

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF HAMKA'S
TASAUF MODEREN

BY

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ABSTRACT

This present study has successfully translated the full annotated translation of Hamka's *Tasawuf Moderen* (Modern Sufism) from the source language *Bahasa Indonesia* into English. As proven in this study; since 1950s there had been a negligible number of foreign students who were keen in the study of Indonesian literature including Hamka and his published works. They lamented that the major obstacle in their researches was the language barrier. This study also discovers that Hamka's *Tasawuf Moderen* has been in its perpetual publication since its first in August 1939; however, until to-date it has never been translated into any dominant world language. Thus, this study was undertaken with the objective to break the longstanding language barrier while addressing the research gap. The researches of this study were based upon the primary and secondary sources and uses qualitative method for analysis and evaluation. Most of the data collected were from the libraries in Jakarta, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. Hamka's *Tasawuf Moderen* was on happiness based on the discourse of "*taṣawwuf akhlāqī*" or ethical Sufism. This book centred on the purification of the heart and refinement of the character while suppressing all forms of greed while fighting against desires which go beyond what is necessary for one's self-sufficiency. On happiness; Hamka had a collection of wisdoms ranging from the Prophet (PBUH)'s advices on the roles of Intellect, Imam al-Ghazālī's *maʿrifah* of Allah including a tip on Aristotle's wisdom on *eudaemonia* (happiness). Hamka conceptualized that both man's physical positive attributes and his spiritual virtues in particular *qanaʿāh* (contentment) are crucial in the attainment of happiness. And for a complete happiness or *al-Saʿādah al-Kāmilah* a man must also possess sufficient material wealth and other causes that promote his overall well-being. The astounding success of this book can be attributed to Hamka's fame, his gregarious personality and his writing's creativity. *Tasawuf Moderen* was viewed as the much-needed spiritual guidance and boost which were timely during this acrimonious period under the Dutch rule. Some scholars viewed this book as the DIY (Do it yourself) guide to be a modern *Ṣūfī* that fits the contemporary setting. This study however is of the opinion that Hamka's *Tasawuf Moderen* should not be considered as a typical book on Sufism per se, rather it was a book written to depict the concept of happiness from Hamka's *Ṣūfī* understanding cum perception in which the concentration of this book focuses on an important aspect in *Ṣūfī*'s discourse; *al-Saʿādah* (happiness). And this study concludes that this annotated translation of Hamka's *Tasawuf Moderen* would go a long way in exposing Hamka's *Modern Sufism* to wider audiences and for wider benefits.

ملخص البحث

لقد نجحت هذه الدراسة الحالية في تحقيق الترجمة التوضيحية الكاملة من كتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) للعلامة حامكا من لغة المصدر في اللغة الإندونيسية إلى اللغة الإنجليزية. كما ثبت في هذه الدراسة منذ الخمسينيات، هناك عدد لا يُعد ولا يُحصى من الطلاب الأجانب الذين كانوا حريصين على دراسة الأدب الإندونيسي بما في ذلك العلامة حامكا وأعماله المنشورة. وكانوا يشكون من العقبة الرئيسية التي تعترض أبحاثهم والتي تكمن في الحاجز اللغوي. لقد كشفت هذه الدراسة أيضاً أن كتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) للعلامة حامكا تم نشره بشكل دائم منذ نشره للمرة الأولى في أغسطس 1939م. ومع ذلك، لم تتم ترجمته إلى أي لغة عالمية مهيمنة حتى الآن. ولهذا، أجريت هذه الدراسة بهدف كسر الحاجز اللغوي الطويل الأمد في معالجة فجوة هذا البحث. واستندت مراجع هذه الدراسة إلى المصادر الأولية والثانوية حيث أنها توظف الطريقة النوعية للتحليل والتقييم. وتم جمع معظم بيانات الدراسة من المكتبات في جاكرتا وسنغافورة وكوالالمبور. يركز كتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) للعلامة حامكا على السعادة بناء على أسس "التوفيق الأخلاقي" أو "الصوفية الأخلاقية". ويهتم هذا الكتاب بتزكية القلوب وتصفية السلوكيات مع قمع جميع أشكال الطمع في الوقت الذي تقاثل فيه الرغبات التي تتجاوز ما هو ضروري لتحقيق غنى النفس. فيما يتعلق بالسعادة، لقد كانت لدى العلامة حامكا مجموعة من الحكم تتراوح بين نصائح النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حول أدوار العقل، ومعرفة الله للإمام الغزالي، ونصائح حول ذلك من حكمة أرسطو في السعادة. وقد ذهب العلامة حامكا إلى أن كلاً من السمات الإيجابية الجسدية للإنسان وفضائله الروحية على وجه الخصوص تتمحور حول الرضا، وهو أمر حاسم في تحقيق السعادة. وللحصول على السعادة التامة، يجب على الإنسان أن يمتلك ثروة مادية كافية ووسائل أخرى تعزز رفاهه العام. يمكن أن يعزى النجاح المذهل لهذا الكتاب إلى رفع شهرة العلامة حامكا وشخصيته الاجتماعية وإبداع مؤلفاته. وتم النظر إلى كتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) على أنه الإرشاد والدعم الروحيان اللذان تمس الحاجة إليهما، والذي كان مناسباً خلال الفترة العصبية تحت الحكم الهولندي آنذاك. ورأى بعض العلماء هذا الكتاب على أنه دليل DIY ليكون "صوفياً معاصراً" يلائم الأجواء المعاصرة. ومع ذلك، فإن هذه الدراسة ترى أنه لا ينبغي اعتبار كتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) للعلامة حامكا مرجعاً نموذجياً وحيداً عن التصوف في حد ذاته، بل كان كتاباً مكتوباً حول تصور مفهوم السعادة من الفهم الإدراكي نحو الصوفية للعلامة حامكا الذي يركز فيه هذا الكتاب على جانب مهم من جوانب الصوفية وهو السعادة. وتخلص هذه الدراسة إلى أن هذه الترجمة التوضيحية لكتاب الصوفية الحديثة (تصوف مودرن) ستقطع شوطاً طويلاً في عرض الصوفية الحديثة في العلامة حامكا لجمهور أوسع من أجل تحقيق فولدأشمل.

APPROVAL PAGE

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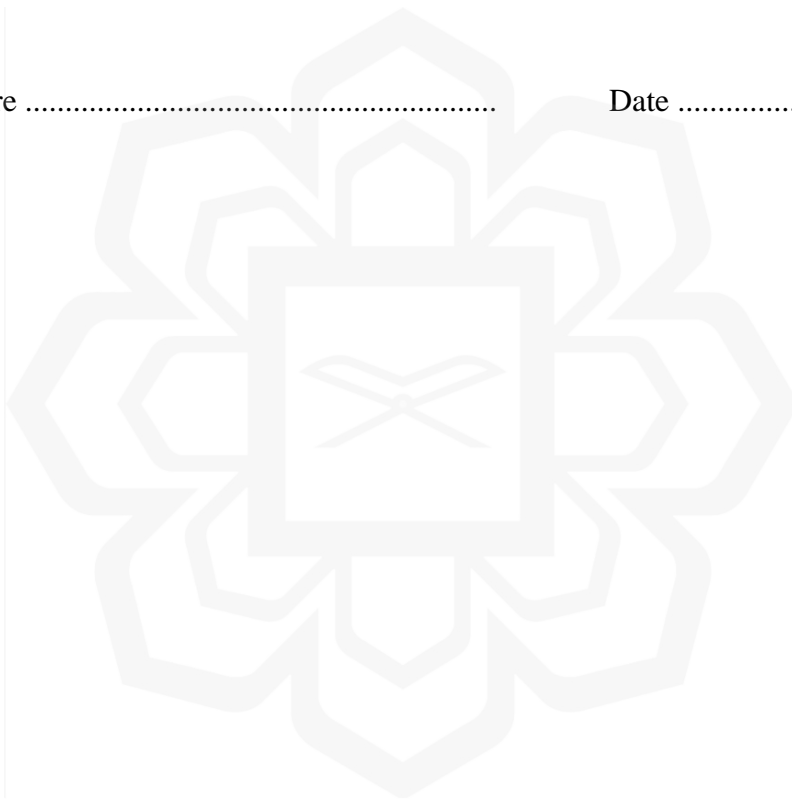
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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To

My late husband, Allahyarham Haji Rahmat bin Harun

(17.7.1950 - 23.7.2018)

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My passion with Hamka's work dated back when I was a young mother, juggling between working in the bank, running the household and raising my two children; at times the pressures seemed too much to handle. I came across *Tasauf Moderen* not knowing much about the author. I listened to his cassettes, he calmed me. Hamka was like a distant father I never knew and yet he was always there, reminding and advising me on the reality of this temporary life. Thus, I am grateful that my research proposal with the intention to share Hamka's wisdom with others; '*An annotated translation of Hamka's Tasauf Modern*' was approved by the University's committee.

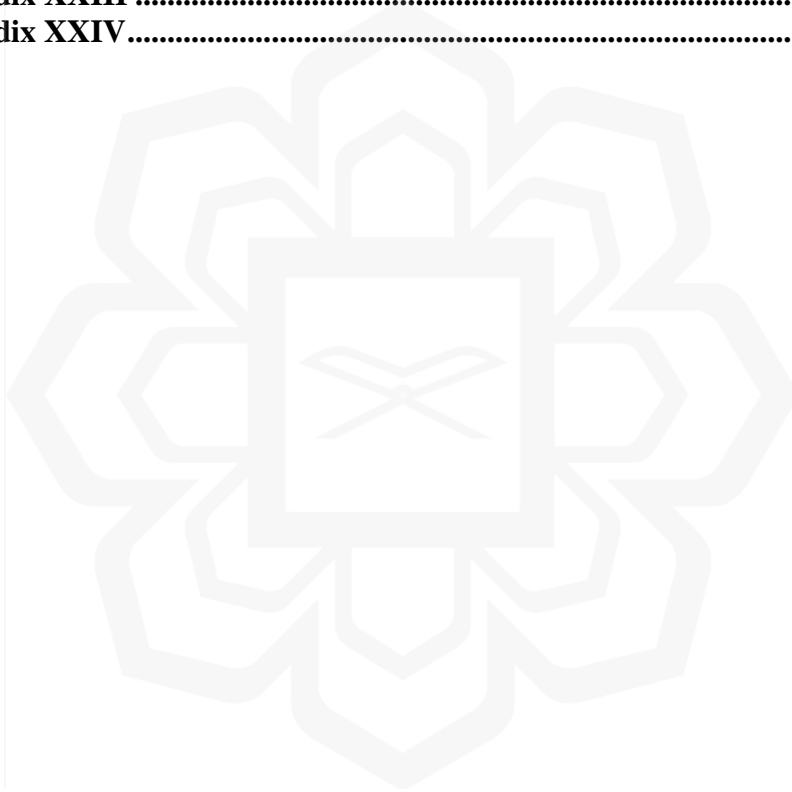
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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

a) Consonants

Arabic	Name	Latin
ا	alif	a
ب	bā'	b
ت	tā'	t
ث	thā'	th
ج	jīm	j
ح	ḥā'	ḥ
خ	khā'	kh
د	dāl	d
ذ	dhāl	dh
ر	rā'	r
ز	zāy	z
س	sīn	s
ش	syīn	sy
ص	ṣād	ṣ
ض	ḍād	ḍ
ط	ṭā'	ṭ
ظ	ẓā'	ẓ
ع	^c ayn	c
غ	ghāyn	gh
ف	fā'	f
ق	qāf	q
ك	kāf	k
ل	lām	l
م	mīm	m
ن	nūn	n
ه	hā'	h
و	wāw	w

ء	hamzah	a
ي	yā'	y
ة	tā' marbūta	t

b) Vowels

Arabic	Name	Latin
Short vowels	فتحة	A / a
	ضمة	U / u
	كسرة	I / i
Long vowels	آ	Ā / ā
	أو	Ū / ū
	إي	Ī / ī
Diphthongs	أي	ay
	أو	aw

Reference: IIUM (2009). *The IIUM Thesis/Dissertation Manual*. Centre for Postgraduate Studies (CPS), IIUM. Gombak, Kuala Lumpur.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In Indonesia it is an acceptable practice to use abbreviations or acronyms¹ for long names, be that of their organizations or individuals. For instance, in 1917 during the era of the Dutch East Indies; as far as their press was concerned, their first ‘General news and telegraphic agency’ was ANETA, an acronym which stood for *Algemene Nieuws en Telegraaf Agentschap*.² And as for their individuals; the focus of this study is on an acronym ‘Hamka’³ which could be considered to have its first link with the Indonesian press since April 1927. ‘Hamka’ had since then heralded and still does today with no sign of it retreating soon either from the Islamic scholarship or the literary spheres. In fact, today, Hamka is most probably more instantly recognizable than his full name; ‘Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (1908-1981)’⁴.

¹ An abbreviation is a short form of a word while an acronym is a word formed from the first letters of the words that make up the name of something, for example ‘AIDS’ is an acronym for ‘acquired immune deficiency syndrome. See Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, (UK: Oxford University Press, 9th Edition, 2015), 2 & 13. For the eleven pages of lists consisting of ‘Acronyms and Abbreviations’ belonging to Indonesians organizations and associations please see Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), Acronyms and Abbreviations, xvii-xxviii.

² ‘ANETA was established on the 1 April 1917 by Dominique Willem Berretty (1890-1934) who was of Italian and Indonesian parentage. Magazines and newspapers were the only media known and available to the masses then. And prior to ANETA those colonial newspapers in Batavia (Jakarta) only obtained their news from newspapers collected in Singapore and Malaya and thus reached Jakarta very late. Berretty managed to secure the deals with the captain of the ships sailing to Singapore to wire news to ANETA’s office instead; this facilitated the news to reach Jakarta much earlier.” See Drs. I. Taufik, *Sejarah dan Perkembangan Pers di Indonesia* (History and the development of the Press in Indonesia), (Jakarta: Trinity Press, 1977), 22. Hamka mentioned ANETA on the magazine *Pedoman Masyarakat*’s 25 August 1937 edition and on page TM86 of *Tasauf Moderen* under the topic of ‘The danger of denying God.

³ Hamka could be considered to be involved in journalism and the media when he first became the correspondent of the daily *Pelita Andalas* from April to August 1927.

⁴ Hamka is referred to as ‘*Buya Hamka*’ meaning ‘father Hamka’ as a mark of respect towards an old Islamic scholar among the *Minangkabau*. *Buya* is from an Arabic word accepted by them as ‘father’. See *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2013), 230.

Hamka was a *Minangkabau*⁵ born from a lineage of outstanding religious prominence⁶ which could be traced as far back as to the reformist *Padris*⁷ of the early nineteenth century. About the turn of a century later, Hamka's father, Dr. Haji Abdul Karim bin Sheikh Muhammad Amrullah (born Muhammad Rasul) (1879-1945) carried on the family legacy, when he marked himself as the pioneer's *Kaum Muda*⁸ (Young faction) reformist of the Islamic modernist movement.

⁵ 'The *Minangkabau* people are an ethnic group indigenous to the Central Highlands of West Sumatra, in Indonesia. The *Minangs* are the world's largest matrilineal society. Briefly; this region was once part of the Buddhist Srivijaya empire and when it declined, the Hindu-Malay kingdom of *Minangkabau* rose to power. In the 16th century the *Minangkabau* king converted to Islam. Shortly thereafter, in 1596, the Dutch entered the area and began to establish a firm foothold in Western Sumatra. In the early nineteenth century, control of the island passed temporarily to the British. The Dutch managed to re-establish themselves in the region after intervening on behalf of the *Minangkabau* royal family during the civil war known as the *Padri War* (1821–1837) between the Islamists reformists (*Kaum Muda*) and the traditionalists (*Kaum Tua*). The Dutch rule was then imposed throughout the domain of the *Minangkabau*. Today, the *Minangkabau* world is supported by two sacred pillars; Islam and the 'Adat *Minangkabau*. Time might have evolved, economic conditions might have changed but not their 'Adat which they safeguard dearly, as their saying – 'Adat will neither rot in the rain nor crack in the sun.' and – 'Adat is based on religion, religion is based on 'Adat. While those who hold that Islam is the perfection of 'Adat, has this saying- 'Adat is based on Islam, Islam is based on the holy teaching'. Either way" both Islam and 'Adat are granted sacred status in the official version of the *Minangkabau* world view.' See Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Women at the Centre, Life in a Modern Matriarchy*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002), 19-23.

⁶ The Amrullahs were the descents of an Islamic scholar Abdullah Arif from Pariaman and was one of the vanguards of the early reformist that lead to the upsurge of the *Padris*. He was called Tuanku Pariaman during the era of the *Padri War* and later known as 'Tuanku Nan Tuo'. His son Syeikh Guguk Katur was a great Islamic scholar with particular interest in Sufism, while in 1864 his son - Hamka's grandfather Sheikh Muhammad Amrullah bin Abdullah Saleh (Fakih @ Tunku Kisai) at 26 was already qualified in teaching *Tafsir* of the Qur'an, *Fiqh* (Islamic law) Arabic language and *Tasawwuf*. Hamka regretted that there were no written official records of the birth or death of his great grandfathers available. See Hamka, (*Ayahku*, Shah Alam, Pustaka Dini, 2007), 34, 45-72.

⁷ 'Briefly the *Padri War* (1821–37), was an armed conflict in *Minangkabau* between the reformists known as *Padris* and the traditionalists assisted by the Dutch. In the early 19th century the puritan *Wahhābiyyah* sect. of Islam spread to Sumatra brought by pilgrims who entered the island of Pidiri a northern port. (Some historians even believed that this group of reformists was not the *Padri* faction but *Pidiri* taken from the name of this port.) The *Padris* objected to local institutions that were not in accordance with the pure teaching of Islam. This jeopardized the power of the local traditionalists or 'Adat chiefs, whose authority was based on the *Minangkabau* 'Adat or customary law. In the ensuing conflict, the *Padris* using Bondjol as their base, launched guerrilla war against the traditionalists. The Dutch, afraid of the influence of the Muslim reformists, sided with the traditionalists but were still engaged in the Java War (1825–30) and thus unable to send troops to crush the *Padris* until the end of that war. Tuanku Imam Bondjol, the leader of the *Padris* surrendered to the Dutch in 1832 but soon renewed his rebellion. The war continued until 1837, when the Dutch seized Bondjol. The war allowed the Dutch to extend their control into the interior regions of Sumatra. – Hamka, *Sejarah Islam di Sumatera*, (Medan: Percetakan Varekamp: 1941), 29-35.

⁸ 'Kaum is an Arabic word, means 'group,' and in *Minangkabau* by the twentieth century these groups were ideologically defined between the modernist reformists (*Kaum Muda*, the young group) and (*Kaum Tua*, the old group) who were the traditionalists.' See Jeffery Hadler, *Muslims and Matriarchs, Cultural Resilience in Minangkabau through Jihad and Colonialism*. (Singapore: NUS, 2009), 139. 'The modernist Muslim line of reasoning was developed in the Middle East by Muḥammad 'Abduh (d

Haji Rasul was also the person responsible for the introduction and establishment of the first branch of the *Muḥammadiyah*⁹ outside Java into the *Minangkabau* in 1925.

Thus, Hamka was raised and grew up amidst strict religious adherence alongside the *Minangkabau* *Adat* (customs) which is rich in their culture and tradition. Hamka had always been proud of his *Alam Minangkabau* otherwise famous as the 'Realm of Words.'¹⁰ A realm rich with the original core of the Malay culture which is elegantly reflected through their *pantuns* (poetries), folklores (*kaba*) and *pituah* (advises from the elderly to the youths). His teens were within the periods of awareness, where the Indonesians realized of the need for changes or reforms either in their education or social system.

1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935). This ideology spread throughout most of the Muslim world in the first half of the twentieth century. In South East Asia, the modernists created a new religious literature in Malay, where they stressed on education beyond Islamic subjects, to include mathematics, science and history while at the same time called for the removal of certain long-held religious practices that had no clear authorization in Islam. This also included animistic practices that the modernists believed stifled standard Islamic teachings and modernization, such as the use of amulets, spells and charms. This *Kaum Muda* and *Kaum Tua* split was deep and long-lasting with differences still apparent in the early twenty-first century.' See Howard M. Federspiel, *Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals of the 20th Century*, (Singapore: ISEAS Publications, 2006), 16-17.

⁹ *Muḥammadiyah* (followers of Muḥammad). Muslim organization founded in 1912 by *Kiyai* Haji Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923) to promote the modernist Islamic thought developed by Muḥammad Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā in Cairo. Modernists believed Muslims had strayed from the basic principles of the religion and aimed to cleanse and revitalize Islam by returning to the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. Their views brought them into conflict with Islamic traditionalists, who stressed the importance of studying the full body of Islamic text in order to understand the Qur'ān correctly. *Muḥammadiyah*'s main aims were to spread adherence to Islam and to promote the religious understanding of its believers. It also emphasized education and social welfare, and under the Dutch advocated non-involvement in politics.' See Audrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 302-303. 'Hamka's father, 'Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (*H.A.K.A*) had been championing to purify Islam as early as 1909; more so on the *Muḥammadiyah*'s ticket from those *Minangkabau*'s *Adat* or other remnants of his childhood culture deemed *unIslamic*. Also, still prevalent among the local folks were the practices of *sihr* (black magic). And on top of this he also had to deal with his village folks who were the adamant followers of the *Tarīqah Naqshabandiyyah* where some of its practices had deviated from the genuine teachings of Islam. Perhaps this was the biggest challenge for Haji Abdul Karim because his own father was a *murshid* from this *Tarīqah Naqshabandiyyah*. See Hamka, *Ayahku...*(2007), 103-108.

¹⁰ 'Hamka confirmed that the *Minangkabau* is a 'realm rich in words': known for their wealth of verbal poetries, narrations (*kaba*), proverbs and hundreds of unwritten maxims which were memorized, passed on from one generation to another'. See Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, (Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2009), 180.

Afterall, it was the *Minangkabau* area that played an important role in the spread of reformist ideas to other areas and the fact that the first sign of reforms was observed here at the time when other areas seemed almost content with their traditional practices.¹¹

Hamka was an intelligent autodidact who loved academics and worked his way up by mastering Arabic and his first love, writing. An avid reader in all topics since his childhood; Hamka loved to be among books and even ran errands for the local library just so that he could read for free.¹² He developed into a multi-talented individual who seemed to be able to juggle various responsibilities at the same time; however the focus of this study is on him as a prolific writer¹³ in particular his iconic *Tasauif Moderen* which is the focus of this study.

¹¹ 'Particularly from 1927 to 1933; various political and social aspects of the *Minangkabau* life were intensified and erupted into open conflicts. It was a time when the Islamic modernists politicized *Minangkabau* and extensively spread the new ideas of 'progress' and 'modernization'. See Taufik Abdullah, *Schools and Politics The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra 1927-1933*, (Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 9.

¹² 'Hamka wrote how he was then twelve years old. He feared his father and lost interest in the repeated religious lessons except his English course where his teacher Sutan Marajo seemed to broaden his mind but left after a few months. At the same time Engku Zainuddin Labai set-up a library where he 'rented out' mostly reading books for the masses published by The *Comite* (later *Kantoor*) *Voor de Volkslectuur* (Committee/Office for Popular Literature) founded 22 September 1917 later known as the *Balai Pustaka*. Hamka's 'interest was copies of Chinese literature translated into Bahasa Indonesia such as *The Three War Generals*, *Graaf De Monte Cristo* and many others. Hamka saved his pocket money to rent out more books to the dismayed of his father. He used to play in front of the publishing company *Badezst* in Padang Panjang and discovered that those front-page cartoons were printed here before they were being rented out and the one in-charge of the printing was Engku Bagindo Sinaro the partner of Engku Zainuddin Labai. That was why the Library was named *Zainuddin and Sinaro: Zainaro*. Hamka started to help out by doing errands for them. In return he asked for the permission to read. Each day he would come and read a new book from ten in the morning until one in the afternoon. He claimed that these readings broaden his mind and imaginations into the world he hardly knew of their patterns. Once in a while he would persuade Engku Bagindo Sinaro to let him take the books home. His father discovered the books and in controlling his anger asked his son. "Are you gonna be a pious or a story teller?" See Hamka, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*, (Shah Alam: Pustaka Dini, 2009), 40-41.

¹³ A. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature*, (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1967), 69-72. It is mostly recorded that throughout Hamka's life he had authored more than a hundred and eighteen published works on various topics. Irfan Hamka wrote how his father contributed thousands of articles to the media, magazines, the newspapers and his total work is up to 118 comprising of articles and books.' See Irfan Hamka, *Ayah...Kisah Buya Hamka* or (Dad...Story of Buya Hamka) (Jakarta: Republika, 2013), 171, 243, 290. This paper discovers that besides this recorded 118 published works Hamka did write a special tribute in conjunction with the Independence of Malaya in August 1957; a book in *jawi-script* entitled '*Kenang-kenanganku di Malaya* (My memories in Malaya) printed in Singapore by 'Setia Darma' in 1957. Please refer to the Library of the National University of Singapore, BRN no

Hamka was also a novelist and had two evergreen novels to his credit; *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'abah* (Under the protection of the *Ka'abah*) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (Sinking of the Van Der Wijck). Today, both novels are still being published; they are available in the DVD forms and accessible through the YouTube. In 2014 and 2015 both were staged at the *Istana Budaya* Kuala Lumpur.¹⁴ In January 2019, *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* was staged at the Taman Ismail Marzuki theatre in Jakarta.¹⁵

Hamka's two full translation works from Arabic to Bahasa Indonesia were *Laila-Madjnoen*¹⁶ and *Margaretta Gauthier*.¹⁷ Altogether, throughout his life, Hamka had authored a total of one hundred and eighteen published works. Among his other outstanding published work was his monumental elucidation and commentary of the holy Qur'ān, *Tafsīr al-Azhar*.¹⁸

200104495, (For Reference only) and the researcher managed to secure another *jawi-script* book entitled '*Hari Ākhirah*' (The Day of the Resurrection) which was printed in Kota Bahru, Kelantan by Pustaka Aman Press in 1967. These are just a few of his written works which are not in the list of the official 118 record.

¹⁴ <www.istanabudaya.gov.my/> (See Appendix I and II).

¹⁵ Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) or in English as Ismail Marzuki Park is named after Ismail Marzuki, one of Indonesia's most influential composers. Within the complex there are also educational institutions such as the Jakarta Arts Institute (IKJ), the HB Jassin Literary Documentation Centre and Jakarta Planetarium. The complex is built on an 8 hectares land area. Taman Ismail Marzuki complex comprises a number of facilities including six performing arts theatres, cinemas, an exhibition hall, a gallery and an archive building. Cultural performances often take place in this cultural centre, including dance, drama and music performances, poetry reading, sculpture, painting and art exhibitions, and film festival screenings. (See Appendix III).

¹⁶ Hamka translated *Laila-Madjnoen* from a famous Arab love tale. Printed by *Balai Pustaka* in 1932.

¹⁷ *Margaretta Gauthier* was originally written by a French writer Alexander Dumas Jr (1824-1895) and translated into Arabic by Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalutī (1876-1924). In 1941 Hamka translated it into *Bahasa Indonesia* from its Arabic version. It is well acknowledged that Hamka's second language is Arabic.

¹⁸ '*Tafsīr al-Azhar* began as a series of lectures by Hamka after the morning prayers at the Kebayoran Mosque now known as 'Masjid al-Azhar'. He started his lecture on the commentary on *Sūrah Al-Kahf*. These lectures were later published in the Islamic magazine *Gema Islam* beginning 1962. After a few years Hamka still could not complete his writing. This *Tafsīr* was finally completed while he was in detention for a period of two years and four months from January 1964 until June 1966. The first publication of this *Tafsīr* was in 1968 by *Penerbitan Pembimbing Masa* and later printed by a few different publishers. Hamka went through these *Tafsīr* until its completion in 1979. This *Tafsīr* was named as *Tafsīr al-Azhar* in conjunction with the name of the *Al-Azhar Mosque* where he gave his lectures in which the name was suggested by by *Syaikh Jami' al-Azhar* himself and all in conjunction with the Honorary Doctorate conferred on him by the *al-Azhar University*, Cairo. See *ENSIKLOPEDIA Buya Hamka, Percikan Pemikiran, Penafsiran, Pemahaman dan Imajinasi Authentik Buya Hamka*.

Towards the twilight of his life, like his father, Hamka marked himself as a prominent respectable *‘ulamā’*¹⁹ together with his fames saw him carving his own historical legacy being elected as the first head of the prestigious ‘MUI’ an acronym for *Majlis ‘Ulamā’ Indonesia*²⁰ or the (Indonesian Council of *‘Ulamā’*); from 1977 until a few month before his death in July 1981. As a mark of respect towards this outstanding Indonesian’s acronym and before the proceed of this dissertation; this study will first briefly trace the paths towards ‘Hamka’.

1.2 SI MALIK –AMKA-HAMKA

Hamka was referred to as ‘*Si Malik*’ during his childhood.²¹ After June 1925, the *Muḥammadiyah* set up the *Tablīgh Muḥammadiyah*²² group in his hometown, Padang

(The Encyclopedia Buya Hamka, Thoughts, Elucidation and Commentary, Understanding and Authentic Imagination of Buya Hamka), (Jakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, (PSBH, February, 2019).

¹⁹ *‘Ulamā’* is the Arabic word denoting the plural of those learned men or scholars but the Malays have made some of the Arabic words their own and used them in their own context thus even though the right Arabic word should be an *‘ālim* but a Muslim learned respected scholar is still referred to as an *‘ulamā’*. See Mohamed Ajmal bin Abdul Razak al-Aidruss, *Christians in search of a name for God: The right to Allah*, (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2013), 9. Besides this word *‘Ulamā’*, the word *Taşawwuf* in which the old spelling was *Tasauf* means ‘Sufism’. Thus, we may find Hamka’s book spelt as *Tasauf Modern* or *Tasauf Moderen* which in Malaysia is spelt as *Tasauf Moden*. So are the spellings of *Tarika* or *Tarekat* refers to the path embark by the aspirant *Şūfī* taken from the Arabic word *Ṭarīqah*. See Department Pendidikan Nasional, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, Pusat Bahasa*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2002), 924. J.S. Badudu, *Kamus, Kata-kata Serapan Asing Dalam Bahasa Indonesia*, (Foreign words absorbed into the Indonesian language), (Jakarta: Kompas, 2009), 229, 343, 1404.

²⁰ The Indonesian *‘Ulamā’* Council is Indonesia’s top Muslim Clerical body founded by the Indonesian New Order under the Suharto administration in 1975. It was a body to produce the Islamic rulings or *fatwā* and thus the advising body for the benefit of the Muslim community on contemporary issues. One important function of *MUI* is to provide halal-certificate for products consume by the Muslims. The council comprises many of Indonesian Muslim groups including the *NU* or *Nahdhatul ‘Ulamā’*, *Muḥammadiyah* and many others smaller groups. <<https://mui.or.id/> (accessed 12 August 2018).

²¹ ‘A friend by the name of Mohammad Zein Hasan claimed that he knew Hamka during childhood as *Si Malik* because they were from the same village; they grew up sharing the same ‘bathing place’, both were of the same *suku* or clan of *Suku Tanjung*. Their age was only two years apart. Both spent a lot of time swimming in the lake, playing kites during the fasting month of *Ramadan*, and took part in hitting the *beduk* (the big Drum) signifying the coming of ‘*Eid*’. See Mohammad Zein Hasan, ‘*Segi Kehidupan Hamka yang Tak DiKenal*’ (Unknown perspective of Hamka’s life), *Kenang-kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam), 64-72. However, as *Si Malik* approached his teenaged, this ‘name’ bore a rather negative connotation to otherwise this respectable family when at twelve, he portrayed himself a rebellious young boy. All due to his devastation upon the decision of his father to divorce his beloved mother. Although it was the norm among the *Minangkabaus* men to have many wives and divorces were rampant but it was still unacceptable personally by young *Si Malik*. He vented

Panjang and he was assigned to coach its young member's public speaking. Hamka recorded, edited and printed these best speeches into book forms, named *Khaṭīb al-Ummah*. He signed up as its *hoofdredatur* (chief editor) bearing the acronym 'AMKA'.²³

Amka performed his first *Hajj* when he was 19 years old. He took the opportunity while in the Holy Land to relate his experiences and corresponded with *Pelita Andalas*, a Chinese-owned daily based in the city of Medan. His first article was published on 27 April 1927 where he signed up as; "By our special correspondent 'A.M.K. Amaroellah. (AMKA)."²⁴

The *Hajj* season for 1927 was in May.²⁵ This time Amka signed up his next article published by *Pelita Andalas's* 4 August, 1927 edition as 'H.A.M.K. Am'.²⁶

his frustrations through mixing freely with the bad hats and played truant in his schools much to the dismay and anger of his religious and strict father who had always wanted his son to inherit the family legacy and one day be like him; an outstanding 'ulamā', a famous Islamic scholar. See Hamka, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*, (2016), 44-47.

²² The *Kaum Muda* reformers used several methods in promoting their ideas. They issued numerous publications, established new schools and held public debates with the *Kaum Tua 'Ulamā'* but their most effective medium was the *Tablīgh*, public religious lecture, which allowed more personal and intimate communications between the religious experts and the laymen. The *Kaum Muda 'Ulamā'* would discuss religious problems in language which the people could understand; this represented a revolutionary change from traditional religious gatherings at which experts only read and explained religious texts. Instead of texts, the *Kaum Muda 'Ulamā'* examined problems of daily life. No less important was their use of Malay or *Minangkabau* instead of Arabic in the Friday sermons. They adopted a slogan that 'religion is only for those who can understand' and this proved important in the rapid spread of the reform movement.' Ibid, 66.

²³ The modernist *Muḥammadiyah* organization was introduced into Sumatra by Hamka's father in 1925. Their task force to propagate the message of Islam was set up which involved the students including young Abdul Malik. The magazine was named by his father as '*Khaṭīb al-Ummah*' with 500 copies per publication but it ended abruptly at its third publication due to financial constraints. See Hamka, *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Bulan Bintang, 1951), 18. Ahmat Adam did extensive research on the history and bibliography of the newspapers and magazines in Western Sumatera from 1900-1941 and in his book mentioned that the media during that era was supported by the awareness of the masses towards modernization which saw the birth of many social organizations which later lead to their political awareness. However, in case of *Khaṭīb al-Ummah* it only lasted three 'publications' due to financial constraint. Ahmat Adam marked that '*Chathibul Ummah*' was published in 1925 in Padang Panjang by Hamka as the chief-editor in the *Malay Language* with the theme of 'Islamic Modernist' there is no record of its publisher's name. There is no record of its existence until now.' – Ahmat Adam, *Suara Minangkabau, Sejarah dan Bibliografi Akhbar dan Majalah di Sumatera Barat 1900-1941*, (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit University Malaya, 2012), 4, 5 and 173.

²⁴ *Pelita Andalas* dated 27 April, 1927 and the title of the article was: "News from Makkah –the condition in the holy land that should be known by the sons of Indonesia – (Perkabaran dari Mekkah, Keadaan di tanah soetji, patut diketahoei oleh poetera Indonesia)." (See Appendix IV).

²⁵ Hamka, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*, 94.

The ‘H’ was for the respectable ‘title’ ‘*Haji*²⁷’ - to his name ‘Abdul Malik Karim’ while the ‘Am’ was the short form for his family name, ‘Amrullah’.

His next correspondence with this daily dated 13 August 1927 was signed as from ‘H.A.M.K. Amaroellah,’ this time it ended with the full name of his family.²⁸ It was only through *Pelita Andalas* 18 August 1927’s edition that he seemed to have decided on the abbreviation ‘H.A.M.K.A’ for the first time.²⁹

However, young Hamka was obviously undecided over his ‘pen-name’ during these periods as can be observed in the case of his 1929’s translation of *Laila-Madjnoen* which was published in 1932 by *Balai Pustaka*,³⁰ where he reverted to the incomplete acronym along with the family name as - H.A.M.K. Amaroellah’.

Four years later, on the 20 January 1936, the acronym ‘Hamka’ which rhyme like an ‘ordinary name’ was finally officially introduced to the public when it appeared at the left top front page of an Islamic magazine *Pedoman Masjarakat*

²⁶ *Pelita Andalas* dated 4 August 1927 and the article was on ‘H.O.H atau Tjokroisme’ (‘H.O.H. or Tjokroisme). Hamka wrote on the group or movement name ‘*Hajj Organization of Hindia*’ set up to manage the pilgrims from Indonesia but it was not as easy and as rosy as what had been promised and the pilgrims thought after being their members. (See Appendix V).

²⁷ ‘In his memoirs Hamka wrote how to the dismay of other fellow pilgrims, he refused to change his name upon the completion of his *Hajj*. It was ‘customary’ to do so supposedly as a redemption of the past sins and thus with a new name a person is like a ‘new born person again.’ Young *Haji* Hamka was adamant that it was never any part of the *Hajj* rituals and in his opinion, this will only enrich the Arab Shaykh.’ See Hamka, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*, (2009), 97.

²⁸ *Pelita Andalas* dated 13 August 1927 with the title of the article *Antara Hijaz dan Indonesia, Keadaan di kapal, adakah dipandang orang Haji sebagai manusia? Haji jangan dek besar serban saja!* (Between Hijaz and Indonesia. The condition in the ship, do they view the pilgrim as human beings? *Haji* (referring to those individuals running the *Hajj* agency mostly referred to as *Haji*) do not just display your big turban! (Appendix VI).

²⁹ *Pelita Andalas* dated 18 August 1927 with the article *Igama, Islam Igama persaudaraan. Fanatik yang tidak berasal socialisme*, (Religion, Islam is the religion of brotherhood; Fanaticism does not originate from socialism). (See Appendix VII).

³⁰ ‘*Balai Pustaka* (Institute of Belles-Letters) was the government printing office, founded in 1917 as the Committee (later Kantoor) *voor de Volkslectuur* (Committee/Office for Popular Literature). It published older classical works and popular stories in regional languages, new Indonesian literature and translations of Western literature into Indonesian. In 1933, it began to publish the influential literary journal *Poedjangga Baroe* (New Poet). It also maintained libraries and provided court interpreters.’ See Andrey Kahin, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia*, 58. For his acronym (See Appendix VIII).

(Guidance for Society), under the full name of its new chief-editor (*hoofdreracteur*) of ‘Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah.’³¹

It is interesting to note and add that Hamka’s friend A.R. Fachruddin from Yogyakarta reminisced that like other youths during that era, he too started to be involved with the *Muhammadiyah’s* social activities since in 1929 and had heard of the name ‘Hamka.’ In 1934 when he was one of the organization’s representative in Palembang; he heard the fact that Hamka was the head of their Makassar’s branch. Come 1938 he read a lot of Hamkas’ writings mostly through the magazine *Pedoman Masyarakat* and admitted he often shed tears reading Hamka’s novels like *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka’abah*, *Merantau ke Deli* (Migrating to Deli) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*. Like the other Hamka’s avid followers; he was also spiritually moved by his *Tasauf Modern*.³²

On the 22 November 2017, the researcher had the opportunity upon the invitation of Bapak Afif Hamka to attend a seminar on James R. Rush’s new release held at the Universitas Professor Dr. Hamka (UHAMKA), South of Jakarta.

The seminar was on ‘A book view on *Hamka’s great story*’ (*Membedah Adicerita Hamka’s Great Story*).³³ The researcher took the opportunity for Azyumardi

³¹ *Pedoman Masyarakat* 20 January 1936. (see Appendix IX).

³² A.R. Fachruddin, *Pangayu Bagiya* (In search of Happiness), *Kenang-kenangan 70 Tahun Buya Hamka*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1978), 21-22.

³³ Among the invited speakers were:

- Azyumardi Azra – ‘*Adicerita Hamka; Visi Islam untuk Indonesia Modern*’. (Hamka’s great story: The Islamic vision for modern Indonesia). Azyumardi Azra considered James Rush writing on Hamka as a unique one compared to others. It is a biography of Hamka’s intellectual-social life based on Hamka’s own writings. James Rush managed to picture a complete and comprehensive biography of Hamka.
- H. M. Yunan Yusuf – ‘*Menelusuri Pemikiran Wasatīyah Hamka*’. (Tracing Hamka’s Moderate Thought). Hamka was always acknowledged as a moderate ‘*ulamā*’ especially if there were differences of opinions on religious issues among the ‘*ulamā*’ circles where he declared he preferred the ‘middle approach’. According to H. M. Yunan Yusuf the reason why Hamka wrote *Tasauf Modern* to create a path for the society who was going through the changes caused by modernity. They need a way out from unwarranted behaviour to one with virtuous conduct.
- Asvi Warman Adam – *Hamka dan Sukarno* (Hamka and Sukarno). As the title suggested it narrated the meeting and friendship of both Hamka and Sukarno.

Azra's opinion on Hamka's acronym where he verbally agreed that 'H.A.M.K.A.' through *Pelita Andalas*'s 18 August 1927 can be considered as the first appearance of the acronym 'Hamka.' This study thus summarizes that Hamka's fame spread further after he got home from his *Hajj* in early August 1927 due to his active involvements with the activities of the *Muhammadiyah*.³⁴

This fact was earlier confirmed by Bapak Afif Hamka in an informal interview at the *Istana Budaya* after the performance of the theatre *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* in October, 2015. He confirmed verbally that his father's fame 'Hamka', reached its peak during the era of *Pedoman Masyarakat*, beginning of 1936 and one of the articles sought after was *Tasauf Moderen* or *Tasauf Modern*. It turned out to be one of Hamka's most iconic published works and almost synonym to him. This study will now proceed with the research on previous translations done on Hamka's work in determining if it includes his *Tasauf Moderen*.

1.3 PREVIOUS PARTIAL TRANSLATIONS ON HAMKA'S WORKS

This study discovers that as early as in the 1950s there were already foreign students and scholars who were keen in Hamka's published works and had translated excerpts of his work from *Bahasa Indonesia* into English. Between 1952-1955.; two Cornell University students from the advanced Indonesian language faculty; Patricia Mark translated excerpt of *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'abah* (Under the protection of the *Ka'abah*) while Harry J. Benda translated excerpt of *Ayahku* (My father). They

³⁴ 'As early as 1930s Hamka had already accompanied his father to North of Sumatra and Aceh to accommodate the requests of their *Muhammadiyah* counterparts there. He also went to Bengkulu to set up another branch of this modernist social organization. Hamka claimed he was teaching and preaching the masses while writing and started to be 'known'. He was also the head of the *Muhammadiyah* in Deli in 1930. In 1931 his public speeches in Jogjakarta at the *Muhammadiyah*'s XX Congress left such an impact that many shed their tears which boosted his popularity.' Hamka, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup (II)*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1951), 23.

claimed that the reasons why Indonesian literature since 1917 had been a *terra incognita* (an unknown land) were due to two obvious reasons; the inaccessibility of the material and the language barrier.³⁵

Through the foreword of Hamka's *Ayahku's* second publication in 1958; we discovered that Hamka's father; Dr. Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah's letter to the Japanese entitled *Hanya Allah* (Only Allah) which was originally written in Arabic and then translated by M. Zain Djambek and Asa Bafagih into Latin had been a few years before translated into Dutch by a well-known Christian scholar Swellengrebel published through their Christian magazine '*De Zaaier*'.³⁶ In 1968, Rufus R Hendon from Yale University's South East Asia Studies translated the whole of Hamka's short story entitled '*An abandoned child*' (*Anak Tinggal*).³⁷

Jeffrey Hadler (1968-2017) through the article entitled: '*Home, Fatherhood, Succession: Three Generations of Amrullahs in Twentieth – Century Indonesia*,' did translate parts of Hamka's work extracted from his *Kenang-kenangan Hidup* (Life's reminiscence), *Ayahku* (My father), *Sejarah Minangkabau dengan Agama Islam* (History of Minangkabau and the religion of Islam), *Agama dan Perempuan* (Religion and Women).³⁸ Professor Henk Maier in his survey of Malay writings too translated excerpts of Hamka's memoirs - *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*³⁹ into English.

³⁵ John M. Echols, *An Indonesian Writing in Translation*, (Singapore: Equinox Publishing (Asia) Pte. Ltd, 2009). In this book; Patricia Marks translated excerpt of 'Under the Protection of the Ka'abah (*Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'abah*) - (Jakarta: Penerbit N.V. Nusantara, 1950 (Third Edition), 7-15. Harry J Benda translated 'My father' (*Ayahku*) - (Jakarta: Penerbit Widjaya, Djakarta, 1950.), 149 to 163.

³⁶ Hamka, *Ayahku*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Widjaya Djakarta, 1958), 9-10.

³⁷ '*Anak Tinggal*' (An abandoned child) was originally a short story which Hamka wrote in *Pedoman Masyarakat* between the year 1938 to 1942. Together with other short stories, this anthology was published in *Di Dalam Lembah Kehidupan* (In the Valley of Life) widely available today. And for its full translation into English see Rufus S. Hendon, *Six Indonesian Short Stories*, (Yale: Yale University SEA Studies, 1968), 1-18. By courtesy of the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, National Library of Singapore. BRN8515 Call no: 899 240083.

³⁸ Jeffrey Hadler <<http://about.jstor.org/terms>> (accessed 21 September 2016).

³⁹ Henk Maier, *We are playing relatives, A survey of Malay writing*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), 336-348.