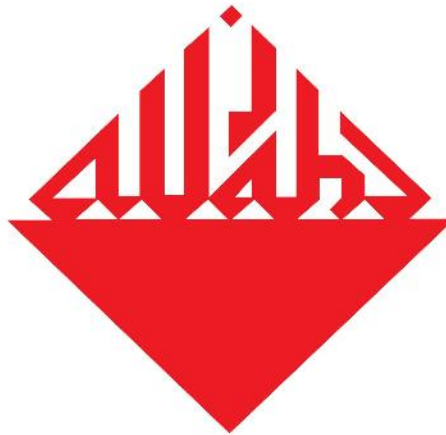


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 30, Number 3, 2023



---

PRIORITIZING LIFE OVER RELIGION  
IN INDONESIA'S COVID-19 FATWAS:  
THE FATWAS OF NU, MUHAMMADIYAH, AND MUI

Syafiq Hasyim

---

THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF ROHINGYA REFUGEES  
IN MALAYSIA

Nur Nadia Lukmanulhakim & Mohd Al Adib Samuri

---

*RISALAT AL-SHEIKH ASNAWI AL-QUDS AL-JAWI:*  
REBUTTAL OF JAWI ULAMA  
AGAINST FATWA OF THE MECCAN ULAMA

Jajang A. Rohmana

# STUDIA ISLAMIKA



# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 30, no. 3, 2023

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Saiful Mujani*

## MANAGING EDITOR

*Oman Fathurahman*

## EDITORS

*Jamhari*

*Didin Syafruddin*

*Jajat Burbanudin*

*Fuad Jabali*

*Ismatu Ropi*

*Saiful Umam*

*Dadi Darmadi*

*Din Wahid*

*Jajang Jabroni*

*Euis Nurlaelawati*

## INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

*M. Quratish Shihab (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA)*

*Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University, NETHERLANDS)*

*John R. Bowen (Washington University, USA)*

*M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, MALAYSIA)*

*Virginia M. Hooker (Australian National University, AUSTRALIA)*

*Edwin P. Wieringa (Universität zu Köln, GERMANY)*

*Robert W. Hefner (Boston University, USA)*

*Rémy Madinier (Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), FRANCE)*

*R. Michael Feener (National University of Singapore, SINGAPORE)*

*Michael F. Laffan (Princeton University, USA)*

*Minako Sakai (The University of New South Wales, AUSTRALIA)*

*Annabel Teh Gallop (The British Library, UK)*

*Syafaatun Almirzanah (Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta, INDONESIA)*

## ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

*Testriono*

*Muhammad Nida' Fadlan*

*Rangga Eka Saputra*

*Abdullah Maulani*

*Savran Billahi*

*Endi Aulia Garadian*

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Benjamin J. Freeman*

*Daniel Peterson*

*Batool Moussa*

## ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Tb. Ade Asnawi*

*Yuli Yasin*

## COVER DESIGNER

*S. Prinka*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) is an international journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All submitted papers are subject to double-blind review process.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.*

Editorial Office:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,  
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.  
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;  
E-mail: [studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id)  
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution:  
US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$ 25,00;  
individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$  
20,00. Rates do not include international postage and  
handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM,  
Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,**  
account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD),**  
**Swift Code: bmrriidja**

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga:  
Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu:  
Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum  
termasuk ongkos kirim.



Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang  
Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

## Table of Contents

### Articles

- 407 *Syafiq Hasyim*  
Prioritizing Life over Religion  
in Indonesia's Covid-19 Fatwas:  
The Fatwas of NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI
- 439 *Nur Nadia Lukmanulhakim & Mohd Al Adib Samuri*  
The Religious Identity of Rohingya Refugees  
in Malaysia
- 469 *Jajang A. Rohmana*  
*Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī:*  
Rebuttal of Jawi Ulama  
against Fatwa of the Meccan Ulama
- 495 *Arif Maftuhin*  
Disability and Islamic Law in Indonesia:  
Beyond the *Rukhṣah*
- 525 *Ali Munhanif & A. Bakir Ihsan*  
Ideas, Politics, and the Making  
of Muslim Democracy:  
An Historical Trajectory in Indonesia

- 561 *Arief Subhan*  
Al-madrasah (Madrasah) am al-madrasah  
al-'āmmah (Sekolah): al-Mufaḍḍalah  
'inda atbā' jam'iyyah al-Muḥammadiyah  
wa Nahḍah al-'Ulamā' fī Indūnīsiyā

**Book Review**

- 595 *Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin*  
*Sharia Yes, Sharia State No:*  
Negosiasi dan Akomodasi Syari'ah di Indonesia

**Document**

- 607 *Abdullah Maulani*  
Revealing New Insights: Preserving Islamic  
Manuscripts in Eastern Indonesia

*Jajang A. Rohmana*

*Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī:*  
Rebuttal of Jawi Ulama  
against Fatwa of the Meccan Ulama

**Abstract:** *This article is carried out to discuss rebuttal of Jawi ulama, K.H. Raden Muḥammad Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959), against fatwa of the muftī of Mecca, Sheikh ‘Abdullāh al-Zawāwī (1850-1925), in the early twentieth century. Asnawi’s rebuttal was written in an Arabic manuscript from Banyuwangi entitled Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī and digitized by the DREAMSEA project DS 0042 00001. The pages contain rebuttal of Asnawi against al-Zawāwī’s fatwa regarding the legal status of reading hagiography or manāqib of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (1078-1166). The manuscript shows the initial response of traditionalist ulama of Jawi to the issue of modernist Islam discussed in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Asnawi strongly denied the Meccan muftī’s fatwa, which is influenced by the ideas of reformist-modernist Islam. This debate marks the dynamics of the social-intellectual environment of Muslims in Mecca and Southeast Asia in the early twentieth century.*

**Keywords:** Rebuttal, *Manāqib*, Fatwa, Mecca, Malay-Indonesia Archipelago.



**Abstrak:** Artikel ini membahas tentang bantahan ulama Jawi, K.H. Raden Muḥammad Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959), terhadap fatwa mufti Mekah, Sheikh ‘Abdullāh al-Zawāwī (1850-1925), pada awal abad ke-20. Bantahannya dimuat dalam sebuah naskah berbahasa Arab dari Banyuwangi berjudul *Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī* yang sudah didigitalisasi melalui proyek DREAMSEA dengan kode DS 0042 00001. Isinya bantahan Asnawi terhadap fatwa al-Zawāwī terkait hukum membaca *manāqib* Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (1078-1166). Naskah *Risālah* memperlihatkan tanggapan awal ulama Jawi tradisional terhadap isu Islam modernis yang mulai diperbincangkan di kawasan Melayu-Nusantara. Asnawi membantah keras fatwa mufti Mekah yang cenderung dipengaruhi gagasan Islam reformis-modernis. Perdebatan ini menandai dinamika lingkungan sosial-intelektual Muslim di Mekah dan Asia Tenggara pada awal abad ke-20.

**Kata kunci:** Bantahan, Manāqib, Fatwa, Mekah, Melayu-Nusantara.

**ملخص:** يتناول هذا المقال الرد للعالم الجاوي الشيخ / رادن محمد أسناوي قدوس (١٨٦١-١٩٥٩)، على فتوى مفتي مكة الشيخ عبد الله الزواوي (١٨٥٠-١٩٢٥)، في بداية القرن العشرين. ورد رده في مخطوطة عربية من بانيووانجي بعنوان رسالة الشيخ أسناوي القدس الجاوي والتي تمت رقمتها من خلال مشروع DREAMSEA بالرمز DS 0042 00001. وتحتوي الصفحات على رد الأسناوي على فتوى الزواوي فيما يتعلق بحكم قراءة مناقب الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني (١٠٧٨-١١٦٦). تُظهر المخطوطة الاستجابة الأولية لعلماء جاوي التقليديين لقضية الإسلام الحديث التي بدأت مناقشتها في منطقة الملايو-نوسانتارا. ونفى الأسناوي بشدة فتوى مفتي مكة التي تميل إلى التأثير بالأفكار الإسلامية الإصلاحية الحديثة. وقد ميز هذا النقاش ديناميكيات البيئة الاجتماعية والفكرية للمسلمين في مكة وجنوب شرق آسيا في بداية القرن العشرين.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الرد، المناقب، الفتوى، مكة، الملايو نوسانتارا.

Malay-Indonesia archipelago is known to have close ties with the *Haramain* (Mecca-Medina). The proximities are not only based on the position of the holy city as a place of Islamic pilgrimage and a source of knowledge but also on political legitimacy and fatwa (Bruinessen 1997; Kaptein 1995). The *muftīs* of Mecca and Medina are considered to have a great authority in Islam. This is because of the belief in answering the growing religious problems in the Muslim world and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago.

*Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī* by K.H. Raden Muḥammad Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959) recorded the request for fatwa from the Malay-Indonesian to the *muftī* of Mecca in the early twentieth century. This Arabic manuscript contains questions of Malay-Indonesian or Jawi ulama and the answers from the *muftī* of Mecca. Additionally, it features rebuttal to fatwa of the Meccan *muftī* written by Asnawi Kudus. The request for fatwa was submitted by an unknown ulama from Kudus, Sheikh Muḥammad bin Sheikh ‘Uthmān to the *muftī* of the Shāfi’ī school in Mecca, Sheikh ‘Abdullāh al-Zawāwī (1850-1925), regarding reading the book of hagiography (*manāqib*) of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (1078-1166). The reformist ulamas’ works written by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), Ibn al-Qayyim (1292-1350), Abū al-Ma’ālī (1856-1924), Muḥammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905), and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’ (1865-1935) considered to have violated the teachings of orthodoxy of Sunni or *Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā’ah* was also questioned. Subsequently, fatwa of al-Zawāwī which answered Jawi ulama’s question was refuted by Asnawi Kudus in his *Risālah*.

According to Rachman (1997, 193), a polemical figure such as Asnawi Kudus has often been included in unrecorded debates with several ulamas in Mecca. However, his disappointment will be answered after reading the discovered manuscript of the *Risālah*. This is an Arabic manuscript in the collection of Kiagus Syamsudin from Banyuwangi digitized by the project of Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) in 2019 with number code DS 0042 00001. This codex unique manuscript was written in the early twentieth century when Asnawi still lived in Mecca between 1894 and 1916.

The significance of the study of the *Risālah* manuscript is based on several arguments. First, the Malay-Indonesia ulamas have an increasingly important role in responding to the religious discourse

at least since the nineteenth century. The discernment of this phenomenon is evident through the reactions of Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau (1860-1916) and Sheikh Mukhtār ‘Aṭārīd Bogor (1862-1930), esteemed educators at the Grand Mosque (*Masjid al-Ḥarām*). This is also manifested in the response articulated by Asnawi Kudus in the *Risālah* manuscript concerning religious matters in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Fatwa of the *muftī* of Mecca, al-Zawāwī was refuted, regarding the hagiography of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (1078-1166) and the issue of reformist ulamas’ writings which violated the Sunni teachings. Second, the manuscript of the *Risālah* showed the atmosphere of religious life in Mecca at the beginning of the twentieth century which was increasingly marked by various polemical issues of reformist ulamas. The ideas of Islamic modernism by Egyptian ulamas, Muḥammad ‘Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā’, influenced religious discourse in the Middle East and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago (Azra 1999). Many Southeast Asian Muslims also requested fatwa on both Egyptian ulamas through *al-Manār* magazine (Burhanudin 2005, 10).

Furthermore, the *Risālah* manuscript shows how the idea of Islamic modernism led to several questions from the Malay-Indonesian Muslims to the Meccan *muftī*, Al-Zawāwī, as well as the influence of this idea on fatwa. Laffan has reported how close al-Zawāwī to the Malay magazine, *al-Imam*, in Singapore which was influenced by reformist Islam ideas and labeled him as an opponent of heresy and defender of *sunnah* (Laffan 2010, 39). This resulted in a reaction from traditionalist ulama from the Malay-Indonesia archipelago such as Asnawi Kudus to respond to the Meccan *muftī*’s fatwa.

Therefore, Asnawi was a traditionalist ulama who responded to modernist Muslim issues in the early period before debates in Java (Noer 1996). Third, the *Risālah* manuscript also illuminates the transformative trajectory of Malay-Indonesian ulamas, evolving from their roles as religious students and seekers of fatwa (*mustaftī*) since the seventeenth century. Subsequently, this shows their progression to assuming the mantle of issuing fatwa (*muftī*) and actively addressing religious matters from the nineteenth to early twentieth century. Asnawi as a Malay-Indonesian ulama dared to refute fatwa of the Meccan *muftī* using *Risālah* which was considered unsatisfactory. In addition, Asnawi and other Javanese ulamas such as K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari, K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, and K.H. Bisri Syansuri, who became the founder of the

organization of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), reported their critical pressures towards the issue of Islamic modernism (Rachman 1997, 192). Even as the founder of NU, Asnawi was not widely discussed compared to other figures. Therefore, this study explains the role of Asnawi as a traditionalist polemical ulama in the early period before the founding of NU dealing with the issue of Islamic modernism.

Fatwa and religious discourses of Jawi ulama, the short biography of Asnawi and al-Zawāwī, the manuscript of *Risālah* (DS 0042 00001), rebuttal to al-Zawāwī's fatwa and the position of the *Risālah* manuscript, and response to the issue of Islamic modernism were discussed. This study used a socio-historical approach to show the socio-intellectual factors that influence the historical events where texts contribute to historical explanation (MacRaild and Taylor 2004, 119). Asnawi's *Risālah* as a primary source is believed to have an important role in explaining the intersection between traditionalist ulama and the issue of Islamic modernism in the early twentieth century. Meanwhile, a philological study was conducted by compiling the critical edition and its translation before providing an analysis. This was achieved by using a socio-historical approach to examine the historical context and the various factors that influenced fatwa and its rebuttal. Moreover, *manāqib* of Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir in various languages and scripts are widely available in several manuscript catalogs and printed books in the National Library of Jakarta, Leiden, and Japan (Behrend 1998, 467; Ekadjati 1988; Heer 2009; Midori 2015, 268; Witkam and Vlasma 2007, 7, 216). The manuscript containing refutations of fatwa regarding the reading of *manāqib* was only listed in the Banyuwangi ancient manuscript catalog that refers to the *Risālah* (Indiarti 2021, 105–9). Even though the debate on *manāqib* of Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, the polemics on *manāqib* persist until now. This included the polemics of Imron AM from the Islamic Union (PERSIS) Bangil and M. Choiron Chusen who represented NU in the 1980s (Imron A.M. 1979). Therefore, *manāqib* was an object of discussion along with the strong traditionalist-modernist Islam polarization.

## **Fatwa and the Islamic Discourses of Malay-Indonesian Ulamas in Mecca**

Fatwa is an opinion in Islamic law given by an ulama or a group of ulamas. Each fatwa usually consists of two parts, questions of people

who ask and answers from the *mufti* or ulama who produce the fatwa. Fatwa discusses various issues according to the religious problem faced by the requester, from theological controversies to rituals, teachings, and issues of modern technologies. Therefore, fatwa is closely related to the historical periods and socio-religious contexts faced by *mufti* and the requester (Kaptein 1995).

The tradition marks the connection of the intellectual network between Mecca-Medina in Hijāz and other regions in the Islamic world. The area of the Islamic world known to have asked for fatwa from many *muftis* in Hijāz is the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Many Muslims asked for fatwa regarding religious issues in their areas. For instance, Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin ‘Allān al-Ṣiddīqī (1588-1647) was a scholar who gave fatwa in his works on the questions from an ulama of Banten, Abū al-Mafākhīr ‘Abd al-Qadīr Banten, in the seventeenth century (Witkam and Vlasma 2007, 6, 179). In addition, Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1615-1690) was also known as one of the great ulamas in Medina who responded to requests for fatwa from the Acehese ulama, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī (1615-1693) on the issue of unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) in the seventeenth century. Al-Kūrānī wrote many works to respond to the issue (Dumairieh 2019, 188; Fathurahman 2011, 181, 2012). In the eighteenth century, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (1710-1812) was also asked for fatwa from Sulaymān al-Kurdī (1715-1780), regarding the Sultan of Banjar’s policy on Friday rituals and the priority of paying taxes over the *zakāt* (Azra 2004, 119).

In line with the issues of colonialism and Islamic modernism at the end of the nineteenth century, the tradition of requesting fatwa from the Malay-Indonesia archipelago was increasing. Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (1816-1886), the *mufti* of Shāfi’ī school in Mecca in the nineteenth century received a lot of questions such as the response to the infidel colonial government, the status of marriage guardian official, and the legal status of the placenta of babies (Kaptein 1995, 141–59). The questions reflect the awareness of being part of the Muslim community in the wider world. However, there was a shift in fatwa around the nineteenth century. Malay-Indonesian ulamas were producers and requesters of fatwa to the *muftis* in *Haramain*. The manifestation was shown by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī (1856-1908) as a great teacher in Mecca who gave fatwa to King Muḥammad IV of

Klantan regarding the sufi order (*tariqa*) of Haji Encik 'Id in 1906 (Laffan 2010, 20–21). This also happened to Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau who received several fatwa requests regarding Friday prayers and polemics with the *mufti* of Batavia, Sayyid 'Uthmān (1822-1913), in 1890. Aḥmad Khaṭīb is also known to have rebuttal works against the sufi orders considered to have violated the shari'a in 1906-1908 (Steenbrink 1984, 141–43). Similarly, Sheikh Mukhtār Aṭārid Bogor (1862-1930) as a great teacher in the early twentieth century wrote several works to address the questions from the Malay-Indonesia archipelago on the teaching of unity of being in his *Kifāyat al-Mubtadi'in* (Rohmana 2021). Aṭārid also dared to rebut the issue of banning eels in his book, *al-Ṣawa'iq al-Muḥriqah*. Therefore, the Malay-Indonesian ulamas are increasingly being considered in giving fatwa containing rebuttal.

Asnawi Kudus' *Risālah* also rebutted fatwa of the Meccan *mufti*, al-Zawāwī, regarding the questions of Indonesian ulama on the legal status of reading the hagiography of Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī and the works of reformist-modernist ulamas. Rebuttal showed courage as a traditionalist ulama in responding to the issue of Islamic modernism amidst different issues from the Meccan *mufti*, al-Zawāwī. The next section discusses these two figures of ulamas, Asnawi and al-Zawāwī.

### **On K.H. Asnawi Kudus and Sheikh 'Abdullāh al-Zawāwī**

Some scholars have explained the life and work of Asnawi Kudus, namely Zuhri (1983), Abd. Rachman (1997), Ma'shum (1998), and Tholibin (2008). However, many individuals commented on the critical character of Asnawi in discussing religious issues. Abd. Rachman regretted that no works recorded critical character. Therefore, the study of Asnawi's rebuttal to fatwa of the Meccan *mufti* in the *Risālah* manuscript addresses the problem. This section briefly explains the lives of both Asnawi and al-Zawāwī who become two central figures in the *Risālah*. The study on Asnawi's life is focused on the period of birth to activities in Mecca (1889-1916). This era marked the scholarly activities in response to religious issues in the modern era, including the response to fatwa of the Meccan *mufti*. In addition to Asnawi and al-Zawāwī, Sheikh Muḥammad bin Sheikh 'Uthmān was a Javanese ulamas from Kudus, Central Java, who asked fatwa to al-Zawāwī. The profile was unknown until now, specifically when and where

question was conveyed to al-Zawāwī and Asnawi. This fatwa had been discussed in Mecca since Asnawi mentioned the attribute of sheikh to Muḥammad bin Sheikh ‘Uthmān.

The full name of Asnawi was K.H. Raden Muḥammad Asnawi Kudus al-Jāwī. He was born in Damaran, located around the back of Menara Kudus, a famous place in Central Java, in 1864 and was the son of H. Abdullah Husnin and R. Sarbinah. The title “raden” showed that Asnawi came from an aristocratic family of Javanese elite. Asnawi Kudus was a descendant of Sunan Kudus known as one of the saints (*wali*) in Java in the seventeenth century and received basic education from both parents. He studied the Qur’ān and the basic teachings of Islam. At fifteen years old, Asnawi was enrolled in an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) in Tulungagung, East Java, where he learned to recite the Qur’ān to another teacher, K.H. Ershad, in Moyang, Jepara. Asnawi performed the Islamic pilgrimage in Mecca in 1889 before returning to Java. Furthermore, he departed for the second time in 1894 at 30 years old and lived for about 22 years in Mecca until 1916.

Asnawi’s main teachers in Mecca were K.H. Saleh Darat Semarang, Sheikh Maḥfūz al-Tarmasī, and Sayyid ‘Umar Shaṭā. He may have studied with Sheikh Nawawi Banten, who died in 1897. Nawawi Banten’s works, *Murāqī al-‘Ubūdiyyah*, was quoted to strengthen the argument in *Risālah*. Asnawi was one of Jawi ulamas who later became a teacher in Mecca. Several important students are coming from the Malay-Indonesia archipelago, including K.H. Bisri Syansuri, K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah Jombang, and others. Asnawi was also reportedly included in the Sarekat Islam (SI) organization while in Mecca. He later married Nyai Hamdanah, the widow of Nawawi Banten, and was blessed with three of nine living children, namely H. Zuhri, H. Azizah, and Alawiyah (Rachman 1997, 188–90).

After returning to Java in 1916, Asnawi later founded the pesantren Qudsiyyah and became active as an SI adviser in Kudus in 1918. He was among the founders of the NU in 1926. Subsequently, Asnawi and Bisri Syansuri became delegates of the Ḥijāz Committee in 1925 who were sent to Mecca but could not go because of ship transportation problems (Rachman 1997, 192). The Ḥijāz Committee became the forerunner of NU, which was originally formed to respond to the issue of the dismantling of the tomb of Muhammad by the Saudi Arabia government (Bruinessen 1994, 28–37). However, Asnawi is one of the

NU founders (*mu'assis*) whose name has not been listed in the structure of the organization. He continued to actively participate in many NU activities, including the Congress in Jakarta in 1959, a few days before his death (Ihsan et al. 2016, 136).

Asnawi's knowledge, spirituality, and international network reflect his important position in the Kudus community. The independence from foreign domination by encouraging traditional Sunni teachings in the fields of fiqh and theology, as well as openness in discussing many issues with colleagues and opponents, made him an influential and recognized leader of the santri (Rachman 1997, 209). Additionally, he authored several books which were popular among Javanese students, including *Faşlatan* (1954), *Jawab Soalipun Mu'taqad* (question and answer on theology) popularly known as *Mu'taqad Seked* (n.d.), *Tauhîd Jāwan* (1958), *Syarī'ah Islām*, and the translation of *al-Ājurūmiyyah*. The last two books were not published and were not found by their descendants (Rachman 1997, 195). The discovery of the manuscript of *Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawi al-Qudus al-Jāwī* (DS 0042 00001) adds to the list of works with significant meaning.

According to Kiai Wahab Hasbullah, Asnawi was known as a charismatic and highly respected ulamas (Rachman 1997, 190). He also firmly adhered to the traditional Islamic teachings of Sunni which faced challenges with the ideas of modernism in Egypt and Salafi/Wahhabi in Ḥijāz (Ihsan et al. 2016, 14; Tholibin 2008, 4).

Several literatures describe that Asnawi's determination is reflected in his inclusion of several polemics. Abd. Rahman even said that getting included in polemics was a hobby for this ulama. For instance, he was part of a polemic with Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau, who was a great teacher in Mecca. The writing that recorded the polemic attracted the attention of Sayyid Ḥusayn Bek, a well-known Egyptian *muftī*, who wanted to meet Asnawi. Ḥusayn Bek came to Mecca and found that Asnawi was small in stature, greeted and kissed him on the head. In addition, Asnawi was also reported to have been part of a discussion with an Egyptian pious ulama while living in Mecca regarding the issue of a special robe of silk mixed material. Asnawi was also often part of different discussions after returning to the homeland. However, no works on the debates in the Meccan or Java have been found (Rachman 1997, 193–94). This means that *Risālah* examined in this article becomes the evidence of polemics and discussion



experiences. This manuscript contains the refutation of the Meccan *mufti*, al-Zawāwī. The next explanation focuses on a brief biography of al-Zawāwī who is the opponent of Asnawi in the *Risālah*.

Sheikh ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī’s full name was Sheikh al-Sayyid ‘Abdullāh bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī and was born in 1854 in Mecca. He studied with the father who was also ulama, Sheikh Muḥammad Salih al-Zawāwī (Al-Mar’ashlī 2006, 2, 606). Subsequently, he entered madrasah al-Ṣawlatiyyah to study with Sheikh Raḥmatullāh al-Hindī and Sheikh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Daghīstānī with other students from Mecca, Jawi, Turkey, India, Africa, and others. Sheikh ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī also studied with Sheikh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Khayyāt (Al-Mu’allimī 2000, 488) and taught at the madrasa. The students were al-Sharīf ‘Awn al-Rafīq who later became an enemy, al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid al-Marzūqī, al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid ‘Abdullāh Daḥlān, and Sheikh Khalīfah al-Nabhānī.

In the 1870s, at the age of twenty years old, al-Zawāwī began teaching at the Grand Mosque or *Masjid al-Ḥarām* (Laffan 2011, 132). The *ḥalaqah* teaching place is at the *Hiṣwah* behind the *Bāb Banī Shaybah*. The students included Sayyid Ḥasan Kutubī, Sheikh Muḥammad bin Turkī, and several others from Jawi such as Haji Hasan Mustapa of Bandung, and Abdul Karim of Banten. Sheikh ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī later visited and became the *mufti* of the Pontianak Kingdom continuing the father’s earlier career (Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 308). Furthermore, this ulama served as leader of the consultative or *shūrā* assembly during the period of Sharīf Ḥusayn in Mecca. He became leader of the council of great teachers (*al-shuyūkh*) and *Lajnah ‘Ayn Zabīdah* (‘Abd Al-Jabbār 1982, 140; Al-Mu’allimī 2000, 488).

In 1885, C. Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutch scholar who converted to Islam and changed his name to ‘Abdul Ghaffār, entered Mecca. He attended the teaching assembly of ‘Abdullāh al-Zawāwī. Snouck took pictures of al-Zawāwī in Mecca and observed the teaching methods at *Masjid al-Ḥarām* (Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 204). Snouck describes al-Zawāwī in his book, Mecca, as an ascetic and well-behaved figure. At twenty years old, the father, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī, had projected him to become a sheikh, causing jealousy and anger. Other sheikhs criticized the appointment of al-Zawāwī as a teacher at *Masjid al-Ḥarām*, due to the violation of the Meccan custom. Some people threw stones at al-Zawāwī from the roof of the mosque but managed

to overcome this opposition. The father and son were able to manage teaching, piety, and profits in business together (Hurgronje 1419, 2, 507–7; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 200–201).

Al-Zawāwī finally left Mecca and traveled to meet friends in several countries including the Malay-Indonesia archipelago probably around fifteen years between 1893-1908. This is due to a dispute with Sharīf ‘Awn in Mecca who had different political concerns (Laffan, 2010: 39; 2011: 187). Al-Zawāwī is reported to have visited India, Singapore, Batavia, Kutai, Riau, and lived for some time in the Pontianak Sultanate in West Kalimantan to become the *muftī* of Shāfi‘ī school to teach the Naqshabandiyya order (Bruinessen 1992, 70; Hurgronje 1941, 15–16). The letters to Snouck Hurgronje kept in the Universteit Bibliotheek Leiden show various locations visited during the adventures in the Dutch East Indies (al-Zawāwī n.d.). A lithographic book containing al-Zawāwī’s fatwa regarding the sound on a gramophone record stored in Pontianak dated 1330/1912. This is another evidence of the presence in the Dutch East Indies. The book contains the translation of fatwa of al-Zawāwī by Ismail bin Abdul Majid of Kelantan into Malay at the request of al-Sayyid Ja’far bin Pangeran Sharīf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qadrī of Pontianak. The printing was carried out at the Haji Sa’id printing press in Singapore (Pudjiastuti 2019, 230–31).

In addition to Pontianak, al-Zawāwī also traded with India, China, and Japan. This figure also lived in Johor, Kelantan, and Trengganu in Malaysia. He received a high position in the religious field and stated the possibility of wearing Chinese clothing made from pineapple leaves. Al-Zawāwī has several children such as Sayyid ‘Abdullāh and Sayyid ‘Alī. Meanwhile, one of the grandsons, Yūsuf al-Zawāwī, was ulamas of al-Azhar in Egypt (Bilā 2006, 501–3).

Al-Zawāwī returned to Mecca a few years after Sharīf ‘Awn died and occupied the position of Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (Laffan 2011, 187). The meeting between Asnawī and al-Zawāwī in Mecca probably occurred after 1908. Asnawī could have rebutted the Meccan *muftī*’s fatwa without meeting al-Zawāwī because the question was asked by ulama from Kudus, as seen in the *Risālah* manuscript. Meanwhile, Al-Zawāwī was reported to have lived in Taif and assassinated on September 8, 1924. Some scholars believed that the assassination was carried out by Sharīf Mecca defenders when King Mālik ‘Abdul ‘Azīz’s troops from Nejd controlled Taif. Some of the works include *Bughyat*

*al-Rāghibīn wa Qurrah ‘Ayn Ahl al-Balad al-Amīn, Risālah fī Tārīkh ‘Ayn Zabīdah, and Dajj al-Kawn fī Naṣā’ih al-Sharīf ‘Awn* (‘Abd Al-Jabbār 1982, 140).

### **The Manuscript *Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī***

*Risālah* belongs to Kiagus Syamsudin who resides in the Sukowidi Village, Kalipuro District, Banyuwangi, East Java. Currently, this manuscript has been digitized by the project DREAMSEA in 2019 and can be accessed online in the Banyuwangi manuscript section with code number DS 0042 00001 (Asnawī n.d.). In addition, it is listed in the Banyuwangi manuscript catalog with number code 19/Fik/DISPUSIP-KAS/2021. Before being digitized, the manuscript was reportedly discovered by the Pegon Banyuwangi Community in the collection of Kiai Saleh Lateng Banyuwangi (1862-1952) at Ramadan 1437 or June 2016 (Indiarti 2021, 107).

This manuscript is Asnawī Kudus’s writing seen from the colophon which mentions the name Muḥammad Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī. Based on some of the literature that describes Asnawī Kudus’s biography, this manuscript was probably written in the early twentieth century when Asnawī lived in Mecca or before returning to Kudus in 1916. In addition, there is a short script in Latin on the last page using ballpoint ink written (2016) by the team of Pegon Banyuwangi Community. The handwriting contains a description in Bahasa Indonesia regarding the origin of the manuscript stating “Kiai Saleh diberi surat ini dari Kiai Asnawī Kudus” (Kiai Saleh was given this letter from Kiai Asnawī Kudus) and dated 24-8-2016. The name of Kiai Saleh most likely refers to Kiai Saleh Lateng Banyuwangi, the first owner of the manuscript before being added to Kiagus collection from Banyuwangi (Indiarti 2021, 108).

The *Risālah* manuscript consists of eight pages (1r-4r) but only seven contain Arabic texts, while the remaining one is empty without text (1v). The manuscript is written on lined European paper with a size and text block of 34 x 21.7 cm and 28.2 x 17.3 cm. The text is written in Arabic language and script in black ink *riq’a* writing style. The number of lines on each page is between 37-39 lines, and the manuscript is almost damaged. There are holes of insect bites in several parts but the text is in complete condition and can be read properly. There is a round green stamp with the letter “ف” in a small circle as the symbol of Pegon Banyuwangi Community.

There are many names of ulamas and books mentioned in the manuscript of *Risālah*. However, Asnawi mentions the names of several ulamas and their works, such as *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Bahjah* means *Bahjat al-Asrār* by al-Shaṭnūfī, *al-Mukhtār* means *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by Muḥammad Abu Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-Bidāyah* means *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* by al-Ghazālī and its gloss. For instance, he quotes a statement: “Similarly al-Ghazālī who said in his book *al-Bidāyah*. This hadith is included in *qudsī* and word of human is clear.” The origin was not mentioned but was quoted from Sheikh Nawawi Banten’s *Murāqī al-’Ubūdiyyah*, the gloss of *al-Bidāyah* (Nawawi al-Jāwī 1345, 9).

### **Summary of the Manuscript of *Risālat al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jāwī***

After praising Allah at the beginning, Asnawi quoted a Qur’anic verse 17: 81 explaining that truth will always defeat false. He proceeded to pray over the prophet before the arrival of ulama, Sheikh Muḥammad bin Sheikh ‘Uthmān from Kudus, Central Java. Asnawi said that Sheikh Muḥammad conveyed some questions and answers given by the Meccan *muftī* of Shāfi’ī school, Sayyid ‘Abdullāh bin Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī. The subtitle “Questions from Kudus to Mecca” and “Answers from Mecca to Kudus” were provided. Sheikh Muḥammad then confirmed al-Zawāwī’s answer to Asnawi before responding to the Meccan *muftī*’s answers. Asnawi was dissatisfied with al-Zawāwī’s answers after reading Sheikh Muḥammad’s letter. Initially, he was hesitant to give a response because of limited knowledge but was encouraged by many people to speak.

Asnawi then traced the works into three parts: First, a question of Sheikh Muḥammad of Kudus to al-Zawāwī in Mecca. There are four questions: 1) regarding the legal status of reading *manāqib* Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī; 2) about ulamas forbidden to read *manāqib* and consider their readers to be apostates, heretic (*zindiq*), or followers of Mu’tazilah; 3) about a person who delivered a supplication to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir to help, forgive, give fortune, and save; 4) regarding the legal status on reading the works of reformist-modernist Muslims such as Ibn Taymiyyah, Abū al-Ma’ālī, Ibn al-Qayyim, Sheikh Muḥammad ‘Abduh, and Sayyid Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’ who manage *al-Manār* magazine. Sheikh Muḥammad stated that some ulamas forbid the act

because Ibn Taymiyyah is suspected of being a *zindiq* based on fatwa of Ibn Hajar al-Haytamī.

Second, Al-Zawāwī's response from Mecca to Sheikh Muḥammad in Kudus addressed the following points: 1) There is no authorization for ordinary individuals to peruse Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir's *manāqib*. 2) Scholars who prohibit the reading of *manāqib* and label its readers as apostates or heretics are misguided. 3) Characterizing a supplication to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir with foolish expressions is not allowed. A devout individual of faith would not assert the perspective since all requests are directed towards God, not the Sheikh. 4) It is acceptable to engage with and derive knowledge from the works of (reformist-modernist) scholars well-versed in the subject.

Third, Asnawi provided a comprehensive response to al-Zawāwī's fatwa, addressing nearly every aspect of the statement: 1) the first point concerns the legal status of reading *manāqib* of Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir, which is extensively discussed. The prohibition lacks a legal basis ('*illat al-ḥukm*) and is merely an unsupported claim. Asnawi stated the meaningful arrangement of words (*kalām faṣīḥ*) with use of metaphors (*majāz isti'ārah*) in *manāqib* and the stance was substantiated with specific examples; 2) the second is the opinion that prohibited reading *manāqib* and considered the readers to be apostate or *zindiq* but this issue was not responded by Asnawi; 3) the third is the supplication to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir, al-Zawāwī known as foolish words. The words of al-Zawāwī are irrelevant since no reason ('*illah*) is provided and the legal status without '*illah* is invalid; 4) the fourth is studying *kitābs* of reformist-modernist Muslims. Asnawi rebutted al-Zawāwī's fatwa and the assumption that only knowledgeable people can study *kitābs* is a fallacy. Using the insights from these works is permissible in line with the principles of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*. Meanwhile, Al-Zawāwī's presumption that the *ijtihāds* in these texts are exclusively literal errors is questionable. This may be recognized as instances of legitimate divergence of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) rather than linguistic inaccuracies in *ijtihāds*. The complexities of *ijtihāds* extend beyond superficial linguistic concerns, enabling a good method to their evaluation.

### Asnawi's Rebuttal Against 'Abdullāh al-Zawāwī's Fatwa

This section explains the objections of Asnawi in *Risālah* according to the questions and answers. Furthermore, it discusses fatwa on

reading *manāqib* Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, the viewpoints on ulamas who prohibit the reading of *manāqib*, the legal status of supplication to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir, and reading *kitābs* written by reformist-modernist ulamas.

### *Reading Manāqib Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī*

*Manāqib* book contains the biography of majesty or hagiography of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir, family tree, sacredness or *karāmah*, prayers, and praises. The book was compiled in various types of ulamas such as *Bahjat al-Asrār* by al-Shaṭnūfī (d. 1314), *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir* by al-Qaṣṭalānī (d. 1517), *Qalā’id al-Jawāhir* by al-Ṭadāfī (d. 1556), *al-Lujayn al-Dānī* by al-Barzanjī (d. 1634), *Tafriḥ al-Khaṭīr* by al-Irbilī (d. 1897), and others (Thohir 2011, 36). The reproduction was carried out in different languages, scripts, prose or poetry and are read in certain rituals known as *manakiban* (Millie 2009).

Reading *manāqib* Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir is part of the rituals of Muslims in various parts of the world, specifically Asia and Africa, Indonesia, India, and Kurdistan. This tradition of reading hagiography aims to hope for blessings and *karāmah* in granting various requests such as disclosure of theft, and medical treatment (Bruinessen 1992, 98). However, this tradition faced challenges with the growth of Islamic modernism. Several ulamas issued a rejection of reading *manāqib*, which was considered heretical and led to cults (Thohir 2011, 61). In this context, a question was asked from Sheikh Muḥammad of Kudus to the Meccan *muftī* and sparked Asnawi’s denial.

Asnawi counteracted Al-Zawāwī’s fatwa, which restricts the reading of *manāqib*, particularly for laypeople, even when it is not an absolute prohibition. Al-Zawāwī contends that there is a legitimate concern regarding laypeople interpreting the external meanings of expressions in *manāqib*, fearing potential negative consequences leading to ugliness and disbelief. Therefore, a textual understanding of *manāqib* is accepted in line with the perspective of Ibn Taymiyyah. The image of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir was purified from various cults associated with his teachings, perceived as incompatible with the Qur’an, hadith, and the consensus of the early generations of ulamas or Salaf (Al-Shamrī 2019, 38; Ibn Taymiyyah 1997, 10, 517–18). This stance echoes the sentiments of ‘Abduh, as quoted by Riḍā’ in his *Tafsīr al-Manār*, who criticized the cultism surrounding Sufi teachers, the veneration of their

tombs, and the attribution of supernatural powers to them, a perspective that garnered support when their disciples required assistance from them (Riḍā' 1350, 72–73).

Asnawi rebutted fatwa of al-Zawāwī in *Risālah*, because there is no argument in his fatwa and is tagged a claim without evidence. *Manāqib* is a masterpiece filled with metaphors. Therefore, the unusual expressions must be understood as a form of parable. The expression, “You are the only one in the sky and I am the only one on earth” (*anta wāḥid fī al-samā' wa ana wāḥid fī al-arḍ*) means oneness of God in His majesty. There is not a single associate with Him and Sheikh since 'Abd al-Qādir is below God. Therefore, the word sky and earth mean high and low degrees, respectively. Asnawi's defense of *manāqib* shows persistence to defend the book of *manāqib* and its reading. Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir's expression which is considered “less common” on the external meaning must be understood and is not the reason for the prohibition. Asnawi asserted that the position is to be in the banner of Islamic traditionalism, the defender of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*.

#### *Asnawi's Viewpoint on Ulama who Prohibit Reading Manāqib*

In addition to the problem of reciting *manāqib*, Asnawi also mentioned al-Zawāwī's fatwa related to the viewpoints of ulama that prohibit the reading of *manāqib*. Al-Zawāwī considered the person who forbade it wrong and the accusation returned to him. Even though al-Zawāwī discourages the reading of *manāqib*, the prohibition is specifically directed at laypeople, not ulama. The restriction is not absolute but rather targeted towards those who may potentially misunderstand the expressions found in *manāqib*. Al-Zawāwī adopts a nuanced method, acknowledging the practice of reading *manāqib* among traditionalist Muslims. Simultaneously, he refrains from an outright prohibition of Salafi/Wahhabi teachings, which often accuse readers of being *zindiq* (heretic) and Mu'tazilah. However, Asnawi does not provide a direct response to this specific issue, showing a general agreement with al-Zawāwī's position.

#### *Supplication to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī*

In addition to the question on reading *manāqib*, Asnawi addressed Al-Zawāwī's fatwa regarding the supplication to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir, including requests for assistance, apologies, sustenance, and safety. Al-

Al-Zawāwī characterized the supplication to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir as foolish, asserting that it should not be uttered by a religious individual exercising reason since the concept is only for God. Furthermore, he was influenced by ‘Abduh’s thoughts about the prohibition of cultivating Sufi teachers (Riḍā’ 1350, 72–73). Concerning seeking blessings from Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir, Al-Zawāwī responds cautiously, expressing ambiguity between permitting and forbidding by stating that seeking blessings does not render someone an apostate. However, perceiving the Sheikh as possessing power similar to God shows the characteristic of an apostate.

Consequently, Asnawi refuted Al-Zawāwī’s fatwa, stating that those who supplicate to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir are foolish. This is because fatwa lacks utility due to its absence of rationale (*‘illah*) and the legal status without *‘illah* is invalid. The response to fatwa that the supplication does not make an apostate is considered unclear and convincing either as *ḥarām*, *sunmah*, permissible, or *makrūh*. A rule of Islamic jurisprudence is cited that when a proposition contains various possible meanings, then the associated argument is flawed.

Al-Zawāwī’s fatwa tends to be doubtful by labeling individuals supplicating to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir as foolish and refraining from stating its apostasy. Additionally, he appears to be ambivalent in arguing between a religious person who uses reason as taught by ‘Abduh and modernist Muslim followers, because supplicating and asking for blessings are long-standing traditions. In this context, Asnawi considers Al-Zawāwī’s fatwa unsatisfactory, rejecting the concept on the grounds of lacking clarity and firmness.

### *The Legal Status on Reading Kitābs of Reformist-Modernist Ulamas*

The fourth issue discussed in the manuscript of *Risālah* is the legal status of reading *kitābs* written by reformist-modernist ulamas such as Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn al-Qayyim, Abū al-Ma’ālī, Muḥammad ‘Abduh, and Rashīd Riḍā’. The concept of Islamic reformism refers to the idea of renewing beliefs that developed in the Middle Ages. This is achieved through efforts to purify Islamic beliefs and practices from various deviations in the form of polytheism, heresy, and superstition to conform with the teachings of the former generation or *Salaf*. For instance, this Islamic reformism is seen in the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah and the student, Ibn al-Qayyim, who rejected Sufism of



Ibn 'Arabi and philosophy (Lewis, Schacht, and Pellat 1986, 3, 953). The concept is an effort of educated Muslim intellectuals influenced by the West. This enables the adaptation to modern civilization and maintains loyalty to Islamic teachings (Latif 2005, 124). The idea can be seen in Abū al-Ma'ālī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Rashid Riḍā'. Abū al-Ma'ālī's full name is Maḥmūd Shukrī bin 'Abdillāh bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Alūsī and Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Ḥusaynī al-Salāmī al-Shāfi'ī (1856-1924). He is known as an Iraqi ulama who has close ties to the teachings of Muslim reformists from Egypt, such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Rashīd Riḍā'.

Sheikh Muḥammad of Kudus asked the Meccan *muftī*, al-Zawāwī, whether or not to read the *kitābs* written by these reformist-modernist ulamas. Al-Zawāwī gave a positive response to the *kitābs* of the reformist-modernist ulamas since there is no doubt about their knowledge. Some works contradict the teachings of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* due to the result of *ijtihāds* or lack of understanding. Al-Zawāwī differed and criticized Ibn Ḥajar when faced with the opinion of great ulama such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī who belittled Ibn Taymiyyah in *Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah*. The consideration is because Ibn Ḥajar's *ijtihād* does not need to follow him. This is a firm response in giving a positive viewpoint to reformist and modernist ulamas such as Ibn Taymiyyah. However, al-Zawāwī's response was harshly criticized by Asnawi. As a defender of traditionalist Islamic teachings, when the *kitābs* of reformist-modernist ulamas contradict *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*, the effect is not stated. This reflects the steadfast attitude of a traditionalist Muslim who consistently defends the teachings of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*. The consistency can also be seen in the defense of Ibn Ḥajar who is highly respected as a great ulama of the Shāfi'ī school. The demeaning of Ibn Taymiyyah in *Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah* was not Ibn Ḥajar's opinion, but a quote from *mujtahid* ulamas, outside of the Hanbali school. Therefore, this is considered a slip of al-Zawāwī who easily gives fatwa. Asnawi contends that adherence to Ibn Ḥajar's opinion is unnecessary unless the concept becomes essential. Considering the avoidance of following Ibn Ḥajar, the conclusions of previous studies can be adopted when the perspective is integral to the process of *ijtihād*.

According to *Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah*, it is important to state that Ibn Ḥajar expressed a critical opinion about Ibn Taymiyyah. In response to inquiries about the rejection of Sufism and differences in *fiqh* and *uṣūl*

*al-fiqh*, Ibn Taymiyyah was described as a servant abandoned, led astray, blinded, dumbed down, and humiliated by God. Individuals seeking clarification on the perplexities surrounding Ibn Taymiyyah's situation and the falsehoods are advised to adopt the works of respected imams of mujtahid. These religious leaders are unanimously recognized for their authority, prestige, and attainment of dignified status, including luminaries such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Subkī (Al-Ḥaytamī n.d., 114).

The quote of *Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah* shows that there is a sharp difference in addressing Ibn Ḥajar's opinion between al-Zawāwī and Asnawi Kudus. This argument shows the intersection between the response influenced by reformist-modernist viewpoints and the strong traditionalist ulamas. Therefore, the next explanation will focus on the position of Asnawi's *Risālah* manuscript in the context of the initial encounter regarding the issue of modernist Islam versus traditionalists.

### **The *Risālah* and Early Response to the Issue of Modernist Islam**

The explanation above shows that Asnawi's *Risālah* as rebuttal to fatwa of the Meccan *muftī*, al-Zawāwī, cannot be separated from the issue of Islamic modernism. This issue is represented by Sheikh Muḥammad's question to the *muftī* of Mecca regarding the legal status on reading *manāqib* Sheikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī and the *kitābs* written by reformist-modernist ulamas. Likewise, the positive response of al-Zawāwī to reformist ulamas from Egypt such as 'Abduh and Riḍā' shows the influence and closeness of the Meccan *muftī* to the ideas of modernist Islam.

Laffan's results are also supported regarding the closeness to modernist Islam as reflected in the relationship between the editor of *al-Munir* magazine in Sumatra influenced by *al-Manār* (Laffan 2010, 39, 2011, 185). Even though al-Zawāwī was born and raised in the milieu of traditionalist Islam and the tradition of the Naqshabandiyya order, a different viewpoint was possessed compared to the previous *muftī* in Mecca. He tends to be critical of the practice of Sufi orders such as *manāqib* readings and encourages a Muslim to use reason in religion (*al-'āqil al-mutadayyin*).

The manuscript of the *Risālah* also shows a response of traditionalist Muslims as represented by Asnawi Kudus towards the idea of modernist Islam on reading *manāqib* and the works of reformist ulamas represented by al-Zawāwī's fatwa. The firm and straightforward response shows

attitude as one of the strongest defenders of the traditionalism of Sunni in the early days of contact with the issue of Islamic modernism (Rachman 1997, 209). Asnawi shows a defense of Malay-Indonesian Muslim traditions such as *manāqib* and the opposition to ideas of Islamic modernism. The argument shows a connection with the network of Islamic traditionalism as the main source. In addition to Qurʾān and hadith, the argument was supported based on several *kitābs* from ulamas of the medieval era such as *Bahjat al-Asrār* by al-Shaṭnūfī (2013, 32), *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (1986, 261), *al-Fatāwā al-Hadīthiyyah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī (n.d., 114), and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* by al-Ghazālī as well as the opinion of teacher, Sheikh Nawawi Banten, who commented on al-Ghazālī's work in his *Murāqī al-'Ubūdiyyah* (Al-Ghazālī 2004, 69; Nawawi al-Jāwī 1345, 9). This shows the strength of Asnawi's foundation of traditional Islamic knowledge connected to the network of *kitābs*. Therefore, the critical response towards al-Zawāwī's fatwa must be seen in the context of consistency as a defender of Islamic traditionalism in responding to the issue. The manifestation of Islamic traditionalism becomes evident in the following instances: the polemical encounter with Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau, who also shows openness to the works of modernist ulamas such as 'Abduh (Laffan 2011, 183), the participation in the Committee Hijāz, which protested against the demolition of Muhammad's tomb in Medina; and the esteemed reputation underscored by the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) alongside several other traditionalist kiai in Surabaya in 1926 (Ihsan et al. 2016, 135–36).

Asnawi's *Risālah* could be an early response of traditionalist ulama to the issue of Islamic modernism in the early twentieth century. This response is a continuation of the viewpoints of ulamas resistant to the idea of Islamic modernism such as Sheikh Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān. A *kitāb* was compiled to reject Wahhabism (Daḥlān 2003) and Sheikh Mukhtār 'Aṭārid of Bogor who published Sundanese *kitab Ieu kitab 'uqā'id abl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* (a theology of Sunni) (Natanagara 1341). This was also continued by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mandaylī from Mandailing, North Sumatera who compiled a *kitāb* on the legal status of Islamic law school (Al-Mandaylī 1378). Furthermore, Kiai Fakiḥ Maskumambang rejected the Wahhabi doctrine (al-Jabbār 1922). The *Risālah* manuscript also shows that there are various responses of

Malay-Indonesia ulamas in addressing the issue of Islamic modernism. Ulama such as Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau tend to support the ideas of Islamic modernism. This is different from Asnawi which shows the position of firmness and consistency as a supporter of Islamic traditionalism.

The dynamic of Islamic discourse in the early twentieth century marked the beginning of religious ripples in Mecca. The wave that was triggered by the idea grew larger and influenced social-religious life in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago in the twentieth century. The development of the Muhammadiyah movement in 1912 (Shihab 1995, 173), shows the influence of the issue of Islamic reformism from Egypt and Mecca. The movement was also marked by the establishment of NU in 1926 by traditionalist ulamas as a response to the growing issue of Islamic modernism in Egypt, Mecca, and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Asnawi held the position of the spokesperson for Islamic traditionalism. This is the important position of Asnawi and the *Risālah* manuscript in the context of the early discourse of Islamic modernism and traditionalism. The dynamic reflects the strong connectivity of the Islamic areas between Mecca and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago in the early twentieth century united through the authority of ulamas, *kitābs*, and Islamic traditions.

### Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, this study was carried out to show the important position of *Risālah* manuscript in marking the religious dynamics between Mecca and the Malay-Indonesia archipelago at the beginning of the twentieth century. An early encounter existed between traditionalist ulama in responding to the issue of Islamic modernism, influencing fatwa of *muftī* of Shāfi'ī school in Mecca. The *Risālah* manuscript showed how individuals in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago obtain solutions to religious challenges arising from Islamic modernism and the contributions of reformist-modernist ulamas. As the center of Islam, Mecca had become the destination of Muslims in archipelago to find answers. The manuscript showed how the *muftī* of Mecca, Sheikh 'Abdullāh al-Zawāwī, issued fatwa on the question of the Malay-Indonesian ulama. However, the al-Zawāwī's answers were considered unsatisfactory. Asnawi, a staunch advocate of Islamic traditionalism, rejected fatwa issued by al-

Zawāwī. The latter was perceived as being too lenient due to a lack of clarity and insufficient evidential support. As a charismatic and authoritative ulama, Asnawi showed strong knowledge in rebuttal by using many arguments. The refutation marked a significant evolution in the role of Malay-Indonesia ulamas in Mecca. The role of religious scholars and seekers of fatwa evolved into fatwa issuers by the nineteenth century. This transformation extended to responding to fatwa of the Meccan ulamas at the beginning of the twentieth century. The religious dynamic showed the significance of the role played by Malay-Indonesia ulamas and their works during the discourse surrounding the challenges facing Islam in the modern era. This issue has permeated and gained prominence not only in the Middle East but also in Southeast Asia.

## Bibliography

- ‘Abd Al-Jabbār, ‘Umar. 1982. *Siyar Wa Tarājim Ba’d ‘Ulamā’Inā Fī al-Qarn al-Rābi’ Ashr Li al-Hijrah*. Jeddah: Ṭuhāmah.
- Al-Ghazālī, Abī Ḥāmid Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad. 2004. *Bidāyat Al-Hidāyah*. Beirut: Dār al-Minhāj.
- Al-Ḥaytamī, Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn bin Ḥajar. *Al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyyah*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma’rifah.
- Al-Mandaylī, ‘Abd al-Qādir bin ‘Abd al-Muṭallib al-Indūnīsī. 1378. *Al-Mazhab Atau Tiada Haram Bermazhab*. Egypt: Maṭba’ah al-Anwār bi Miṣr.
- Al-Mar’ashlī, Yūsuf. 2006. *Nathr Al-Jawāhir Wa Al-Durar Fī ‘Ulamā’ Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashar*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma’rifah.
- Al-Mu’allimī, ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Abdurraḥmān bin ‘Abdurraḥīm. 2000. *Alām Al-Makkiyyīn Min Al-Qarn Al-Tāsi’ Ilā Al-Qarn Al-Rābi’ ‘Ashar Al-Hijri*. Mecca: Mu’assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī.
- Al-Rāzī, Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr bin ‘Abd al-Qādir. 1986. *Mukhtār Al-Ṣiḥāh*. Beirut: Maktabah Lubnān.
- Al-Shamrī, Munifah bint Khalīf bin Ḥamūd. 2019. *Mawqif Al-Sheikh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah Min al-Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylāni: Dirāsah ‘Aqdiyyah*. Egypt: Ḥayliyyah Kulliyah al-Dirāsah al-Islāmiyyah wa al-‘Arabiyyah li al-Banāt bi al-Iskandāriyyah.
- Al-Shatnūfi, ‘Alī bin Yūsuf. 2013. *Bahjat Al-Asrār Wa Ma’dan al-Anwār Fī Manāqib al-Bāz al-Ashhab al-Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylāni*. Fez: al-Manzāmah al-Maghribiyyah li al-Tarbiyyah wa al-Thaqāfah wa al-‘Ulūm.
- Asnawī, Muḥammad. “Risālat Al-Sheikh Asnawī al-Quds al-Jawī Collection of Kiagus Syamsudin.” Banyuwangi. MS. DS 0042 00001.
- Azra, Azyumardi. 1999. “The Transmission of Al-Manar’s Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of al-Imam and al-Munir.” *Studia Islamika* 6(3). doi:10.15408/sdi.v6i3.723.
- . 2004. *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia; Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern “Ulama” in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Behrend, T. E. 1998. *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Jilid 4: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor-EFEO.
- Bilā, Zakariyyā bin ‘Abdillāh. 2006. *Al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājim al-Fuḍalā’ Wa al-Ayān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān*. Mecca: Mu’assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. 1992. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.

- . 1994. *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*. Yogyakarta: LKiS dan Pustaka Pelajar.
- . 1997. “Mencari Ilmu Dan Pahala Di Tanah Suci, Orang Nusantara Naik Haji.” In *Indonesia Dan Haji*, eds. Dick Douwes and Nico Kaptein. Jakarta: INIS.
- Burhanudin, Jajat. 2005. “Aspiring for Islamic Reform: Southeast Asian Requests for Fatwās in al-Manār.” *Islamic Law and Society* 12(1): 9–26.
- Daḥlān, Aḥmad bin al-Sayyid Zaynī. 2003. *Al-Durrah al-Saniyyah Fi al-Radd ‘alā al-Wahhābiyyah*. Damascus: Maktabah al-Aḥbāb.
- Dumairieh, Naser. 2019. “Intellectual Life in the Hijaz in the 17th Century: The Works and Thought of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-1690).” McGill University.
- Ekadjadi, Edi S. 1988. *Satengah Abad Ajip Rosidi*. Bandung: Pustaka Karsa Sunda.
- Fathurahman, Oman. 2011. “Ithāf Al-Dhakī by Ibrahim Al-Kūrānī: A Commentary of Waḥdat Al-Wujūd for Jāwī Audiences.” *Archipel* (81).
- . 2012. *Ithāf Al-Dhakī: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud Bagi Muslim Nusantara*. Jakarta: Penerbit Mizan.
- Heer, Nicholas. 2009. *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works*. Seattle: NELC Faculty Papers.
- Hurgronje, C. Snouck. 1419. *Ṣafahāt Min Tāriḫ Makkah Al-Mukarramah*. Mecca: Durrah al-Mālik ‘Abdul ‘Azīz.
- . 1941. “Some of My Experiences with the Muftis of Mecca.” *Jaarverslagen van het Oostersch Instituut te Leiden 1934–40* 4: 2–16.
- Ibn Taymiyyah, Aḥmad bin ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm bin ‘Abd al-Salām. 1997. *Majmū’ al-Fatāwā*. Riyadh: Majma’ al-Mālik al-Fahd li al-Ṭibā’ah al-Muṣṣaf al-Sharīf.
- Ihsan, H.M. et al. 2016. *K.H.R. Asnawi Satu Abad Qudsiyyah: Jejak Kiprah Santri Menara*. Jakarta: Pustaka Compass.
- Imron A.M. 1979. *Polemik Drs. Imron AM vs KHM. Choiron Chusen Tentang Kitab Manaqib Sheikh A Qadir Jaelani*. Bangil: Al-Muslimun.
- Indiarti, Wiwin. 2021. *Katalog Naskah Kuno Banyuwangi*. Banyuwangi: Dinas Perpustakaan dan Kearsipan Kabupaten Banyuwangi.
- al-Jabbār, Muḥammad Faqīh bin ‘Abd. 1922. *Al-Nuṣūṣ al-Islāmiyyah Fi al-Radd ‘alā Mazhab al-Wahhābiyyah*. Egypt: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.
- Kaptein, Nico. 1995. “Meccan Fatwas from the End of the Nineteenth Century on Indonesian Affairs.” *Studia Islamika* 2(4). doi:10.15408/sdi.v2i4.824.
- Laffan, Michael. 2010. “Understanding Al-Imam’s Critique of Tariqa Sufism.” In *Varieties of Religious Authority*, eds. Azyumardi Azra, Kees Van

- Dijk, and Nico J. G. Kaptein. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 17–53. doi:10.1355/9789812309518-005.
- . 2011. *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Latif, Yudi. 2005. *Intelegensia Muslim Dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Lewis, Schacht, and Pellat. 1986. 3 *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume III (C-G): [Fasc. 23-40, 40a]*. Leiden: Brill.
- MacRaidl, Donald M., and Avram Taylor. 2004. *Social Theory and Social History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1007/978-0-230-80258-2.
- Ma'shum, Saifullah. 1998. *Karisma Ulama: Kehidupan Ringkas 26 Tokoh NU*. Bandung: Mizan and Yayasan Saifuddin Zuhri.
- Midori, Kawashima. 2015. *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University (Second Version)*. Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures – Center for Islamic Area Studies, Sophia University.
- Millie, Julian. 2009. *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*. Leiden: Brill.
- Natanagara, Raden al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Mukhtār bin Raden. 1341. *Ieu Kitāb Aqā'id Abl al-Sunnah Wā al-Jamā'ah*. Egypt: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādūh bi Misr.
- Nawawi al-Jāwī, Muḥammad. 1345. *Murāqī Al-'Ubūdiyyah*. Egypt: Maṭba'ah al-Ma'āhid bijiwār Qism al-Jamāliyyah bi Miṣr.
- Noer, Deliar. 1996. *Gerakan Moderen Islam Di Indonesia 1900-1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Pudjiastuti, Titik. 2019. *Naskah-Naskah Koleksi Masyarakat Indonesia Tengah Pontianak-Kalimantan Barat*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia in association with Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara.
- Rachman, H. Abd. 1997. "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850–1950)." Ph.D Thesis. University of California.
- Riḍā', Muḥammad Rashīd. 1350. 2 *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm*. Egypt: Maṭba'ah al-Manār bi Miṣr.
- Rohmana, Jajang A. 2021. "Diskursus Tasawuf Nusantara Di Mekah: Respons Mukhtār 'Aṭārid al-Bughūri Terhadap Ajaran Martabat Tujuh." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 19(1): 1–36.
- Shihab, Alwi. 1995. "The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia." Ph.D. Dissertation. Temple University.



- Snouck Hurgronje, C. 2007. *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning, the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago*. Slightly rev. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill.
- Steenbrink, Karel A. 1984. *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Thohir, Ajid. 2011. 1 *Historisitas dan Signifikansi Kitab Manaqib Syekh 'Abdul Qadir Al-Jilani dalam Historiografi Islam*. Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kemenag RI. <https://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/42208/> (March 7, 2024).
- Tholibin, Muhib Inganatut. 2008. "K.H.R. Asnawi: Sejarah Hidup, Pemikiran, dan Perjuangannya." UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Witkam, Jan Just, and Tsjikke Vlasma. 2007. *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*. Leiden: Ter Lugt.
- al-Zawāwī, 'Abdullāh. "Arabic Letters Cod. Or. 8952 A 1117-1127 'Abdullāh al-Zawāwī's Correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje."
- Zuhri, A. Minan. 1983. *Riwayat Hidup K.H.R. Asnawi*. Kudus: Menara Kudus.

---

Jajang A. Rohmana, *Sunan Gunung Jati State Islamic University (UIN) Bandung, Indonesia*. Email: [jajangrohmana@uinsgd.ac.id](mailto:jajangrohmana@uinsgd.ac.id).



## *Guidelines*

### Submission of Articles

**S***tudia Islamika*, published three times a year since 1994, is a bilingual (English and Arabic), peer-reviewed journal, and specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general. The aim is to provide readers with a better understanding of Indonesia and Southeast Asia's Muslim history and present developments through the publication of articles, research reports, and book reviews.

The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

Articles should be written in American English between approximately 10.000-15.000 words including text, all tables and figures, notes, references, and appendices intended for publication. All submission must include 150 words abstract and 5 keywords. Quotations, passages, and words in local or foreign languages should

be translated into English. *Studia Islamika* accepts only electronic submissions. All manuscripts should be sent in Ms. Word to: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>.

All notes must appear in the text as citations. A citation usually requires only the last name of the author(s), year of publication, and (sometimes) page numbers. For example: (Hefner 2009a, 45; Geertz 1966, 114). Explanatory footnotes may be included but should not be used for simple citations. All works cited must appear in the reference list at the end of the article. In matter of bibliographical style, *Studia Islamika* follows the American Political Science Association (APSA) manual style, such as below:

1. Hefner, Robert. 2009a. "Introduction: The Political Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert Hefner, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ' b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ, ḡ, f, q, l, m, n, h, w, y. Short vowels: a, i, u. long vowels: ā, ī, ū. Diphthongs: aw, ay. *Tā marbūṭā*: t. Article: al-. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) مجلة علمية دولية محكمة تصدر عن مركز دراسات الإسلام والمجتمع (PPIM) بجامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا، تعنى بدراسة الإسلام في إندونيسيا خاصة وفي جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة. وتستهدف المجلة نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والقضايا المعاصرة حول الموضوع، كما ترحب بإسهامات الباحثين أصحاب التخصصات ذات الصلة. وتخضع جميع الأبحاث المقدمة للمجلة للتحكيم من قبل لجنة مختصة.

تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

ستوديا إسلاميكا عضو في CrossRef (الإحالات الثابتة في الأدبيات الأكاديمية) منذ ٢٠١٤، وبالتالي فإن جميع المقالات التي نشرتها مرقمة حسب معرف الوثيقة الرقمية (DOI).

ستوديا إسلاميكا مجلة مفهرسة في سكوبس (Scopus) منذ ٣٠ مايو ٢٠١٥.

#### عنوان المراسلة:

Editorial Office:  
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,  
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.  
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;  
E-mail: [studieslamika@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:studieslamika@uinjkt.ac.id)  
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:  
للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.  
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.  
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

#### رقم الحساب:

خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكي):  
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia  
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

#### داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):

PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia  
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:  
لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية،  
١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية.  
والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



# ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية

السنة الثالثون، العدد ٣، ٢٠٢٣

رئيس التحرير:

سيف المزاني

مدير التحرير:

أومان فتح الرحمن

هيئة التحرير:

جمهاري

ديدين شفرالدين

جاجات برهان الدين

فؤاد جبيلي

إسماتو راقي

سيف الأمم

داداي دارمادي

جاجانج جهرائي

دين واحد

ايويس نورليلاواتي

مجلس التحرير الدولي:

محمد قرش شهاب (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا)

مارتين فان برونسين (جامعة أرتيخة)

جوهن ر. بووين (جامعة واشنطن، سانتو لويس)

محمد كمال حسن (الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية — ماليزيا)

فركنيا م. هوكير (جامعة أستراليا الحكومية كانبرا)

إيدوين ف. ويرنجا (جامعة كولونوا، ألمانيا)

روبيرت و. هيفنير (جامعة بوستون)

ريمي مادنيير (المركز القومي للبحث العلمي بفرنسا)

ر. ميكائيل فينير (جامعة سينغافورا الحكومية)

ميكائيل ف. لفان (جامعة فرينشتون)

ميناكو ساكاي (جامعة نيو ساوث ويلز)

انابيل تيه جالوب (المكتبة البريطانية)

شفاعة المرزاة (جامعة سونان كاليجاغا الإسلامية الحكومية)

مساعد هيئة التحرير:

تيسرتيونو

محمد نداء فضلان

رنغكا إيكسا سافوترا

عبد الله مولاني

سفران بالله

أيندي أولياء غراديان

مراجعة اللغة الإنجليزية:

بنيمين ج. فريمان

دانيل فترتون

موسى بتول

مراجعة اللغة العربية:

توباغوس أدي أسناوي

يولي ياسين

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برنكا



# ستوديا اسلاميا



# سثوديا اسراميا

السنة الثالثون، العدد ٣، ٢٠٢٣

مجلة إنذونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية



---

## DISABILITY AND ISLAMIC LAW IN INDONESIA: BEYOND THE *RUKHSAH*

Arif Maftuhin

---

## IDEAS, POLITICS, AND THE MAKING OF MUSLIM DEMOCRACY: AN HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY IN INDONESIA

Ali Munhanif & A. Bakir Ihsan

---

المدرسة (MADRASAH) أم المدرسة العامة (SEKOLAH):  
المفضلة عند أتباع جمعية المحمدية ونهضة العلماء  
في إنذونيسيا

عارف سبحان

---