

**APPROACHES TO ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS
IN THE STATE OF KELANTAN
BETWEEN 1860 AND 1940**

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SINOPSIS

Rencana ini membicara tentang perkembangan pengajian agama Islam di negeri Kelantan di abad kesembilan belas hingga awal abad kedua puluh. Perkembangan yang tersebut lahir dari kesan gerakan pembaharuan dalam Islam yang dipelopori oleh para ulama Islam di Asia Barat. Gerakan pembaharuan yang tersebut telah memberi kesan yang hebat sehingga mencetuskan fikiran yang progresif dan dinamis dalam kalangan para ulamak di Kelantan dan menghasilkan pendekatan yang baru dalam bidang pengajian Islam.

The State of Kelantan which used to be called the extension of Mecca (Serambi Mekkah) from the end of the 19th Century till the outbreak of World War II in 1940 experienced rapid development in Islamic Religious teachings.¹ During this period the capital of the state, Kota Bharu, besides being the focal point for students from countries in the South East Asian region to study religion, was also visited by ulamas from other countries in order to teach there. The ulamas organised activities relating to religious instruction in the mosques and suraus which were also sometimes called Madrasahs. Most of these mosques and suraus were situated in the town of Kota Bharu and in the adjoining areas.² The subjects which were taught generally originated from centres of Islamic Studies at international level i.e., in Masjidil Haram, Mecca, al-Azhar al-Sharif, Mesir, Darul Ulum Deoband, Dabihl and Bayyutl Hikmah, Jamiah Milliah in India.

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¹Serambi Mekkah or the extension of Mecca was the nickname given by Malays to some places and states within the Malay archipelago. The nickname was given due to their being the focal points for students in the South East Asian region in getting the basic Islamic education before furthering their studies in Mecca. Before Kelantan in the 16th and 17th century Aceh was known as Serambi Mekkah.

²Mosque and Surau found in the town of Kota Bharu are as follows:

Grand Muhammadiyah Mosque, Hj. Daud Surau and Pak Cik Musa Surau in Kampung Menuang, Nik Man Surau at Lorong Cik Su, Hj. Wan Musa Surau, Hj. Nik Abdullah bin Hj. Wan Musa surau and Hj. Ahmad Manam Surau in Jalan Merbau, Hj. Wan Hassan Kemboja surau in Jalan Atas Banggol, Hj. Nik Wan Daud Surau in Jalan Atas Paloh, Tuan Padang Surau in Padang Medan Tuan Padang, Hj. Yaakub b. Hj. Ahmad Surau in Lorong Gajah Mati, Tok Khurasan Surau in Kampung Sireh and Hj. Umar Naruddin Surau in Kampung Sungai Keladi.

The suraus which are situated near the town of Kota Bharu are as follows:

Tok Kenali Surau in Kampung Kubang Krian, Hj. Abdullah Tahir Surau in Kampung Bunut Payung, Hj. Ibrahim bin Hj. Yusof Surau and Hj. Noh Surau in Penambang, Kapallaut surau, Tok Soleha Surau in Soleha Tumpat and Hj. Ali Sallehuddin Surau in Pulau Pisang, Kota Bharu.

In the meantime the teaching of Revivalist Ulama from the Middle East and the states of West Malaysia came into Kelantan. The advent of this teaching can also be seen from the magazines which were the efforts of those revivalist ulama in this state. The magazines were *al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*, *al-Manar*, *al-Imam*, *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara*.¹ Even though these magazines received very little support from the general public yet the entry of these magazines polarised the development of the Islamic Religion in this state. These magazines attempted to rectify several aspects of life of the society in the efforts of making them understand the Islamic Religion.

The Islamic religious subjects which were taught in this state during that period were Tafsir al-Quran (Exegesis), Hadith (traditions), Fekah Shaffiah (Shaffiah School of law), Fekah Hanafiah (Hanafiah School of Law), Tasawuf (Mysticism), Ussulluddin (Theology), Mantiq (logic), Filsafah (Philosophy), Ballaghah (Rhetoric), Saraf (Morphology), Nahu Arab (Arabic Grammer), Faraid (Laws of Inheritance) and Falak (Astronomy). Besides, there were also practices of the Tariqat which were conducted by several ulama for their followers. These Tariqats were Tariqat Ahmadiyah, Nyksibandiah, Shatariah, Shadhiliyyah, and Sidi Ahmad al Badawi.² These various subjects and Tariqats came into Kelantan at different times. The introduction of these religious subjects and the practice of Tariqats in this state was brought about in general through the efforts of several local people who went overseas to study at centres of Islamic Studies mentioned earlier. On their return to Kelantan, they taught these subjects and practices to the general public.

Stages of Development of Islamic Teaching

In general it can be concluded that from the point of view of the response of the general public there were two stages of development of Islamic teaching during

¹*Al-Urwah-al-Wuthqa* was an Islamic magazine published in Paris in 1884. *Al-Manar* was an Islamic magazine published in Kahirah Mesir, first started in 1898. *Al-Imam* was a magazine published in Singapore, first started in 1906. *Al-Ikwan* was a magazine published in Pulau Pinang first started in 1926. *Saudara* was a magazine published in Pulau Pinang, first started in 1928.

²Tariqat Ahmadiyah was a Tariqat Sufiah Practice which was initiated by Sidi Ahmad Ibn Idris (D. 1837) from Morocco. The practice of this tariqat was later carried out by Sidi Ibrahim and than by Sidi Muhd. Dendrawi. It was said that Tuan Tabal had inherited the practice of this tariqat from Sidi Ibrahim in Mecca. Tariqat Nyksibandiah is a tariqat of Sufiah Practice which was initiated by Nyksibandi during the fourteenth century in Turkistan. This tariqat later spread to India and all over Asia. Tariqat Shatariah was a tariqat of Sufiah practice which was first started by Abdullah Satar at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. This tariqat had a strong influence in Indonesia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Tariqat Shadhiliyyah was a practice of Tariqat which was practised by Sidi Hassan al-Basri. Sidi Abu'l Hassan Ash Shaidhili was one of the experts in this tariqat which if seen from its 'isnad', beginning from Sidi Hassan al-Basri was placed in the sixteenth position. Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi, also an expert in the same tariqat which if seen from its 'isnad' point of view started from Sidi Hassan al-Basri, was in the thirty three position. To get the clear picture on the development of various Tariqats in the Malaysian context please see Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*, Malaysians Sociological Research Institute Ltd., Singapore 1963.

this period. The first stage was between 1860 and 1900 during which period the teaching of Tasawuf and the Tariqat practices were better accepted in society than other subjects which existed during this stage. Other subjects which are referred to are Feqah Shaffiah, Ussulludin, Saraf, Arabic Grammar, Faraid and Falak. The second stage beginning from 1900 till 1940 was a stage in which the subject Fekah Shaffiah gained a more prominent place in society than the other subjects mentioned in the first stage. In the midst of such an atmosphere at this stage there were several ulamas in this state who commenced teaching the subjects of tafsir al-Quran, Hadith, Fekah Hanafiah, Mantiq, Filsafah and Ballaghah to the general public. The teaching of these subjects were a new feature in the context of the development of Islamic teachings in this state.

Well-known Ulamas in the first stage mentioned earlier were Haji Abdul Samad bin Muhd. Salleh (Tuan Tabal) (1840-1891), Haji Wan Ali bin Abd Rahman Khutam (1837-1972) and Haji Yaakob bin Haji Abdul Halim (Tuan Padang).¹ Born in Tabal (now situated in the province of Southern Siam), Tuan Tabal obtained his basic religious education in Besut, Trengganu. Then he went to Masjidil Haram, Mecca, to further his religious education. He carried out religious teaching activities in his surau in Jalan Tok Semian, Kota Bharu. Although he was also an expert in Fekah Shaffiah and Ussulluddin, he showed more interest in the field of Tasawuf. His literary activities were mainly centred on the subject of Tasawuf.² In fact, he was the first person in Kelantan to initiate the practice of Tariqat al-Ahmadiyah. Haji Wan Ali Khutam hailed from Kampung Khutam near the town of Kota Bharu. He received his religious education in Masjidil Haram, Mecca. In Kota Bharu, Kelantan he taught religion in the field of Fekah Shaffiah and Tasawuf in Masjid Besar Muhammadiyah. In the field of writing, like Tuan Tabal mentioned earlier, he also concentrated on Tasawuf.³ He was the founder of the practice of Tariqat Shadhiliyyah Sidi Abdul Hassan ash-Shaidhili and Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi in the state of Kelantan. In the circular area of Medan Tuan Padang which is in the centre of Kota Bharu, there was an ulama by the name of Tuan Haji Yaakub bin Haji Abdul Halim (Tuan

¹ In order to know in greater detail about the learnedness of Tuan Tabal, please see Muhammad Uthman El Muhammadiyah, "Tasawuf Teaching of Tuan Tabal in Jala Al-Qulub" in *Journal Nusantara*, No. 1, Januray, 1972. DBP. k, h. 114-133. To find information on Hj. Wan Ali Abdul Rahman Khutam in greater detail, please see Drs. Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar Sastra*, PAP, Kelantan, 1966, h. 163.

² Names of religious books written by Hj. Abd. Samad bin Muhd. Salleh Al-Kelantan (Tuan Tabal) in Tasawuf are as follows: *Minhatul Qarib*, *Bab Harap*, *Minyatul Ahlil-Aubah Fi Bayani Taubah*, *Minabahul Gharfilin* and *Jala-al-Qulub*. Other than writing books in the field of Tasawuf, he also wrote two books in other fields. The books are as follows: *Bi-Ki-Fayatul Awam* discussed about Ussulluddin; *Bidayatul Ta'lim* discussed about the Tenet of Islam and the obligatory law that should be learnt by every Muslim. *Minhatul Qarib* which was mentioned above apart from discussing the aspect of Tasawuf, it also discussed the question of Fekah and Ussulluddin.

³ The names of the books written by Hj. Wan Ali bin Abdul Rahman Khutam all of which were classified under Tasawuf were as follows: *Al-Jauharil Mauhub*, *Zahratul Marid Fil' Aqaidil Tauhid*, *Lam-atul-Aurad* and *Majmu' Al-Qasaid-Wal-Awaid*.

Padang). He received his religious education in Mecca and was an authority in the field of Fekah Shaffiah, Tasawuf and Ussulluddin. He taught religion in his surau which was located in the circular area Medan Tuan Padang in Kota Bharu, Kelantan. In fact, he was the first ulama to initiate the practice of Tariqat Shatariah in this state.

Compared with other subjects taught in the first stage, Tasawuf and the practice of Tariqat received more response from the general public in this state of Kelantan. Actually, the ulamas who were the authorities in these subjects and practices were better received by the community than the ulamas of Fekah Shaffiah, Ussulluddin, Arabic Grammar and Saraf.¹ It could be so precisely because of this tremendous response that was given by the public to these subjects and practices it was found that many religious books in this stage were centred around such subjects and practices. The subject of Tasawuf and Tariqat practices easily gained a place among the society because of the existing atmosphere in Kelantan at that time. Before 1900, in general, the thoughts of the people in the Kelantan community were least controlled by material values. They lived moderately, merely to survive, living from hand to mouth. Their livelihood was more close to nature. Perhaps such things happened because before 1900, this state had not experienced the development of Western technology. Under such living conditions teachings which were related to spiritual and mystical matters became the moving spirit of the life of the community. It was under such conditions that the members of the society were easily drawn to the teaching of tasawuf and the practices of Tariqat.

Islamic subjects in the first stage were passed on later to the second stage by many Kelantanese. Haji Wan Musa bin Haji Abdul Samad (1874-1939),² Haji Nik Wan Abdullah bin Abd. Samad (1877-1926), Hj. Ahmad Manan (1884-1938) and Hj. Daud bin Haji Hussein (d.1930) continued the tradition of teaching the subjects and the practice of Tariqat Ahmadiyah, which was initiated by Tuan Tabal in Kelantan. The arrival of Haji Muhd. Said from the state of Negeri Sembilan beginning from the end of the 19th Century, followed by the arrival of Sidi Azahari from Mecca in the beginning of the 20th Century had further intensified the practice of Tariqat Ahmadiyah among the members of the general public.³ Both ulamas mentioned above were considered supporters of Tariqat Ahmadiyah and they were authorities in this practice. Haji Taib b. Haji Yaakob had continued the tradition

¹Ulamas in the first stage who were considered less expert in Tasawuf were Syed Bahrin, Hj. Ismail bin Hj. Mahmud, Hj. Awang, Hj. Abas (Sungai Budu), Tok Konok, Hj. Ahmad bin Hj. Muhd. Zain and Hj. Nik Wan Daud bin Hj. Sulaiman. These people if seen from the point of view of total number of followers of the ulamas like Tuan Tabal, Hj. Wan b. Abdul Rahman Khutam and Tuan Padang.

²To obtain more detailed information about Hj. Wan Musa bin Hj. Abdul Samad, please refer to Muhammad Salleh b. Wan Musa (with S. Othman Kelantan) *Theological Debates: Hj. Wan Musa bin Abdul Samad and Its Family* in William R. Roff (ed.) *Kelantan Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay States*, Oxford University Press, K.L. 1974. p. 153-169.

³Hj. Mohd. Said and Sidi Azahari was an ex-pupil of Sidi Muhd. Dendrawi. Sidi Muhd. Dendrawi in Tariqat Ahmadiyah was an ex-pupil of Sidi Ibrahim. Sidi Ibrahim was an ex-pupil of the founder of Tariqat Ahmadiyah practice i.e. Sidi Ahmad Ibnu Idris.

and practice of Tariqat Shatariah of his father, Tuan Padang. The activities of Haji Wan Ali Khutam, Tuan Padang, Haji Abas Sungei Budu and Hj. Ismail b. Hj. Mahmud in the first stage consequently brought about a very well-known Islamic ulama in the second stage. He was widely known by the name of Tok Kenali (1868-1933)¹ Even though Tok Kenali was said to be pious after his return from Mecca, yet history has on record the role of the three ulamas in the first stage stated earlier in providing the Islamic teaching to him. Tok Kenali emerged as an ulama who taught religion, Arabic Grammar, Saraf, Tasawuf, Fekah Shaffiah and Ussulluddin. He was very proficient in Arabic Grammar. Besides this, in the beginning of the second stage there were also several other leading ulamas who were proficient in the Subject of Tasawuf, Fekah Shaffiah, Ussulluddin, Arabic Grammar and Saraf. They also stressed in their lives the subject of Tasawuf and the practice of Zikrillah. They were widely known by the names of Tok Saleho, Haji Ismail (Tok Kemuning) and Haji Osman (Tok Bachok). Another unique feature at the beginning of this stage was that there was an ulama, while being an expert in the field of Tauhid, Fekah Shaffiah, Arabic Grammar, Saraf, Tasawuf and practices of Tariqat Nyksibandiah, he was also an authority in mathematics, Falak and Balaghah. His name was Haji Umar bin Ismail Nuruddin, an ulama who was productive and creative,² During his life time, he wrote around eight religious books.³

One feature that was evident was that the tradition of religious teaching which was initiated by the ulamas in the first stage was continued by the ulamas in the second stage. However, the continuity as a whole had not been carried out in the same way as it was done in the first stage. This was due to the fact that many ulamas in the second stage after receiving religious education from the ulamas in the first stage went for further education in Mecca, particularly in Masjidil Haram. While in Mecca they learned under Jawi and Arab ulamas.⁴ One of the ulamas who received much attention from a large number of Kelantanese at the end of the 19th Century

¹To get information about Tok Kenali who was actually called Hj. Muhd. Yusoff b. Muhd., please refer to Abdullah al-Qari b. Hj. Salleh (Aqhas), *Sejarah Hidup Tok Kenali*, PAP, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 1967. Also see Abdullah al-Qari bin Hj. Salleh (Aqhas): Tok Kenali: *IT'S LIFE AND INFLUENCE* in William R. Roff (ed.) Kelantan Religion p. 87-100.

²Hj. Omar b. Ismail Nuruddin was an ulama well known for his knowledge in the field of Falak in Kelantan. He was born in the second half of nineteenth century and died in 1946. To get more detailed information about him please see Drs. Abdul Rahmani Al-Ahmadi, *Pengantar* p. 165-169. Please see also *Pengasuh* No. 420 December, 1976, p. 20-25.

³The names of books of Hj. Umar b. Ismail Nuruddin were as follows: *Jalan Sejahtera, Jambangan Melayu, Pengenal Kesucian, Pelajaran Membahagi Pusaka, Aqdul Falah, Mifatahul Taklim, Shamsul Fathiah* and *Tazkiratul awwam*.

⁴What is meant by 'Ulamak-ulamak Jawi' here is that these ulamas came from the Malay Archipelago. The Malays were nicknamed by the Arabs as the Jawi people.

⁵Hj. Wan Ahmad b. Muhd. Zain b. Mustapha al-Patani was an ulama who hailed from Petani. He carried out his teaching activities and writing of religious Books in Mecca. He was described by Snuck Hurgronje as a "Savant of Merit". To get more detailed information about Tuan Hj. Wan Ahmad bin Muhd. Zain b. Mustapha Al-Patani, please see Wan Muhammad Sağhir b. Hj. Abdullah, "Al-Sheikh Ahmad b. Muhd. Zain b. Mustapha bin Muhd. Al-Patani" in *Dian* No. 49. Syarikat Dian Sdn. Bhd., Kota Bharu, 1972, p. 43-51. Also see C. Snuck Hurgronje, *Mecca in The Later Part of 19th century*, Leyden Late E.J. Briv Ltd., 1931, p. 286.

was a person from Jawi by the name of Haji Wan Ahmad bin Muhd. Zain bin Mustapha al Fatani. ⁵ This great teacher was responsible for increasing their knowledge in the subjects of Usulluddin, Fekah Shaffiah, Tasawuf, Nahu Arab and Saraf. The close association with the great teacher had also encouraged several others among them such as Tok Kenali, Haji Nik Mahmud bin Haji Ismail /Datuk Perdana Menteri (1915-1945)/ and Hj. Wan Musa to follow the political developments of the world through newspapers. The interest to read newspapers was one of the new features if seen in the context of thinking and the conduct of the ulamas of the State of Kelantan in the beginning of the 20th century. Nearly all the ulamas in this state at that time did not read newspapers and did not follow the developments that occurred in this world. Even many among them were of the opinion that reading newspapers was contradictory to the principles of the teachings of Islam and according to Islamic law it was illegal.

The Impact of The Middle Eastern Revivalist Ulamas

The advent of the thoughts of Revivalist Ulamas from the Middle East such as Jamal-al-Din Al-Afghani (1839-1897), Muhammad' Abduh (1849-1905) and Muhd. Rashid Reda in the state of Kelantan in the beginning of the 20th Century had continued to shape the development of this teaching in this state.¹ The corrective thinking was disseminated through magazines such as *al-U'rwah-al Wuthqa*, and *al-Manar*. Even though these magazines were read only by a small number of local ulamas such as Tok Kenali, Hj. Wan Musa, Hj. Muhd. Said and Hj. Muhammad bin Hj. Muhd Said (Datuk Laksamana),² yet these had turned the attention of the ulamas in this country towards the religious teaching. If the attention of the ulamas before the year 1900 was more towards Tasawuf after that year especially in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, Islamic law received the main attention from a large number of local ulamas and also from the general public. Such a change occurred as a sequence to the advent of the thinking of the revivalist ulamas in this state. The

¹ Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) was an ulama who hailed from Afghanistan. He was a revivalist ulama internationally well known during the end of 19th century. He was also an ulama who taught for the cause of Pan-Islamism: Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) was an ex-pupil of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani. If Jamal al-Din al-Afghani was better known as a moving spirit while at the same time a great Islamic scholar, then Muhd. Abduh was more better known as an Islamic scholar. *Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa* Magazine which was published in Paris in 1884 was the result of the efforts made by both of them. Muhd. Rashid Reda was an ex-pupil of Muhd. Abduh. He was known by his title Sahibul Manar and was responsible for the publication of a Magazine *al-Manar*.

² Hj. Muhd. Said was an Ex-Khatib of the great mosque the Muhammadi Mosque. It was said that he held this post in 1920s. He did make a contact with Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin (an ulama of Kaum Muda in West coast of the Malay Peninsula) through a letter stating that he agreed with the opinion of the ulama of Kaum Muda. Datuk Hj. Muhammad bin Hj. Mohd. Said (Datuk Laksamana) was his son. Datuk Hj. Muhamad, besides being a great religious figure he was interested in the study of religion, also as a great figure who was fond of writing on political and economic affairs as found in the magazines, *Pengasuh*. At the same time in 1922 he also published a translated novel in Malay which entitled "*Citra Kecurian Lima Million Ringgit*".

advent of the thinking of the revivalist ulamas had influenced several local ulamas particularly Hj. Wan Musa and Hj. Muhd. Said and this had given rise to differing opinions regarding several aspects of Islamic law. The differences of opinion which existed among them connected with the question of Usali with niat and Talqin had resulted in a large number of ulamas concentrating more on Fekah in order to uphold their individual views.¹ Likewise the general public, on account of several aspects of the subject which often gave rise to errors among the ulamas, the teaching of this subject, particularly among the classes taught by the ulamas been involved in the conflicts attracted their attention.

The revivalist ulamas, as already known by the general public, had urged the Islamic ulamas to return to the original Islamic sources i.e. al-Quran as well as al-hadith and practise ijihad. They vehemently opposed ulamas who unquestioningly accepted the writings of the Mutaakhirin Shaffiah. The consequences of supporting such a principle had made Hj. Wan Musa view that *talkin* was not sunat and *usali* was not a "niat" but merely the form of "lafaz" for "niat". Such views were vehemently opposed by almost all other ulamas in this state, where they still unquestioningly accepted the views in books written by the ulamas Mutaakhirin Shaffiah. Conflicts in opinion pertaining to the same issues also occurred in intensity among the ulamas in the west coast states of Malaya and in Sumatra during the beginning of the 20th century.² In actual fact, the effects of the teaching of the Revivalist ulamas in the middle East was felt more by the society in the West Coast of Malaya and in the island of Sumatra than in Kelantan.

Another interesting feature in this second stage among several ulamas in the state of Kelantan in that they devoted more time to the subject of Fekah so much so there was an ulama who was known to the general public by the name of Tok Khurasan who initiated the teaching of Hadith in this state.³ At the same time, he also organised the teaching of other new subjects in the context of Islamic teaching in this state. These subjects were Fekah Hanafiah, Filsafah and Mantiq. Even

¹Other than the issues regarding Usali with Niat and Talqin there were also several other issues which gave rise to difference of opinions among the local ulamas. Such issues were about zakat fitrah and construction of mosque, question of wakaf properties and ulama slept in a grave of a dead before the dead body was buried. The writer did explain about these issues in greater details in Nik Abdul Aziz bin Hj. Nik Hassan's *Sejarah Gerakan dan Perkembangan Alam Pemikiran Islam di Kota Bharu di antara tahun 1900 sehingga tahun 1940*, a Thesis for his B.A. (Hons), Department of History, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1973/74 and Nik Abdul Aziz b. Hj. Nik Hassan, *Tariq Shah Waliullah Al-Dihlavi in Kota Bharu, 1934-1954*, a thesis for his Master Degree, Department of History, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1977.

²To see about conflicts of opinion among the ulamas West Coast states of Malay Peninsula regarding these issues, please refer William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, University of Malaya Press, K.L. 1967.

To see the conflicts of opinion among the ulamas in Sumatra regarding these issues then, please refer Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, Oxford University Press, K.L. 1973.

³To get information regarding Tok Khurasan in greater details, please refer to Nik Abdul Aziz bin Hj. Nik Hassans' "Tok Khurasan and outstanding ulama in Kelantan in the *Malaysia in History*, *Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia* Vol. 18, No. 1, June, 1975, p. 29-34.

though his teaching activities received very little support from the general public, yet his teaching in this state gave a new perspective to several local youths in the 1920s in furthering their Islamic studies. The youths were Hj. Nik Abdullah b. Hj. Wan Musa (1900-1935), Hj. Ahmad Mahir b. Hj. Ismail (1905-1968); Hj. Asaad b. Hj. Daud (1886-1941) and Hj. Yaakob b. Hj. Ahmad (1893-1956).¹ Before this, they were purely interested in learning Fekah Shaffiah, Tasawuf, Ussulluddin, Nahu Arab and Saraf. After attending classes taught by Tok Khurasan, they changed their interest towards furthering their study in Hadith, Filsafah and Mantiq. The teaching of Tok Khurasan in these subjects in the 1920s had played a big role towards a new trend of study in the Islamic religion in this state in the 1930s.

The development of the religious subjects commenced during the 2nd half of the 19th Century till the 1920s had equipped several members of the state of Kelantan who later brought about the trends in Islam according to Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi. The development of Tasawuf in depth which was initiated by Tuan Tabal and later continued by Haji Wan Musa, the trend of thought by the Revivalist ulama from the Middle East, activities relating to the teaching of the subject of Hadith, Filsafah, mantiq and Tafsir al-Quran by Tok Khurasan, teaching of preparatory subjects such as Arabic grammar and Saraf by Tok Kenali, gave adequate preparation to Hj. Nik Abdullah, so that when he was in Mecca, he was interested and had the capacity to learn the Islamic subjects according to Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi from Maulana Ubaidullah al-Sindhi.² He was interested and had the capacity to learn the subject of Tariq precisely because the religious teachings which he obtained in the state of Kelantan basically comprised three aspects namely, Naqal, Aqal, and Kashaf.³ In fact, these three aspects became the methods of Tariq Shah Waliul-

¹More detailed information regarding Hj. Nik Abdullah bin Hj. Wan Musa will be seen. Hj. Ahmad Mahir bin Hj. Ismail, after receiving his education from Tok Khurasan, he left to further his Islamic Studies in Masjidil Haram, Mecca and after that in al-Azhar al-Sharif Messir. When he was in Mecca he used to teach religious subjects in Masjidil Haram. While being proficient in the subjects such as Hadith, Fekah, Filsafah, Tafsir, Balaghah, Saraf and Arabic Grammar, he was said to be a great authority in the field of mantiq. Hj. Asaad bin Hj. Daud, although in general, received his education in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, yet he became so well known for this knowledge in the field of Hadith. Similarly in the case of Hj. Yaakub bin Hj. Ahmad, he became so well known in Kelantan as an authority in Hadith and so much so he was known as Hj. Yaakub Muhadithin.

²Maulana Ubaidullah al-Sindhi was a revivalist ulama who was an authority in Islamic subjects in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah Al-Dihlavi. Being born a Sikh in 1872, he embraced Islamic Religion when he was fifteen years old. An ex-pupil of Saikhul Hind Mahmudul Hassan, he went on to get himself involved a great deal in the political development in India. His involvement in politics had created a situation that when he was in Kabul, Afghanistan, he was not allowed by the British authorities to return to India. He, therefore, became a political exile in Turkey, Russia, Italy and then Mecca. After living in Mecca for twelve years, then only he was allowed to return to India, that is in 1939. He died in 1943.

³Naqal in this context means taking of meanings and ideas from the al-Quran and al-Hadith through the methodology of authoritative ulamas of long ago. Aqal then gives the meaning of the use of aqal rationally and scholarly in order to analyse the meaning taken from Kitabullah and Sunnah Nabi as mentioned earlier. As for Kashaf, its a process of spiritual experience of an Islamic Saint (Wali) in getting the light of truth from the world of truth. This spiritual experience was found through an understanding of Tasawuf Doctrines and practices of Zikrillah.

lah al-Dihlavi in the quest for academic authenticity in Allah S.W.T. In fact, Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi was one branch of study which was started by a Mujaddid and Islamic expert who was generally known by the name of Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi (1702-1763).¹ The branch of study which was initiated by him was subsequently continued by his followers from one generation to another up to the 20th Century. This study which was initiated by Shah Waliullah Al Dihlavi was not a branch by itself and removed from the other trend of Islamic thought, but a path which urged the Islamic community to return to the original sources of Islam that is al-Quran an al-Hadith through authoritative ulamas, especially the ulamas mutaquadimin.²

The Emergence of The New Approach In Religions Studies in Kelantan

Furthermore, the ulamas and the community in the state of Kelantan in general were still linked with the approach to the teaching of Islam which was already in existence. When Hj. Nik Abdullah returned to the State from Mecca at the end of 1934, he started the missionary in work Islam according to Tariq Shah Waliullah al Dihlavi. The advent of this Tariq in the State of Kelantan meant that a new characteristic had emerged in the development of the Islamic religion in this State during the second stage. As also in the case of the teaching of Revivalist ulamas from the Middle East, the teachings of this Tariq urged the Islamic ulamas to return to the original sources of al-Quran and al-Hadith and to practise ijtihad. However, this was different from the Middle East Revivalist, for as far as it existed in Kelantan, the Tariq teaching formulated certain methodologies which enabled the disciples to return to Al-Quran and al-Hadith. The teaching at Kitab Tafsir al-Quran such as the *Kitab Tafsir Baid-hawi* and *Kitab tafsir Jalalaini* even though already carried out by the ulamas of this state before this, was in fact merely confined to the translation of meanings contained in the books only. No preparation was made to enable the students to return to the spirit of the subjects al-Quran and al-Hadith. On the other hand the teaching

¹To see Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi at a glance please refer to: G.N. Jalbani, *Teaching of Shah Waliullah of Delhi*, 1st. Edition, Lahore, Ashraf Press, 1967 and Dr. A.J. Halepota, *Philosophy of Shah Waliullah*, Sind Sagar Academy, Lahore, Pakistan. "Mujaddid" was one who rectified and enlightened the teaching of Islamic Religion from all distortions made by the people before him by restoring Islam as was practised during the time of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. Mujaddid was born in every century. Only revelation that differentates them from Prophets. A person becomes Mujaddid through his own efforts. Many Mujaddid do not know that they are mujaddids. Only the people that come after them consider them mujaddids. Other than Shah Waliullah Al-Dihlavi, those who were said to be Mujaddids were Umar bin Abd. Al-Aziz, Caliphate of Dynasti Umaiyah (61-101A.H). The Imams in those four Schools of thought were Abu Hanafiah (80-150 A.H./699/799 A.D.) Malik b. Anas (95-175 A.H. 714-798 A.D) Imam Shaffii (150-204 A.H./769-820 A.D.) and Ahmad bin Hambal (164-241 A.H./780-855 A.D.), Imam al-Ghazali (450-505 A.H./1056-1111 A.D.), Ibn Taimiyyah (1661-728 A.H./1263-1327 A.D.), Ahmad Sirhindi (971-1034 A.H./1564-1624 A.D.) and several others. To know in greater details about these "Mujaddid", please refer to Abul' ala Maududi, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Translated by Al-Ashari 2nd ed. Lahore. Islamic Publications Ltd. 1972.

²Mutakhadimin ulamas were the ulamas before the twelfth century.

that existed in the congregations of Hj. Nik Abdullah organised certain methodologies for the students in order to enable them to return to al-Quran and interpret this Kitabullah in the one and only manner.¹ Through such and interpretation they can evaluate the preciseness of the interpretation that was undertaken by the latest ulamas without explaining the reality of the soul of al-Quran itself. This situation existed because the interpretation was done without being guided by the correct methodology and simply followed the field of studies that the respective interpreters were interested in. As an example, the mentioned "*Kitab Tafsir al-Qashaf on Zama' Sari*", in which the interpretations of the verses of Al-Quran had an inclination towards the subject of Ballaghah.

The interpreter of *Tafsir Ana Safi* sets forth the interpretation of the verses of al-Quran which was biased towards the subject of grammar, the interpreter of the book *Tafsir Khazin* set forth a lot of interpretations of the Quranic verses which were related to stories and events and in *Tafsir Ibnu Qasir* gave the interpretation of al-Quran verses according to the Hadiths.²

The teaching of hadith too had been carried out by several ulamas in the state of Kelantan, before the advent of religious teachings in this state in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi. As also in the case of the interpretation of al-Quran, the teaching of the subject of Hadith was carried out by the ulamas in this state by explaining the meanings of the Hadith which were translated from the books of Hadith and also by explaining the meaning pertaining to the levels of the hadith, that is hadith Mutawatir and Hadith Ahad. In the hadith Ahad there was the hadith Sahih, hadith Hassan and hadith Dzaif. However, the teaching was not accompanied by certain training for the pupils in the form of practical work so as to enable the pupils to ascertain for themselves if a Hadith was included at the level of authenticity Mutawatir or that of Ahad. If it had been stated about a hadith and its level, such statements were based only on decisions that had been made by the hadith ulamas in the past. In fact because of such an education when mention is made of a hadith straightaway they and their pupils would accept whatever had been decided by the past ulamas with regard to the level of the hadith. This is different from the subject of Hadith taught by Hj. Nik Abdullah according to Tariq Shah Waliullah Al-Dihlavi. Besides explaining the meaning of the hadith and the understanding regarding the levels of the Hadith, he also organised intensive training in a practical manner for his pupils in categorizing each hadith individually the included in the category of Mutawatir or Ahad.

¹The meaning of Muprad here is the interpretation done personally without taking any guide from any book of interpretation. Only in this way the whole idea of Kalamullah can be extracted.

²The interview between the writer and Hj. Nik Mohd. Muhd Yideen bin Hj. Wan Musa on 26.4.77. At Present Hj. Nik Mohd. Yideen is the Director of the Islamic division in the Ministry of Education in Kuala Lumpur.

If the hadith is classified under the Ahad category, it would further be ascertained whether it should come under the category of Sahih, Hassan or Dhaif. The training was carried out with guides on the meaning of the hadith, the understanding regarding the levels of the hadith and the connections of the hadith with the narrators as well as with their personalities. Such as training was aimed at fostering the critical attitude of the students toward the level of the hadiths which were already classified by the ulamas of long ago. To Hj. Nik Abdullah, the views of the hadith ulamas of long ago had not reached the status of absolute truth. Besides, in Hj. Nik Abdullah's teaching, when there were contradictory meaning between two hadiths, he would 'Thatbiq' (by looking for the similarity in their meanings) the meanings of the hadiths in order to avoid misunderstanding among his pupils.

Both original sources of Islam, i.e., al-Quran and al-Hadith continued to be the basis for Hj. Nik Abdullah in determining the Fekah Law and Tasawuf teaching. However, the views of authoritative ulamas in both disciplines were also taken into consideration as a general guide in his teaching of these subjects. Such an approach was quite different from the approach practised by almost all other ulamas in Kelantan at that time. Almost all other ulamas' views found in later books (if in the subject of Fekah the books were written by the later ulamas Shaffiah) contained meanings which should be accepted and practised. Al-Quran and al-Hadith, from their point of view, could not be studied and interpreted by people who came after them. In their view, therefore, people who came after them had to accept the views of the ulamas unquestioningly.

The fact that Hj. Nik Abdullah studied Islam covering the original sources of Islam, al-Quran dan al-Hadith meant that his perspective in viewing Islam was broad and it included political, economic and social aspects. To him, only Islam as recorded in al-Quran and al-Hadith was capable of settling all problems in life in this world. Other philosophies and teachings, he said, were not capable of settling problems in human life, precisely because their philosophies and teachings were not in line with the basic principle of the purity of man. Ulamaks before him such as Hj. Wan Musa, Tok Kenali and Hj. Nik Mahmud bin Hj. Ismail (Dato' Perdana Menteri) even though they were interested in discussing world political developments, yet they did not seem to apply the spirit of al-Quran and al-Hadith teachings as factors for the settlement of problems faced by the people and the nation. Perhaps they did not do this precisely because to them all such development in politics had no connection with religious problems. In general, ulamas in Kelantan at that time discussed religious problems within a limited scope i.e. it was confined to the questions of ibadat and morality only. On the other hand, Hj. Nik Abdullah, even in his topic to political, economic, and social conditions of the country as a whole. To him human morality could not merely be improved purely through the process of ibadat, but at the same time political, economic and social conditions of the nation must be rectified, and so long as justice did not prevail in all these three aspects, until then the morality of man as a whole could not be improved.

Another unique feature of Hj. Nik Abdullah was that there were thatbiq elements in his teachings. As he was educated in the group of Tariq Shah Waliul-

lah Al-Dihlavi teachings, he could show that the views between the early authoritative Islamic ulamas were only different in the literal sense whereas in the real spirit of their teachings there was no contradiction in meaning and ideas. As an example, this can be seen in his views with regard to differences of opinion between the authoritative Islamic ulamas of long ago who were the disciples of the doctrine of wahdat-ul-wujud and the doctrine of wahdat-ush-shuhud.¹

In general, the differences in the point of view of approach and scope of teachings between Hj. Nik Abdullah and almost all other ulamas in Kelantan did not create polemic among the ulams. However, when there were differences of opinion arising from the question of Fekah, the views expressed by Hj. Nik Abdullah would certainly meet with opposition from the ulamas mentioned earlier. The occurrence of open opposition from Hj. Ibrahim bin Hj. Yusof, Hj. Ahmad Mahir b. Hj. Ismail, Hj. Ahmad Manan and Hj. Abdullah Tahir b. Hj. Ahmad toward Hj. Abdullah's opinion regarding the question of Licking of Dog which started in 1935 became a

¹Before Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi's time there appeared two doctrines which were different in their plain versions. If Sheikh Muhyud-Din Ibn-ul-Arabi in discussing the concept of creation put forth the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud (unity of being), then Imam Rabbani Ahmad Sirhindi in discussing the same question presented the doctrine of Wahdat-ush-Shuhud (unity of appearance). Wahdat-ul-Wujud gave the meaning of the existence of its unity of God with the meaning that nothing exists but God. Wahdat-ush-Shuhud carries the meaning of unity existing in contemplation.

In the proposed Wahdat-ul-Wujud, it carried the truth that all that existed was the existence of name and attributes of God and as for the concept of Wahdat-ush-Shuhud, the truth of all objects which existed is the reflection of the name and character which existed. To explain the concept in greater detail, Sheikh Ahmad Sirhirdi was of the opinion that in truth the objects which existed are in fact non-existent (Adun) and the (object) which exists is the reflection of the name and the attributes of God.

The conflicts in these two opinions had been dealt with by Shah Waliullah Al Dihlavi who explained that in actual fact the differences were only with the versions and approaches used by both Sheikhs as mentioned above. However, from the point of view of this concepts both of them were the same. He had explained the idea by giving the explanation as follows. Zaid, Umar, Bakr and others were all human beings. So also with the whole of the universe which held its own that is universal self. Diverities that were found in this universe came from the universe itself. When Sheikh Muhy-ud-Din Ibn-ul-Arabi said that all of them were God, he meant the universal self. This universal self could not be separated from God and was often understood as God. Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi continued his comments by saying that the problems arose from this understanding was about the relation between the existence and the zat of God. He said that such existence was only known for certain in its factuality. Its quality, however, was not known and was not possible to be known through human thought.

Therefore when Sheikh Muhy-ud-Din Ibn-ul-Arabi said the truth that the existing objects were the names and attributes of universal self subject to the religious point of view, or when Imam Rabbani Ahmad Sirhindi stressed the fact that truth of objects which existed was actually non-existent (Adun) and actually represented the reflection from the name and attributes of this universal self, both concepts were in fact the same. The difference in the meaning of the version applied was so superficial and therefore there was no cause for argument.

The whole of the above was taken by the writer from G.N. Jalbani, *Teachings*, p. 74-76.

withness with regard to the validity of above.¹ Perhaps the question of Fekah became a sensitive subject to the ulamas because of the consequence of polemic atmosphere which was created by the Kaum Muda, and also because in their opinion this issue touched upon the question of ibadat connected with the principle of tenet of Islam itself.

The teaching of Islam in the state of Kelantan between 1900 and 1940 had paved the way for development of the Islamic studies in the state. The teaching which was taqlid to the books written by the ulamas mutaakhirin became the dominant feature among the people of Kelantan before 1940, and the situation still prevails up to the present day. The advent of Islamic teaching in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi to this state had changed the attitude of several local youths at the end of the 1930s and the 1940s from studying religion in Mecca especially in the Masjidil Haram to studying religion in the Islamic Higher Study Centres in India such as Durul-Ulum Deoband, Dabhlil and Baythul Hikmah (House of Philosophy). This change of attitude was a new development in the history of the state of Kelantan.

It is most fitting to mention that it had become a tradition for the Kelantanese as a whole in the 19th century until 1940s to further their religious studies in Masjidil Haram, Mecca. How great the attraction might have been, still not all the youths who went to India studied the religion in accordance with the teachings of Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi as done by Hj. Nik Abdullah before them. Among them only three youths who studied the religion in accordance with this tariq. They were Hj. Nik Muhd Salleh b. Hj. Wan Musa (1920-1972), Hj. Nik Mahmud b. Hj. Wan Musa and Hj. Nik Abdul Rahman b. Hj. Nik Mahmud.² Ali the three, after studying

¹Please see more detailed information regarding this question of dog licking in the Nik Abdul Aziz bin Hj. Nik Hassan *Perbahasan Tentang Jilatan Anjing* in *Jurnal Jebat* Bil. 9 tahun 1979/80, Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor, 1980, p. 173-181.

²Hj. Nik Muhd. Salleh bin Hj. Wan Musa was an ulama who was well known in Kelantan precisely because he presented his ideas which were controversial in the context of development of Islamic thinking in Kelantan. Because he very often expressed his religious opinions which were controversial he was opposed very vehemently by many other ulamas in the state. At the same time he was also regarded by certain quarters as an ulamak with a controversial personality. Even though his opinions regarding the question of Zakat Fitrah and Children's Fitrah (1946) Loteri (1961-1962) and Mini-skirt (1967) in the writer's opinion were contradictory to the spirit of the actual teaching of Shah Waliullah Al Dihlavi, however, while he was still alive, his role in spreading methodology of Islam as proposed by ulamas in this Tariq could not be belittled.

Hj. Nik Mahmud bin Hj. Wan Musa up to now is still active in Islamic teaching in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah Al Dihlavi at Hj. Wan Musa's surau and at several other Al Dihlavi at Hj. Wan Musa's surau and at several other suraus, among them were in Kampung Kapal Laut and in Mulong. He obviously started his Islamic teaching in accordance with this Tariq after the 1970. As for Hj. Nik Abdul Rahman bin Hj. Nik Mahmud who is now living not far from Kubang Pasu Market, Kota Bharu, ever since his return to Kota Bharu, Kelantan, from India that is in 1945 didn't seem to play the role of disseminating the teaching of Islam in accordance with this Tariq. This might be due to his attitude that he didn't want to be opposed by other ulamas in this state.

the religion in Darul Ulum Deoband, went to further their studies in accordance with this tariq in Bayyutl Hikmah, Jamiah Milliah, Delhi. Generally the others only studied the religion in various institutions in India such as the Darul Ulum Deoband Institution and Dabhil.¹

Further more in the middle of the 1940s there were a number of youths in Kelantan, after receiving their basic education in this state through the religious school such as Maahad Muhammadi, left to further their religious studies in Al-Azhar University. The total number of youths who went to study there gradually increased during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. In fact a greater number of the religious students in this state who wished to further their religious studies abroad during the 1960s went to the al-Azhar University. Indeed, such a phenomenon did not only exist in the state of Kelantan but also in the whole of the Malay Peninsular during the 1960s. Such a situation existed precisely because of the existence of an Islamic education system which was in the form of schooling in the state during 1950s. Those who completed their studies in this school system of education felt more fit to continue their studies in al-Azhar precisely because the school system of education in this University was more in line with the religious school system. The education system in Masjidil Haram was more in line with the education system in suraus and mosques in the Malay Peninsular. Moreover those who received their education in al-Azhar University could get employment with the government more easily than those who completed their religious studies in India and Masjidil Haram, Mecca. At the same time, during the 1950s and 1960s there were a small number of Kelantan youths who went to study religion in Indonesia. Even though Islamic education in schools and in suraus as well as in mosques continue to exist in Kelantan up to the present day, yet the education system of this nature after 1950, greatly declined compared with the support given by the Kelantanese to English and Malay schools.

Conclusion

As a summary, it can be seen that religious education in Kelantan between 1860 and 1940 went through a rapid development. The first stage that is before 1900 was a stage during which there were a great many people in the state who were interested in studying the tasawuf and practising the Tariqat. The second stage

¹ Among the local people who were influenced by Hj. Nik Abdullah bin Hj. Wan Musa's teachings, but when in India, only studied at the Darul-Ulum Deoband and at the institution in Dabhil were Hj. Abdullah Noh, Encik Abdul Hadi bin Encik Mahmud, Encik Muhammad bin Salleh and Encik Mohammed Zain bin Jaafar. The actual Islamic Education in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dahlavi between 1900 and 1950 was not found in Darul Ulum Deoband and at other institutions. Islamic methodology studies in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi at the end of 1930s and beginning of 1940s were only found in Bayyutl Hikmah (Herse of Philosophy) which was established by Maulana Ubaidullah al-Sindhi in the Jamiah Milliah Institution Building, New Delhi. The establishment of Bayyutl Hikmah in 1939 was aimed at producing Islamic youths who understood Islamic teaching in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah Al Dihlavi. This establishment was agreed upon by Dr. Zaki Hussein (Ex-President of India) who at that time was the Principal of the Jamiah Milliah Institution.

was that between 1900 and 1940, although there were Tasawuf teachings and Tariqat activities, yet the attention of the people in general and also the ulamas was more toward Fekah, precisely because there were issues which were khilafiah in the teaching of religion following the advent of ideas of Islamic revivalist movements from the middle east. At the same time this stage also saw the beginning of the teaching of Hadith, Filsafah, Mantiq, Balaghah and Fekah Hanafiah among the people of Kelantan with the presence of the great figure Tok Khurasan. The development in the first and second stages had resulted in the flow of religious teaching in accordance with Tariq Shah Waliullah al-Dihlavi who advised the pepple to return to the spiritual teaching of al-Quran and al-Hadith and to see Islam in a wider perspective, covering the political, economic and social aspects of life. However, during this stage, traditional methods of teaching of Islam in this state definitely dominated the thinking of the people in Kelantan as a whole. The development of Islamic teaching in 1930s continued to pave the development of Islamic teaching in Kelantan in the years that followed and up to the present time.