THE TRAJECTORY OF THE *JIHAD* DISCOURSE IN MALAY WORLD

An Analysis on the *Baḥr Al-Mādhī* by Muḥammad Idrīs Al-Marbawī

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Abstract

The term of jihad *has a significant role in the formation of Islamic identity, politics, and nations. For example, the Malay World during the colonial or pre-independence, has created the momentum among community to break free from the colonial at the time. This spirit was injected with elements of* jihad *through the advice of scholars, graduates returning from the middle east who brought the spirit of independence and through writing. Among the writings that may have a role in explaining* jihad *among the Malay community is* Baḥr al-Mādhī *[1924-1960]. This article will analyse on the representation of* jihad *and warfare term in the* Baḥr al-Mādhī, *a book written by Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī [1896-1989]. It can be considered as one of the greatest masterpieces of Malay Muslim scholar in the twentieth century. It was composed as a commentary to the hadith in* Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī *and have been written in Malay language. This article also analyses al-Marbawi's contribution to Malay community understanding jihad in pre independence period of Malaysia through his commentary and translation of the hadith of jihad in* Baḥr al-Mādhī. *This study applied qualitative study, data collected by library research and analysed by document analysis methodology. Study*

found that, the Baḥr al-Mādhī *by Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī has played a major role in the understanding of jihad among Malays in pre-independence period. This book symbolizes the local wisdom of the Malay community at the earliest time. This contribution can be understood through the background of the writing of this book, its wide pertinence into society and the content of jihad in it.*

[Konsep jihad *mempunyai peran signifikan dalam pembentukan identitas keislaman, politik dan kebangsaan. Misalnya seperti dunia Melayu pada masa kolonial atau pra kemerdekaan dimana sarjana muslimnya yang pulang dari belajar di Timur Tengah mendorong masyarakatnya berjuang melawan kolonialisme dan menuntut kemerdekaan melalui tulisan mereka. Salah satu tulisan yang menerangkan konsep* jihad *dalam masyarakat Melayu adalah* Baḥr al-Mādhī. *Artikel ini menjelaskan konsep* jihad *dan perang dalam karya* Baḥr al-Mādhī, *satu karya terbaik sarjana muslim Melayu abad 20, yang ditulis oleh Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī (1896-1989). Karya ini merupakan komentar terhadap kitab hadist* Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī *yang ditulis dalam bahasa Melayu. Artikel ini juga membahas kontribusi penting al-Marbawī dalam menjelaskan jihad dalam masyarakat Melayu masa pra kemerdekaan. Dengan studi literatur dan analisis dokumen terkait, artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa karya al-Marbawī merupakan simbol dari kearifan lokal masyarakat Melayu pada masa awal. Kontribusi pentingnya terlihat dari luasnya pengaruh dan pendalaman pemahaman tentang* jihad *di masyarakat Melayu saat itu.]*

Keywords: al-Marbawī; *Baḥr al-Mādhī*; *Jihad*; Malay World; Pre-independence

A. Introduction

Kitab Jawi (Book of Jawi) is a Malay intellectual work produced by Malay-Muslim scholars in the various disciplines of Islamic science either theoretically, practically, rationalistically and socially.[1] It is a source of civilization and knowledge in the Malay world, which provides reference

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[1] Mohd Puaad Abdul Malik et al., "Kitab Jawi dan Pengilmuan Masyarakat Melayu", *Jurnal 'Ulwan*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2018), p. 1.

to Malay community to study and to understand Islamic law.[2] In fact, *Kitab Jawi* also speaks about sciences and technologies.[3]

Kitab Jawi serves as a medium for transfer of knowledge from Arabic to Malay, which catalyses the development of sciences and education system in the Malay world. *Kitab Jawi* is the foundation of syllabus for teaching and learning at *pondok* (Islamic boarding schools), *madrasah* (Islamic schools), mosques, and *surau* (small mosques), which are the main educational institutions in the Malay world.[4] This shows that *Kitab Jawi* has a great influence in shaping thought, practices and actions of Malay community at the time.

Muḥammad Idrīs al-Marbawī was a prominent Malay scholar who had significant influence and contribution to the understanding of religion in Malay world.[5] This is evident from the fact that *Kitab-Kitab Jawi* he produced was made the syllabus for studies in formal and informal educational institutions in the Malay world.[6] Al-Marbawī wrote more than 20 works in various disciplines, such as Hadith, *tafsir* (interpretation), Arabic, etc.[7]

His most celebrated work was the book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī* which was the commentary on the *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*. According to Anwar Ridwan, this was the earliest and largest work that has ever been produced in the Malay world. The production of this work has successfully filled the

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[2] Farid Wajdi Abdul Rahim, Mohd Anuar Bin Mamat, and Syed Salim Syed Shamsuddin, "Pengaruh Kitab Fiqh Jawi di Alam Melayu: Pengenalan Terhadap Manuskrip Arkān al-Ṣolāt", *Sains Insani*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2021), p. 2.

[3] Farhanah Abdullah et al., "Jawi Script and The Malay Society: Historical Background and Development", *International Journal of Management*, vol. 11, no. 7 (2020), p. 70.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[5] Mohd Solleh Ab Razak and Roshimah Shamsudin Shamsudin, "Ketokohan Al-Marbawi: Analisis Perkembangan Pengajian Ilmu Hadis: The Prominence of al-Marbawi's Scholarship: An Analysis on the Development of the Sciences of Hadith", *'Abqari Journal*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2021), p. 171; Mesbahul Hoque et al., "Phases in the Life of the Malaysian Scholar Sheikh Muhammad Idris al-Marbawi and His Contribution of Knowledge", *Journal of Hadith Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2018), p. 85; Muhd Norazam Nordin et al., "Sumbangan Syeikh Mohamed Idris Almarbawi dalam Dakwah Islamiyyah di Malaysia", *Jurnal Maw'izah*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2018), p. 15.

[6] Nordin et al., "Sumbangan Syeikh Mohamed Idris Almarbawi", p. 18.

[7] Latifah Binti Abdul Majid, "The Baḥr al-Mādhī of Shaykh Idris al-Marbawi and the Jawāhir Al-Bukhārī of Tuan Haji Husayn: Significance Ḥadith texts for Malay Muslims as Tools for Religious, Political and Social Teaching during Twentieth Century", Ph.D Dissertation (Wales: University of Wales, Lampeter, 2008), p. 64.

void of an original work in the field of Hadith in the region.[8] The book became the syllabus of teaching in *pondok*, *madrasah*, mosques and *surau* in the Malay world.[9] There were also other works by al-Marbawī related to Hadith, namely *Idangan Guru Sahih al-Bukhari dan Muslim, Bulugh al-Maram*, and translations in Malay.[10] The works on Hadith produced by al-Marbawī has greatly contributed to the understanding of Malay community with regard to the Hadiths of Prophet Muhammad.

Al-Marbawī also made a huge contribution to the Malay world through the compilation of al-Marbawī Dictionary. This dictionary is a translation of Arabic terms into Malay. This dictionary helped the Malay community learn Arabic and have interactions with books in Arabic.[11]

Al-Marbawī not only focused on spreading the knowledge and understanding of Islam to the Malay world but also aroused the nationalistic spirit of the Malay community to carry out *jihad* against the colonial power and to fight for the independence of the Malay Land. This is reflected in his following poem:

MIM   Mengerjakan segala perintah Allah

                  Mula syaratnya kalau tak salah

                  Majulah bangsa jangan berbalah

                  Martabat yang tinggi di bagi Allah

JIM   Jauhi sekelian ayuhai tuan

                  Jahat dan dengki larangan tuhan

                  Jangan berbantah sesama ikhwan

                  Jika berpecah musuh menawan

LAM   Latihlah saudara ke padang kemajuan

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[8] Anwar Ridhwan, "Kitab Idangan Guru Sahih al-Bukhari wa Muslim: Satu Kajian dari Aspek Metodologi Huraian Hadis", Ph.D Dissertation (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, 2007), p. 8.

[9] Mohd Amru bin Isa and Najah Nadiah Amran, "Pengajian Hadith di Masjid Malaysia", *Fikiran Masyarakat*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2017), p. 16.

[10] Razak and Shamsudin, "Ketokohan Al-Marbawi", p. 179.

[11] Mohamed Idris bin 'Abd al-Rauf al-Marbawi, *Nizam al-Hayah Peraturan Hidup Umat Islam* (Penang: United Press, 1938), p. 619.

Lepaskan diri daripada tertawan

Lambat lekasnya dengan pengetahuan

Luaskan pandangan carilah kawan

MIM Do all the commandments of God

Start with the conditions if not wrong

May the nation prosper not fighting

The highest dignity of God

JIM *Stay away, sir*

Evil and envy forbidden by God

Do not fight with your brothers

If divided, the enemy is glorious

LAM *Train yourself to the land of prosperity*

Be free from captivity

Slowly - quickly with knowledge

Broaden your insight, find a friend[12]

This can also be observed through many of his works, such as *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, *Kitab Idangan Guru*, *Nizam al-Hayah*, etc. including articles in magazines and newspapers, such as *Majalah Pengasoh* and *Seruan al-Azhar*.[13]

Thus, by applying a qualitative research approach, this study will examine the concept of *jihad* and war in *Baḥr al-Mādhī* by al-Marbawī as well as his contribution to the pre-independence Malay community in understanding *jihad* through his translations and elaboration of the

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[12] *Ibid,*.

[13] Mohd Fauzi Hamat and Mohd Nuri al-Amin Endut, "Sumbangan Pemikiran Idris al-Marbawi Semasa Belajar di Mesir dalam Memantapkan Budaya Berfikir Melayu: Analisis Terhadap Karyanya Nizam al-Hayat", in *Budaya dan Pemikiran Islam: Mesir - Malaysia*, ed. by Ahmad Sunawari Long and Zul'azmi Yaakob (Bangi: Jabatan Usuluddin dan Falsafah, Fakulti Pengajian Islam, UKM, 2006), p. 278; Faisal Ahmad Shah, "Faktor Kejayaan dan Kecemerlangan Orang Melayu Menurut Mohamed Idris al-Marbawi", *Jurnal Pengajian Melayu (JOMAS)*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2009), p. 26.

hadiths on jihad in *Baḥr al-Mādhī*. Data were collected through library research on relevant materials, such as the works of al-Marbawī, especially the book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī* as well as relevant studies on al-Marbawī, and then analysed by using the method of document analysis.

B. Biography of al-Marbawī

The full name of al-Marbawī is Mohamed Idris bin Abdul Rauf al-Marbawī al-Azharī. Al-Marbawī is attributed to his family's hometown in Lubuk Merbau, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. Meanwhile, al-Azharī is attributed to the Al-Azhar University where he studied. He was born on 12 May 1896, which corresponds to 28 Zulkaedah 1313 H, in Misfallah, Makkah and passed away in the morning of 13 October 1989 at Ipoh General Hospital, Perak. He was laid to rest at Lubuk Merbau Islamic cemetery, Kuala Kangsar.[14]

His early education began in Makkah where he successfully memorized 16 verses of the Quran when he was only 10 years old. At the age of eleven, he went home to continue his study at schools and Islamic boarding schools in Malay Land. Among the Islamic boarding schools he attended was Pondok Tok Kenali, Kelantan.[15] In 1924, he continued his study at the al-Azhar University, Egypt and obtained *Syahādah ʿĀliyah* from that university. His professors at that time included:[16] Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim al-Samaluti, Sheikh Mahmud Ghunaym, Sheikh Muhammad Bahith, Sheikh Abu al-Aʿla al-Falaki, Al-ʿAllamah al-Makki al-Syeikh Muhammad ʿAli al-Maliki, and Al-Ustaz ʿAbdul Wasif bin Muhammad.

He produced many works in a variety of disciplines which served as a reference for the Malay community such as *tafsir*, hadith, dictionary, *tauhid*, *fiqh*, *tasawuf* as well as articles in magazines and newspapers. For his great contribution to the development of sciences in Malay Land, he had received numerous awards, among others:[17] Honorary Doctorate Degree on Literature from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (1980), Maal Hijrah Special Prominent Figure (1988), Order of the Perak State Crown

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[14] Faisal Ahmad Shah, "Sumbangan Syeikh Mohamed Idris al-Marbawi Dalam Penentuan Identiti Perawi: Tumpuan Kepada Kitab Bahr al-Madhi", *Jurnal Hadis*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2013), p. 12.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 13

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 14

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16

(1988), and Stage Writer Award of Perak (2004).

C. Introduction to the Book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī*

The book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī* is considered a masterpiece of Malay-Islamic sciences in the 20th century. It is also considered the magnum opus of al-Marbawī.[18] This book is a commentary on hadith in Malay. In this book, al-Marbawī has summarized and commented on the hadiths in *Jāmiʻ al-Tirmidhī*. Its complete title is *Baḥr al-Mādhī fī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*.[19]

Baḥr al-Mādhī translates into "*Lautan Madu*" (Ocean of Honey) in Malay. This title is a metaphor given by al-Marbawī to illustrate the important benefits and abundance of knowledge contained in the book.[20]

This book consists of 22 sections. It was printed in phases by Maktabah wa Maṭbaʻah al-Bābī al-Halabī wa Awlāduh. The first section of this book was printed in 1933, while the last section, chapter 22, was printed in March 1960.[21] A total of 2,781 hadiths in *Jāmiʻ al-Tirmidhī* were selected and commented by al-Marbawī in this book. Al-Marbawī also explained about 8,282 issues related to the hadiths he commented, which were associated with the religious, social and political context of the Malay community at that time.[22]

The purpose of writing this book is clearly stated by al-Marbawī in the preamble of his book, which reads:

"… is the purest sincerity of my heart for Allah to comment on the hadith of the Prophet and to praise the words of Allah *Hiya al-ʻUlyā* to all my brothers who do not speak Arabic and pray to Allah for the benefit of the followers of Muhammad SAW and with a hope to be on God's side

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[18] Muhammad Mustaqim Mohd Zarif, "The Bahr al-Madhi of Shaykh Muhammad Idris Al-Marbawi: A Preliminary Analysis", *Ulum Islamiyyah: Malaysian Journal of Islamic Sciences*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2003), p. 63.

[19] Faisal bin Ahmad Shah, "Syaikh Mohamed Idris Al-Marbawi: Kontribusinya dalam Fiqh al-Hadîs", *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2010), p. 57.

[20] Zarif, "The Bahr al-Madhi of Shaykh Muhammad Idris Al-Marbawi", p. 63.

[21] Shah, "Sumbangan Syeikh Mohamed Idris al-Marbawi Dalam Penentuan Identiti Perawi", p. 18.

[22] *Ibid.*,

in the afterlife. And I hope he will not deny me up there"[23]

Based on that statement, this book was indeed specifically written by al-Marbawī to the people of Malay at that time, when most of them did not speak Arabic to interact with the hadiths of the Prophet SAW.

Apart from that, through the book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, al-Marbawī also took the opportunity to inject political awareness among Malay people at that time, especially the spirit of unification, nationalism and *jihad* to liberate the country from the clutches of the colonial power.[24] This is consistent with the timeline of the writing of the book of *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, which occurred during the era of British and Japanese occupation over Malay Land (1924-1957).[25]

Al-Marbawī included a special chapter in his book on the topic of the 'advantages of *jihad*', which discusses the rewards obtained by Muslims who commit *jihad* in the way of Allah SWT. This was simply to provide understanding and to raise the spirit of *jihad* among Malay people.[26]

Although al-Marbawī wanted to evoke the spirit of *jihad* among Malay people, he did not ignore the morals, ethics and laws of war as prescribed in Islam. Al-Marbawī included topics on "war" and "war expeditions", which contain hadiths that discuss morals, ethics and the laws of war, such as treating prisoners properly, prohibition to destroy houses and places of worship, prohibition to destroy crops, etc. and so forth.[27] This is to repel the extreme thoughts and actions of Malay people when carrying out jihad.

D. Representation of Jihad and War Terms in *Baḥr Al-Mādhī*

The *jihad* in Bahr al-Madhi is discussed in three main chapters, namely *al-Siyār, Faḍā'il al-Jihād* and *al-Jihād*. Each chapter contains specific

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[23] Mohamed Idris bin 'Abd al-Rauf al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, vol. 21 (Patani: Maṭbaʻah Ibn Halābī), p. 13.

[24] Majid, "The Baḥr al-Mādhī of Shaykh Idris al-Marbawi and the Jawāhir Al-Bukhārī of Tuan Haji Husayn", pp. 182–9; Latifah Abdul Majid and Nurullah Kurt, "Bahr Al-Madhi: Significant Hadith Text Sciences for Malay Muslims as a Tool for Political Teaching during Twentieh Century", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 20 (2014), p. 2249.

[25] Zarif, "The Bahr al-Madhi of Shaykh Muhammad Idris Al-Marbawi", p. 67.

[26] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 21: 195–221; Mohamed Idris bin 'Abd al-Rauf al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, vol. 22 (Patani: Maṭbaʻah Ibn Halābī), pp. 2–23.

[27] .al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 21: 76–185; al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 22: 42–97.

subtopics related to the problems that the author thinks they should be discussed. The chapter of *al-Siyār* contains 47 subtopics, the chapter of *Faḍā'il al-Jihād* contains 27 subtopics, and the chapter of *al-Jihād* contains 35 subtopics.

In general, the chapter of *al-Siyār* contains discussions on military expeditions in the era of Prophet SAW and relevant discussions based on the sources of the hadiths of *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*. In the first hadith in the chapter of *al-Siyār,* al-Marbawī first explains the definition of war. This was meant to make it easier for readers to understand the scope of the war he meant. War, in al-Marbawī's point of view, is fighting with or killing of infidels in order to promote the religion of Islam and to praise the words of Allah.[28] In addition, war also means fighting carnal desire and the devil. In the context of the discussion of this chapter, the definition that is used is the first one.

After that, al-Marbawī also stated the time when the regulation (*persyariatan*) of war began in the early stages of the arrival of Islam. The basis of the statement of al-Marbawī is the verses (*surah*) of Qur'an 2: 216 and Qur'an, 10: 36, which show that the necessity of war began when Prophet SAW had migrated to Madinah al-Munawwarah. Then, war can also be carried out in other months, except the forbidden months. According to al-Marbawī, with the passage of time, war at the present day can be waged at any time if there is a need, such as to defend the sovereignty of a country, to preserve life, to preserve religion and the likes.[29]

Al-Marbawī also explained about the holy people in the world. This is based on the hadith of Prophet SAW to answer a man's question. This hadith is narrated by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, which reads:

> "The Prophet SAW was asked by a man what kind of human being is the most preferred? The Prophet SAW replied: A man who goes out for jihad in the way of Allah"

Earlier than that, there is also a hadith in the chapter of *al-Siyār* which explains about being patient and not being in a hurry in war. In this case, it is encouraged to first persuade the enemy to believe in Allah

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[28] Mohamed Idris bin 'Abd al-Rauf al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, vol. 11 (Patani: Maṭbaʿah Ibn Halābī), p. 76.

[29] *Ibid.,*

SWT. If they refuse, they then have to pay taxes (*Jizyah*). However, al-Marbawī said that the call is no longer demanded today because the call has reached among local communities and even to the world.[30]

Nevertheless, not all the infidels need to be fought just because of their infidelity. He mentioned it in the commentary of an early hadith of *Abwāb al-Jihād*:

> Problem: Fighting the infidels is sometimes fardu 'ayn and sometimes fardu kifayah. Because if the infidels enter our country or if a Muslim is captured and will not be released by them, then it is fardu 'ayn to fight them. And if the infidels are in their country then it is fardu kifayah to fight them.

So, a question arises whether war is only specific to large-scale forms of warfare. Al-Marbawī mentions that the reward of jihad in the way of Allah is still counted although it is to fight robbers, bandits, traitors and the likes.[31]

While starting a war al-Marbawī said that there is a need for the recitation of *basmalah*. This is because in Islam every job that is going to be carried out, circumcision is started with *basmalah*, then the act is blessed and helped by Allah SWT.[32] Then, pray that Allah SWT gives victory to the Muslim army.[33] This is stated as follows:

> Mahjum went to war with *basmalah*. When entering the mahjum of war, one should ask for help by mentioning the name of Allah, that is, say *bismillahirrahmanirrahim*.

In addition, al-Marbawī also encouraged to recite the magnification of God (*takbir*) to lift spirits of the soldiers when fighting the enemy and, at the same time, to frighten the enemy.

Agreement is also important in jihad in the way of Allah SWT because it can bring a bigger problem in a war against the enemy.[34] War strategies need to be organized and coordinated so that each attack can

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[30] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 80.

[31] *Ibid.*, 11: 198.

[32] *Ibid.*, 11: 186.

[33] Mohamed Idris bin 'Abd al-Rauf al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, vol. 12 (Patani: Maṭba'ah Ibn Halābī), p. 50.

[34] *Ibid.*, 12: 92-93.

be completed in the best way. If there are two attacking strategy plans, it is necessary to consider and compare which one is more agile and is best in defeating the enemy.

When in a war situation, there should be military officers guarding in every part of borders, which is the entrance to a country. The military officers guarding this border were rewarded with being spared from defamation in the afterlife.[35] Such advantages can also be obtained through the services provided to the military, such as teaching how to strengthen the defence, providing financial support and so forth.[36] In fact, their reward is the same as those who go to war.[37] The reason is these people who go to war will not be able to go to war if they have not learned the sciences of war from the masters who teach them.

With regard to the method of fighting, al-Marbawī declared it is prohibited under Islamic law for a Muslim soldier, who have come face to face with the enemy, to flee the battlefield. However, if he is no longer facing the enemy and he runs away to assemble with other soldiers, that is actually mandatory.[38]

It is mentioned earlier that holy people are those who carry out jihad in the way of Allah SWT. For those who go to war and are killed in fighting in the way of Allah SWT, their reward is martyrdom. One of the advantages of being a martyr is that one's sins are forgiven by Allah SWT. However, if a person has a debt and the he dies while fighting in the way of Allah SWT, his sins will not be erased even if he dies as a martyr.[39]

Al-Marbawī also hinted at the attitude of the Malays who like to brag about their clothes and rides, such as gold watches and cars, while those things are obtained by way of debt. He mentioned so because if the debt is not settled before going to war, it will prevent people who are going to war from getting the reward of their sins being erased.[40] The following is the words of al-Marbawī:

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[35] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 199.

[36] *Ibid.*, 11: 205.

[37] *Ibid.*, 11: 206.

[38] .al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 94.

[39] *Ibid.*, 12: 89.

[40] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 214.

> Let us compare the clothes and rides of the Malays because they boast at the time Allah Taala gives them the blessing of a lot of money. So, at that time, men go out of their house wearing silk and a gold watch and car owned with debt and so forth.

In the context of gaining victory, al-Marbawī suggested the Muslim army to stay at enemy's land for three days. This is in accordance with the hadith of Prophet narrated by Abu Talhah that:

> When the Prophet SAW gained victory over the enemy, he would stay in the state for three days.[41]

The purpose was to give the soldiers time to rest and to prepare the strategy in administrating the conquered state. In addition, it was also to show the enemy that Muslims are a great community. The following are the words of al-Marbawī:

> When a victory was achieved over the infidels, he stayed in open space for three days. So that the soldiers could have fun, and they could manage the state's affairs. And they could show all the infidels the greatness of Muslims.[42]

A conclusion can be drawn from the elaboration that al-Marbawī explained in detail the concept of jihad and war according to Islam. He understood the point of view of jihad in Islam and elaborated the issues contained in the hadith of *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*. These commentaries gave a positive impact to the Muslim community in Malay Land, especially those which at that time were still under the colonial power.

E. Principles of *Jus in Bello* in Aspects of Jihad in *Baḥr al-Mādhī*

The implementation of the principles of humanitarian law or referred to as *Jus in Bello* was also applied and emphasized by al-Marbawī. This law is of importance to regulate the way a war is waged. Al-Marbawī strictly forbade Muslims, especially the Malays, to emulate the attitude or behaviour of the Chinese who like to usurp the rights of others. He gave such an example probably due to political factors at that time, in which among the dominant oppressors and rebels against Malaya and

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[41] Muḥammad Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn Sūrah Ibn Mūsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 3, ed. by Bashār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmiy, 1998), p. 173.

[42] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 84.

the local community was the Malayan Communist Party led by Chinese people, such as Loi Teck.[43]

Among the issues outlined by al-Marbawī is that for those who want to fight and still have both parents, then it is obligatory for them to ask for blessings from both parents in advance. This is because a child's duty is to serve both parents as long as they are still alive. Thus, al-Marbawī mentioned that it is forbidden by Islamic law (*haram*) for a person to go out to war without obtaining permission from both parents. But on condition that both parents are Muslims.[44]

Meanwhile children who want to go to war, even if they are physically fit, are forbidden to participate in war. Acording to the hadith, Prophet SAW forbade al-Bara' bin 'Azib and also Ibn Umar to participate in the battle of Badr.[45] It is different for women because in war women are allowed to be part of the army, not as fighters on the battlefield. Women's task in war is to serve as nurses and cooks.[46]

The right to war that also needs to be protected is the prohibition of mobilizing the sick to fight.[47] Because if the sick are deployed to war, it will inevitably cause defeat and harm to the person who is sick, and the country whose sovereignty is being defended. Therefore, the non-involvement of the sick is tolerated by the Islamic law. The demand for them to go on war is not mandatory. The age range of a person who can join a war and be fought is 15 years or when one has reached the puberty. People under that age are children and it is illegitimate to kill them. Besides, they cannot be involved as soldiers on battlefield.[48]

Moreover, al-Marbawī also stressed that the scholars agreed not to kill women and children. This is in line with the principle of *Jus in Bello*. But if a fight takes places at night resulting in the death of women or

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[43] Zulhilmi Paidi and Rohani Ab Ghani, "Darurat di Tanah Melayu: Peristiwa dan pengajaran untuk generasi masakini dalam konteks ketahanan nasional", presented at the Nasional Resilience (SNAR 2010) *Political Managements and Policies in Malaysia* (Sintok: Institute of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's Thoughts, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 13 Jul 2010), pp. 14–6.

[44] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 45.

[45] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 156.

[46] *Ibid.*, 11: 123.

[47] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 43.

[48] *Ibid.*, 12: 87.

children, then it is not sinful.[49] If the enemies killed during the fight with Muslims have wives, the welfare of their widows will be taken care of.[50]

He also reminded every commander who leads a military troop to be fair to those under his leadership regardless of their rank, appearance, possessions, and so forth.[51] Here is what he said:

> Do not be cruel to them and those of higher ranks should not look upon their excellences, richness and appearance. Treat them equally and consult with them whatever is worth deliberation and tell them whatever is made, and have some mercy on them, and do not be hard on them but be gentle with all of them and so forth.

Thus, the leader of a military troop needs to be firm but at the same time he should not overlook the situations of people under his leadership. Another rule of war taught by al-Marbawī was to avoid venting one's anger on enemies after their death. For example, cutting off their ears, legs and other body parts out of resentment at the cruelty they have committed. Kill only the enemies who are still alive.[52]

Later, al-Marbawī also emphasized that one cannot set enemies on fire. He is of the view that human being should not punish someone with fire because the act of punishing with fire is only worthy of Allah SWT.[53]

Al-Marbawī further mentioned that it is not permissible to fight an animal because it causes harm to the animal. In fact, he called the Malays behaving in that particular way as fools. In addition, al-Marbawī also forbade slapping or hitting the face of animals or humans during war. He addressed the issues in the commentary on the hadith in the chapter entitled *Tegahan Selar Muka Binatang dan Memukulnya* (Prohibition of slapping the face of an animal and hitting it) that reads as follows:

> (Beware, hey my brother) slapping the face of an animal and a human being is forbidden by Islamic law. Similarly, it is forbidden by the Shari'ah to hit the face, whether the face of an animal or a human.

The act of slapping an animal's or a human being's face is

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[49] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 116

[50] *Ibid*., 11: 135.

[51] *Ibid*., 11: 186.

[52] *Ibid*., 11: 188.

[53] *Ibid*., 11: 118-119.

forbidden because if an animal is slapped on its face, it brings disgrace to its appearance, while it is forbidden to slap a human being on the face because of its dignity. Thus, this indicates that al-Marbawī placed great emphasis on the concept of *Jus in Bello* in warfare. He even forbade damaging crops either by cutting them down or burning them.[54] He, then, forbade the killing someone other than infidels.[55]

Al-Marbawi also forbade the separation of a family of prisoners, such as separating a child from his/her mother because it will bring grief to the mother, which means harming the mother and her child. In case of a prisoner of war, three choices are given, either to kill the offender, to give him freedom or to ask for ransom.[56]

F. Local Wisdom of Malay Land on Jihad and War (*Al-Hikmah Al-Mahaliyyah*)

In his magnum opus, al-Marbawi included local elements of Malay land with regard to jihad and war. The implementation of this aspect can be observed in the parables used, local means, war communication and strategy.

In the aspect of unique parables, al-Marbawī spoke about the position of *al-Khamīs* mentioned in the hadith narrated by Anas bin Mālik which he translated as a position that resembles the shape of an eagle. It consists of five line-ups, namely preamble (*mukadimah*), *mu'akhhirah, maymanah, maysarah* and *qalbun*. Idrīs al-Marbawī named each of these positions as follows: 1. Preamble as front line, 2. *Mu'akhhirah* as tail, 3. *Maymanah* as right wing, 4. *Maysarah* as left wing, and 5. Qalbun as heart or center. With regard to these five positions, he translated them as a position similar to an eagle.

Furthermore, this study found that the aspect of the number of troops was also discussed by al-Marbawī. He divided the army into two types, namely small army and large army. For a small army, the best number (of soldiers) is 400 hundred people. Meanwhile, large army should have 4,000 soldiers. An army of 12,000 soldiers can defeat a country inhabited by infidels. In fact, the army can provide a very good and fair form of

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[54] *Ibid.*, 11: 86.

[55] *Ibid.*, 11: 187

[56] *Ibid.*, 11: 112.

state administration and management.[57] He also mentioned about how the military that can be used as a guide. Good management of war is able to defeat an enemy with large forces. Thus, the number of troops is also a form of *ḥikmah maḥaliyyah* that leads to strategy in war.

In addition, spoil of war is a form of war strategy. Spoils of war can be the fuel for Muslim army. Therefore, for the first successful attack, ¼ of the spoils of war will be divided. The reason is that during the first attack, the enemy is usually less prepared and the level of defence of the enemy is not quite strong. However, when the spoils of war are obtained from the second attack, 1/3 of the spoils of war will be divided because the enemy defence is normally stronger and it is harder to penetrate it.[58]

Another strategy that al-Marbawī tried to highlight was techniques of intelligence if something surprising happens at night. This was mentioned in the hadiths of al-Tirmidhī. Al-Marbawī elaborated that if something happens that might frighten the soldiers, then it is mandatory for the army chief to go out to inspect on it. If it is dangerous to go alone, it is possible to do the intelligence work in groups.[59] Each Muslim state border should also be secured by guards aimed at monitoring and controlling the enemy's movement for the possibility of ambushes and so forth.[60]

During a war, employing deception and twisting the enemy is a necessity. In fact, it is a must because every war is intended for victory. This, however, may not breach a promise that has been sealed and breach the peace that has been agreed upon because it is categorized as an act of persecution.[61] These two things may not be twisted. This shows that even the subtlest strategies may be used to weaken an enemy but the element of persecution remains inapplicable.

Apart from that, the aspect of war management was also mentioned by Al-Marbawī such as holding a meeting before taking an action or an errand. This is necessary to obtain the views of all expert military members and to select the best approach for the success of upholding

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[57] *Ibid.*, 11: 92-93.

[58] *Ibid.*, 11: 103.

[59] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 54-55

[60] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 220, 12: 35.

[61] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 48

the words of Allah SWT. [62]

According to al-Marbawī again, the tactic of attacking an enemy at night is more efficient than during the day. Al-Marbawī was in favour of using the tactic of attacking an enemy at night or in the early morning. Normally, this is the time for human beings to take a rest and they are in a state of unpreparedness. Therefore, it is the most strategic time to carry out an attack.[63] If an attack is carried out during the day, it will be difficult because the conditions is very bright, in which the soldiers might be unable to walk, hide and run well.

Concerning the means of war, Al-Marbawī mentioned in several parts of his commentary that among the means of war at the time of Prophet Muhammad was horses. He explained the rewards obtained for those who keep horses for good purposes, such as preparation for war. In the context of Malay world, he mentioned that proper rides for the Malay world also receive the same reward if used for a good cause. However, if the horses are kept for bragging or exalting oneself, they will eventually fall into forbidden things under Islamic law.[64]

He also said that the means used during the war were hoes, shovels and the likes.[65] This shows that the means used by the villagers in the archipelago, such as hoes and shovels, are used for daily activities. Al-Marbawī stated as follows:

> Because tafa'ul with his atrocity and being useless due to the goods he has compared to all the crushing tools including hoes and shovels and others.

When explaining the hadith in the chapter about the advantages of archery in the way of Allah, he took the example that arrow was the greatest weapon in ancient times. Meanwhile, at the time he wrote this book, arrow can also be interpreted as a rifle and a cannon.[66] Therefore, even though the means have changed in line with the changes of the times, but the advantages remain the same.

If compared to the present time, the means of war can also be

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[62] *Ibid.*, 12: 92.

[63] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 83

[64] *Ibid.*, 11: 214.

[65] *Ibid.*, 11: 83.

[66] *Ibid.*, 11: 215.

translated into rifles, pistols, cannons, torpedoes, submarines, jets and the likes.[67] But the indicator that must be in place in order for a person to get the reward as mentioned in the hadith above is its good intention. If it is not for good intention, the person does not belong to the group mentioned in the hadith.

Moving forward, according to him, the closest weapon to a soldier or fighter is a chain suit or in the current context is armour and bulletproof vest. This means that the body parts from top of head to feet should preferably be protected with armour. Although soldiers might have weapons such as pistols, rifles, arrows and others, with the absence of additional defence, such as shields or armour, a soldier's body can still be injured. Therefore, before achieving *tawakkal*, it is necessary to ensure that every aspect of means and defence has been best prepared.[68]

At the same time, Al-Marbawī also gave an example concerning vehicles that may be used by the Muslim army during a war at sea. Among the vehicles that may be used are warships and small boats.[69]

With regard to communication during the war, bragging or boasting against an enemy is sometimes necessary because it can frighten and scare the opponent. For example, shouting in front of the enemy by saying "I am the son of warrior" or any names that can indicate privileged status in order to scare an enemy.[70] At present, it is also possible to use sirens or shouting to show the spirit to fight.

Al-Marbawī said that if the enemy requests to redeem the corpses of their soldiers, the Muslim army should not easily agree with their request. This is related to a prohibition in the hadith of the Prophet SAW.[71] Likewise, it is also prohibited to compromise with the enemy once they are captured.[72]

G. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, *Baḥr al-Mādhī* has a unique historical value because

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[67] *Ibid.*, 11: 216.

[68] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 12: 62-63

[69] *Ibid.*, 12: 6.

[70] *Ibid.*, 12: 59.

[71] *Ibid.*, 12: 93.

[72] al-Marbawi, *Baḥr al-Mādhī*, 11: 192.

it was the first work in the field of hadith which explained the *fiqh* of hadiths derived from the book of *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*. Al-Marbawī touched on the chapter on jihad in *Baḥr al-Mādhī* by describing it according to the context of the Malay approach. This effort was aimed at evoking the spirit of jihad among local community to fight the colonial power. The understanding of the hadith of Prophet Muhammad shown by al-Marbawī is very realistic and is not bound too much to the atmosphere of the Arab community. At last, the call for jihad in the Malay world can clearly be delivered through his work of *Baḥr al-Mādhī*.

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