1945) launched *al-Imām* on 23 July 1906. The periodical ran for a total of thirty-one issues before ceasing publication in December 1908. Its publication aimed to disseminate *al-Manār*'s reformist movement in Malay, and the articles published there were largely based on translations from Egyptian journals. In fact, the publication of *al-Imām* was reported in *al-Manār* (Othman dan Haris, 2015) mentioning people of reform (*rijāl al-iṣlāh*) as the writers and 'Abbās bin Muḥammad Ṭāhā as the editor.

The pages of *al-Imām* marked a new format in Islamic literature in the 20th century Southeast Asia. Heavily inspired by *al-Manār*, *al-Imām*

سيدي. تصدري سنغافوره مجلة عليية ملية بلغة الملايو اسمها (الامام) يكتب فيها
بعض رجال الاصلاح ومحرمها رجل وطني اسمه عباس بن محمد طه وهو من خيرة
شبان هذه البلاد علماء وعلماء اشهر اخيرا بمحاربة البدع والخرافات التي ألصقت بالدين.

Figure 1. News about the publication of *al-Imam* in one section of *al-Manar*, 11(7) 1908.

divided its content into several main sections. In *al-Imām* 7 (1) 1907, for instance, there are five (5) main rubrics (*al-Imām*, 7(1), 1907): (1) *Al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* [Islamic History]; (2) *Al-Tarbiyyah wa al-Ta'lim* [Education and Learning]; (3) *Surat Kiriman* (Received Letter); (4) *Perkhabaran* [News]; and (5) *Su'āl wa al-Jawāb* [Question and Answer].

Although *al-Imām* was primarily a periodical devoted to socio-religious issues diagnosing the perceived decline of the Muslim community and calling on its readers to return to the Qur'ān and the hadith while advocating *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) over uncritical *taqlid* (deference to intermediary authority), it also incorporated material of clear political relevance. As an intellectual heir to the spirit of *al-Urwat al-Wuthqā*, *al-Imām* engaged with themes of pan-Islamism, including discussions of the Ottoman "Caliphate," which, as noted by Azra, received particular attention in *al-Imām*'s pages. From its earliest issues, the journal regularly featured news from Turkey alongside reports from Japan. In this regard, *al-Imām* emphasized that there was no other Islamic government other than the Ottoman Empire (Azra, 1999, pp. 88-89). In a section on the Ottoman military equipment, Sultan Abdul Hamid,

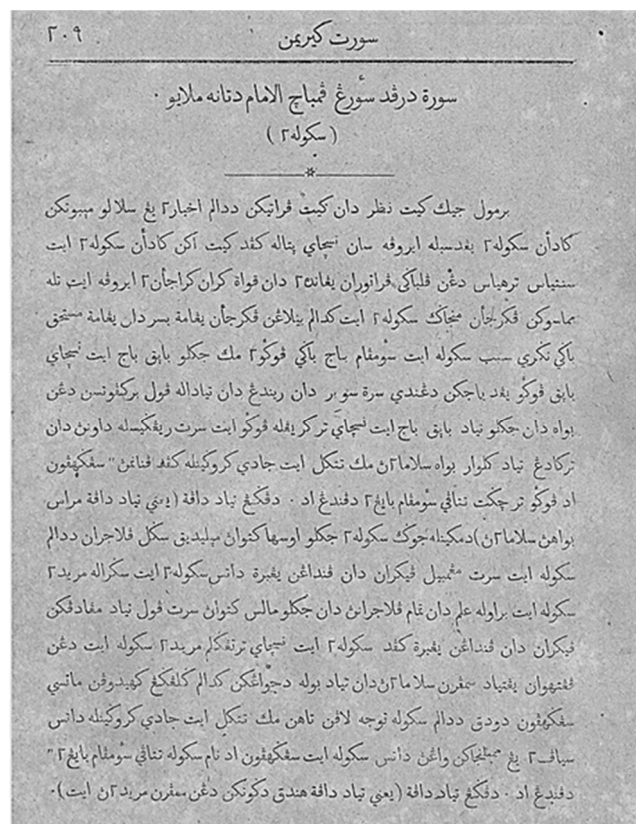


Figure 2. An article under the rubric of *Surat Kiriman* on the advance of European schools (Source: *al-Imam*, 7 (1) 1907, p. 204.)

who was the caliph at that time, was called *sultan bagi sekalian Islam yang maha mulia* (the noble leader for the entire Islam) (*al-Imām*, 7(1) 1907, p. 211).

Another important defining characteristic of *al-Imām* was its attempt to integrate a reorientation of Islamic teachings with an openness to modern Western forms of knowledge. One contributor in *al-Imām*, urged Muslims to cultivate practical skills in crafts and agriculture and to take responsibility for defending their homeland against external threats. The article further underscored the centrality of education as a means of overcoming Muslim apathy, alongside the importance of communal unity. At the same time, it asserted that unwavering commitment to Islamic teachings constituted the sole solution to the challenges confronting the Muslim community (Othman & Haris, 2015).

The letter explains how the advancement of educational institutions in Europe, supported by governments that have made school administration one of the primary tasks handled by the state, due to their view of schools as the main pillar of a nation's progress. In this regard, Kersten states that *al-Imām* promoted the view that Islam was not hostile to Western knowledge and progress. They insisted that the advancement of Western knowledge was essential for Muslims to educate themselves within the boundaries of divine law. Therefore, rulers, traditional leaders, and religious scholars were also obligated to stimulate education and economic development, while purifying Islam of the impurities brought by local customs and beliefs derived from religions other than Islam. This meant returning to *ijtihād* and refraining from *taqlīd*, which modernist reformers qualified as "blind imitation" (Kersten, 2017, pp. 102-103).

One of the key editorials published in *al-Imām*, was the attack on the *ṣūfī* order (*tarikat*) and another long-standing religious practices. In Laffan's study, for example, one of the things that *al-Imām* attacked at that time was the beliefs and practices of the *Khālīdī syeikhs* in the Malay region (Laffan, 2011, pp. 184-185). In doing so, it broke the tradition of maintaining traditional religious sources contained in the books of previous scholars by issuing a *fatwa* based on the Qur'an and Hadith. In this respect, *al-Imām* initiated a religious debate in a public space that was then newly shaped by the emergence of the printing press (Darwis, 2013, p. 100).

The shared orientation of these two journals is particularly evident in their puritanical outlook. According to Othman and Faris, in its 12th issue, *al-*

Imām declared itself "the sworn enemy of all forms of *bid'ah* (religious innovations), superstition, blind imitation, and foreign customs that disrupt religious life." This objective closely paralleled that of *al-Manār*, whose stated mission was "to eradicate superstitious elements in Muslim belief that fall outside the authentic teachings of Islam." Numerous articles published in *al-Imām* were either adaptations or translations of material originally appearing in *al-Manār*. Notably, the inaugural issue of *al-Imām* featured an expanded version of a lecture delivered by Muhammad Abduh at the Sultaniyyah School in Beirut (Othman and Haris, 2015, p. 469).

Abduh's footprint is also felt in other issues related to reconciliation between religions and the idea of Islamic nationalism. Kersten's notes, based on Laffan, shows that one of the central difficulties confronting the editors of *al-Imām* was the task of situating *Jawi* religious and cultural traditions within the wider historiography of the Muslim world. Laffan observes that their attempts to reconcile the various factors shaping Indonesian Muslim identity often revealed a tendency to marginalize local traditions and to regard Southeast Asian Islam as lying on the periphery of what was persistently imagined as Islam's core in West Asia. In this respect, he draws a parallel between *al-Imām*'s stance and the same kind of ambiguity found in Abduh's thought, particularly in his efforts to synthesize religion, region, ethnicity, and historical experience into a vision of Islamic nationalism (Kersten, 2017, p. 103; Laffan, 2003).

With regard to the relationship between religion and nationhood, Laffan concluded that *al-Imam* has articulated a notion of nationhood through several key terms, most notably *watan* (place of residence), which it linked to the Malay notions of *negeri* and *tanah*. However, he also notes that *al-Imam* did not clearly define the nature or boundaries of the territory implied by Malay-*watan*. Hence, he concluded that "*al-Imam* stressed a religious, rather than primarily cultural, identification with nationhood" (Laffan, 2003, pp. 153-156). In this regard, one can relate this issue with *al-Imam*'s recognition on Ottoman as the sole authority of the entire Islamic world. In this sense, *watan* may be understood as an Islamic conception of homeland that functioned as *al-Imam*'s "imagined community" of the Malay-nation by placing it within a broader Muslim historiography. Beyond its commitment to religious reform, *al-Imam* ultimately articulated an aspiration for independence (*istiqlāl*) from colonial domination

across these lands (*tanahs*) (Laffan, 2003, 157). In an article entitled *hubb al-watan* (*kasih akan tempat kediaman*/love of one's place of residence), it was argued that a sense of devotion to the homeland when a person has grown up is "Memelihara akan dia dengan badan dan nyawa dan harta dan ilmu pengetahuan kita akan tempat kediaman kita itu dari tiap-tiap yang memberi madarat akan dia" (Protecting it with our body and life and wealth and knowledge of our dwelling place from all who harm it) (*al-Imam*, 7 [1] 1907, 204). It is within this framework that *al-Imam*'s anti-colonial vision can be situated.

After *al-Imām* ceased publication in 1908 for various reasons, this type of publication continued in Padang, where a group of *kaum muda* who are the former students of Ahmad Khatib published *al-Munir*. *Al-Munir* began publication in Padang in 1911, but, much like *al-Imām*, it had a relatively short lifespan, ceasing publication in 1916 following

a fire that destroyed its printing press. The journal was established by Abdullah Ahmad, a leading Muslim reformist in the Minangkabau region during the early 20th century. According to Azra, Ahmad drew inspiration from *al-Imām* and conceived the idea of producing a comparable periodical during his visit to Singapore in 1908, where he familiarized himself with the technical and organizational aspects of journal publication, including management and editorial practices (Azra, 1999, p. 92).

As quoted by Azra, among *al-Munir*'s ideals were to lead and bring Muslims towards progress based on Islamic commands and to foster peace between nations and mankind as well as to enlighten the Muslim community with knowledge and wisdom (Azra, 1999, p. 94). There are several major rubrics in *al-Munir*, including (*al-Munir* 16 [5], 1915): (1) *Rencana Agama* (Articles on Religion); (2) *Buah Pikiran* (Thoughts); (3) *Al-Adāb wa Makārim al-Akhlāq* (Ethics and Nobilities of Character); (4) *Ilmu Sejati* (The True Knowledge).

he article highlights the importance of organizations (*perkampulan*) as an inherent aspect of human nature, emphasizing people's need to connect with one another. The scope of organization ranges from associations based on shared religious affiliation and common village origins to those that link different nations and even extend across countries. On this basis, the author urges the establishment of organizations/associations primarily as a means to foster progress. The idea of establishing an organization is intertwined with the idea of progress which became one of the important key words on the agenda of the reformers at that time.

According to Kersten, *al-Munir* played a key role in redirecting the publication's orientation from an initially pro-Western outlook toward a more puritanical reformist position shaped by the ideas of Rasyid Riḍā. It urged Indonesian Muslims to pursue studies in Cairo and actively disseminated the reformist arguments advanced by Riḍā in *al-Manār*. In 1913, it further expanded its trans-regional engagement by establishing *al-Ittihād*, a sister periodical in Cairo, with Abdullah Ahmad serving as its representative for the Indies (Kersten, 2017, 104). The magazine emphasized Riḍā's Salafi vision. In a 1913 edition, Burhanuddin noted that the publication's goal was "to attain the true religion of Islam and to establish the correct law of the Prophet Muhammad by encouraging the revival of the Prophetic traditions and condemning heresy in Muslim religious practices" (Burhanuddin, 2012,

(ص ٢٦٥)	بواہ فکیران	(جزء ١٧ ج ١٠)
کیت ایله مذہبک کفد کج دین، فرسوسن، دان فرسیدان کیت ما نسی، کیت دقتی مانیسی ایت بر کهندقکن مکاشن، برکهندقکن مینومن، برکهندقکن فکابن، بر کهندقکن تمفت کدیامن، برکهندقکن کصحاتن دان برکهندقکن لاین ۲ کفرلوان یغ دافه تیدق دان تادافه قول دهیفا کک، سدغ سکلین کفرلوان ایت تا لولس دان تا سقرن جک هندق دکرجا کن سندیری ۲ ساج مثلث سنونق دوتی اتو سهالی کاین بولہک ددا قه سگیمان ادب سکارغ جک تیدق تله بکر ج فدیپ بیراف اورغ؟ مثلث اورغ برستم، اورغ مموتغ، اورغ مکیلیغ، اورغ ماسق دان لاین ۲ ساج سگیمان برکهندق کفد فننام کفس بمبوا فغ فننون کاین، توکغ منجابه دان لاین ۲ کفرلوان سب، سدغ سکلین فکرجان ایت تا قول موده دکرجا کج	سبت مک کیت مولایله یسبع سفره برایکوة: مانسی دان فرکفولن سروشکھپ اداله فرکفولن اتوفر هبوغن انتار سب مانیسی ایت ساتو حل اتو ساتو طبعی یغ سجا تی قول بگی کیت مانیسی، سب ایت فرض سکیلی کیت مانیسی مندبریکن فرکفولن ۲ کون کجوان دان کسفرشان سدغ مذہبک کفد اصل ۲ فرکفولن اتو فرهبوغن ایت پتاله بهوا هیدوف مانیسی این ماؤ تا ماؤ سجاج تاسجاج نمون مانسی ترقس کفد فرکفولن اتو فرهبوغن انتار اسماپ ایقله معنا بپ فرکتان کیت بهو فرکفولن اتو فرهبوغن ایت ساتو حل اتو طبعی بیم سجاتی قول بگی مانیسی لاین ۲ انتارا نما کلام، انتار سبفس، انتار سنکری انتار سکورغ سکفوغ دان انتار سقاوم سفیلی، نقد، نر تراوتام سکالی کفد	

Figure 3. An article under the rubric of *Buah Pikiran* on the importance of organization (Source: *al-Munir*, 17 (5) 1915, p. 265)

p. 288).

This periodical addressed a range of issues that the *Kaum Tua* regarded as prohibited or taboo, as Azra has put it. These included debates over practices such as wearing ties and hats or taking photographs, all of which had previously been deemed *ḥarām* (forbidden) by traditionalist authorities. From *al-Munir*'s perspective, however, none of these practices were explicitly prohibited by the Qur'an or the hadith. The journal also advanced the view that the Friday sermon could be delivered in a language intelligible to the audience. In matters of Islamic jurisprudence, Azra observes that *al-Munir* firmly rejected uncritical adherence (*taqlīd*) to any single legal school, instead insisting that Muslims cultivate independent legal reasoning (*ijtihād*) through direct engagement with the foundational sources of Islam, the Qur'an and the Prophet's hadith (Azra, 1999, p. 95).

In addition, *al-Munir* also addressed other contested religious practices, including the

recitation of *usāllī* in the beginning of prayers. It is quite interesting that, as noted by Sarwan, this issue even generated disagreement among *al-Munir*'s own contributors. He notes, for instance, a divergence of views between Abdullah Ahmad and Haji Rasul. Ahmad maintained that the practice should not be classified as *bid'ah* (religious innovation) but rather as *sunnah*, grounding his position in the authoritative opinions of scholars within the Syāfi'i school. In contrast, Haji Rasul regarded reciting *ushāllī* as an heretic, drawing on the views of scholars outside the Syāfi'i tradition and arguing that the practice lacked precedent in the actions of the Prophet and his companions (Sarwan, 2012, pp. 141-142).

Hamka records a number of religious practices associated with the older generation that were sharply criticized in *al-Munir* and became sources of controversy. These included the verbal recitation of *niat* (intention) in the beginning of prayers through the recitation of *usāllī*, the *kenduri* (commemorations) of funeral on the third, fourth, seventh, and hundredth days after death, the practice of *talqīn* (chanting some recitation to 'guide'/'teach' the those who have just been buried in facing the new realm of *barzakh*) at the gravesite, and several other religious practices that *al-Munir* regarded as heretical and unsupported by the example of the Prophet Muhammad. The questions related to these issues were answered by Haji Rasul in various materials in *al-Munir* (Hamka, 1982, pp. 102-103).

However, despite its sharply critical stance on religious and theological issues, *al-Munir* adopted a notably accommodating position, particularly regarding the legitimacy of Dutch colonial rule, as Azra has put it. *Al-Munir* essentially accepted the authority of the non-Muslim colonial government and promoted a politics of cooperation with it. This position was justified by the view that the Dutch administration had provided tangible benefits to Muslims, including the maintenance of public order and the freedom to practice religious obligations. From *al-Munir*'s perspective, political engagement did not constitute a religious obligation (Azra, 1999, p. 96). The sense of nationalism held by the editor of *al-Munir*, according to Laffan, consisted of three layers: Minangkabau Muslim; Malay (Sumatra), and those who were protected by the benevolent Dutch government which spread its protection throughout the Indies (Laffan, 2003, p. 176). One should note that all editions of *al-Munir* were published before the issuance of a controversial policy from the

(جزء ۱۷ ج ۵)	فرکار ملفظکن اصلی	(ص ۲۷۴)
سمبوعن فرکار ملفظکن اصلی وقت! کن سمبوعن کات قمارغ القطوفات هلاسن (۵) برکات المؤلف (یعنی توان حاج عبدالکریم) صحیفه یغ کا (۷- ۸): دان برکات قول الایمام الرا فمی مندهکن! کن دی، وله شارح احیاً یغ برنام اتحاف سادات المتقین (ثم النية فی جمیع العبا دات معتبرة بالقلب فلا یکنفی الناطق مع غفلة القلب ولا یضر عدم الناطق ولا النطق بخلاف مافی القلب الخ سره ترجمه یغ یعنی تمد ین ایت برمول نیه قد سکین عبا ده دیلفکن دغن هاتی مک تیدق ممدای مقاب سره لالی هاتی دان تیدق مضرة تیدق مغات دان تیدق قول مغات برسلان یغ قد هاتی) هیئک کات المؤلف مک این دغن صریح مغان کن تیدق مضرة منعککن ملفظکن دارن	« شاذ » ناپ تیاد دءملکن کارن تیاد بکیب دلیل والله اعلم ادقون دا شغ یغ تله دقوتغ ایت هارس دما کن سکینپ اتو سته اتو ساتو قرتیک اسل جاغن ایت قربان یغ واجب دغن نذر افما ب- دان هارس قول دصدقهکن سکینپ تانی سنه ای ما کن در قداب دان منصدقهکن یغ تیشکل کغد فقیر مسکین دان هارس فو ل مبهوة جموان دغن دی- ستانی تله دستکن اوله باقی علماً بهوا دا شغ قربان ایت دبها کی تیگ ساتو قرتیک دما کن ساتو قرتیک دصدقهکن دان ساتو قرتیک دتا رهکن، کارن سبدا نبی صلی الله (فککوا وتصدقوا وادخروا) مک ما کن اولهم دان صدقهکن اولهم دان سمغن اولهم مک در قداب توان کنهویله جواب سؤال توان ایت والله اعلم حاج ا	

Figure 4. Article on the polemics over reciting *usāllī* (I intended to pray), the part of *niyat* (intention) for prayer/salāt. (Source: *al-Munir*, 17 (5) 1915, p. 273.)

government called Guru Ordonantie which adversely affect the religious teacher.

However, despite his relatively cooperative attitude with the Dutch East Indies government, *al-Munir* contributed further to broadening the spectrum of nationhood. One thing Laffan noted was the identification of *Jawi (sisi Jawi kami)* to refer to religious authorities in Mecca who came from both Sumatra and Java. Echoing the stance of *al-Imam*, *al-Munir* ran a series of extended editorial essays under the title *hubb al-watan (kasih akan tanah Air)*. While *al-Munir* continued to promote messages of unity within the Minangkabau community, this emphasis was increasingly coupled with a broader identification encompassing all those living under Dutch colonial rule (Laffan, 2003, p. 177). Notably, this development intersected with the notion of *Jawi* which Laffan refers to as “ecumene joined by a common faith and its scholarly networks” (Laffan, 2003, pp. 27-28). Furthermore, Kersten associates “the self-identification as Muslim and an embryonic sense of ‘Indonesianess’” in Abdullah Ahmad's personality. This ambition paved the way for him to approach H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto (d. 1934), one of the founders of the first Islamic mass organization in Indonesia, Sarekat Islam (SI), to collaborate in publishing *al-Islam*, (1916) another periodical which marked – according to Laffan – “the unity of two islands” (Kersten, 2017, p. 104; Laffan, 2003, p. 178).

THE FEEDBACK FROM THE TRADITIONALIST: THE CASE OF *AL-MIZAN*

According to Hamka, the reformist ideas advanced by the younger generation – many of which were circulated through *al-Munir* – gradually provoked controversy and resistance from the older generation. As a result of their close identification with the journal, these young reformers came to be labeled as *kelompok al-Munir*. Hamka mentioned how various labels were attached to them, starting from groups that departed from *Ahlus Sunnah*, *Mu'tazilah*, *Khawarij*, *Wahabi*, to *Zindik* (Hamka, 1982, p. 105). As the reasons for the dynamics created by *al-Munir*, Soeloeh Melajoe emerged in 1913 that was soon followed by *Oetoesan Melajoe* in 1914. Both publications were backed by a publishing house that articulated the view of *Kaum Adat*. This initiative had earlier issued *Pelita Ketijil* in 1894, recognized as the oldest Malay-language publication in the Minangkabau region, followed by *Warta Berita* in 1895. The movement was led by *Datuk Maharadja* (Darwis, 2013, p. 112).

In Darwis' study, Soeloeh Melajoe was a press that persistently challenged the issues raised by *al-Munir* and *al-Akhbar*, a youth-led publications at that time. The question-and-answer section in Soeloeh Melajoe often contained rebuttals to the issues promoted by *al-Munir*, while adhering firmly to a traditionalist perspective (Darwis, 2013). As Hamka had pointed out, Soeloeh Melajoe's publications were directly linked to the controversial issues between young and old, as previously mentioned (Hamka, 1982). *Datuk Sutan Maharadja* was the key figure behind this publication, who owned the *Alam Minangkabau* printing press. In Soeloeh Melajoe, he invited several important figures from *Kaum Tua* to contribute as the authors, including: Muhammad 'Ali 'Abdul Muttalib (Khatib Ali) from *Sungai Pangu*, Sa'ad Mungka from *Payakumbuh*, and Sulaiman al-Rasuli (Inyik Candung) from *Bukittingi* (Darwis, 2013). In Hamka's notes, *Datuk Maharadja* was at that time in polemics with *Sutan Putih* regarding the controversy regarding *Minangkabau* customs (Hamka, 1982, p. 105).

Hamka also observed how debates between the younger and older generations led to a growing polarization within society over religious matters. He recounts that the polemic between the two camps was at one point facilitated by a Dutch inspector, who organized a public discussion forum. The event drew a large audience and was marked by intense exchanges between the two sides. Nevertheless, Hamka emphasized that neither group was willing to yield: the older generation remained firmly committed to the textual authority of the *Syāfi'i* school, while the younger generation persisted in practicing *ijtihād*, drawing as well on scholarly opinions beyond the *Syāfi'i* tradition. (Hamka, 1982, p. 107).

According to Hamka's account, one of the climactic moments of this intellectual dispute was the exchange of correspondence between senior religious figures and the authorities in Mecca concerning the doctrines advanced by the younger generation. Hamka notes that this exchange culminated in a treatise issued by the Meccan authorities entitled *Tujuh Belas Maslalah* (“Seventeen Problems”). The treatise argued that the *fatwās* published in *al-Munir* contravened *ijmā* (consensus) and declared that its leading figures including Abdullah Ahmad, Haji Rasul, Jamil Jambek, and Zainudin Labay, had fallen outside the bounds of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*. It was even reported that they risked imprisonment should they undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca (Hamka, 1982,

107-8).

However, Adam contends that the polemic between the young and the old should be understood primarily as a matter of religious disagreement. At particular moments, especially when the government policies threaten Islamic educational institutions, the two groups set aside their differences and unite in opposition. This was seen when both of them opposed the Guru Ordonantie policy of the colonial government in 1925 which required all religious teachers to obtain permission from the government (Adam, 2012, p. 75).

After *Soeloeh Melajoe* ceased publication in 1915, another important traditionalist press was *al-Mizan*, published in 1918 by Syarikat al-Ihsan in Maninjau. The founder of this periodical was Hasan Basri Maninjau, a figure of traditionalist camp who became one of the key figures of Persatuan Ulama Sumatera whose members were scholars who would later initiate the Persatuan Tarbiyyah Islamiyyah (PERTI), the biggest traditionalist organization in West Sumatera. PERTI originated from a traditionalist initiative in response to the rapid movement of young people in establishing organizations and educational institutions. Abbas Qadhi from Ladang Laweh, one of the figures of the traditionalist and a student of Sulaiman al-Rasuli, founded the Arabiyyah School in Ladang Laweh in 1918. He would later become a key figure in the founding of PERTI, advising his teacher to change the teaching system from halaqah to class-based system (Koto, 2012, p. 29). 'Abbas Qadhi's role as the driving force behind PERTI is similar to Wahab Hasbullah's position in Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU) in the case of Java. At this point, the influence of modernism is reflected in the traditionalist agenda.

This periodical uses Jawi script in Malay, as did the two previous publications under scrutiny. However, it should be noted that *al-Mizān* has inserted several pages in Latin (Rumi) script in Malay language. This indicates the influence of Latinization in its early form in the Islamic press, amidst the dominance of Jawi periodicals. Later, there was a gradual abandonment of Jawi script by young people, particularly in Java, who turned to the modernist discourse of Roman script prevalent in the Dutch East Indies (Laffan, 2003, p. 180).

This periodical features various sections, with question and answer section occupying a significant portion. It typically begins with a series of articles on Islamic teachings, particularly those concerning Islamic ethics and other issues adapted from literature written by traditional scholars. This is



Figure 5. The frontmatter of *al-Mizan*, No. 19, 1337 H (1919) (Source: *al-Mizan*, No. 19, 1337 H (1919))

then sometimes interspersed with specific news stories before moving on to a more extensive question and answer session. The issues discussed in this session relate to clarifications on controversial issues at the time debated by two opposing groups, as mentioned above. In this regard, *al-Mizan* served as a channel for traditional writers to clarify these issues.

Among the religious issues clarified in *al-Mizān* are the following: (1) guarding the grave for 3 to 7 days; (2) Calculating astrology to determine the fate of husband and wife; (3) Writing the Qur'an in Dutch; (4) Making a letter of agreement in Dutch; (5) Reciting *talqin* to the dying people and to the corpses after burial; (6) The argument for the absence of independent *Mujtahid* at that time; (7) Learning in a Dutch school; (8) Making a feast in the commemoration of death; (9) Reciting the prayer intention (*niyat*); (10) Status of the infidels (*kāfir*) in the land of *Jawi*, and many other issues (*al-Mizan*, No. 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, Year 1337/1919).

The article confirms that reciting the *niyat* before prayer is a recommendation legitimated by the *Imams* of the major Islamic schools of thought,

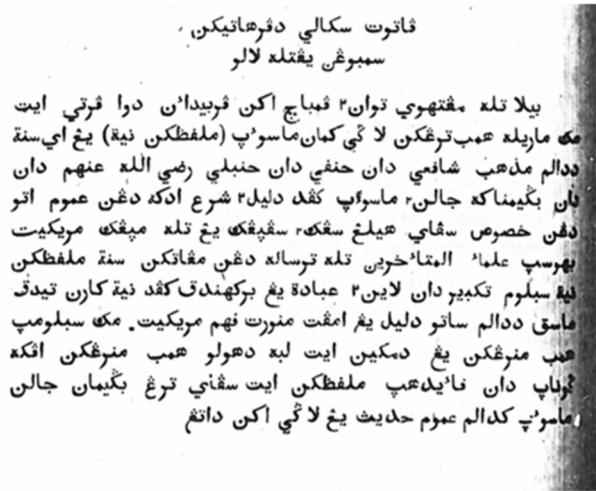


Figure 6. An article in *al-Mizan* on the arguments in favor of recommending the verbal recitation of the intention (*niyyah*) in prayer. (Source: *al-Mizan*, No. 28, 1337 H (1919)).

including *al-Syāfi'i*, Hanafī, and Hanbalī. It also reveals a misunderstanding among some people regarding the opinion of contemporary scholars regarding the *sunnah* of reciting the *niyyat* of prayer. This response clearly addressed the controversy that was being raised by young people at the time. With regard to the ten issues mentioned, except for a few, such as astrological calculations and writing the Quran in Dutch, *al-Mizān* essentially took an affirmative and compromising position based on legal reasoning based on *Syāfi'i* school. Several practices targeted by *Kaum Muda*, such as reciting *niyat* before prayer, reciting *talqin* for the corpse in the gravesite, and making a feast in the commemoration of death, were considered legitimate.

Table 1 is a detail of *al-Mizān*'s stance on ten (10) issues related either to Islamic religious dispute or imagined nationhood.

This information shows how *al-Mizān* became a periodical that became a means for traditionalists to clarify issues questioned by the reformist *kaum muda*. Strong reliance on the authority of the *Syāfi'i* school in responding to questions that are one of the important characters. Another contrast is related to the legitimacy to perform *ijtihād*. If the youth-led press calls for doing *ijtihād* and rejecting *taqlīd*, *al-Mizān* openly has the opposite opinion. However, it should be noted that the main point of *al-Mizān* is not to close the possibility of *ijtihād*, but not to admit that there are people qualified to do it at that time.

Regarding the concept of nationhood, several key terms, such as *bangsa* and *tanah air* have been used in *al-Mizan*. In the narrative announcing the

founding of the *Persatuan Ulama Sumatera*, for instance, it is stated that this organization embodies the ideals of those who love religion, nation, and homeland (*orang-orang yang cinta kepada agama, dan cinta kepada bangsa dan tanah air*) (*al-Mizān*, 1337 H, p. 249). In one of the readers' letters, there was a question containing the phrase "*negri kita (hindia)*" which perhaps indicates the general idea at that time which was already associating *negri* with the Dutch East Indies. However, it must not be conflated with the idea of nationhood reflected in the terms *bangsa* and *tanah air*, which in the previous statement were associated with *agama*. In response to above question, it was stated that "*ter'adat di negri kita ini ialah menyalahi bagi syara*" (is a custom in our country where things are against the *sharia*) (*al-Mizān*, 1337 H, p. 249). *Al-Mizan*'s account of nationhood articulates a vision that had circulated widely in the Dutch East Indies since the era of *al-Munir* which gradually broadened the concept of nationhood from Malay to *Jawi* and, eventually, to the Dutch East Indies as a whole.

What set it apart, however, was its reliance on a traditionalist approach as the principal means of negotiating this notion of nationhood. The supremacy of a traditionalist approach, newly confronted with modern instruments, is evident throughout *al-Mizān*'s narrative. In the reception of Dutch schools, for instance, we can see how the concept of *fardu 'ain* (obligatory) knowledge became a balance that weighed the legitimacy of studying at Dutch schools. This is also evident in aspects of religious administration within the bureaucracy. In addition, the concept of *dzu-syaukah* was also utilized in *al-Mizān* when discussing the guardians (*wali*) for marriage (*al-Mizān*, 1337 H, p. 249).

Later on, during the era of independence, this concept became a traditionalist instrument in negotiating and recognizing Indonesian sovereignty, positioning Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, as *waliy al-amr al-ḫarūrī bi al-syaukah* to which Sulaiman al-Rasuli, one of the key authors in *al-Mizan*, was involved in formulating the concept in a meeting of Muslim scholars in West Sumatera. The concept was then adopted by Wahab Hasbullah from *Nahdlatul 'Ulama* in his famous speech before parliament on March 29, 1954, where he upheld the legitimacy of the Indonesian government under Soekarno at a time when it was confronting the rebellion of DI (*Darul Islam*)/TII (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*) led by S.M. Kartosuwiryo (Arif, 2002, pp. 204-206).

Table 1. Issues related either to Islamic religious dispute or imagined nationhood.

No	Issues	Legal Opinion
1	Guarding the grave for 3 to 7 days;	This practice is an inappropriate heresy because there is no religious text that supports it. However, the law can change if there is a specific purpose, such as protecting the corpse from wild animals.
2	Calculating astrology to determine the fate of husband and wife;	This practice is prohibited because it is considered part of sorcery (<i>kahānah</i>).
3	Writing/transcribing the Qur'an in Dutch;	The law of writing the Qur'an in a language other than Arabic (' <i>ajam</i> ') is forbidden (<i>harām</i>).
4	Making a letter of agreement in Dutch;	This practice is allowed.
5	Reciting <i>talqīn</i> to the dying people and to the corpses after burial at the gravesite;	In the case of guiding a dying person to say <i>lā ilāha illallāh</i> , <i>al-Mizan</i> affirms it by showing two <i>ḥadīths</i> of the Prophet. As for the second case, <i>al-Mizān</i> makes the opinion of Sayyid Bakrī – the author of <i>I'ānah al-Tālibīn</i> – of QS. al-Dzariyat (51): 55 as the basis for reciting <i>talqīn</i> to the dead.
6	The argument for the absence of independent <i>Mujtahid</i> at that time;	<i>Al-Mizan</i> maintained that, in theory, the existence of a <i>mujtahid</i> in the archipelago at that time was rationally (<i>pada akal</i>) conceivable, yet in practice (<i>pada waqi</i>) no such figure could be identified. The archipelago lacked scholars who met the standards of an independent <i>mujtahid</i> ; even figures qualified merely as <i>ṣāhib al-tarjih</i> , those capable of weighing and choosing among differing legal opinions, were even absent at the time.
7	Learning in a Dutch school;	If a school enables one to properly understand religion and to learn <i>farḍ 'ayn</i> (individual religious obligations), then attending it is commendable; however, if it fails to do so, enrollment in such a school is considered impermissible.
8	Making a feast (<i>kenduri</i>) in the commemoration of death;	<i>Al-Mizan</i> regarded this practice as a discouraged religious innovation (<i>bid'ah makrūhah</i>). However, if abandoning the practice will cause insults to the family of the deceased, the practice should be maintained with the aim of eliminating human insults and preserving the honor (' <i>ird</i> ') of the family.
9	Reciting the prayer intention (<i>niyat</i>);	Reciting the intention is recommended (<i>sunnah</i>) based on the opinions of scholars from the Syāfi'i, Hanafi, and Hanbalī schools.
10	Status of the infidels (<i>kāfir</i>) in the land of Jāwī	Those who have made a pact to maintain security (<i>aman</i>), then they are considered <i>dzimmī</i> (infidels whose security is guaranteed), if not, then they are considered <i>ḥarabī</i> (hostile infidels).

CONCLUSION

Beyond *kaum muda*, the phase of print Islam influenced by Cairene reformism also brought about significant changes among older groups, who responded in comparable ways. While *al-Imām* and *al-Manār* challenged established religious beliefs and practices, older scholars articulated their defenses within the same public space. In this process, the intellectual heritage of the *Haramayn* scholarly networks was reformulated through new media without altering its essential substance, particularly its continued reliance on Syāfi'i *fiqh*. Within this epistemological framework, *al-Mizān* addressed a wide array of topics, including religious matters and questions of nationhood. The three

periodicals collectively demonstrate how diverse Islamic school of thought were negotiated and made visible in the new public space.

The question of nationhood was articulated through a distinctive lens. As Laffan has noted, *al-Imām* initiated discussions of Malay nationhood within indeterminate territorial boundaries and advocated independence for lands under colonial domination. *Al-Munīr* subsequently broadened this vision by incorporating both Malay and *Jawi* perspectives, eventually extending it to encompass the Dutch East Indies, and did so in a more cooperative tone toward the colonial government. In this context, *al-Mizān* appears to have carried forward the imagined nationhood shaped by *al-*

Munir, albeit articulating it through a different approach. If earlier scholarship has established a link between the Cairo-inspired reformist press and the wider discourse of the national movement, then the narrative articulated in *al-Mizān*, as a representative of the traditionalist press, constitutes a clear precursor to the stance later adopted by Muslim traditionalists in negotiating their acceptance of the Republic of Indonesia.

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