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RELIGION, POLITICS, AND VIOLENCE IN INDONESIA:
LEARNING FROM BANSER'S EXPERIENCE

Ihsan Ali-Fauzi

TOWARDS A MIDDLE WAY ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:
CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE GÜLEN MOVEMENT

Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman

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Sunarwoto

The Influences of The Meccan Education On The *Pesantren* Tradition With Special Reference To Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kudus

Abstraksi: Artikel ini menjelaskan pengaruh pendidikan Mekkah pada tradisi pesantren. Dalam kaitan ini, ulama Jawa di Mekkah memegang peran sangat sentral. Kemunculan mereka (ulama Jawa) dilihat dari dua perspektif yang saling berhubungan: jaringan tekstual dan intelektual. Artikel ini mendiskusikan jaringan tersebut dan menghubungkan mereka kepada lingkungan pesantren. Dijelaskan pula beberapa diskursus reformasi Islam yang dirangsang ulama Jawa di Mekkah mempengaruhi konstruksi ideologi pesantren. Sebagai studi kasus, artikel ini memotret karier intelektual Syekh Abd al-Hamid Kudus, seorang guru Jawa di Masjid al-Haram yang hidup pada abad 19.

Sebagian besar guru di Masjid al-Haram terlibat aktif dalam penulisan karya-karya keagamaan (kitab), begitupun guru-guru Jawi. Sebagian dari mereka menulis dan menerbitkan buku-buku Islam dalam beragam subjek. Didukung munculnya teknologi cetak, keulamaan Jawa di Mekkah dan aktivitas penulisan mereka berpengaruh besar bagi tradisi pesantren di Nusantara. Budaya cetak telah memicu popularitas sarjana-sarjana Timur Tengah abad 19 di pesantren Jawa, di mana karya-karya mereka diperkenalkan ke dalam kurikulum pesantren secara luas.

Di Mekkah, aktivitas percetakan dimulai pada 1884 dengan pendirian percetakan pemerintah yang tidak hanya mencetak buku-buku berbahasa Arab, tetapi juga Melayu. Bagi kesarjanaan pesantren, aktivitas percetakan ini berpengaruh dalam melahirkan jaringan tekstual yang membuat gagasan-gagasan keagamaan dapat dikomunikasikan kepada audiens yang lebih luas, menghubungkan Jawi kepada Muslim dari bagian lain dunia Islam. Mereka secara imajinatif tersatukan dengan Muslim lain yang lain sebagai ummat.

Jaringan tekstual menyebabkan meningkatnya jaringan intelektual ulama Jawi dengan ulama nusantara maupun dari wilayah lain, di mana karya-karya mereka merefleksikan kesinambungan intelektual. Di samping itu, pengaruh penting lain dari menyebarnya percetakan adalah diseminasi otoritas keagamaan. Mekkah sebagai pusat ajaran Islam dianggap menjadi tempat di mana otoritas Islam yang tertinggi dapat ditemukan. Dengan partisipasi dalam aktivitas kepenulisan, ulama Jawi ini pada saat yang sama membentuk otoritas mereka sendiri sebagai penafsir Islam.

Sebagai ulama Jawa di Mekkah, Syekh Abd al-Hamid Kudus tidaklah seterkenal seperti Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani dan Mahfuzh al-Tirmisi. Namun, penting dicatat bahwa Syekh Hamid mencatatkan namanya dengan mengarang sejumlah buku Islam berbahasa Arab. Salah satu karyanya berjudul *Lataif al-Isharat* (tentang usul fikih) masih digunakan dalam komunitas pesantren Jawa sampai sekarang. Syekh Hamid Kudus dilahirkan di Mekkah pada 1863/4 dan meninggal di sana pada 1915/6. Pendidikan awalnya diperoleh dari ayahnya, Syekh Muhammad Ali, yang berasal dari Kudus, Jawa Tengah, yang datang ke Mekkah pada usia 20 tahun dan memutuskan untuk tinggal di sana setelah menyelesaikan ibadah hajinya, sampai dia meninggal dunia.

Karier intelektual Syekh Hamid Kudus berkembang dari aktivitas penulisan dan pengajaran. Dia mengajar di Masjid al-Haram dan menulis setidaknya sebanyak dua puluh kitab dalam berbagai tema, seperti fikih, usul fikih, tasawuf, etika, puisi Arab, dan hagiografi. Karena tulisan-tulisannya, dia diakui sebagai salah satu ulama Mekkah yang penting pada masanya. Selain membangun jaringan intelektual dengan ulama Timur Tengah, sebagai ulama Jawa Syekh Hamid Kudus membuat kontak intensif dengan komunitas Jawa. Dalam kunjungannya ke Jawa pada 1890, Syekh Hamid Kudus diminta nasihat tentang soal-soal agama oleh rekan dan pengikutnya di Jawa. Fatwa-fatwanya kemudian didokumentasikan dalam beberapa buku.

Konstruksi ideologis dalam diskursus Islam pada masa Syekh Hamid Kudus terlihat dari berkembangnya kelompok tradisionalis di Mekkah, baik dalam fikih, teologi Islam, atau sufisme. Dalam fikih, mazhab Syafii mendominasi arena intelektual di Mekkah. Ini bisa dilihat dari guru-guru di Masjid al-Haram yang mayoritas bermazhab Syafii. Dalam lingkaran kehidupan intelektual Masjid al-Haram inilah Syekh Hamid Kudus turut merepresentasikan mazhab Syafii. Dan dari karya-karyanya, dapat diketahui kecenderungan pemikiran tradisionalnya. Selain itu, dia juga terlibat dalam praktik-praktik spiritual. Dia mempelajari tarekat-tarekat spiritual seperti Qadiriyyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Alawiyah, dan Khalwatiyyah, sebelum akhirnya memutuskan mempraktikkan tarekat Khalwatiyyah Sammaniyah.

The Influences of The Meccan Education On The *Pesantren* Tradition With Special Reference To Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kudus

الخلاصة: تشرح هذه المقالة في تأثير التربية المكية في تقاليد البيسانترين pesantren (المدرسة الدينية). ويلعب العلماء في مكة في هذا الصدد دورا مهما. وظهر العلماء الجاويين ينظر من النظرتين المترابطتين في شبكة نصية وثقافية. تناقش هذه المقالة على علاقتهم بالبيئة البيسانترينية مع بعض المقالات التحديدية الإسلامية التي يثيرها العلماء الجاويون في مكة التي تسفر عنها بناء أيديولوجي للبيسانترين. مع أنها دراسة حالة، فهذه المقالة تصف لنا أعمال الثقافة للشيخ عبد الحميد قدس وهو من العلماء الجاويين في مسجد الحرم الذي كان يعيش في القرن التاسع عشر.

قد اشترك بعض العلماء في مسجد الحرم المكي في كتابة المؤلفات الدينية ومنهم العلماء الجاويون. وبعضهم ألفوا ونشروا الكتب الإسلامية في عدة الموضوعات. مع توافر تكنولوجيا الطباعة، فالعلماء الجاويون في مكة ومؤلفاتهم لهم نفوذ كبيرة في تقاليد البيسانترين. وتساعد ثقافة طباعية على شهرة العلماء في شرقى الأوسط في القرن التاسع عشر في البيسانترين بجاوه، حيث تم تعريف مؤلفاتهم في مناهج الدراسية البيسانترينية بشكل واسع؟ بدأت أعمال الطباعية في مكة عام ١٨٨٤ بإنشاء مطبعة حكومية التي لم تقتصر في طبع الكتب العربية فحسب، بل أيضا الكتب باللغة المالايوية. قد أثرت أنشطة طباعية هذه على ظهور شبكة نصية تحتوي على الأفكار الدينية التي تم تبليغها إلى الناس بشكل أوسع، بالإضافة إلى أنها تستطيع على توصيل الجاويين بالمسلمين في بقعة أخرى للعالم الإسلامي. كانوا متحدين فكريا مع المسلمين الآخرين كأمة.

تسفر شبكة نصية عن رفع مستوى شبكة ثقافية للعلماء الجاويين مع العلماء الإندونيسيين ككل أم مع العلماء من المناطق الأخرى. بجانب تأثير آخر ومهم لانتشار الطباعة، هناك أيضا انتشار السلطة الدينية. تعتبر مكة كمركز للتعليم الإسلامية مكانا يتمتع بسلطة إسلامية عليا. وفي نفس الوقت كون العلماء الجاويين من مشاركنهم في أعمال التأليف سلطة مستقلة كمفسر الإسلام.

رغم أن الشيخ عبد الحميد قدس من العلماء الجاويين في مكة، لكن شهرته لم تصل إلى ما وصل إليه الشيخ نواوى البنتانى ومحفوظ الترمذى من شهرة. إنما جدير بالملاحظة أن الشيخ عبد الحميد سجل اسمه كمؤلف بعدد من الكتب باللغة العربية منها كتاب بالعنوان "لطائف الإشارات في أصول الفقه الذى ما يزال مقررا حتى الآن في الجالية البيساترينية بجاوه. قد ولد الشيخ عبد الحميد في سنة ١٨٦٣ أو ١٨٦٤ بمكة وتوفي فيها سنة ١٩١٥ أو ١٩١٦ وهو من أصل قدس بجاوه الوسطى. قد سافر إلى مكة وهو في سن العشرون سنة وقرر بعد ما انتهى من أداء فريضة الحج أن يقيم فيها حتى وفاته.

قد تطورت أعمال الشيخ عبد الحميد في التأليف والتعليم. كان يدرس في مسجد الحرم المكي وألف عشرين كتابا في مختلف الموضوعات والمجالات منها الفقه وأصول الفقه، والتصوف والأخلاق والأدب العربى وهاجيوغرافى. وقد اعترف كإمام من الأئمة في مسجد الحرم الذى يعتبر من أهم المناصب فى تلك الحين من كثرة كتبه ومؤلفاته. بجانب جهوده فى إنشاء شبكة العلماء لجاوه الوسطى، قام بالاتصال بالجالية الجاوية بصفته عالما من العلماء الجاويين. قد استفتى من الشيخ حميد أتباعه وزملاؤه لجاوه فى المسائل الدينية، ثم جمعت هذه الفتاوى فى عدة الكتب.

وبنائته الفكرى فى المقالات الإسلامية للشيخ عبد الحميد نراه من خلال انتشار مجموعة تقليدية فى مكة سواء كان فى مجال الفقه وعلم الكلام أم فى التصوف. فى مجال الفقه مثلا يسود المذهب الشافعى فى ساحة المثقفين فى مكة. يتضح لنا هذا الأمر من النظر إلى اساتيده فى مسجد الحرم الذين ينتمون إلى المذهب الشافعى. على أساس تأثير البيئة للحياة الثقافية فى مكة هو الذى يراه البعض بأنه ممثل لمذهب الشافعى. ونعرف من خلال كتبه نزعة أفكاره التقليدية. بالإضافة إلى أنه كان يمارس الطقوس الروحية ويدرس الطرق الصوفية مثل القادرية والنقشبندية والعلوية والخلوتية قبل أن يقرر على اتباع الطريقة الخلوتية السمنية.

This article looks at the influence of Meccan education on the *pesantren* tradition. I shall deal with the rise of Javanese religious scholars in Mecca seen from two interrelated perspectives: textual and intellectual networks. I will attempt to discuss these indications and link them to the *pesantren* environment. I will also shed light on some discourses related to Islamic reforms stimulated by the Javanese ulama (religious scholars) in Mecca and how they influenced the construction of *pesantren* ideology. I will end this article with a case study of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus. This study is meant to portray the intellectual career of a Javanese teacher at the Masjid al-Ḥaram in Mecca.

Javanese Ulama: the Textual and Intellectual Networks

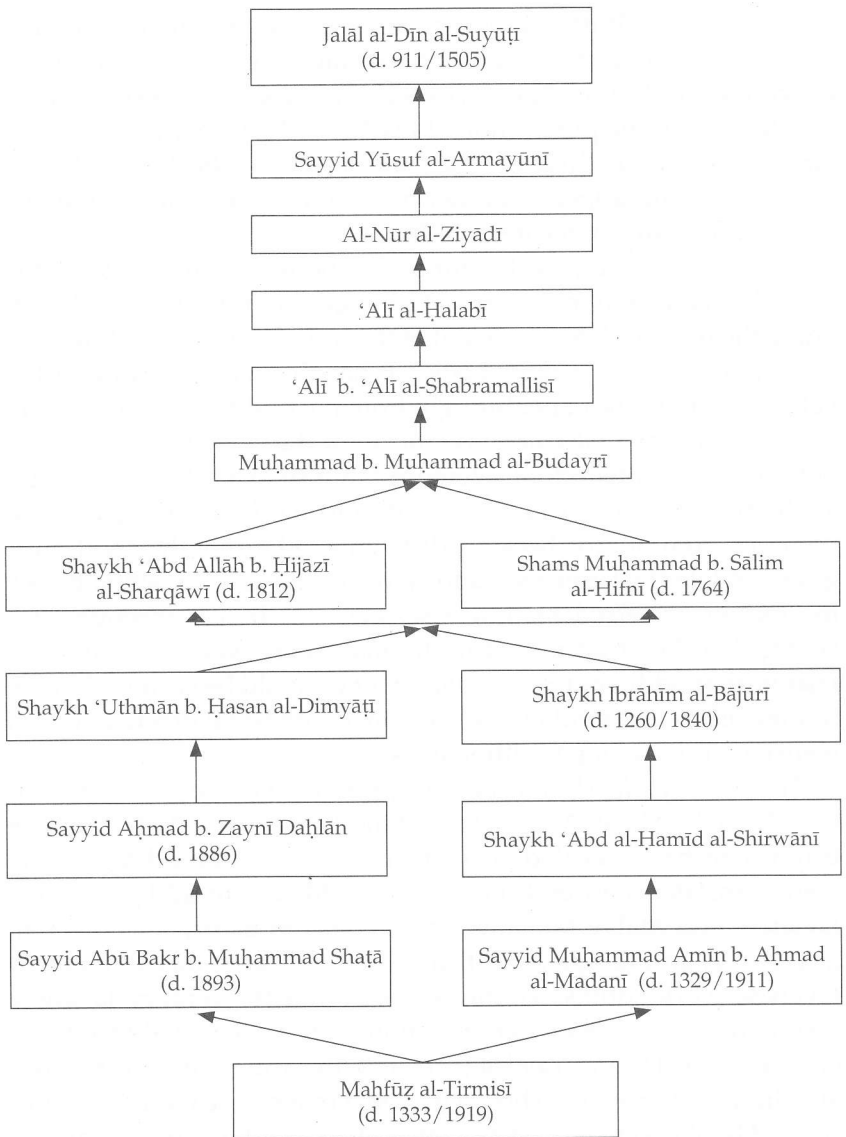
In the 19th century there were a great number of teachers at the Masjid al-Ḥaram actively engaged in writing activities. The Jawi (i.e. from the Malay world) teachers were no exception.¹ Their publications varied in terms of subjects such as Islamic theology, Islamic law, ethics and Arabic grammar. In this part, I will elaborate on the impact of the printing culture on the *pesantren* tradition, especially concerning the rise of the Javanese ulama in Mecca. Special attention will be paid to the writing activities of the Javanese ulama in Mecca. I will link this topic to what Michael Laffan has described as a kind of “textual network”² and its implication on the development of *pesantren* scholarship.

Printed books are a relatively new phenomenon in the Muslim world. Francis Robinson states that print did not take root in the Muslim world until the 19th century.³ Book printing activities began only in 1825, when the first press was established in Cairo, Egypt. Before that, Muslims refused to adopt the print, partly for supposedly religious reasons.⁴ It was said that they suspected that hog bristles were used in the brush for cleaning the block. As a consequence, they worried that these religiously impure (*nājis*) bristles would touch the name of Allāh. This would be blasphemy.⁵ Printing activities in Mecca began in 1884 with the establishment of the government press which not only printed Arabic but also Malay books. The extent to which the printing activities influenced *pesantren* scholarship in Mecca is of great significance.

One of the ways in which the *pesantren* scholarship was influenced is the emergence of textual networks through which religious ideas could be communicated to a wider audience. On the one hand,

this textual network played a significant role in connecting the Jawi Muslims to Muslims from other parts of the Muslim world.⁶ In this regard, one of the pivotal manifestations of the connection mediated by print press was the issuance of *fatwās*. Print technology facilitated the spread of *fatwās*. During the last quarter of the 19th century, *fatwās* were one of the essential methods of transmitting Islam from its centre in Mecca to other parts of the Muslim world. As Kaptein puts it, it even functioned as “a unifying factor.”⁷ One of the most striking examples in this case is the *Muhimmāt al-Nafā’is*, a collection of *fatwās* from the end of the 19th century issued especially to the Indonesian Muslim community.⁸ The *fatwās* can best be understood in the spirit of their time. As will be shown later in the case of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, the works of Javanese ulama in Mecca were often written in response to requests from their fellows in Java.

On the other hand, the textual network also served to enhance the intellectual network they made with ulama either from their homeland or other regions. The works they wrote reflect an intellectual continuation. They wrote books in order to prolong their intellectual links either with their teachers or with higher authorities. As an example, mention could be made of Javanese ulama who often wrote commentaries on the works of their fellow Javanese. Nawawī al-Bantani, for instance, wrote *Al-‘Iqd al-Thamīn* which is a commentary of *Manzūmat al-Sittīn Mas’ala* or so called *Al-Fathò al-Mubīn* by Musòtòfā b. ‘Uthmān of Garut, West Java.⁹ Nawawī also wrote two commentaries of the works by Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sumayr (d. 1854), a Hadramaut immigrant in Batavia. They were respectively *Sharhò Kāshifat al-Sijā*¹⁰ and *Sulūk al-Jāda*.¹¹ At the same time, Nawawī authored a great number of commentaries (*sharh*) of Middle Eastern ulama. These commentaries served to link his intellectual network in a wider context. Another example is the case of Maḥfūzal-Tirmisī who authored a number of Islamic books. As a specialist in ḥadīth literature, he traced his links of transmission back to respected scholars of ḥadīth. In his introduction to *Minhāj Dhawī al-Nazar*, he narrated all his transmitters from two interconnected links.¹² This is shown in the diagram below.



The Transmission Chain of Maḥfūz al-Tirmisī

The spread of printing technology also impacted on religious authority. This is in line with the aim of *riḥla* (search for Islamic knowledge), which is to gain higher authority through gaining knowledge.¹³ In this case, Mecca as the centre of Islamic learning was considered to be the place where the highest Islamic authorities

could be found. With the participation of the Jawi ulama in writing activities, they at the same time created their own authority as interpreters of Islam.¹⁴ Nawawī's writing career is a good example. For the sake of the publication of his *Marāḥiḥ Labīd*, Nawawī became famous as *Sayyid ulama al-Ḥijāz* (the leader of the Ḥijāz ulama). Undeniably, this appellation was an acknowledgement of his status as an authoritative interpreter of Islam.¹⁵

No less significant is the impact of the textual network on the textual references of *pesantrens*. With regard to this, it is worth outlining the historical development of the use of *kitab kuning*. Literally, *kitab kuning* means "yellow book". It has this name because of the yellow colour of the paper brought from the Middle East in the early 20th century. The *kitab kuning* is crucial for the *pesantren* community not only as its intellectual reference but also as part of its identity as the traditionalist group. It was due to the *kitab kuning* that the *pesantren* community became differentiated from the modernist group. While the latter read and wrote *buku putih* (lit. white book), the former preferred reading *kitab kuning*.¹⁶ It was through *kitab kuning* that they transmitted traditional Islam over the centuries.¹⁷ Jajat Burhanuddin notes that *kitab kuning* should be seen within the framework of *taqlīd* (following), together with ritual practices which were common among traditionalists.¹⁸

Historically, *kitab kuning* became prominent in the *pesantren* community in the Malay Archipelago in the 16th century. As Martin van Bruinessen has indicated, at that time some of these *kitab kuning* were translated into both Javanese and Malay. In addition, some Javanese and Malay Muslims wrote books in their respective languages. As an example, van Bruinessen indicated that in an early Javanese work entitled *Wejangan Sèh Bari*, a 16th century Javanese text, two Arabic works were mentioned, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and *Tamhīd* (probably by Abū Shukūr al-Kashshī al-Sālimī).¹⁹ However, it should be noted that before the 19th century printed books were not yet available. As a result, the only available books were in the form of manuscripts. Only later in the century did printed editions become more easily obtainable.

In order to get a more comprehensive idea of the development of *kitab kuning*, it is useful to look at the most detailed account made by L.W.C. van den Berg. In 1884 he listed a number of the *kitab kuning* used in *pesantren* in Java and Madura.²⁰ Another account was made by Soebardi in his study of *Serat Cethini*.²¹ The latter study provided data relatively similar to those of van den Berg. However,

van den Berg's is more comprehensive. Karel Steenbrink has analysed and classified van den Berg's list. He classifies them into six categories:²²

1. The first category includes the books concerning practical *fiqh*. They comprise: *Safīnat al-Najā* by Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sumayr (d. 1270/1854); *Sullam al-Tawfīq* by Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir (d. 1271/1855); *Masā'il al-Sittīn* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zāhid al-Miṣrī (d. 818/1415); *Mukhtaṣar* by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bafaḍal (d. c. 900/1494); *Kitab Minhāj al-Qawīm* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1465); *Al-Hawāshī al-Madaniyya* by Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1194/1780); *Al-Risāla* by Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Ḥabshī (d. 1250/1834).
2. The second category is general *fiqh*. They include: *Mukhtaṣar* by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī (d. c. 600/1203); *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1512); *Sharḥ Ibn al-Qāsim* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī (d. 1260/1844); *Iqnā'* by Muḥammad al-Sharbīnī (d. 977/1569); *Tuḥfat al-Ḥabīb* by Sulaymān al-Bujayrimī (d. c. 1200/1785); *Al-Muḥarrar* by Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226); *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* by Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d.676/1277); *Al-Maḥallī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1460); *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* by Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520); *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1465); *Fatḥ al-Mu'in* by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Malībārī (d. 982/1574).
3. The third category consists of the books which deal with Arabic grammar. They are: *Muqaddimat al-Ājurūmiyya* by Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwud al-Ṣanhajī b. Ājurūm (d. 273/1322); *Mutammima* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī; *Al-Fawākih al-Janniyya* by 'Abd Allāh al-Fākihī (d. c. 980/1572); *Al-Durra al-Bahiyya* by Sharaf b. Yaḥyā b. Abū al-Khayr al-Anṣārī al-'Imrīṭī (d. c. 990/1563); *Sharḥ al-'Allāma al-Kafrāwī*²³ by Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kafrāwī (d. c. 1200/1785); *Al-'Awāmil al-Mi'a* by 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078); *Inna Awlā* by 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī; *Alfiyya* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tay al-Jajjānī (672/1273); *Minhāj al-Masālik* by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ashmūnī (d. 909/1503); *Sharḥ Ibn 'Aqīl* by 'Abd

- Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Aqīl (d. 769/1368); *Tamrīn al-Tullāb* by Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azharī (d. 905/1500); *Al-Kāfiyya* by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1248); *Qaṭr al-Nadā* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hāshim (d. 761/1360); *Mujīb al-Nidā* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Fākihī; and *Al-Miṣbāḥ* by Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Abū al-Makārim ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Muttarizī (d. 610/1213).
4. The fourth category concerns Islamic doctrines. They include: *Bahjat al-‘Ulūm* by Abū al-Layth Muḥammad b. Abū Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983); *Umm al-Barāhīn* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490); ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī (d. 897/1492); *Al-Mufīd* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465); *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī [al-Bayjūrī] (d. 1260/1840); *Kifāyat al-‘Awwām* by Muḥammad b. al-Shāfi‘ī al-Faḍālī (d. 1861); *Al-Miftāḥ fī Sharḥ Ma‘rifat al-Islām* by Muḥammad b. al-Shāfi‘ī al-Faḍālī (d. 1861); *Jawhar al-Tawḥīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī (d. 1041/1632); *Iftāḥ al-Murīd* by ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī (d. 1078/1667).
 5. The fifth category comprises books on Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf*). They include three works by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111): *Iḥyā‘ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*; *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* and *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*. There is also the work of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Hijāzī al-Khalūṭī [al-Khalwatī] al-Sharqāwī (d. 1812). This work is a *hāshiyā* (super commentary) on a *sharḥ* (commentary) by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abbād al-Nafzī on *Al-Ḥikam* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Aṭā‘ Allāh al-Sakandarī (d. 796/1394). In addition to these works, two others are included: *Shu‘b al-Īmān* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ījī and *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā‘ ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā‘* by Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī (d. c. 914/1508).
 6. Finally, the sixth category is Qur’ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*) which lists only one work, i.e. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* co-authored by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1460) and Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

From the above categories, Karel Steenbrink draws five conclusions.²⁴ They are: 1) approaches to the Qur’ān and the ḥadīth were made indirectly through the selection of classic books, mainly *fiqh* books; 2) almost all the books were written in the Middle Ages; 3)

Islamic Sufism was not dominant; 4). Van der Berg's data was similar to Soebardi's with some additional titles;²⁵ and 5) there were some similarities between works used in Java and in Sumatra.²⁶

Van den Berg's list is also affirmed by Aḥmad Batjan who apparently came from the Moluccas, as his name indicates. In 1884, he provided Snouck Hurgronje with a brief list of works.²⁷ The list shows that *fiqh* was the most favourite topic read in the Archipelago.

From Batjan's list, Laffan identified the original names and authors of the works and divides them into three categories. The first one is the standard works of jurisprudence including *al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rāfi'ī (d. 1226); *Umm al-Barāhīn* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (1490); *al-Masā'il al-Sittīn* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (d. 1415); *Fath al-Mu'in* by al-Malībārī. The second category covers the works produced with a Jawi audience. They are: *Al-Širāt al-Mustaqīm* by al-Rānirī; *Safīnat al-Najā* by Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sumayr (d. 1854); *Tuḥfa* which might refer to the *Tuḥfa* by al-Burhanpūrī or *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj ilā Sharḥ al-Minhāj* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī.

The third category comprises the redactions of works by Jawi ulama (mostly from Malay-speaking lands): *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb* by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī; *Al-Durr al-Thamīn* probably by Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī (1735); *Farā'id al-Ghāya al-Taqrīb fī al-Irth wa al-Tanṣīb* and *Īdāh al-Bāb li Murīd al-Nikāh bi al-Šawwāb* both by Daud b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭṭānī (c. 1740-c. 1845); *Masā'il al-Muhtadī li Ikhwān al-Mubtadī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayd al-Faṭṭānī; *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fī Amr al-Dīn* by Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1710-1812) and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* by 'Abd al-Šamad al-Falimbānī.²⁸ Laffan failed to identify two titles, which are *Al-Mufīd* and *Ṭilimsānī*.²⁹ Based on Voorhoeve's *Handlist*, *Al-Mufīd* is an anonymous commentary of *Umm al-Barāhīn* which Brockelmann erroneously identified as the commentary by Ṭilimsānī.³⁰

What should be noted is that the textual networks stimulated the popularity of 19th century Middle Eastern scholars' works within the Javanese *pesantren* community. As a result, the introduction of their works into *pesantren* curricula is widespread. As can be seen above, almost all references stemmed from periods before the 19th century. Only a few of them were from authors of the 19th century: Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sumayr, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bājūrī. From amongst the Javanese authors, Shaykh Nawawī and Maḥfūz al-Tirmisī were the most famous in the *pesantren*. Van Bruinessen's collection lists 22

titles by Nawawī of which eleven occur among the most frequently used works in *pesantrens*.³¹ Al-Tirmisī wrote a number of voluminous Arabic books on various subjects including the ḥadīth, Islamic law, Qur'ānic recitation, and Sufism.³² Another prominent writer who should be mentioned is Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus. Of these books, *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt* (on principles of Islamic law, *uṣūl al-fiqh*) is widely used in *pesantrens*.³³ From the Middle East authors, seven titles by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān and four titles by Abū Bakr Shaṭā are included in van Bruinessen's list.³⁴

The Construction of the *Pesantren* Ideology

During the 19th century, the relationship between *sharī'a* and *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) in the Ḥijāz was very much influenced by political events in the Muslim world. Generally speaking, as Badri Yatim has analysed, during the century two trends of Sufism had developed in the Ḥijāz: orthodox and popular Sufism. The former emphasised the harmony between *sharī'a* and the spiritual dimensions of Islam, while the latter accentuated the spiritual dimensions and developed the individual cult of *shaykhs* (spiritual leaders of *ṭarīqa*).³⁵ Orthodox Sufism had been the most dominant since the end of the 18th century with the popular Sufi teachings of al-Ghazālī. As McDonald remarked, this popularity was due to Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. The commentary was entitled *Kitāb Ithōāf al-Sāda al-Muttaqīn bi Sharḥ al-Asrār Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.³⁶ He says:

In the corner of the Muslim world generations of Sufis lived comparatively undisturbed, and it was Sayyid Murtaḍā in Tihama, who by his great commentary on the *Ihya* of al-Ghazālī practically founded the modern study of that book ... thus there can be no question of the wide influence which he is now exercising.³⁷

This popularity was interrupted by the rise of the Saud dynasty. Although the dynasty lasted only for a short term, from 1803 to 1813, its influence on religious matters is undeniable. This is because it interfered directly with religion. Supported by the Wahhabists, the dynasty took part in demanding the return to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and combat against mystical practices among the adherents of Sufi orders. As a result, during the rule of the Saud dynasty, a great number of the Ḥijāzi who opposed the dynasty escaped, including the followers of *ṭarīqa*.³⁸ With the demise of the

dynasty, the Ḥijāz and Egypt were under the rule of the Ottoman government. When Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha (r. 1813-1833 and 1833-1840) came to power in Egypt, many Egyptian ulama immigrated to the Ḥijāz and became leading teachers at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram, Mecca, as well as at the Masjīd al-Nabawī, in Medinah. Generally they were the *sharī‘a*-oriented ulama. Among them, the most prominent were three: Shaṭā: Sayyid Bakrī Shaṭā (d. 1893), Sayyid ‘Umar Shaṭā (d. 1330/11912) and Sayyid ‘Uthmān Shaṭā (d. 1295/1878).³⁹ In addition, many settlers (*mujāwirūn*) in the Ḥijāz were already in touch with the followers of Islamic revivalism and modernism such as settlers from India. They established educational institutions such as modern schools and *halaqas* at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram. Among them was Madrasa Sawlatiya. However, *ṭarīqas* did not completely disappear from Mecca. Instead, some orthodox *ṭarīqas* such as Sanūsiyya, Naqshabandiya, Qādiriya and Shādhiliya flourished more and more.⁴⁰ In addition, several leading ulama at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram such as Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Daghestānī, Ḥabīb Allāh and Muḥammad Šāliḥ Zawāwī adhered to *ṭarīqa*.⁴¹

The popularity of orthodox Sufism in the latter part of the 19th century can also be seen in the Masjīd al-Ḥaram in which al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* became the main handbook for teaching Sufism.⁴² In addition, as Snouck reported, most teachers at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram disliked the existing popular *ṭarīqa* practices. They often warned their pupils not to follow the practices unless they had sufficient knowledge. They suggested the pupils to first study the Sufi teachings of al-Ghazālī.⁴³

The influence of the reform of Sufism in Mecca on the *pesantren* tradition can be assessed from the fact that a number of Javanese who studied, and taught, at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram developed *sharī‘a*-oriented *tasawwuf* (Sufism). Among them was Nawawī al-Bantanī who taught the works of al-Ghazālī at the Masjīd al-Ḥaram. Nawawī’s attitude toward Sufism was clear. Although he did not adhere to a certain *ṭarīqa*, he did not prevent his students from following one.⁴⁴ Nawawī’s attitude can also be seen in the case of Sayyid ‘Uthmān of Batavia who once asked his support to fight against *ṭarīqa* movements spreading in Java.⁴⁵ Even though Nawawī did not refuse Sayyid ‘Uthmān’s request, his own opinion on *ṭarīqa* was not totally in agreement with ‘Uthmān’s. He only agreed on some negative effects of *ṭarīqa* practices.⁴⁶

Nawawī himself practised the moderate ethical Sufism of al-Ghazālī. This is reflected in his two works. The first one was

commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* entitled *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyya*, printed in 1881. Another work by Nawawī was a commentary on a mystic poem of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī entitled *Salālim al-Fudḍalā' 'alā Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Azḥliyyā'* printed in 1884.⁴⁷ In line with Nawawī were Khalīl Bangkalan, Saleh Darat and Hasyim Asy'ari who practised Sufi teachings without any affiliation with a certain *ṭarīqa*. However, they did not teach in Mecca. Instead, they returned home and taught at their respective *pesantrens*.⁴⁸

Until the last quarter of the 19th century, modernists and traditionalists did not differ sharply. This was due to the interests they shared. As Laffan said, they were "united in the quest to regain their independence of action and reinstate Islam as the guiding philosophy in their own communities; whether quietly like Nawawī, or aggressively like Aḥmad Khāṭib."⁴⁹ In addition, the influence of the Egyptian reformists Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā had only become apparent in the early 20th century. The position of Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb Minangkabau was in between the modernist and traditionalist groups.⁵⁰ Considering this, it is difficult to give a clear portrait of the ideological construction of the traditionalists without looking at the later developments.

One can see the ideological construction of Islamic discourses developing in the traditionalist group in Mecca, either in *fiqh*, Islamic theology or Sufism. In *fiqh*, the Shāfi'ite *madhhab* dominated the intellectual arena in Mecca. This can be seen in the number of teachers at the Masjid al-Haram, of whom the majority were Shāfi'ite. Unfortunately, there is no specific information regarding the exact number of Jawi in Mecca. What is clear is that they were at liberty to study with teachers from any *madhhab*. This is also true for Sufism. What should be emphasised here is that Meccan education contributed to the strengthening of the adherence to a *madhhab* in the *pesantren* tradition. This strengthening of adherence became more striking later, with the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

The foundation of NU should be viewed as the institutionalisation of *pesantrens*. According to Zamakhasyari Dhofier, traditional Islam is Islam as interpreted by previous ulama who lived between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century.⁵¹ This traditional Islam manifested itself in the adherence of the *pesantren* community to the teachings of *madhhabs* and was formulated as the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (the followers of the Prophet and Muslim community) or *Aswaja*. It is often claimed that the *Aswaja* originated from the

theological doctrine of Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935) and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944). Nonetheless, the term itself was introduced for the first time by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) to refer to the followers of the theological teachings of al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī.⁵²

In the Indonesian context, the Aswaja was embodied institutionally in the foundation of NU in 1926. Since the present study is limited to *pesantrens* in the latter part of the 19th century, a discussion of NU is not relevant. The traditionalist ideology was manifested within the *Qanun Asasi* by the founder of the organisation, Hasyim Asy'ari. He said:

O, the ulama and companions who obey God from the group of ahlussunnah waljama'ah, from the group who follow the four imams of the madhahib: you are the people who study the religious knowledge from the 'ulama' who lived before you; the ulama before you studied from them through chain of authorities that link and reach you. And you always investigate those from whom you study your religion. Thus, you are the guardians of the doors of that religious knowledge. You should not enter that house [of the religious] except through its doors. Whoever enters that house without passing its doors, he/she is called a thief.⁵³

From the quotation, it becomes clear that the ideology of the traditionalist group is *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*. They were the followers of four *madhhabs* whose Islamic knowledge they transferred. In fact, Hasyim Asy'ari did not give an explicit definition of Aswaja. The Aswaja as formulated by NU was coined by a study circle called *Taswirul Afkar* headed by K.H. Wahab Chasbullah (d. 1971). Then Aswaja was defined by K.H. Bisri Musthofa (d. 1977) of Rembang, Central Java, as the followers of al-Ash'arī and al-Māturīdī in theology, of the four *madhhabs* in *fiqh*, and of al-Junayd al-Baghdādī and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in Sufism. This definition was taken from *Al-Kawākib al-Lammā'a* by K.H. Abul Fadhol of Senori, Tuban, East Java, and was formalised in the twenty-third *Muktamar* in Solo in 1962.⁵⁴

In the following section I will deal with the influence of Meccan education by specifically studying the figure of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus. The aim of this section is to understand how the Javanese ulama, as represented in the example of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, built their intellectual career and how they maintained their connections with their fellow Javanese as well as with ulama from other parts of the Muslim world.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus (1863-1915): A Case Study⁵⁵

Among the Javanese ulama in Mecca, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus is not as famous as others such as Shaykh Nawawī al-Bantani and Maḥfūz al-Tirmisī. However, looking in several Arabic biographical dictionaries (*tarājīm*),⁵⁶ one will notice that Shaykh Ḥamīd created his own name by authoring some Islamic books in Arabic. One of his works entitled *Laṭā’if al-Ishārāt* (on *uṣūl al-fiqh*) is, up to the present day, still widely used in *pesantrens*. However, this is not to say that it is easy to discuss the intellectual profile of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus. His position as a teacher (*mudarris*) at the Masjid al-Ḥaram became significant since he was involved in the intellectual networks established by the ulama of the archipelago. However, only sketchy information is available about him. In his dissertation, Abd. Rachman states that “so far there are no reliable sources disclosing the exact dates of the biography of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd bin Muḥammad ‘Alī Kudus. He must have been the contemporary of Saleh Darat who wrote most of his *kitab*s in the latter part of the 19th century.”⁵⁷ This lack of information is quite strange, given that Shaykh Ḥamīd Kudus authored and published some twenty books. Although he was born and died in Mecca, Shaykh Ḥamīd Kudus never lost touch with his ancestral roots, that is, Java.

In the latter part of the 19th century the wave of pilgrims from the archipelago increased. Many Muslims of different countries travelled to Mecca to complete the *hajj* (Islamic pilgrimage). After the *hajj*, some of them returned to their homeland, while the others decided to settle there for a while or even for good. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s father, Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Zāhid al-Khaṭīb b. ‘Abd al-Khaṭīb was one of those who decided to settle and spend his life in Mecca.

Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī came from Kudus, Central Java. He was twenty years old when he travelled to Mecca. After completing *hajj*, he decided to live in Mecca, where he married an Arab woman.⁵⁸ He lived there for some thirty years until the end of his life. During his life in Mecca, he pursued knowledge of Islam from renowned ulama such as Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Dimyāṭī, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Sunbulāwī, and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī from Mecca. He also studied with Shaykh Aḥmad Zaynī b. Daḥlān. He spent almost all his days in Mecca studying, teaching and writing. According to Shaykh Ḥamīd, his father wrote some books which remained unpublished until the end of his life. Approximately nine years after the death of his father, Shaykh Ḥamīd’s home—with all his belong-

ings, including all his father's manuscripts—burned down. The only work that was saved was *Kifāyat al-Mubtadī*, on which Shaykh Ḥamīd then wrote a commentary named *Irshād al-Muhtadī ilā Sharḥ Kifāyat al-Mubtadī*. The subject of the book was Islamic theology.⁵⁹ Shaykh Ḥamīd seemed to continue in his father's intellectual footsteps.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was born in Mecca in 1280 (c.1863/4) and died there in 1334 (c.1915/6). Born into a religious family, he received his early education from his father from whom he—together with his young brother Muḥammad Nūr b. Muḥammad 'Alī—learned to read the Qur'ān and with whom he studied elementary Islamic books such as *Fath al-Qarīb* (on *fiqh*) and *Sharḥ Ājurūmiyya* (on Arabic grammar). He then continued to study at the Masjid al-Ḥaram in which he studied with prominent Meccan 'ulama. Among his teachers were Shaykh Muḥammad Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh, Shaykh 'Umar Ba Junayd, Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Dihhān, Shaykh Sa'īd Yamānī, Ḥabīb Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aṭṭās, Shaykh Muḥammad Shaṭā, Shaykh Bakrī Shaṭā, Shaykh 'Umar Shaṭā, and Shaykh 'Uthmān Shaṭā. He was also a student of the Shāfi'ite Grand Mufti of Mecca, Shaykh Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1307/1886) and his assistant Sa'īd Bābaṣīl.⁶⁰ Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus received *ijāza* (recommendations) from many ulama.⁶¹ Among them, Daḥlān wrote an *ijāza* for Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd entitled *Thabat Ijāza ilā 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds*.⁶² Another scholar who gave him an *ijāza* was Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān Maqbūl al-Ahdal, entitled *Ijāza ilā al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī Qudūs al-Jāwī al-Makkī*.⁶³ He also received one from Muḥammad al-Binā' al-Ḥanafī (the Ḥanafite mufti of Alexandria, Egypt, who wrote an *ijāza* entitled *Ijāza ilā al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad 'Alī Quds*.⁶⁴ Last but not least, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Zaqqūq al-Rashīdī al-Shādhilī wrote for him *Ijāzātān min Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Zaqqūq al-Rashīdī ilā 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Shaykh al-Jāwa bi Makka)*.⁶⁵ From one of the *ijāzas* Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd received, it can be discerned that he also studied with a Ḥanafite scholar. It seemed that his most important teacher was Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Shaṭā or Bakrī Shaṭā. This can be seen from the fact that he wrote a biography of Bakr Shata entitled *Kanz al-'Aṭā' fī Tarjamat Sayyid Bakrī Shaṭā*.⁶⁶

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's intellectual life was formed in the circle of Masjid al-Ḥaram in which he represented a Shāfi'ite scholar. Under the guidance of renowned ulama and with the basic knowledge received from his father, Shaykh Ḥamīd became an 'ālim (a

learned man), *shā'ir* (a poet) and *mu'allif* (an author). In addition to teaching at the Masjid al-Ḥaram, he devoted himself to writing some Arabic books on various topics such as *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, ethics, Arabic poetry, and hagiography. His command of *'arūd* (Arabic prosody) earned him his name as one of the outstanding poetry theorists at that time. On this, he wrote a book called *Fatḥh al-Jalīl al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-'Ārūd wa al-Qawāfī*.⁶⁷ Several of his works were written in poetic forms such as *Manzūma al-Jawāhir al-Wuddiyya fī al-Adab wa al-Akḥlāq al-Marḍiyya* (on ethics), *Nayl al-Is'ād wa al-Qabūl* (hagiography), and *Majmū' Bulūgh al-Marām fīhi Mawlid al-Nabī* (poems praising the Prophet). Acknowledging his great intellectual achievements, the aforementioned ulama gave him *ijāza* (licences) to teach at the Masjid al-Ḥaram.⁶⁸

Although he never reached the stature of Shaykh Nawawī al-Bantanī, Shaykh Ḥamīd's scholarly works gained recognition from renowned ulama in the Middle East. This can be seen from the fact that almost all of his works end up with *taqārīz* (eulogies) from such ulama as Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharbīnī al-Thānī (*Shaykh al-Azhar* of Egypt), Maḥmūd Tamūm al-Mālikī al-Azharī, Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, and Sa'id Bābaṣīl, who can be counted among the most influential ulama of their day. In addition to the works mentioned above, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd wrote several other works.⁶⁹ The works were not only published in Mecca but also in Cairo and in Delhi, India.⁷⁰ This can be seen as proof that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's authorship was widely acknowledged. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's works reflected his traditional thought. This can be inferred from themes dealing with devotion and hagiography.

Fürthermore, the history section of the catalogue of the Library of Makkah al-Mukarramah mentions three other writings of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.⁷¹ These are: *Mawāhib al-Mu'īd al-Munshī fī Ma'āthir al-'Allāma al-Sayīd Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥabshī*;⁷² *Mawāhib al-Mu'īd al-Munshī fī Ma'āthir al-Sayīd Ḥusayn al-Ḥabshī*;⁷³ *Qiṣṣat al-Mawlid*;⁷⁴ *Thabat wa Asānīd 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Quds = Al-Mafākhir al-Saniyya*.⁷⁵ To my knowledge, only *Qiṣṣat al-Mawlid* was published.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had two sons; Muḥammad Nūr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. According to 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, the first son died in 1360/1941 in Mecca, while the second moved to Indonesia, returning to his grandfather's homeland. There Muḥammad 'Alī devoted himself to teaching and founded a Muslim traditionalist journal called *Al-Mir'a Al-*

Muḥammadiyya (the Praised Mirror).⁷⁶ He also wrote a book entitled *Al-Sa'āda wa Maṭālib al-Islām fī Ḥubb al-Ṣaḥāba al-Kirām*.⁷⁷ The book was dedicated to his father, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.⁷⁸ The book discusses the author's criticism of the *Rāfiḍa* branch of Shi'ite Islam. Muḥammad 'Alī died in 1362/1943.

During his life, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus had visited various parts of the Arab world, such as Lebanon and Egypt. He had also visited Java, the homeland of his ancestors, where he was frequently asked for advice about religious matters by his fellow Javanese. A certain Raden Tapsiranom (*Tabṣīr al-Anām*),⁷⁹ a *qāḍī* of the Surakarta Royal Palace, once requested him to write a commentary on a treatise by Shaykh Sammān entitled *Jaliyya al-Karb wa Munīlat al-Arb*. This commentary was entitled *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyya fī Tawassulāt al-Sammāniyya*. We will further discuss Shaykh Ḥamīd's *fatwās* and then his affiliation with *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*.

Giving Fatwās to the Javanese Community

In this part, I shall highlight Shaykh Ḥamīd's *fatwās* and the next part will be a discussion of the *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* (or *Khalwatiyya Sammāniyya*). The times Shaykh Ḥamīd was requested issue a *fatwā* by his Javanese Muslim fellows approximately coincided with the issuance of *fatwās* within the *Muhimmāt al-Nafā'is*.⁸⁰ The *fatwās* can best be seen to reflect the spirit of the time. Through his *fatwās* Shaykh Ḥamīd made intellectual contacts with the Javanese community. His "*fatwās*" were documented in several of his books.

In his visit to Java in 1308/1890, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was asked about the permissibility of putting the script of Qur'ānic verses or the like upon the *kafan* (coffin). Referring to the Shāfi'ite authorities, he answered that this practice was not allowed because of the risk that the script would mix with religiously impure things (*najāsāt*) such as blood. It is worthwhile to mention why such a question was addressed. He was told that such an act was mentioned in traditional Islamic medicine books such as *Shams al-Ma'ārif* by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225/1622) and *Al-Awḥāq* by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), or in story books such as *Nuzhat al-Majālis* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sufūrī (d. 894), or in books on *targhīb wa tarhīb* (attraction and intimidation) such as *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* by Abū al-Layth Muḥammad b. Abū Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983). This discussion then led to the question of what kinds of reference should have been used as the legal basis for giving *fat-*

wās. From this case, one can understand that *fatwās* should be based on “authoritative” Shāfi’ite sources and references. He said, “[i]t is compulsory for those who want to give *fatwā* to follow the opinion of the ulama of the *madhhab*. It is not allowed to give it based on the less preferable (*al-marjūh*) ...”⁸¹

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was also asked about the delay of *janāza* (funeral) prayer until after ‘*aṣr* (afternoon prayer) in the hope that more people would come to pray for the deceased. It should be noted that time after ‘*aṣr* and *ṣubḥ* (Morning Prayer) is called *al-waqt al-karāha*,⁸² meaning that it is not preferable to do prayer during that time. Referring to *kutub mu’tamad* (the authoritative references) of the Shāfi’ite canonical school of thought, he said that the suspension was legally correct.⁸³ Another question was raised concerning the necessity of putting the dead body facing the *qiblah* during the *janāza* prayer. Answering the question, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd argued that it was not necessary to do so, because requirements for conducting prayer applied only to the living.⁸⁴

Another question was about the permissibility of interpreting the Qur’ān into non-Arabic languages (*a ‘jamiyya*). In response to this particular question, Shaykh Ḥamīd wrote a concise treatise entitled *Al-Tuḥfa al-Marḍiyya fī Jawāz Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Aẓīm bi al-‘Ajamiyya*.⁸⁵ The question reads:

Is it permitted or not to interpret the Qur’ān in non-Arabic languages such as Persian and Malay? If you say it is permitted, what is the difference between this [interpretation] and translation [*tarjama*] that jurists forbid by saying that it is not permitted to translate [the chapters of] the Qur’ān, Al-Fātiḥa or others, because it [translation] eliminates the intended inimitability of the Qur’ān. If different, please explain. If not, what is your opinion as to what [the author of] *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ*⁸⁶ tells of the synonymous meaning of translation and interpretation in which he said that *one has translated his words if he interprets them into another language* [*tarjama kalāmah idhā fassarāh bi lisān ākhar*]. If you consider it forbidden, what about if it is intended to teach the meaning of the Qur’ān to non-Arabs? Please explain to us about this question in a clear answer which is handed down from the opinion of *ulama al-madhhab*.⁸⁷

Replying to this question, he said,

Yes, it is permitted to interpret the Qur’ān into non-Arabic languages, but not to translate it. The difference between translation and interpretation is that to translate is to substitute a word for another. In translation, a translated word is dropped and the translating word substitutes it. This is not permitted in the case of the Qur’ān, because its inimitability

is exclusively distinguished through its Arabic style not through its meaning. The translation will eliminate its intended inimitability.⁸⁸

The issue of interpreting and translating the Qur'ān had become subjects of heated debate since the early times of Islam.⁸⁹ The key problem was not interpretation itself, but translation, which jurists denounced.⁹⁰ As a matter of fact, not all jurists forbade it. As an example, the Ḥanafite School permitted reciting the translated Qur'ān in prayer, but only if one was unable to recite it in Arabic. Abū Yūsuf and Shaybānī of the Ḥanafite School allowed it even without conditions. This was different from the Mālikite and Shāfi'ite schools which tended to forbid it.⁹¹

In Indonesia, debate over the legitimacy of non-Arabic Qur'ānic translations as well as interpretation had been going on since at least the beginning of the 20th century. For instance, in 1909, Sayyid 'Uthmān of Batavia wrote a small treatise entitled *Ḥukm al-Raḥmān bi al-Nahy 'an Tarjamat al-Qur'ān*. This treatise was a response to the work of a Malay. In his introduction to the treatise, Sayyid 'Uthmān said, "... the most insulting thing of all despicable innovations in the present time is the Malay translation of the Qur'ān made by a certain Malay..."⁹² Later, a controversy arose over the Indonesian translation of Maulvi Muḥammad 'Alī's *The Holy Qur'ān* by Tjokroaminoto (the leader of the *Sarekat Islam* movement) and his advocates.⁹³

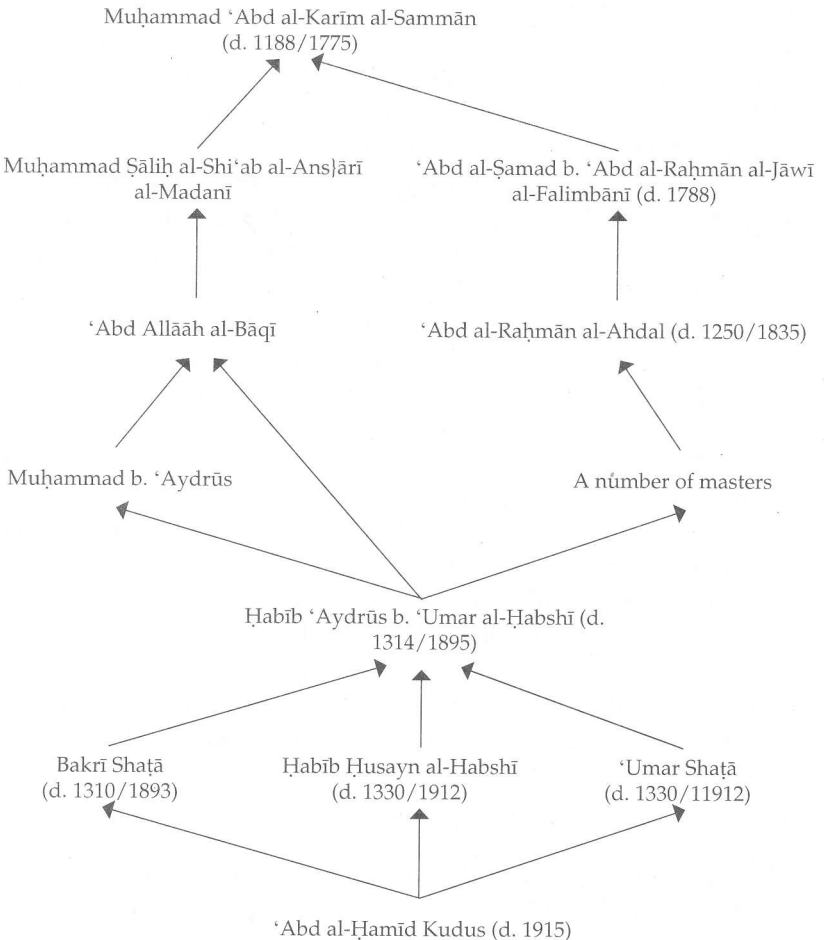
As quoted above, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd solved the problem by referring first of all to the difference between translation and interpretation. The problem stemmed from the definition as mentioned in *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, which did not distinguish between translation and interpretation. Instead of distinguishing them, the author of *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* said, "one has translated his words if he interprets them into another language (*tarjama kalāmah idhā fassarah bi lisān ākhar*)".⁹⁴ He commented that this definition was only applied linguistically (*lughawiyyan*), not as a religious term (*shar'an*).⁹⁵ He held the same opinion as the Shāfi'ite ulama that the literal translation of the Qur'ān was forbidden. In other words, they did not oppose the interpretative translation; they agreed that the interpretation was lawful.

Khalwatiyya Sammāniyya

Freedom of choosing and practising a certain Sufi order became an popular topic of Muslim discourses in the *Ḥaramayn* in recent centuries. It is not surprising that many ulama studied various orders from various Sufi teachers first, and then decided which one

of them to practise. This was also the case with Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus engaged not only in intellectual activities but also in spiritual practices. He studied various spiritual orders (*ṭarīqas*) such as Qādiriyya, Naqshabandiyya, ‘Alawiyya and Khalwatiyya. After studying these *ṭarīqas*, he then decided to practise the *Khalwatiyya Sammāniyya* order. He received a special licence (*ijāza khāṣṣa*) as well as a common licence (*ijāza ‘amma*) from teachers of *ṭarīqa*.⁹⁶ He received *ijāza* from ‘Umar Shaṭā, Bakrī Shaṭā and Sayyid Ḥabīb Ḥusayn b. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥabshī (d. 1330/1912). Below is the transmission chain of Shaykh Ḥamīd’s affiliation with the *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*.



Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s transmission chain of *ṭarīqa khalwatiyya*

Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya was founded by Shaykh Muḥammad b ‘Abd al-Karīm. Born in Medina in 1130/1717, he was a student of renowned Muslim scholars such as Shaykh Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Kurdī, Muḥammad al-Daqqād, Sayyid ‘Alī al-‘Aṭṭār, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭanṭawī and Sa‘īd Hilal al-Makkī. He learned *Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* from Sayyid Mustafā al-Bakrī who wrote a short rhyme called *Qaṣīda fī al-Tawassul*.⁹⁷

Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya arrived in Indonesia in the 18th century. As van Bruinessen says, this Sufi order combines methods and recitations of various orders including *Khalwatiyya*, *Qādiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, and *Shādhiliyya*. According to him, *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* was the first order to attract a large number of followers in the Archipelago. The *Ṭarīqa* gained its fame in the Archipelago thanks to two great Sufi figures, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and Nafīs al-Banjari.⁹⁸

In the middle of the 19th century, *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* provoked a protest from the Batavian scholar Sayyid ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aqīl b. Yaḥyā.⁹⁹ He wrote a pamphlet called *Tanbīh al-Ghismān Didalam Perkara Rātib Sammān*. He directed his critique at the methods of *dhikr* used in the *Ṭarīqa*. In this regard, according to Sayyid ‘Uthmān, there are three main mistakes of *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*. In the first place, the method of *dhikr* of the *Ṭarīqa* had changed the formula of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* in various ways, for instance, by adding *hamza* (glottal stop) in *lā ilāha* to be *la-’a-’a-’ilāha*. This leads to a change of meaning. Secondly, the *dhikr* is uttered screaming and by standing on the tips of one’s toes. This is not in accordance with the proper ethics of *dhikr*. Thirdly, screaming in the *dhikr* disturbs other people.¹⁰⁰

Sayyid ‘Uthmān was known for his vehement criticism of Sufism. His critique reflected his supposed orthodox views. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that he was entirely anti-Sufi as well as anti-*tarekat*.¹⁰¹ In his *Ṣawn al-Dīn ‘Al-Naza’āt al-Muḍillīn*, Sayyid ‘Uthmān tried to bring the *tarekat* (order) back to its true Islamic basis. In this case, what he criticised was heterodox elements of Sufism and *tarekat*, and such doctrines as *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the union of being), *ḥulūl* (incarnation/infusion) and *ittihād* (union). He forbade common Muslims to read books such as *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-‘Arabī.¹⁰² It was regarding these topics that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd held similar views as Sayyid ‘Uthmān.

Conclusion

As can be seen in the above discussion, the intellectual career of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd developed from writing and teaching activities. He established his intellectual network with renowned Middle East ulama. He taught at the Masjid al-Ḥaram and wrote a number of Islamic books. As a writer, he devoted his works to various themes such as *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, ethics, Arabic poetry, and hagiography. His works reflected his traditional thought. Because of his writings, he was acknowledged as one of the important Meccan ulama of his day. As a Javanese scholars, he established strong links with his fellow Javanese, as can be seen in his *fatwās* on the permissibility of translating the Qur’ān into non-Arabic languages. Last but not least, his affiliation with the *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* after learning various *ṭarīqas* was the result of the freedom in choosing Sufi orders.

Endnotes

1. 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa al-Tarājim Ba'd ulamainā fī al-Qarn al-Rābi' 'Ashar li al-Hijra* (Jedda: Mu'assasa li al-Ṭibā'a wa al-I'lām, 1385), preface (*tamhīd*).
2. Michael F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 25. By textual network I mean the network which is established through writing activities. It can be a part of the intellectual network which is broader. The intellectual network can be established through educational institutions as well as writing activities.
3. Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1993), p. 232.
4. See, Thomas F. Carter, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," *The Muslim World* Vol. 33, No. 3 (1943), pp. 213-216.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
6. Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change," p. 243.
7. See Nico Kaptein, "Fatwās as a Unifying Factor in Indonesian History," in Johan Meuleman (ed.), *Islam in the Era of Globalization: Muslim Attitudes towards Modernity and Identity* (Jakarta: INIS, 2001), pp. 99-107.
8. See Nico Kaptein, *The Muhimmāt Al-Nafā'is: A Bilingual Meccan Fatwā Collection for Indonesian Muslims from the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta: INIS, 1997). Also Nico Kaptein, "Meccan Fatwās from the End of the Nineteenth Century on Indonesian Affairs," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1995), pp. 141-160.
9. Published by Maṭba'a al-Wahbiyya, Mecca, in 1300/1885.
10. Published in Cairo in 1302/1885.
11. Published by Maṭba'a al-Wahbiyya, Mecca, in 1300/1885.
12. See Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tirmisī, *Minhāj Dhawī al-Nazar Sharh Manzūma 'Ilm al-Āthar* (Cairo: Maṭba'a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1934), p. 2.
13. Munir D. Ahmad, "Muslim Education Prior to the Establishment of Madrasah," *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1987), p. 332.
14. Cf. Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change," p. 244.
15. Zamaksyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p. 89.
16. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 132. Also Masdar Farid Mas'udi, "Mengenal Kitab Kuning," in Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun dari Bawah* (Jakarta: P3M, 1985), pp. 55-70.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
18. Jajat Burhanuddin, "Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: The 'Ulama in Colonial Indonesia." PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2007, p. 231.
19. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 27.
20. L.W.C. van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera: En de Daarbij gebruikte Arabische Boeken," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 31 (1886), pp. 518-555.
21. Soebardi, "Santri-Religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjentini," *BKI*, Vol. 127 (1971), pp. 331-349.

22. Karel Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 155-157.
23. This title was used in the Cairo edition: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1317/1899.
24. See, Karel Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*, pp. 157-16.
25. They are: *Idāh fī al-Fiqh; Al-Ṣaḥāba fī al-Mawā'iz wa al-Adab min Hadīth Rasūl Allāh* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāmah al-Quḍā'ī (d. 1062/1652); *Bayān al-Taṣdīq; Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl* by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1282); and *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (d. c. 606/1403).
26. A more recent account made by Martin van Bruinessen reflects a further development of *kitab kuning* in the twentieth century. See, Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 146 (1990), pp. 226-269. This article was translated into Indonesian and included in Martin van Bruinessen *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, pp. 131-171.
27. Aḥmad Baṭjan to Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, October 1884, Cod.Or.7111.
28. Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, pp. 21-24.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
30. See, P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, 2nd enlarged ed. (The Hague, Boston, London: Leiden University Press, 1980), pp. 387-388.
31. Martin van Bruinessen *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 143.
32. A list of al-Tirmisī can be found in: Abd Rachman, "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1997, pp. 149-150; 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa al-Tarājim*, p. 324.
33. Martin van Bruinessen *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, p. 124.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
35. Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci Hijaz (Mekah dan Madinah) 1800-1925* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 1999), pp. 208-209.
36. Published in Cairo by al-Matòba'a al-Maymuniyya, 1311/1893.
37. Duncan B. MacDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1965), pp. 284-285.
38. Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci Hijaz*, p. 236.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-252.
41. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century Daily Life, Customs and Learning the Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, trans. Johan Monahan (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931), p. 207.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
45. On his criticism of *ṭarīqa*, Sayyid 'Uthmān published some books. Among them were *Al-Naṣīḥa al-Anīqa li al-Mutalabbisīn bi al-Ṭarīqa; Tanbīh al-Ghismān di-dalem Perkara Rātib Sammān*; and *Ṣawn al-Dīn 'an Naza'at al-Muḍillīn*.
46. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 272.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

48. See, Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: the Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Jakarta: INIS, 2002), pp. 24-26. Also Jajat Burhanuddin, "Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power," pp. 123-130.
49. Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, p. 113.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
51. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 1.
52. Ahmad Zahro, *Tradisi Intelektual NU: Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il 1926-1999* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), pp. 47-48.
53. Hasyim Asy'ari, *Qonun Asasi Nahdlatul Ulama* (Kudus, 1971), pp. 37-38, as quoted and translated in Faisal Ismail, *Islamic Traditionalism in Indonesia: A Study of the Nahdlatul Ulama's Early History and Religious Ideology (1926-1950)* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Keagamaan Departemen Agama RI, 2003), p. 63.
54. Ahmad Zahro, *Tradisi Intelektual NU*, pp. 48-49.
55. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Moch. Nur Ichwan of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta for drawing my attention to the figure of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus. I also thank Dr. Michael Laffan of Princeton University for reading the draft on this figure via email.
56. See, for instance, Khayr al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd al-Zirkilī, *A'lām: Qāmus Tarājim li-Ashhar al-Rijāl wa al-Nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'ribīn wa al-Mustashriqīn*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm li-l-Milayin, 1979), pp. 288-89; 'Alī Jawwād al-Ṭāhir, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'at al-'Arabiyya al-Mamlaka al-'Arabiyya al-Saudiyya*, Vol. 1 (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li al-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 1985), p. 526; 'Umar Riḍa Kahhāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn: Tarājim Muṣannifī al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, Vol. 5 (Damascus: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1958), p. 155; Bassam 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Mu'jam al-'Alam: Mu'jam Tarājim li Ashhur al-Rijāl wa al-Nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'ribīn wa al-Mustashriqīn* (Limassol, Cyprus: al-Jaffān al-Jābī, 1987), p. 391. See also, Carl Brockelman, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, supplementband 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937), p. 814.
57. See Abd Rachman, "The Pesantren Architects and Their Socio-Religious Teachings (1850-1950)," p. 110, n. 170.
58. There is no detailed information about the name of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī's wife except that she was an Arab. In Anonymous, "De Djawakolonie en de Mystieke Broederschappen in Mekka," *De Indische Gids*, 37, 1 (1915), p. 539, also cited by Laurence Husson, "Indonesians in Saudi Arabia," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1997), p. 135, n. 15, it is stated that Shaykh 'Abdul Ḥāmid was a Javanese born of an Arab mother.
59. 'Abd al-Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad 'Alī Kudus, *Irshād al-Muhtadī ilā Sharḥ Kifāya al-Mubtadī* (Cairo, 1309/1892). Together with the book is Muḥammad 'Alī's *Kifāya al-Mubtadī* as a margin (*hāmish*).
60. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ja'far al-'Aṭṭās, *Tāj al-'A'ras 'alā Manāqib al-Ḥabīb al-Quṭb Ṣāliḥ b 'Abd Allāh al-'Aṭṭās*, Vol. 2 (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 1979), 623-36; and 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa al-Tarājim*, p. 179.
61. See, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hilah, *Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of Makkah al-Mukarramah: History Section* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994), pp. 78-79 & 81.
62. The copyist and the date were not mentioned.

63. The manuscript was written by the author himself on 1 Dhū al-Qa‘da 1299/14 September 1882.
64. The manuscript was written by the author himself on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1306/3 August 1889.
65. The manuscript was written by the author himself. The date was not indicated.
66. Unfortunately I failed to get access to this biography at Leiden University Library. The information on this is mentioned in another work of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus.
67. At present I do not have access to this book.
68. See Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, p. 27; Aboebakar, *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim dan Karangan Tersierinya* (Jakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan alm. K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim, 1957), p. 123.
69. These include *Tashtīr al-Maḍraba fī al-Ṣalā ‘ala Kha yr al-Bariyya; Nafaḥāt al-Qabūl wa al-Ibtihāj fī Qiṣṣat al-Isrā’ wa al-Mi‘rāj; Risāla fī al-Takallum ‘alā al-Basmala wa al-Mabādi’ al-‘Ashra bimā Yata‘alaq bi Fann al-Tawḥīd; Al-Anwār al-Saniyya ‘alā al-Durar al-Bahiyya; Daf’ al-Shidda fī Tashtīr al-Burda; Ṭālī’ al-Sa‘d al-Raft’ fī Sharḥ Nār al-Badr; Al-Dakhā’ir al-Qudsiyya fī Ziyāra Khayr al-Bariyya; Indhār al-Ḥāḍir wa al-Bād; Ḍiyā’ al-Shams al-Ḍāhiyya; Kanz al-Najāḥ wa al-Surūr*. This list is based on the publications of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus which are available in the library of Leiden University.
70. His *Al-Anwār al-Saniyya*, a commentary on Bakrī Shatā’s *Al-Durar al-Bahiyya*, was published in 1981 by the Maktabat Ishā’ at al-Islām, Delhi.
71. See, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hilah, *Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of Makkah al-Mukarramah*, pp. 70-71, 76-77.
72. The manuscript was copied after 1330/1912. The copyist is unknown.
73. The manuscript was copied perhaps in 1330/1912. The copyist was unknown.
74. The copyist and the date were not mentioned.
75. The manuscript was copied on 1 Rabī’ al-Awwal 1332/28 January 1914. The copyist was unknown.
76. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa al-Tarājim*, p. 179.
77. The book was published by Borobudur Publisher, Pasar Baru. Unfortunately the book does not indicate the date of publication.
78. Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Sa‘āda wa Maṭālib al-Islām fī Hubb al-Ṣaḥāba al-Kirām aw al-Adilla fī Ḍidd Muftarayāt al-Rafiḍa* (Pasar Baru: Borobudur, n.d), p. 2.
79. It is not sure who this is. Perhaps he is the founder of Madrasa *Manba ‘ul ‘Ulūm* of Surakarta, Central Java. See Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979), p. 286. Unfortunately, I did not find further information about Raden Tapsiranom.
80. See note 8 above.
81. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Inzhār al-Ḥāḍir wa al-Bād*, p. 6.
82. Bakr Shatā, *I‘ānah al-Ṭālibīm ‘alā Hill Alfāz Faṭḥ al-Mu‘īn*, the 4th Edition, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.), pp. 16-17.
83. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Inzhār al-Ḥāḍir wa al-Bād*, pp. 14-15.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
85. The treatise is included in *Inzhār al-Ḥāḍir wa al-Bād*, pp. 17-24.
86. *Al-Ṣiḥaḥ* is an Arabic dictionary written by the famous Muslim linguist Abū Naṣr Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003). This dictionary was

- summarised and rearranged by a number of scholars such as Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī and Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Zanjānī, who wrote *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥaḥ* and *Tahdhīb al-Ṣiḥaḥ* respectively. The oldest edition kept at Leiden University library was published in Istanbul in 1141/1729. On al-Jawharī, see ‘Umar Riḍa Kakhāla, *Mu’jam al-Mu’allifīn*, Vol. 2, p. 267.
87. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Tuhfa al-Marḍiyya fī Jawāz Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm bi al-‘Ajamiyya*, p. 18. Emphasis is mine.
 88. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 89. See, A.L. Tibawi, “Is the Qur’ān Translatable? Early Muslim Opinion,” *The Muslim World*, Vol. 52 (1962), pp. 4-16.
 90. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 91. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
 92. “*Wa ba’d*, kemudian daripada itu maka adalah bahwasanya barang yang terlebih keji daripada segala munkar bidah yang di zaman sekarang yaitulah tarjamah salinan Qur’an dengan bahasa Jawa yang dibuat oleh seorang Jawa ...” (See ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Aqil b. Yahya, *Ḥukm al-Raḥmān bi al-Nahy ‘an Tarjamat al-Qur’ān* (Batavia, 1327), p. 2. “*Wa ba’d*, kemudian daripada itu maka adalah bahwasanya barang yang terlebih keji daripada segala munkar bidah yang di zaman sekarang yaitulah tarjamah salinan Qur’an dengan bahasa Jawa yang dibuat oleh seorang Jawa ...” It should be noted that the term “Jawa” in this quotation refers to Malay.
 93. On this particular issue, Ichwan has made an interesting analysis by looking into diverse responses to the translation and placing them within the context of Islamic reform in Indonesia. See Moch Nur Ichwan, “Differing Responses to an Ahmadi Translation and Exegesis: *The Holy Qur’an* in Egypt and Indonesia,” *Archipel*, 62 (2001), pp. 143-61.
 94. See, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī, *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥaḥ* (Cairo: ‘Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Sharakāh, n.d.), p. 446. Also ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Tuhfa al-Marḍiyya*, p. 18.
 95. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Tuhfa al-Marḍiyya*, p. 20.
 96. See ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyya fī Sharḥ al-Tawassulāt al-Sammāniyya* (Cairo: Matba‘a al-Ḥāmidīyya, 1323), pp. 3-5.
 97. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Kudus, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyya*, pp. 3-4. His full name is Shaykh Mustafā al-Bakrī b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Alī Kamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥy al-Dīn al-Ṣiddīqī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī. He was born in Dhu al-Qa’da 1099/1688 in Damascus. His father, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn, died when he was six months old. He then was brought up by his uncle, Aḥmad b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣiddīqī. He studied and excelled in various Islamic sciences. He also studied a various number of *ṭarīqa* of which the most important was *ṭarīqa khalwatiyya*. Shaykh Bakrī pursued *Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Hishām al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī al-Khalwatī from whom the former received the *ijāza*. He frequently travelled to countries such as Bayt al-Muqaddas (Palestine), Egypt, and Baghdad. He had many pupils and *khalīfah*, in many countries. The most important were Shaykh Muḥammad Sammān al-Madanī and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Hifnī of Egypt (d. 1764). Shaykh Bakrī died on 18 Rabi’ al-Thānī 1162/8 April 1747. On Mustafā al-Bakrī, see, C. Brockelmann, “Al-Bakrī,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill & London: Lucac & Co, 1960), 965-966; and F. de Jong, “Khalwatiyya,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4 (1978), pp.991-993.

98. See further, Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), pp. 55-87. Also see, G.W.J. Drewes, "A Note on Muḥammad al-Samman, His Writings, and 19th Century Sammāniyya Practices, chiefly in Batavia, According to Written Data," *Archipel*, 43 (1992), pp. 73-87.
99. On Sayyid 'Uthmān, see Azyumardi Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthmān," in Ulrike Freitag & William G. Clarence-Smith (eds), *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1997), pp. 249-263.
100. 'Aqil b. Yahya, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allah b., *Tanbīh al-Ghismān Didalam Per-kara Rātib Sammān* (1309/1891), pp. 11-13.
101. Cf. Azyumardi Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthmān," pp 258-59.
102. 'Aqil b. Yahya, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allah b., *Ṣawn al-Dīn 'an Naza'at al-Muḍīl-līn* (Batavia, 1321/1903), pp. 25-26.

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Sunarwoto completed his MA in Islamic Studies at Leiden University, The Netherlands. This article is taken from chapter four of his thesis "The Influence of Meccan Education on the Pesantren Tradition" (Leiden, 2008) with some changes. Currently, he is a lecturer at Institut Agama Islam Tribakti (IAIT), Lirboyo, Kediri East Java. He can be contacted via email: sunny_dema@yahoo.com.

