

## **JEWISH ANTAGONISM AS PORTRAYED BY HAMKA IN THE BOOK OF TAFSIR AL-AZHAR**

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### **Abstract**

Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka) is widely recognized as a leading Muslim intellectual of 20th-century Indonesia, renowned for his extensive body of work, including both novels and Qur'anic exegesis. His tafsir has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest across Asia. The Qur'an contains numerous verses concerning the Jews, and as an exegete of the entire 30 juz of the Qur'an, Hamka offers a distinct interpretation of these verses. The 20th century was a period marked by significant global political upheaval, notably the establishment of Israel in 1948. The creation of the Israeli state had profound consequences for Muslims worldwide, intensifying anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel sentiments, which also permeated discourse in the United States and the United Kingdom. Within this context, several Islamic scholars began to integrate European concepts found in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a document that portrays Jews as malevolent and conspiratorial figures. These ideas gradually infiltrated the field of Qur'anic exegesis, including Indonesian works, most prominently Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar, first published in 1965. Before this period, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" had not influenced Qur'anic interpretation. This paper seeks to critically analyze the theme of Jewish conspiracy in Hamka's tafsir by tracing the origins of his arguments, identifying the presence of conspiratorial elements in his exegesis, and examining the extent to which Hamka's views converge with those of Sayyid Qutb. The study employs a library-based literature review utilizing a descriptive-analytical and critical approach. The findings reveal that Hamka strongly adheres to the conspiracy theory espoused in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," depicting Jews as aiming to establish a new world order, dominate the global economy, and control Hollywood and the media.

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Moreover, Hamka's interpretations are significantly shaped by Sayyid Qutb's concepts of Jahiliyyah (ignorance) and Hakimiyyah (sovereignty).

**Keywords:** *Jewish Conspiracy Theories; Hamka; Tafsir Al-Azhar; Indonesian Qur'anic Interpretation.*

### Abstrak

*Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (Hamka) merupakan salah satu intelektual Muslim terkemuka Indonesia pada abad ke-20, yang dikenal melalui berbagai karyanya, baik dalam bentuk novel maupun tafsir al-Qur'an. Karya tafsir Hamka telah banyak dikaji di Asia. Dalam al-Qur'an, terdapat sejumlah ayat yang membahas mengenai Yahudi, dan Hamka, sebagai penafsir dari keseluruhan 30 juz al-Qur'an, menawarkan pandangan yang unik terhadap ayat-ayat tersebut. Secara historis, abad ke-20 ditandai oleh berbagai polemik dan gejolak politik global, termasuk di antaranya adalah kemerdekaan Israel pada tahun 1948. Berdirinya negara Israel memiliki dampak luas terhadap komunitas Muslim di seluruh dunia, yang memicu sentimen negatif terhadap Yahudi, Zionis, dan Israel, bahkan menjalar hingga ke Amerika Serikat dan Inggris. Dalam konteks ini, sejumlah pemikir Islam mulai mengadopsi pemikiran Eropa terkait isu "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" yang menggambarkan Yahudi sebagai musuh dan sosok jahat. Pandangan ini turut mempengaruhi disiplin ilmu tafsir al-Qur'an, yang kemudian tercermin dalam karya-karya tafsir, termasuk Tafsir Al-Azhar karya Hamka, yang pertama kali diterbitkan pada tahun 1965. Sebelum fenomena ini, isu "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" tidak ditemukan dalam tradisi penafsiran al-Qur'an. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konsep konspirasi Yahudi dalam tafsir karya Hamka dengan menelusuri sumber argumentasi Hamka, adanya unsur konspirasi dalam karyanya, serta keterkaitan antara pemikiran Hamka dan Sayyid Qutb dalam isu ini. Metode yang digunakan dalam artikel ini adalah kajian pustaka dengan pendekatan deskriptif-analitik yang bersifat kritis. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa Hamka mengadopsi teori konspirasi "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" secara kuat, di mana Yahudi dianggap berambisi menciptakan tatanan dunia baru, menguasai perekonomian global, dan mendominasi industri hiburan serta media, termasuk Hollywood. Pemikiran Sayyid Qutb, terutama konsep Jahiliyah dan Hakimiyyah, juga berpengaruh signifikan terhadap pandangan Hamka.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Jewish Conspiracy Theories; Hamka; Tafsir Al-Azhar; Indonesia Qur'anic Interpretation.*

### مستخلص

عبد الملك كريم أمر الله يُعتبر على نطاق واسع واحدًا من أبرز المفكرين المسلمين في إندونيسيا في القرن العشرين، وهو مشهور بمؤلفاته الغزيرة التي تشمل الروايات وتفسير القرآن الكريم. لقد كان تفسيره للقرآن موضع اهتمام كبير لدى الباحثين في جميع أنحاء آسيا. يتضمن القرآن الكريم العديد من الآيات المتعلقة باليهود، وكمفسر لجميع أجزاء القرآن، قدم عبد الملك تفسيرًا مميّزًا لهذه الآيات. وكان القرن العشرون فترة شهدت اضطرابات سياسية كبيرة على الصعيد العالمي، خاصة مع تأسيس دولة إسرائيل عام 1948. وقد كان لإنشاء الدولة الإسرائيلية تأثيرات عميقة على المسلمين في جميع أنحاء العالم، مما أدى إلى تصاعد المشاعر المعادية لليهود وللصهيونية وإسرائيل، وانتشرت هذه المشاعر حتى في الخطاب العام في الولايات المتحدة والمملكة المتحدة. في هذا السياق، بدأ بعض العلماء المسلمين في تبني المفاهيم الأوروبية الموجودة في "بروتوكولات حكماء صهيون"، وهي وثيقة تصور اليهود كشخصيات شريرة ومؤامراتية. بدأت هذه الأفكار تتسلل تدريجيًا إلى مجال تفسير القرآن، بما في ذلك الأعمال الإندونيسية، وعلى رأسها "تفسير الأزهر" لعبد الملك، الذي نُشر لأول مرة عام 1965. قبل هذه الفترة، لم يكن لـ"بروتوكولات حكماء صهيون" تأثير على تفسير القرآن. تهدف هذه الورقة إلى تحليل موضوع المؤامرة اليهودية في تفسير عبد الملك من خلال

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تتبع أصول حججه، وتحديد العناصر المؤامراتية في تفسيره، وفحص مدى توافق آراء عبد الملك مع أفكار سيد قطب. تعتمد الدراسة على مراجعة البحث في المكتبة باستخدام المنهج الوصفي التحليلي والنقدي. وتكشف النتائج أن عبد الملك يتبنى بقوة نظرية المؤامرة التي تروجها "بروتوكولات حكماء صهيون"، حيث يصور اليهود كمن يسعون لإقامة نظام عالمي جديد، والسيطرة على الاقتصاد العالمي، والتحكم في هوليوود ووسائل الإعلام. علاوة على ذلك، تتأثر تفسيرات عبد الملك بشكل كبير بمفاهيم سيد قطب حول الجاهلية والحاكمية.

الكلمات الرئيسية: نظريات المؤامرة اليهودية; عبد الملك كريم أمر الله; تفسير الأزهر; تفسير القرآن في إندونيسيا

## A. Introduction

Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (1908-1981), widely known as Hamka, was an influential Indonesian Muslim intellectual born in Sungai Batang, West Sumatra. Renowned for his prolific literary output, Hamka made significant contributions across various genres, including literature and Qur'anic exegesis. In the broader Asian context, he is celebrated as a revolutionary figure in both religious thought and intellectual discourse.<sup>1</sup> Among his most distinguished works is the novel "*Tenggelamnya Kapal van der Wijck*," first published in 1938. Equally notable is his "*Tafsir al-Azhar*," a pivotal work that has enriched the scholarly landscape in Asia, particularly in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam.

Hamka, who rose to prominence as a leading intellectual in the 20th century, is recognized for his unique approach to Qur'anic exegesis. The global political upheavals of this era profoundly influenced the interpretative frameworks of Qur'anic commentators, including Hamka. The establishment of Israel in 1948 deeply impacted the Muslim world, a trauma that was subsequently reflected in literary works and shaped the discipline of Qur'anic interpretation. The shift in paradigm when interpreting Qur'anic references to Jews from the classical period to the 20th century is unmistakable. Anti-Semitic motifs, often linked to the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and Illuminati conspiracies, increasingly surfaced in exegetical literature,<sup>2</sup> including Hamka's works. The portrayal of Jews as orchestrating a new world order and seeking control over the global economy, media, and other domains became a pervasive theme in these interpretations.

In the context of the growing discourse on baseless anti-Semitism, scholars, particularly those of Jewish background, have stressed the importance of eliminating Qur'anic

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<sup>1</sup> Basri Basri and Muhammad Muhammad, "Rethinking Religious Moderation Through The Study Of Indonesian Exegesis : A Study Of Tafsir Al-Azhar By Hamka," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 21, no. 1 (2023): 41–58, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v21i1.8737>.

<sup>2</sup> Webman Esther, "Rethinking the Role of Religion in Arab Antisemitic Discourses," *Religions* 415, no. 10 (2019): 2–16, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10070415>.

verses perceived as containing racist elements against Judaism.<sup>3</sup> The removal of such verses is considered urgent and necessary to foster interfaith harmony and uphold human dignity. The vilification of Jews, often depicted as inherently malevolent figures within society, has become an accepted belief among large segments of the global population.<sup>4</sup> The debate surrounding the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the Illuminati has persisted since the 17th century, with no definitive resolution. Intense discussions continue among scholars and observers. Figures such as Michael Hagemester,<sup>5</sup> Daniel Greene—in his review of Will Eisner's book *"The Plot: The Secret Story of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion"*—<sup>6</sup> and Chiara Volpato,<sup>7</sup> among others, contend that the Protocols and Illuminati are baseless conspiracies lacking valid evidence, primarily aimed at discrediting Jews.<sup>8</sup>

This study takes on added significance when the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the Illuminati are discussed within a work of Qur'anic exegesis, particularly Hamka's *Tafsir al-Azhar*. Hamka frequently integrates anti-Semitic themes into his commentary, often citing the Protocols, which purportedly outline ambitions to restructure global order, dominate international finance, control Hollywood, and even establish Saturday as an additional holiday—claims that Hamka presents as evidence of the Protocols and Illuminati. These conspiratorial elements often appear in his interpretations of verses that depict Jewish antagonism toward Islamic truth, raising concerns about whether these interpretations are based on factual evidence or are merely rooted in anti-Semitic fiction.

The selection of Hamka's tafsir for this study is underpinned by a crucial rationale. As Indonesia endeavors to foster religious moderation,<sup>9</sup> a key element of this effort is the reduction of suspicion towards followers of other faiths.<sup>10</sup> Judaism is one of the religions

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<sup>3</sup> Armin Lange et al., "An End To Antisemitism!," no. February (2018). See also, Muhammad Muhammad, "Yahudi Di Indonesia: Analisis Interpretasi Nawawi Al-Bantani Dalam Kitab Marāḥ Labīd," *AL QUDS: Jurnal Studi Alquran Dan Hadis* 6, no. 2 (September 2022): 887–904, <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v6i2.4298>.

<sup>4</sup> Jovan Byford, *Conspiracy Theories and Their Vicissitudes* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2011.600101>.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Hagemester, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: Between History and Fiction," *New German Critique* 35, no. 1 (2008): 83–95, <https://doi.org/10.1215/0094033X-2007-020>.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel. Greene, "The Plot: The Secret Story of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (Review)," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 25, no. 3 (2007): 186–88, <https://doi.org/10.1353/sho.2007.0070>.

<sup>7</sup> Chiara Volpato and Federica Durante, "Empowering the ' Jewish Threat ': The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," *Journal of US-China Public Administration* 6, no. 1 (2009): 23–37.

<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Benz, "Antisemitismusforschung Als Akademisches Fach Und Öffentliche Aufgabe," *Jahrbuch Für Antisemitismusforschung* 19 (2010): 17–32.

<sup>9</sup> Muhamad Yusuf et al., "The Role of Anak Jalanan At- Tamur Islamic Boarding School in Internalizing the Values of Religious Moderation to College Students in Bandung," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23, no. 1 (February 2023): 132, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i1.15358>.

<sup>10</sup> Ali Hamdan, Zaenul Mahmudi, and Muhammad Muhammad, "Anti-Semitism in M. Quraish Shihab's Interpretation of Verses about Jews in Tafsir Al-Misbah," *AL QUDS: Jurnal Studi Alquran Dan Hadis* 7, no. 1 (May 2023): 121, <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v7i1.5331>.

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currently gaining a foothold in Indonesia. If narratives surrounding the Protocols and Illuminati persist, the pursuit of religious moderation in the country could be significantly hindered. Hamka's *Tafsir al-Azhar* is among the many exegeses studied in universities specializing in Qur'anic studies and interpretation. Should scholars in these fields engage extensively with a tafsir that suggests the credibility of the Protocols and Illuminati—despite the lack of credible evidence—it may profoundly shape the perspectives of graduates from Qur'anic studies programs in Indonesia. This research aims to critically analyze the presence and implications of the Protocols and Illuminati within Hamka's tafsir.

The study of the Protocols, Illuminati, and Zionism has garnered significant scholarly interest since their emergence in the 17th century,<sup>11</sup> gaining further prominence in the 18th century and continuing to captivate researchers today.<sup>12</sup> This interest spans a range of academic perspectives, including historical, political, and economic analyses. Despite extensive discussion, the abstract concept of Jewish influence remains a compelling subject of inquiry, particularly in Indonesia, where belief in Jewish conspiracies is widespread.

A thorough review of existing literature reveals that no research has specifically examined the Illuminati within Hamka's *Tafsir al-Azhar*. While numerous studies have explored Hamka's intellectual legacy, those that focus on his exegetical work primarily address his interpretive methodology, views on religious moderation, leadership by non-Muslims,<sup>13</sup> the influence of *Tafsir al-Manar* on his interpretations, and principles of education. This contrasts with the substantial scholarly attention devoted to Middle Eastern exegetes such as Rashid Rida, analyzed by Uriya Shavit,<sup>14</sup> and Sayyid Qutb, explored by Fawaz A. Gerges<sup>15</sup> and Sayed Khatab.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, this article offers a novel examination of a topic that has not been previously addressed by other researchers.

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<sup>11</sup> Galily Daniel, "The Origin of Conspiracy Theories against Freemasonry at the Beginning of the 21st Century," *NotaBene*, no. 45 (2019).

<sup>12</sup> Esther Webman, *Hate and Absurdity: The Impact of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Routledge, 2011), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203814291>.

<sup>13</sup> Zulkifli Mohd Yusoff and Abdul Hafiz Abdullah, "Pemimpin Menurut Pandangan Hamka: Satu Tinjauan Dalam Tafsir Al-Azhar (Kepemimpinan Menurut HAMKA: Tinjauan Tafsir Al-Azhar)," *Jurnal Al-Tamaddun* 8, no. 1 (2013): 17–38, <https://ejournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JAT/article/view/8647>.

<sup>14</sup> Uriya Shavit, "Zionism as Told by Rashid Rida," *Journal of Israeli History* 34, no. 1 (January 2015): 23–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13531042.2015.1005807>.

<sup>15</sup> Fawaz A. Gerges, *Making the Arab World: Nasser, Qutb, and the Clash That Shaped the Middle East* (NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018).

<sup>16</sup> Sayed Khatab, "Hakimiyyah and Jahiliyyah in the Thought of Sayyid Qutb," *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 (July 2002): 145–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/714004475>.

## B. Discussion

### 1. *Tracing the Origins of Illuminati Conspiracy in Hamka's Exegesis*

Historically, Islam has coexisted peacefully with Jewish communities, as evidenced by historical records showing that Jews often found greater security and tranquility in Muslim societies.<sup>17</sup> From its inception, Islam has never depicted Judaism as inherently malevolent. Jews were subject to a protection tax but were otherwise free to practice their religion and engage in daily life. Even during periods of conflict between Muslims and Jews, Islam refrained from portraying Judaism as a hostile or evil faith.<sup>18</sup> This contrasts sharply with the European and Christian contexts, where Jews frequently endured discrimination and persecution.

However, the relationship between Islam and Judaism underwent a significant transformation following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.<sup>19</sup> Bernard Lewis argues that this shift in Islamic perspectives was influenced by the adoption of Nazi ideologies, literature, and views on Jews. The themes that became prominent included accusations of poisoning, murder, the spread of hatred, world domination, control over Hollywood, the media, the global economy, and natural resources, as well as attempts to falsify the Qur'an, the spread of adult content, drug proliferation,<sup>20</sup> and various other conspiracies linked to Islam.<sup>21</sup> In response, Qur'anic exegetes began to interpret verses concerning Jews within this altered framework.

Following 1948, the dissemination of the Protocols conspiracy theory escalated across the Arab world, primarily through television broadcasts and print media in countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and beyond, eventually permeating into Asia.<sup>22</sup> In Egypt, the propagation of this conspiracy reached its zenith, particularly through the efforts of the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamic organization dedicated to spreading the Jewish conspiracy

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<sup>17</sup> Saiful Bahri, "Interaksi Antara Kaum Muslimin Dengan Kaum Yahudi," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 6, no. 2 (2018): 89, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v6i2.3050>. See also, Rukman Abdul Rahman Said, "Hubungan Islam Dan Yahudi Dalam Lintasan Sejarah," *Jurnal Al-Asas* 11, no. 1 (2019): 26–39.

<sup>18</sup> Esther, "Rethinking the Role of Religion in Arab Antisemitic Discourses." See also, Muhammad Muhammad et al., "Freedom That Is Not Absolute: Ecological Ethics and Human-Nature Relationship in the Qur'an," *Studia Ecologiae et Bioethicae*, July 2024, <https://doi.org/10.21697/seb.5821>.

<sup>19</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry into Conflict and Prejudice*, Phoenix Giant (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987).

<sup>20</sup> Christopher Partridge and Ron Geaves, *Antisemitism, Conspiracy Culture, Christianity, and Islam: The History and Contemporary Religious Significance of the Protocols Of the Learned Elders of Zion*, ed. Lewis R. James and Olav Hammer, *The Invention of Sacred Tradition*, vol. 9780521864 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511488450.004>.

<sup>21</sup> Bernard Lewis, "Muslim Anti-Semitism," *Middle East Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (1998): 43–49.

<sup>22</sup> Kiki Santing, "Conspiracy Theories and Muslim Brotherhood Antisemitism under Sadat," *Religions* 13, no. 143 (2022): 3–16, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13020143>.

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narrative via its Al-Da'wa bulletin.<sup>23</sup> Remarkably, during this period, no Muslim intellectuals in the Arab world critically examined or challenged these claims; they were largely accepted without scrutiny. It was not until Abdel Wahab El-Messiri,<sup>24</sup> an Egyptian intellectual, provided a rigorous critique in his seminal work, *Encyclopedia of Jews, Judaism, and Zionism*, that this narrative began to be questioned.

In Indonesia, initial attitudes towards Jews were relatively neutral, devoid of widespread suspicion or animosity. However, this shifted when Gerungan Saul Samuel Jacob Ratulangi, a Protestant Christian also known as Sam Ratulangi (1890-1949), introduced anti-Semitic and Protocols conspiracy theories into the public discourse through his writings,<sup>25</sup> which were heavily influenced by European conspiracy ideologies. His ideas, imported from Europe, were particularly effective in galvanizing the Indonesian independence movement in 1945. The acceptance of the Protocols conspiracy theory in Indonesia further solidified with the return of Indonesian students from Arab countries, especially post-1948. These conspiracy theories were subsequently reframed within an Islamic context, aligning with principles derived from the Qur'an and Hadith.

The widespread adoption of Illuminati, Protocols, and Zionist conspiracy theories in the Arab world—elements of which were brought back by Indonesian-Arab students—was strategically utilized by Hamka in his exegesis of Qur'anic verses related to Jews. Hamka's scholarly approach was distinctly marked by a strong Arabization influence, often involving the adaptation and reinterpretation of Arab intellectuals' commentaries. James R. Rush contends that Hamka was not an original thinker but rather a popularizer of ideas sourced from the works of others, particularly those of Egyptian literary figures and reformists.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, Hamka held a firm belief in the transformative potential of the revolution led by Khomeini, seeing it as a catalyst for significant shifts in Islamic thought. Hamka emphasized that the most pivotal achievement of this revolution was the Iranian people's successful resistance to secularism. He articulated these views during his address at the 1980 Tehran

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<sup>23</sup> Santing.

<sup>24</sup> Webman, *Hate and Absurdity: The Impact of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

<sup>25</sup> Jeffrey Hadler, "Translations of Antisemitism: Jews, the Chinese, and Violence in Colonial and Post-Colonial Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 94 (2004): 291–313, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810500031012>. See also, Muhammad, "Yahudi Di Indonesia: Analisis Interpretasi Nawawi Al-Bantani Dalam Kitab Marāḥ Labīd."

<sup>26</sup> E. P. Wieringa, "Rush, James R.: Hamka's Great Story. A Master Writer's Vision of Islam for Modern Indonesia," *Anthropos* 113, no. 2 (2018): 757–58, <https://doi.org/10.5771/0257-9774-2018-2-757>.

conference, where he urged Muslims to strive towards building a new societal framework.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that Khomeini's development of the Iranian revolution was intricately linked to the propagation of Jewish conspiracy theories, as thoroughly analyzed in Andrew Fink's 2020 doctoral dissertation.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, scholars of Indonesian Qur'anic exegesis have noted the profound influence of Middle Eastern interpretations, particularly those from Egypt, on the style and methodology of Qur'anic commentary in Indonesia.<sup>29</sup> *Tafsir al-Manar*, authored by Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashid Rida (1865-1935), is among the seminal works that significantly shaped Indonesian exegetical thought during this period. This influence is especially evident in Hamka's *Tafsir al-Azhar*. Hamka extensively incorporates *Tafsir al-Manar's* approach, particularly in discussions concerning the *Ahl al-Kitab* (People of the Book).<sup>30</sup> Initially, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida did not focus heavily on issues related to Semitism; however, their interpretations eventually evolved to reflect a pronounced anti-Semitic tone.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Hamka appeared to be in agreement with Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) on the concepts of *Jahiliyyah* and *Hakimiyyah*, which were perceived as stemming from Jewish conspiracies, likely influenced by materials from the Tsarist era and Nazi propaganda.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the sources of Hamka's interpretation, the revolutionary ideologies emerging from Iran, and the rise of anti-Semitism in Indonesia during that time strongly indicate the presence of the Jewish Protocols in his exegesis of Qur'anic verses concerning Jews. Although Hamka frequently references the Jewish Protocols in his writings, he does not provide a detailed account of the figures associated with these Protocols. Nevertheless, it is evident that Hamka employs two principal theories to articulate the Jewish Protocols: the Jewish ambition for global domination and the Illuminati conspiracy.

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<sup>27</sup> Majid Daneshgar, "The Images of the Shah and Khomeini in Indonesia and Malaysia: Honoured or Hated?," *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 14, no. 2 (2020): 252–67, <https://doi.org/10.1080/25765949.2020.1760545>.

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Fink, "The Importance of Conspiracy Theory in Extremist Ideology and Propaganda" (Universiteit Leiden, 2020).

<sup>29</sup> Rosihon Anwar, Asep Abdul Muhyi, and Irma Riyani, "Pengaruh Ide Pembaharuan Abduh Di Mesir Pada Tradisi Tafsir Di Indonesia: Kajian Terhadap Tafsir Qur'an Karim Karya Mahmud Yunus," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 18, no. 2 (2020): 221–42, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i2.3825>.

<sup>30</sup> Zulfikri and Mohammed A.F. Badawi, "The Relevance of Muhammad Abduh's Thought in Indonesian Tafsir: Analysis of Tafsir Al-Azhar," *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 21, no. 1 (2021): 113–48, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol21.iss1.art5>.

<sup>31</sup> Shavit, "Zionism as Told by Rashid Rida." See also, Barry Rubin, "Understanding the Muslim Brotherhood," *Policy Brief. Foreign Policy Research Institute*, no. June (2012).

<sup>32</sup> Fink, "The Importance of Conspiracy Theory in Extremist Ideology and Propaganda."



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### 2. *A Critical Examination of Hamka's Perspectives on Jewish Influence and Global Dominance*

Israel's victory over the Arab nations in 1948 profoundly unsettled Hamka, who described the event as "the triumph of the Jews over Arab Islam." He attributed the defeat of Arab Islam to two primary factors: first, Jewish dominance of the global economy; and second, the alienation of Muslims from their own faith, having replaced Islamic ideology with Jahiliyyah nationalism or Marxist scientific socialism. Hamka asserted that the only solution to this crisis was to reclaim Palestine and the Holy Land of Baitul Maqdis for Muslims, a goal that could only be achieved through a return to pure Islamic thought.<sup>33</sup>

Hamka fundamentally argued that Judaism is not a missionary religion and had deviated from theological truth after the death of Moses. He emphasized that Judaism holds no virtue unless Jews return to Tawhid, as articulated in the Qur'an. Hamka's prejudice against Jews extended to what he viewed as inherent traits, such as a tendency to spread falsehoods and a preference for illicit financial dealings. This perspective reveals a strain of anti-Semitism in Hamka's thinking.

In his Qur'anic exegesis, Hamka elaborated on the substantial influence he believed Jews wielded over global affairs, including the economy, politics, culture, and the film industry. For example, in his interpretation of Surah al-Baqarah 2:7, Hamka remarked, "The Jewish influence on the world economy is so extensive that we Muslims are compelled to adopt an economic system based on usury (interest) and have not yet found an alternative."<sup>34</sup> He further emphasized in his interpretation of Surah al-Baqarah 2:120 and 280, "The practice of usury is a Jewish teaching. The finances of Wall Street (New York) are controlled by Jewish bankers." According to Hamka, because global finances are dominated by Jews, Muslim countries are forced to establish banks and operate economies based on usury, as the entire world has been subordinated to Jewish teachings.<sup>35</sup>

Hamka's commentary provides significant insights to his readers, although it exhibits certain interpretative weaknesses, such as the lack of cited sources to support his claims and the omission of specific references to Jewish figures. Interestingly, Hamka's views on Jewish influence parallel those of Henry Ford, particularly in relation to the idea of Jewish control

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<sup>33</sup> Abdul Malik Abdul Karim Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar* (Singapura: Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD, 1982), 1/212-213.

<sup>34</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 1/125.

<sup>35</sup> Amrullah, 1/287-288.

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over the global economy—a concept Ford discussed in connection with *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, first published in Russia in 1903.<sup>36</sup>

Hamka also addresses the influence of Jews in the film industry, especially Hollywood, viewing it as part of a broader Jewish strategy to dominate the world through media. In his interpretation of Surah al-Nisā 4:46, he notes, “They (the Jews) wield influence over every aspect of the world. Even the morally corrupt films from Hollywood are largely produced by Jews.”<sup>37</sup> Similarly, in his commentary on Surah al-Mā'idah 5:64, Hamka remarks, “The well-known Hollywood films that shape this materialistic world culture are predominantly funded by Jewish capital. Through films, they control the world.”<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, in his exegesis of Surah al-A'rāf 7:33, Hamka asserts, “The Jews, now referred to as Zionists, have used various means to corrupt global thinking, including film, radio, and television.”<sup>39</sup>

Hamka emphatically warns Muslims against trusting or even watching films produced by the West that depict the history of the prophets. He particularly stresses this caution in his interpretation of Surah al-A'rāf 7:154:

*“Hukum Sepuluh yang telah difilmkan oleh ahli-ahli Amerika, yang karena sudah sangat majunya teknik film, dapat melukiskan bahwa seketika Nabi Musa menghadap Allah itu datanglah petir halilintar, lalu petir halilintar itu menembak kepada gunung batu Thursina itu, maka tiap-tiap petir datang, terlukislah satu hukum, sampai sepuluh hukum. Dan terakhir sekali, datang lagi petir halilintar, lalu terkupaslah batu yang telah tertulis itu dari tempatnya dan jatuh, lalu diambil oleh Nabi Musa. Awas hati-hati, karena itu hanyalah film. Sedangkan sutradaranya adalah Cecil B. DeMille seorang Yahudi (1914-1959).”<sup>40</sup>*

"The depiction of the Ten Commandments in an American film highlights the sophistication of modern cinematic techniques. In the movie, as the Prophet Moses stands before God, lightning strikes Mount Sinai, engraving each of the Ten Commandments onto the stone tablets. With the final bolt, the tablets are dislodged and fall, only to be retrieved by Moses. Viewers must remember that this is a cinematic interpretation. The director, Cecil B. DeMille, was a Jewish filmmaker (1914-1959)."

The film Hamka references is "The Ten Commandments," which was released on November 8, 1956, with a runtime of 220 minutes. The cast includes Charlton Heston, Yul Brynner, Anne Baxter, Edward G. Robinson, Yvonne De Carlo, Debra Paget, and John Derek. While the religious affiliation of the film's director, Cecil B. DeMille, is not definitively

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<sup>36</sup> thehenryford, "Henry Ford and Anti-Semitism: A Complex Story," *Www.Thehenryford.Org*, n.d.

<sup>37</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 2/1241.

<sup>38</sup> Amrullah, 3/1794.

<sup>39</sup> Amrullah, 4/2357.

<sup>40</sup> Amrullah, 4/2513.

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established, it is known that his mother was of German Jewish descent.<sup>41</sup> DeMille is recognized in his biography as a founding figure of the Hollywood film industry and one of the most influential filmmakers in history.<sup>42</sup> Hamka's assertion that DeMille was Jewish and that Hollywood film production is dominated by Jews is somewhat inaccurate; a more precise statement would be that Hollywood was founded by individuals of Jewish heritage.

In his discussion of Jewish influence on global politics, Hamka touches on the historical enmity between Christians and Jews, incorporating this context while interpreting surah al-Mā'idah 5:51:

*“Pada tahun 1964, Paus Paulus VI sebagai kepala tertinggi Gereja Katolik mengeluarkan ampunan umum bagi agama Yahudi. Mereka dibebaskan dari tuduhan yang selama ini dikenakan kepada mereka, yaitu bahwa merekalah yang bertanggung jawab atas penangkapan Nabi Isa oleh penguasa Romawi dan penyerahannya kepada orang Yahudi untuk disalib. Setelah 20 abad Yahudi dikutuk dan dihina di seluruh dunia Kristen, tiba-tiba Paus memberi mereka ampunan. Ampunan apa ini, sehingga kepercayaan yang dipegang selama 2.000 tahun dapat diubah begitu saja? Tidak lain, ini adalah ampunan politik. Kekuatan ekonomi Yahudi harus bersatu dengan Kristen dalam menghadapi ancaman Islam. Pada tahun 1967, negara-negara Arab diserang oleh Yahudi dalam perang empat hari dan Yerusalem direbut dari tangan kaum Muslim yang telah menguasainya selama 14 abad. Kemudian, tiba-tiba muncul gagasan dari Gereja Katolik agar kekuasaan atas Tanah Suci kaum Muslim, yang telah dikuasai bangsa Arab selama lebih dari 1.300 tahun, diserahkan kepada badan internasional. Tegasnya, kepada PBB, yang kekuasaan penuhnya ada di tangan negara-negara Kristen.”<sup>43</sup>*

“In 1964, Pope Paul VI, the supreme authority of the Catholic Church, issued a general pardon for the Jewish people, absolving them of the centuries-old accusation of responsibility for the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus by Roman authorities. After two millennia of condemnation and persecution within the Christian world, the Pope unexpectedly granted them absolution. How can such a deeply entrenched belief, upheld for 2,000 years, be so suddenly reversed? This pardon, it seems, is purely political. The economic power of the Jews must now be aligned with Christianity to counter the perceived threat of Islam. In 1967, during the Six-Day War, Jewish forces attacked Arab nations, capturing Jerusalem, a city under Muslim control for 14 centuries. Shortly thereafter, the Catholic Church proposed transferring control of the Holy Land, which had been under Arab rule for over 1,300 years, to an international body—namely, the United Nations, where ultimate authority lies with Christian nations.”

The financial power of the Jewish community exerts a profound influence on global political developments. With their substantial wealth, Jews have the capacity to significantly shape intellectual discourse. Hamka argues that Pope Paul VI was subordinate to Jewish

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<sup>41</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cecil\\_B.\\_DeMille#cite\\_note-FOOTNOTEPresleyVieira201412-185](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cecil_B._DeMille#cite_note-FOOTNOTEPresleyVieira201412-185)

<sup>42</sup> <https://www.cecilbdemille.com/biography/>

<sup>43</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 3/1762.

interests. Historically, from the beginning of his papacy, Pope Paul VI consistently emphasized the importance of addressing social issues and their impact on global peace. His strong commitment to social justice led to accusations of Marxism.<sup>44</sup> Given that conservative Catholics often labeled Pope Paul VI as a Marxist, it is unsurprising that Hamka suggested a political alliance between the Pope and the Jewish community, particularly as Hamka identified Karl Marx as a Jewish thinker.<sup>45</sup>

Hamka's views on Jewish dominance in international politics, especially in the United States, resonate with the arguments presented by political analysts John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt in their 2007 book, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*. They assert that the Israel lobby exercises disproportionate influence over U.S. policy. This perspective is further reinforced by Michael S. Kimmel, who discusses the Jewish community's ability to control global politics and shape a new world order.<sup>46</sup> Sayyid Qutb similarly contends that the Israeli lobby in Washington seeks to direct U.S. foreign policy, as noted by Bassam Tibi, Professor Emeritus of International Relations at the University of Göttingen, Germany.<sup>47</sup>

Hamka emphasizes that Jewish control of the global economy enables them to exert extensive influence over politics and media. This dominance creates the impression that key figures are orchestrating events behind the scenes, although Hamka does not identify them specifically. He does, however, mention prominent figures such as Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Jean-Paul Sartre, Alfred Nobel, Albert Einstein, Benjamin Disraeli, and Baron Rothschild, whom he identifies as Jewish. According to Hamka, the rise of these figures stems from a deep-seated resentment born of centuries of oppression within European society.<sup>48</sup>

### **3. *Modern Jahiliyyah in the Qur'anic Exegesis of Sayyid Qutb and Hamka***

Sayyid Qutb is often regarded as a seminal figure in extremist Islamic thought. His influential Quranic exegesis, written during his imprisonment, has significantly shaped jihadist ideology. In the wake of 9/11, Qutb's works were systematically removed from Western libraries, especially in the United States, as a measure to prevent the spread of

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<sup>44</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Blessed-Paul-VI>

<sup>45</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 2/1365. See also, Amrullah, 4/2590.

<sup>46</sup> Michael S. Kimmel, "Globalization and Its Mal(e)Contents," *International Sociology* 18, no. 3 (September 2003): 603–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02685809030183008>.

<sup>47</sup> Bassam Tibi, "From Sayyid Qutb to Hamas: The Middle East Conflict and the Islamization of Antisemitism," in *U: Small, Charles A. (Ur) The Yale Papers: Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Charles Asher Small (New York: ISGAP, 2015), 457–83.

<sup>48</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 4/2590.

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extremist ideas. Due to the profound impact of his writings, Qutb has been dubbed the “philosopher of terror.”<sup>49</sup>

There are striking similarities between the interpretations of Qutb and Hamka, particularly concerning their views on Jews within the Qur'anic framework. Qutb's key term in characterizing Jews is “Jahiliyyah,” which he categorizes into two forms: classical Jahiliyyah, referring to the pre-Islamic era, and modern Jahiliyyah, describing those who recognize the strength of Islam and seek to destroy it using substantial resources.<sup>50</sup>

Research by Fink, as detailed in his dissertation, suggests that Qutb's concept of Jahiliyyah is directly influenced by Abul A'la Maududi (1903-1979).<sup>51</sup> However, Sayed Khatab, in *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb*, questions the validity of attributing Qutb's notion of Jahiliyyah solely to Maududi and al-Nadawi. Through his theory of modern Jahiliyyah, Qutb articulates that the primary duty of Muslims is to resist, by all means, to liberate the world from this state of ignorance.

Hamka, in his exegesis, frequently addresses the concept of modern Jahiliyyah. He also expresses great admiration for both Sayyid Qutb and Abul A'la Maududi, often citing them in his writings. Hamka even advocated for the translation of Qutb's exegesis into Indonesian, believing it would resonate with Indonesian readers. He identified a shared experience with Qutb, as both scholars composed their exegetical works while imprisoned.<sup>52</sup> Despite his admiration for Qutb's exegesis and the substantial influence of Qutb's ideas on his own work, Hamka tends to avoid explicitly mentioning Qutb by name. This stands in contrast to his treatment of Abul A'la Maududi, whose name and arguments are more frequently cited in the third volume of Hamka's exegesis, particularly in discussions of Jahiliyyah and the concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding evil).

Hamka's conceptualization of *Jahiliyyah* can be categorized into two distinct forms, mirroring the framework established by Qutb. The first form is pre-Islamic *Jahiliyyah*, which centers on the laws and customs that existed prior to the mission of Prophet Muhammad. The second form is modern *Jahiliyyah*, which critiques Western and Jewish ideologies while encouraging readers to return to *Sharia*, as Hamka argues that true fulfillment can only be

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<sup>49</sup> Fawaz Gerges, *Making the Arab World*, vol. 15 (Princeton University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400890071>.

<sup>50</sup> Sayed Khatab, *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. London & New York (Routledge, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203086438>.

<sup>51</sup> Fink, “The Importance of Conspiracy Theory in Extremist Ideology and Propaganda.”

<sup>52</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*.

attained through adherence to Islamic law.<sup>53</sup> Hamka delves deeply into the concept of modern *Jahiliyyah* in his exegesis, stating:

*“Sekarang Jahiliah itu masih dilanjutkan dengan Jahiliah modern. Segala macam teori tentang susunan masyarakat telah diciptakan oleh manusia. Kekuasaan telah tersusun baik berdasarkan faham Kapitalis ataupun yang bersendikan faham sosialisme dan faham komunisme, menciptakan suatu negara yang adil dan makmur, tapi jauh sama sekali dari kepercayaan akan hari perhitungan. walau apa nama teori yang dikemukakan dan diperjuangkan namun hakikatnya hanya satu, yaitu keadilan dan kemakmuran bertambah jauh.”*

*“Jahiliyyah continues today in the form of modern Jahiliyyah. Numerous theories regarding the organization of society have been devised by humans. Power structures have been established, whether based on capitalist, socialist, or communist ideologies, ostensibly creating states that are just and prosperous. Yet these systems remain completely detached from belief in the Day of Judgment. Regardless of the theories proposed and championed, their essence is singular: the pursuit of justice and prosperity is increasingly distant.”*

Hamka’s analysis underscores his belief that no legal framework is more pertinent to societal order than one derived from *Sharia*. This viewpoint aligns with Sayyid Qutb’s theory of *Hakimiyyah*. Sayed Khatab, after extensive research into the perceived conspiracies within Qutb’s works, explains that *Hakimiyyah*, according to Qutb, implies that Islam is not merely a religion but also encompasses governance and statecraft.<sup>54</sup>

Hamka further suggests that the global deterioration in quality of life and the persistence of poverty are consequences of modern *Jahiliyyah*, which organizes life based on human reasoning focused exclusively on worldly matters. Thus, the remedy for poverty and societal decline lies in a return to *Sharia*. This solution requires the global Muslim community to unite in resistance through jihad and da’wah. Hamka also emphasizes:

*“Orang Yahudi dan Nasrani belum perasa puasa hati sebelum kita penganut ajaran Muhammad mengikuti agama mereka. Ini bukanlah ancaman yang menimbulkan takut, tetapi sebagai perangsang supaya kaum Muslimin terus berjihad menegakkan agamanya dan melancarkan dakwahnya. Karena selama kaum Muslimin masih berpegang teguh kepada ajaran agama yang dipeluknya, mengamalkannya dengan penuh kesadaran, tidaklah mereka akan runtuh lantaran usaha kedua pemeluk agama itu.”<sup>55</sup>*

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<sup>53</sup> Amrullah, 3/1999-2000.

<sup>54</sup> Khatab, “Hakimiyyah and Jahiliyyah in the Thought of Sayyid Qutb.” See also, Muktafi Muktafi, Abdullah Haq Al Haidary, and Mukhammad Zamzami, “Rereading Sayyid Qutb’s Islamism and Political Concept of Al-Ḥakimiyyah: A Critical Analysis,” *Jurnal Akidah & Pemikiran Islam* 24, no. 1 (June 2022): 271–310, <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.vol24no1.8>.

<sup>55</sup> Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, 1/228.

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“The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied until we, the followers of Muhammad’s teachings, adopt their religion. This is not a threat meant to incite fear, but rather a call to action for Muslims to persist in their jihad to uphold their religion and advance their da’wah. As long as Muslims remain firmly committed to their faith and practice it with full consciousness, they will not fall to the efforts of these two religious groups.”

Hamka posits that the faith of Muslims worldwide is currently being systematically undermined by Western ideologies, particularly those influenced by Jewish thought. He notes that even devout Muslims—those who invoke the name of Prophet Muhammad and steadfastly adhere to Islamic principles—are often dismissed as reactionaries. The growing estrangement of Muslims from Islamic ideology has paved the way for the rise of figures like Karl Marx and other Jewish intellectuals, leading to a fragmentation of Islamic unity under the pressure of competing ideologies. To address this challenge, Hamka asserts that Muslims must reaffirm their commitment to Islamic ideology. He argues that the prevailing global tensions are not fundamentally a clash between East and West, but rather are driven by a deep-rooted hostility towards Islam.<sup>56</sup>

Hamka further identifies a deliberate and coordinated effort by powerful non-Muslim forces to weaken Islamic ideology with the objective of eroding Muslim faith in their religious teachings. He argues that the marginalization of Islamic thought is not due to any inherent backwardness within Islam but is the result of a calculated propaganda campaign intended to sow division within the Muslim community. According to Hamka, this strategy aims to thwart the potential for Muslim unity. He warns that the fragmentation of the Muslim community into smaller, isolated groups would undermine the overarching religious objective of forming a large, unified community, thereby confining Muslims within narrow, nationalist confines.<sup>57</sup>

The concept of modern Jahiliyyah, as articulated by Qutb, is reflected in Hamka’s exegesis of Surah al-A‘rāf 7:159:

*"Dan bukan saja di zaman Rasulullah, bahkan sampai kepada zaman kita ini, dalam hebat-hebatnya kaum Zionis Yahudi mengumpulkan kekuatan dan segala daya-upaya buat menghancurkan Islam." Selanjutnya, Hamka menambahkan, "Di zaman modern, Yahudi membentuk badan Zionis yang penuh dengan dorongan nafsu benci dan dendam. Dan akhirnya Zionis Yahudi bekerjasama dengan kaum salib Kristen, menyatukan tujuan untuk menentang Islam dan umatnya. Kejahatan yang mereka lakukan kepada Islam dan kaum Muslimin dengan segala alat yang ada pada mereka, beratus kali lipat ganda daripada yang mereka lakukan 14 abad yang lalu dari abad berganti abad. Dengan kekuatan materi, dengan serbuan kebudayaan, dengan*

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<sup>56</sup> Amrullah, 1/213.

<sup>57</sup> Amrullah, 1/466.

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*meruntuhkan akhlak Muslimin, mereka mempunyai rencana hendak menghapuskan Islam itu sendiri. Menurut mereka, kurun waktu kini abad ke-20 adalah perjuangan yang menentukan. Itu sebabnya maka segala daya dan upaya mereka pergunakan untuk itu.*"<sup>58</sup>

“Not only in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, but even in our contemporary era, Zionist Jews have amassed power and resources in their quest to destroy Islam.” Hamka further asserts, “In the modern period, the Jews have established the Zionist organization, driven by profound hatred and vengeance. Ultimately, Zionist Jews have formed an alliance with Christian Crusaders, united in their opposition to Islam and its adherents. The harm they have inflicted upon Islam and the Muslim community, through every means at their disposal, far surpasses the atrocities committed 14 centuries ago and continues across generations. Through material dominance, cultural invasion, and the moral degradation of Muslims, their objective is to eradicate Islam itself. They regard the 20th century as the pivotal period of this struggle, and thus have marshaled all their resources and efforts toward this end.”

In a broader sense, anything that deviates from Islamic law is classified as Jahiliyyah. This classification extends not only to religious practices but also to political systems that do not conform to Islamic principles. This perspective aligns with Hamka’s holistic view of Islam, which encompasses both theological and governmental domains. Additionally, Hamka frequently highlights in his commentaries that the contemporary Jahiliyyah afflicting the Muslim community is increasingly influenced by ideologies developed by Jewish thinkers. These ideologies, however, do not offer genuine solutions for life but instead lead to a system reminiscent of the law of the jungle. According to Hamka, Muslims are largely unaware of this and mistakenly view these developments as progress to be embraced. One of the primary reasons for this complacency is the substantial influence that external forces wield in shaping the normative thinking of the Muslim community.

### **C. Conclusion**

Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, better known as Hamka, is one of Indonesia's most prolific Muslim intellectuals, with 118 published works, as noted by Abdul Hanis Embong and Ahmad Izzudin Irfan. Among his many contributions, *Tafsir al-Azhar* stands out as a significant work that has garnered considerable attention across Asia. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Hamka did not pursue formal higher education; instead, he was largely self-taught. Despite the widespread acclaim for *Tafsir al-Azhar*, it is important to acknowledge that the text includes numerous references to the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and the Illuminati, particularly in Hamka’s commentary on Qur'anic verses concerning Jews. Hamka

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<sup>58</sup> Amrullah, 4/2575.



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did not clearly differentiate between Jews and Zionists, which has led readers to conflate the two. While Hamka's contributions to Islamic scholarship are substantial, there are concerns that his commentary may foster anti-Semitism, an issue of particular importance in today's world, which is increasingly focused on eradicating discrimination based on religion, race, and ethnicity.

According to E.P. Wieringa's theory, Hamka is not seen as an original scholar but rather as one who was more concerned with popularizing the works of others. Wieringa's assertion is supported by the observation that Hamka's explanations of the Protocols and the Illuminati are largely derived from the ideas of Muslim revolutionaries such as Abduh, Rashid Rida, Qutb, Abul A'la Maududi, and Khomeini. Hamka also drew upon Western conspiracy theories, particularly those originating from Russia and Germany. Consequently, it is unsurprising that Qutb's theories of Jahiliyyah and Hakimiyyah frequently appear in Hamka's commentary, especially in discussions of Islamic governance, alongside his endorsement of Abul A'la Maududi's arguments. However, this appropriation is not immediately evident to readers, as Hamka did not provide footnotes to credit these sources.

The controversies surrounding the Protocols and the Illuminati persist, yet research by scholars, historians, and thinkers overwhelmingly suggests that these documents are fictional and lack credible evidence. Raphael Israeli's analysis further contends that certain terms used by Arab countries—such as Shylock, the notion of an international Jewish and Zionist conspiracy to subvert the global socio-economic order, and the belief in Jewish, particularly American Jewish, dominance in banking, politics, and media—are rooted in the Protocols conspiracy theory. This theory, which spread across Europe, was later adopted by Arab countries and is reflected in Hamka's *Tafsir al-Azhar*, a work that continues to wield influence in Asia.

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