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Mahfûz al-Tirmisî (d. 1338/1919): An Intellectual Biography

Abstraksi: *Wacana keagamaan Islam Nusantara pada akhir abad-19 ditandai dengan semakin mapannya jaringan intelektual antara para ulama di kepulauan ini dengan ulama Timur Tengah. Hubungan yang telah lama terbentuk—paling tidak dimulai pada abad ke-16—telah menciptakan kondisi di mana ulama Nusantara mampu menjalin kontak secara langsung dengan ulama-ulama di Timur Tengah. Pada abad ke-18, misalnya, banyak ulama yang berasal dari kepulauan Nusantara ini berguru pada ulama-ulama terkemuka di beberapa kota di Hijaz dan Yaman. Terdapat pula ulama yang berasal dari India dan Hijaz sendiri mengajarkan ilmunya di beberapa wilayah di Nusantara. Namun demikian, baru pada pertengahan abad ke-19, masyarakat Muslim Nusantara berhasil menelorkan ulama yang mencapai taraf internasional. Salah seorang di antaranya adalah Syaikh Mahfûz al-Tirmisî.*

Mahfûz al-Tirmisî lahir pada 12 Jumadil Ula 1285, atau sekitar September 1869, di Tremas, Jawa Timur. Ayahnya, Kyai Abdullah, adalah pemimpin Pesantren Tremas yang sangat terkenal sejak pertengahan kedua abad ke-19. Setelah menempuh pendidikan keagamaan di pesantren ayahnya, Mahfûz dan adiknya, Dimyati, dikirim ke Makkah untuk memperdalam pengetahuannya. Rupanya Mahfûz sangat berhasil dalam studinya di Makkah sehingga mampu mendudukkan dirinya sebagai salah seorang pengajar penting di Masjid al-Haram. Itulah sebabnya sewaktu ayahnya memanggilnya pulang sebagai penerus kepemimpinan Pesantren Tremas, ia melimpahkan kepada adiknya untuk memenuhi panggilan itu. Sepeninggal ayahnya, Dimyati akhirnya menjadi pemimpin Pesantren Tremas. Sementara Mahfûz terus menetap di Makkah dan melanjutkan

kariernya sebagai guru besar di bidang ilmu hadits di Masjid al-Haram, hingga wafatnya pada 1919.

Prestasi intelektual Mahfûz barangkali bisa disejajarkan dengan Nawawi al-Bantani, seorang ulama Nusantara yang juga mempunyai reputasi tinggi di Dunia Islam. Dari segi otoritas keilmuannya, Mahfûz menjadi kebanggaan masyarakat Melayu sebagai seorang alim dalam ilmu hadits yang berkaliber internasional. Tulisan-tulisannya juga meliputi berbagai bidang keilmuan Islam tradisional seperti *fiqh*, *usul fiqh*, ilmu tauhid dan tasawwuf. Yang paling populer adalah karangannya dalam bidang ilmu hadits; baik berupa rumusan metodologi penelitian hadits maupun komentar atau syarah terhadap sejumlah karya ulama hadits terkenal. Ia menulis banyak kitab di sekitar topik tersebut yang masing-masing terdiri dari beberapa jilid. Menurut catatan beberapa muridnya, masih banyak karangannya yang belum sempat diterbitkan sampai sekarang.

Otoritas keilmuannya dalam ilmu hadits bisa dilibat dari pengakuan ulama—khususnya para *kyai* di Jawa—akan posisi Mahfûz dalam mata rantai intelektual disiplin ini. Selain dikenal sebagai ahli dalam hadits Bukharî, Mahfûz juga diakui sebagai seorang *isnad* (mata rantai) yang kuat dalam transmisi intelektual pengajaran Sahîh Bukhârî. Ia berhak memberikan ijazah kepada murid-muridnya yang berhasil menguasai kitab tersebut. Ijazah ini diyakini berasal langsung Imam Bukharî sendiri yang ditulis sekitar 1.000 tahun lalu, dan diserahkan secara berantai melalui 23 generasi ulama yang telah menguasai karya Imam Bukhârî; Mahfûz adalah ulama terakhir dalam mata rantai ijazah tersebut pada waktu itu.

Dari sinilah, silsilah otoritas pengajaran kitab hadits Imam Bukhârî terbentuk di lingkungan masyarakat Muslim Asia Tenggara. Karena para ulama generasi selanjutnya, khususnya yang berasal dari pulau Jawa, menelusuri mata rantai intelektual dan spiritual mereka kepada Mahfuz, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, misalnya, juga dicatat sebagai seorang ulama ahli hadits dan memperoleh ijazah untuk mengajarkan Sahîh Imâm Bukhârî dari Mahfûz al-Tirmisî.

Demikianlah, perjalanan intelektual Mahfûz yang diuraikan dalam tulisan ini menggambarkan profil ulama yang berasal dari wilayah terjauh dari Dunia Islam, yang akhirnya mampu mengembangkan diri menjadi sarjana terkenal di Timur Tengah dan menjadi pengajar di pusat keilmuan Islam klasik, Masjid al-Haram. Lebih dari itu, keberhasilan Mahfûz itu telah memberi sumbangan penting dalam turut memapankan hubungan intelektual antara ulama Nusantara dengan Timur Tengah. Hal itu sekaligus merintis jalan bagi kemajuan lembaga-lembaga pendidikan Islam tradisional di Asia Tenggara.

الشيخ محفوظ الترمسى (١٨٦٨-١٩١٩م): سيرته العلمية

خلاصة: يمتاز الفكر الاسلامي فى الأرخبيل فى أواخر القرن التاسع عشر الميلادى بأن كان التواصل العلمى بين العلماء فى هذه المنطقة وبين العلماء فى الشرق الأوسط يزداد ثباتاً، وهذا التواصل العلمى الذى بدأ يتوثق على الأقل منذ القرن السادس عشر الميلادى قد هياً الظروف للعلماء فى الأرخبيل أن يقوموا باتصال مباشر مع المراكز العلمية الاسلامية، فقد تتلمذ كثير من العلماء فى الأرخبيل على أيدي كبار الشيوخ فى بعض المدن الكبرى بالحجاز واليمن، كما قام كثير من علماء الهند والحجاز أنفسهم بالتعليم فى بعض المناطق فى الأرخبيل. ومع ذلك فلم يستطع المجتمع الاسلامى بالارخبيل أن يشهد ظهور علماء يبلغون المكانة على المستوى العالمى إلا فى منتصف القرن التاسع عشر، وكان أحدهم الشيخ محفوظ الترمسى.

وطبقاً للتقويم الهجرى، وهو النظام المتبع لدى الشيوخ عادة فى ذلك الوقت، ولد الشيخ الترمسى بترمس (Tremas)، جاوى الشرقية، فى الثانى عشر من جمادى الأولى سنة ألف ومائتين وخمسة وثمانين للهجرة، أو

حوالى شهر سبتمبر ١٨٦٠م. وكان والده الشيخ عبد الله (Kiayi Abdullah) صاحب المعهد التزاثي (Pesantren Tremas) الذى أطبقت شهرته الآفاق منذ النصف الثانى من القرن التاسع عشر. وبعد أن تلقى علومه الدينية فى المعهد أرسله والده هو وشقيقه الأصغر، دمياطى (Dimiyati) إلى مكة المكرمة لمزيد من الدراسة والتعمق. وكما كان عليه العلماء الأخر من الأرخبيل حينذاك، يظهر أن الشيخ محفوظ الترمسى حقق نجاحا باهرا فى دراسته بمكة، وقد بلغ من ذلك حدا بحيث أصبح أهم الشيوخ الذين يقومون بالتدريس فى المسجد الحرام. ولهذا لم يرحب بدعوة والده إلى الرجوع إلى الوطن ليكون خلفا له فى المعهد، بل فوض ذلك إلى شقيقه الذى تولى المعهد بعد وفاة والده، بينما بقي الشيخ محفوظ بمكة يتابع مسيرته كشيخ متخصص فى تدريس الحديث بالمسجد الحرام حتى توفاه الله عام ١٩١٩م. ويمكن أن يكون المستوى الذى وصل إليه الإنجاز العلمى الذى حققه الشيخ محفوظ الترمسى معادلا لما حققه سلفه الشيخ نوى بانين (Syekh Nawawi Banten) الذى كان يتمتع بسمعة علمية واسعة فى العالم الإسلامى. وبالنسبة لتخصصه العلمى كان الشيخ محفوظ فخر المجتمع الملايوي إذ احتل مكانة علمية ذات مستوى عالمي فى مجال علوم الحديث، ومؤلفاته تشمل مختلف العلوم الإسلامية التقليدية كالفقه وأصوله والتوحيد والتصوف، وكان أكثرها شعبية تلك المؤلفات التى كتبها فى مجال الحديث سواء كان فيما يتعلق بأصول الحديث أم شروحا لكتب الحديث المشهورة، والتى وصلت إلى مجلدات، ويصرح بعض تلاميذه أن معظم هذه المؤلفات لم تتوجه إليها العناية بعد لنشرها حتى الآن.

ويدل على تفوقه العلمي وتبحره ما كان يصرح به العلماء - خاصة الشيوخ في جاوه - من الاعتراف بمكانته في هذا الفن، فيجانب تخصصه في أحاديث البخاري اعترف له أهل زمانه بقبول إسناده في رواية أحاديث البخاري، وكان مسموحاً له بمنح الاجازة لتلاميذه الذين تمكنوا من قراءة صحيح البخاري عليه، وقد أتت هذه الاجازة من الامام البخاري نفسه بسند متصل خلال ثلاثة وعشرين طبقة، وكان الشيخ محفوظ يمثل العقد الأخير من السلسلة في زمانه.

ومن هنا نشأ لدى المجتمع الاسلامي بجنوب شرقي آسيا سلسلة الاجازات لتدريس صحيح البخاري، فقد صار العلماء بعده ينتمون إليه فكربا وروحيا، وخاصة أولئك الذين يأتون من جاوه، فالشيخ هاشم اشعري (KH. Hasyim Asy'ari) على سبيل المثال وهو من أبرز الشيوخ بجاوه في منتصف القرن العشرين الميلادي، كان عالما في الحديث وقد أخذ الاجازة لتدريس صحيح البخاري من الشيخ محفوظ الترمسي.

وهكذا عبرت هذه السيرة العلمية للشيخ محفوظ، التي عاجلها هذا البحث، عن صورة عالم أتى من منطقة اسلامية بعيدة استطاع في النهاية أن ينمي قدرات نفسه ليكون عالما مشهورا في الشرق الأوسط ويصبح مدرسا في المركز العلمي الاسلامي القديم بالمسجد الحرام. علاوة على إسهامه الهام والحاسم في توثيق عرى العلاقة بين العلماء في الأرخيبيل وبين العلماء في الشرق الأوسط، الأمر الذي مهد الطريق في نفس الوقت لازدهار المؤسسات التربوية الاسلامية التقليدية بجنوب شرقي آسيا.

In 1935 Kyai Iljas (1911-1970) went back to Indonesia from Mecca by way of India and Malaysia to make a comparative study on the Islamic educational system. In India he visited some cities and universities, and important 'ulamâ' as well. When he was in Bombay in mid-1935 he met one of the influential 'ulamâ', Shaykh Sa'dullah al-Maimânî, a *mufti* of Bombay. Surprisingly, Iljas received a very distinguished honor from the Shaykh who invited him and his contingent for lunch. Iljas did not understand why the Shaykh gave them more than usual attention. Although the Shaykh had servants, he preferred to serve his visitors himself. When Iljas was about to leave for New Delhi, the Shaykh accompanied him to the train station and entrusted him to another passenger and waited until the train departed. Had the host been an ordinary Muslim, such special treatment would have been understandable to Iljas and viewed as part of common Islamic brotherhood practices, but the latter was an important *mufti* in the city. He kept wondering and telling himself that he did not deserve the distinguished kindness from the important Muslim leader. This occurrence continually came across Iljas' mind week after week. Eventually two months later the mystery was revealed when Iljas got to Calcutta and met Zainuddin, a Javanese *santri* from Kediri, East Java, who lived in the city. Zainuddin told him that he always received the same hospitality from al-Maimânî and believed that the Shaykh would offer the best service not only for them but for all other Indonesians as well. The reason according to Zainuddin was clear, the Shaykh had been a student of Maḥfûz al-Tirmîsî¹ when they were in Mecca in the first decade of this century. The Shaykh just felt that he was obligated to express his gratitude to all Indonesians due to the fact that he had acquired his own knowledge from Maḥfûz al-Tirmîsî.²

The same thing happened to Kiyai Habib, Maḥfûz's nephew. When he participated in the *hajj* in the late 1950s, he was treated quite specially by Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamîd, a Meccan resident who was a well-known Shaykh of the *hajj*. Unlike other pilgrims from Indonesia, Habib was entertained as a member of the Shaykh's own family and given favorable privileges. This personal and nostalgic description denotes that although Maḥfûz died in the second decade of this century, in fact, his presence in Mecca as an 'âlim was unforgettable.³

Once again the relationship between teacher and *santris* was quite personal and went beyond geographical boundaries. The case would have been different, had Maḥfûz not been a grand master with cer-

tain academic and moral qualities. Maḥfûz's connection with his students could be seen as an intellectual genealogy and was stronger than that of other 'ulamâ' who did not have *ijâzah* authorization in 'ilm al-ḥadîth as Maḥfûz did. In addition, Ilyas was socially a member of the *pesantren* community. Such an anecdote might have increased the nobility of this grand master in their eyes.

Despite Maḥfûz's importance, so far there is no adequately informative biography of this Javanese 'âlim in any language, not even in Indonesian. In his translated dissertation, Dhofier mentioned Maḥfûz in less than two pages, even though he emphasized the greatness of Maḥfûz in the Javanese *santri* community.⁴ Another source in Arabic was the same length but more informative.⁵ Maḥfûz's grandson, Kyai Hariri in Demak central Java, who was interviewed on this subject did not even give significant clues. This is due to the fact that Maḥfûz died when Hariri's father was in his early teens, *qabla al-bulûgh*.⁶ The only way to reconstruct his biography, therefore, is through oral history and his own writings.⁷

Maḥfûz was born in Tremas, Pacitan, East Java on 12 *Jumada ulâ* 1285/1868. while his father, Kyai Abdullah, was away in Mecca. Maḥfûz's mother and uncles were first responsible for introducing him to religious values and practices. He was subsequently educated in Java by Javanese 'ulamâ' in the early reading of the Qur'ân and the basic understanding of religious knowledge.

Maḥfûz was able to memorize the Qur'ân before he reached adolescence. As a child, when he was only six, his father took him to Mecca in 1291 /1874. His father introduced him to some important *kitâbs* there. Maḥfûz considered Abdullah more than a father and a teacher. He was in Maḥfûz's words: *murabbî wa rūhî*: "my educator and my soul." When Maḥfûz was a teenager in the late 1870s, his father accompanied him back to Java and had him trained by a famous Javanese 'âlim, Kyai Saleh Darat (1820-1903)⁸ in his *pesantren* in Semarang, Central Java. His father died in Mecca in 1314/1896. and was buried in Ma'lâ in the rear part of Khadiġa's shrine

Maḥfûz came from a *santri* family, and most of his eight brothers became important 'ulamâ' in Java. It is worth mentioning that they were famous in different fields. Maḥfûz specialized in 'ulûm al-ḥadîth, Dimiyati in *farâ'id*, Bakri in 'ulûm al-Qur'ân, and 'Abd al-Razaq (d. 1958) in *tariqah*. The latter was a *murshid* of the *tariqah* with hundreds of disciples from all over Java.

When Maḥfûz died in Mecca on Sunday night before Maghrib

prayer in Rajab 1, 1338 AH/1919, thousands of Muslims performed prayer for the funeral procession and carried the body to a grave in the cemetery of Sayyid Abû Bakr bin Sayyid Muhammad Shatâ's family (d. 1310 /1892) in Mecca.

The only surviving son of Maḥfûz is Muhammad. His two daughters died when they were less than five years old. As a child, Muhammad acquired a strong recommendation from Maḥfûz to learn and memorize the Qur'ân. This *wasiyyah* was fulfilled by Muhammad until he became an authorized teacher in the field in Demak, Central Java, with numerous *santris* from the archipelago.

Moving to Mecca in the 1880's Maḥfûz enjoyed learning in Medina, Mecca, and Egypt and teaching mostly in Mecca where most of his students came from Southeast Asia and South Asia, especially from India and Indonesia. Unlike other '*ulamâ*' in his period such as Kyai Dimiyati and Khalil Bangkalan, Maḥfûz came to Mecca for the second time without ever going back to Java. Like his predecessor Nawawî al-Bantanî, Maḥfûz spent most of his life teaching in the holy city, where his religious and intellectual leadership was secured. Here he married Mbah Muslimah from Demak, Central Java after she performed the *hajj* in the first decade of the twentieth century.

It is noteworthy that to Javanese *santris* Maḥfûz's repute was strangely greater than that of Nawawî al-Bantanî. This is somewhat unusual since Nawawî's books were certainly more popular and ubiquitous. Maḥfûz's works had a more narrow appeal among the *santri* majority because they concentrated on '*ilm al-ḥadîth*', which was of interest to only selected *santris*, while Nawawî's popular works in different fields were certainly read by everyone. However, both were unquestionably the intellectual masters of the *pesantren* tradition and at their hands many important '*ulamâ*' from all over Java were well trained.

Some reasons could be offered for why Maḥfûz was more well-known. His *pesantren* in Tremas was older and more prestigious than that of Nawawî in Banten. This was because his brother, Kiai Dimiyati,⁹ successfully improved both the quality and the capacity of the *pesantren*.¹⁰ His brother should have shared the fame with him. While Maḥfûz was known as a knowledgeable teacher in Arabia by his "international" students and particularly by the *santri* community in the future, Dimiyati was obviously the most successful figure among his family in developing Tremas *Pesantren* from 1894 until 1934. The relationship between the two '*ulamâ*' could be understood

from the fact that Dimiyati called Maḥfûz *akhi wa shaykhi*: my brother and my teacher.¹¹ At the same time, Maḥfûz from the distance of Arabia unintentionally popularized his neighborhood and his family's educational institution by mentioning his last name, Al-Tirmisî, on every book cover he wrote. To the Javanese community, institution, familial linkage, and celebrity were not separate.

Another factor also contributed to his glorious reputation, namely his specialization in knowledge which his contemporaries hardly ever possessed. Maḥfûz was sometimes exaggeratedly viewed as the nineteenth-century al-Bukhârî (d. 870). It is true, however, that al-Bukhârî was Maḥfûz's favorite model. That he was the last link to al-Bukhârî in the later part of the nineteenth century might have been sound proof that al-Bukhârî was his imaginary teacher. As the last in the *isnâd*, the transmissional chain of the *ḥadîth*, he was an outstanding *musnid*,¹² Maḥfûz obtained an *ijâza* that went back to great *ḥadîth* collector, Imâm al-Bukhârî.¹³ This *ijâzah* was originally transmitted from al-Bukhârî down through twenty-three different generations until it went through the hands of Maḥfûz.

Maḥfûz's Kitâbs

That Maḥfûz was a prolific writer is undeniable. His descendent suggested that Maḥfûz used to write by the river so that the way he wrote was just like water that ran through and never stopped. In addition, Maḥfûz spent his time in a cave on Mount Hira in the Meccan valley to get some inspiration, and to write more productively, and to make a spiritual retreat as well as to imitate how the Prophet Muhammad got his revelation. He suggested that his brother, Dimiyati, should write like him and sharply criticized him for wasting his time spending his life in teaching *per se*. So productive was this author that he finished his complicated work on *ʿilm al-ḥadîth, Manhaj Dhawî al-Nazar*, a detailed commentary on *Manzûmat ʿilm al-athar* that was written by ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Suyûtî (d. 911 A.H), in four months and fourteen days. This three hundred and two-page *kitâb* was completed mostly in Mecca in 1329/1911. Nonetheless, he spent some time writing in Mina and Arafat as he himself acknowledged when he conducted the *ḥajj* at the same time.¹⁴

It is interesting that between Maḥfûz and his contemporary, Khalil Bangkalan, there was a strange communication. The uniqueness of their interaction lies at the intersection of a spiritual and intellectual communication between these two Javanese *ʿulamâ*. Khalil Bang-

kalan, whose spiritual proficiency was well-known, was reported to have cried in front of his students when he read and found some errors in Maḥfūz's book. Once the book was corrected by Maḥfūz, Khalil laughed and said, "how lucky is the author when he gets his writing right."¹⁵ The manner in which Khalil reminded Maḥfūz was from a distance and made without any letter, however, this advice was not unfeasible in the *pesantren* community especially among these two '*ulamâ*'. This also implies that despite Maḥfūz's productivity in writing, his colleague who lived in "a different world" was at his side morally and intellectually.

Maḥfūz's *Kitâbs* that have been found by his descendants are:

1. *Al-Siqâyah al-Mardiyyah fi 'Asmâ' al-Kutûb al-Fiqhiyyah al-Shâfi'iyyah* three (parts [small])
2. *Al-Minhah al-Khayriyyah fi Arba'in hadîtha min A'âdith Khayr al-Bariyyah* (two parts)
3. *Al-Khal'ah al-Fikriyyah Bisharh al-Khayriyyah* (thirteen parts)
4. *Maubibah dhî al-Faḍl 'alâ Sharh Muqaddimah bi Afdal* (four large volumes)
5. *Kifâyah al-Mustafid fimâ 'alâ min al-Asânid* (one part)
6. *Al-Fawâ'id al-Tirmasiyyah fi Asânid al-Qirâ'at al-'Ashriyyah* (one part)
7. *Al-Badr al-Munîr fi Qirâ'at al-Imâm ibn Kathîr* (six parts)
8. *Tanwîr al-Sadr fi Qirâ'at al-Imâm Abî 'Amr* (eight volumes)
9. *Inshirâh al-Fu'âd fi Qirâ'at al-Imâm Hamzah* (thirteen parts)
10. *Tamîm al-Manâfi' fi al-Qirâ'at al-Imâm Nâfi'* (sixteen parts)
11. *Is'âf al-Matâli' bi Sharh Badr al-Lâmi' Nazm Jam' al-Jawâmi'* (two volumes)
12. *'Unyat al-Talabah bi Sharh Nazm al-Tayyibah fi al-Qirâ'at al-'Ashriyyah* (one volume)
13. *Hashiyah Takmilat al-Manhaj al-Qawîm ilâ al-Farâ'id* (one volume)
14. *Manhaj Dhawî al-Nazr bi Sharh Manzûmat 'Ilm al-Athar* (one volume)
15. *Nayl al-Ma'mûl bi Hâshiyat Ghâyat al-Wusûl fi 'Ilm al-'Usûl* (three volumes)
16. *Ynâyat al-Muftaqir fimâ Yata'allag bi Sayyidinâ al-Hadar* (two parts)
17. *Li 'A'lâ Ghashf...* (three parts)
18. *Fath al-Khabîr bi Sharh Miftâh al-Sayr* (fifteen parts)
19. *Tahyî'at al-Fikr bi Sharh Alfîyat al-Sayr* (fourteen parts)
20. *Thulâthiyyât al-Bukhârî* (one part)¹⁶

As seen above, all of his writings were in Arabic. *Maḥibbah dzī al-Faḍl 'alā Sharḥ Muqaddimah bi Afdal* on *fiqh* in four volumes with 2339 pages was the most popular. This *kitāb* was an original work that gave a major commentary on the *fiqh* of Ibn Hajar. His other favorite *kitāb* with both *santris* and international 'ulamā' was on *Mustalah al-ḥadīth Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazr bi Sharḥ Manzūmat 'Ilm al-Athar*.

Consistent with his specialization of knowledge, Maḥfūz wrote more *kitābs* on *Mustalah al-ḥadīth* than on any other subject. However, like other influential scholars of his day, he was also a multi-disciplined student who successfully wrote, as seen in the aforementioned list, on at least ten different fields of knowledge: *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *'ilm al-tawḥīd* or theology, *tasawwuf*, the life of the Prophet, *ḥadīth* collections, *mustalah al-ḥadīth* and *'ilm al-mawāriṭh* (a sub-division of *fiqh* on the distribution of inheritance), the science of Qur'ānic recitation, and *al-akhlaq*. Surely because of his works, Yasin al-Fadānī (1335-1410/1917-1990), a present-day influential 'ālim from Indonesia who lived in Mecca and taught in Dār al-'Ulūm al-Dīniyya and in the Haram mosque, considered Maḥfūz as 'allama, *al-muḥaddith*, *al-musnid*, *al-faqīh*, *al-usūlī*, and *al-muqri'*.¹⁷

As indicated earlier, due to their complication, Maḥfūz's works were not as popular as those of Nawawī to the majority of *santris*. In line with this, the *pesantren kyais* were the scholars who were much more apt to refer to Maḥfūz's work on *fiqh*, *Maḥibbah dzī al-Faḍl 'alā Sharḥ Muqaddimah bi Afdal* on *fiqh*, as a substantial reference, especially when they engaged in a *munāzarah* to discuss and issue Islamic judicial decisions relating to daily social problems. It is noteworthy that some of his books have become required textbooks in universities in Morocco and Saudi Arabia. In the mosque of Masjid al-Harām, his book is still used for *ta'lim*, a gathering to pursue religious knowledge.¹⁸

That not all of Maḥfūz's books are available is quite unfortunate. Some have been repeatedly published in Egypt, Beirut and republished in Indonesia, while others are still in the form of manuscripts. Still others no longer exist. In the late 1940's when the political atmosphere was heated by the communist social movement, Maḥfūz's books were saved by his descendants in Tremas *Pesantren*. At this place, the communist rebellion showed their violence by killing many 'ulamā'. One of the 'ulamā' of Tremas, Kyai Hamid Dimiyati, was murdered. The assassination took place in 1948 and was a real indica-

tion that the *pesantren* community had always been viewed by its opponents as a potential threat to their social and political interests. This was once again due to the *pesantren's* position, i.e. it had been autonomous and stood up in favor of its nation and religion. A decade later there was a natural disaster in this coastal area caused by a big flood. To preserve Maḥfūz's books, Hariri's father brought them to Demak, Central Java. Unfortunately some books could not be rescued.¹⁹

Important Teachers

Indeed, the way Maḥfūz got knowledge varied. He sometimes gave his attention to what the teacher remarked in the circle of students in mosques. Most often, he read the books in front of his teacher, waiting for correction and comment. In both cases he was absolutely a dynamic student. His enthusiasm for enriching himself with Islamic knowledge could be best seen from the different teachers he met. Fortunately, Maḥfūz left a complete list of his important teachers as follows:²⁰

- K.H. 'Abdullah (d. 1314 AH./1896 A.D.), Maḥfūz's father. Under his father's direction, he studied *Sharḥ al-Ghâyah li ibn Qasim al-Ghâzî*, *al-Manhaj al-Qawîm*, *Fath al-Mu'în*, *Sharḥ al-Manhaj*, *Sharḥ al-Sharqawî 'ala al-Hikam*, *Tafsîr Jalâlayn*, and many others such as morality and logic.
- Shaykh Saleh Darat or Muhammad Saleh bin 'Umar al-Samarânî (Semarang, d. 1903). Under his guidance, Maḥfūz learned primary *Kitâbs* such as *Tafsîr Jalâlayn* and *Sharḥ al-Sharqawî 'ala al-Hikam* by going over them twice. It was the same with *Wasîlat al-Talab*, and *Sharḥ al-Mardinî* in astronomy.
- Muhammad Al-Munshawî (d. 1314 AH./1896 A.D.) who was well-known as a *muqrî*, a reciter. In this teacher's presence, Maḥfūz practiced reading the Qur'ân with the popular recitation of 'Ashim from Hafis' line. Maḥfūz also learned from him the *Sharḥ* of 'Allama ibn Qasim 'ala Shatibiyya, although it was incomplete.
- Shaykh 'Umar bin Barakat al-Shâmî (d. 1313 AH./1895 A.D.) who was one of the students of Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajûrî (d. 1277 AH./1860 A.D.). From him Maḥfūz studied *Sharḥ Sudûr al-Dhabab*.
- Shaykh Mustafâ bin Muhammad bin Sulaimân al-'Afîfî (d. 1308 AH./1890 A.D.), with whom Maḥfūz studied *Sharḥ Muḥaqqiq al-Mahallî 'ala Jam' al-Jawâmi'*, and *Mughnî al-Labîb*.
- 'Allama al-Habib Sayyid Husain bin Muhammad bin Husain al-

Habshī (d. 1330 AH./1911 A.D.). From him, Maḥfūz learned some *Kitābs* especially on *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*.

- A *muftī* al-Shāfi'ī in Mecca, Muhammad Sa'ūd bin Muhammad Babāsil al-Hadramī (d. 1330 AH./1911 A.D.). With him he studied *Sunan Abī Da'ūd* (d. 275 AH./888 A.D.), *Tirmidhī* (d. 279 AH./892 A.D.), and *al-Nisā'i* (d. 303 AH./916 A.D.).
- Sayyid Ahmad al-Zawāwī (d. 1330 AH./1911 A.D.). He learned *Sharh 'Uqūd al-Juman* from this 'ālim.
- Shaykh Muhammad Sharbīnī al-Dimyātī (d. 1321 AH./1903 A.D.). Maḥfūz studied *Sharh Ibn al-Qasim 'ala Shatibiyya* with him. Maḥfūz learned many *Kitābs* in the field of the recitation of the Qur'ān. This teacher was largely considered to be the grand master in this discipline of knowledge.
- Sayyid Muhammad Amīn bin Ahmad Ridwān al-Madānī (d. 1329 AH./1911 A.D.). In Nabawi mosque, Maḥfūz deeply studied *Dalā'il*, *al-Ahزاب*, *Burda*, and *al-Muwatta*.
- Last but not least, Sayyid Abu Bakr bin Sayyid Muhammad Shatā (d. 1310 AH./1892 A.D.). Undoubtedly this was the most influential teacher who shaped Maḥfūz's personality and his future. Maḥfūz called him *Shaykhunā al-Ajall wa Qudwatunā al-Akmal*: "my most honored master and perfect exemplar". Indeed, Maḥfūz was adopted as his foster son and, therefore, became a member of his family. He learned most Islamic knowledge from this important master. In addition, he became a *musnid* of the *ḥadīth* because of this teacher by acquiring the *ijāza* on various branches of knowledge.

Ḥadīth specialist

It is imperative to understand why Maḥfūz preferred the science of *ḥadīth* to others. He suggested that the experts of different fields would argue that their field of knowledge is the best. The theologians would maintain that theology is the most excellent since the oneness of God has been determined with the assistance of this science, while jurists declare that the grandeur of the *fiqh* is unquestionable due to the fact that with the *fiqh* worship practices, *halāl*, *harām*, and anything relating to Islamic law have been unmistakably defined. The *mufasssīrūn* would argue that the supremacy of *'ilm al-Qur'ān* rests on its central position to which all science refers. Discerning the benefits of such sciences, Maḥfūz concluded that *'ilm al-athar* or the science of *ḥadīth* is absolutely, *'ala al-itlāq*, the most valued of all. Its

vocal place lies in the fact that one could get back to the best creature, Muhammad, with this science by recognizing the authenticity of his words and conduct. Besides, all Islamic knowledge is indeed in need of it. In *'ilm al-tafsîr*, for example, the *ḥadîth* would be regarded as the most superior interpretation of the Qur'ân.²¹

In addition, Maḥfûz indicated that in fact the honor of *isnad* science is quite convincing for those who control knowledge. Indeed, its supremacy is never questioned by those who have religious understanding, intellectuality, and common sense. Starting his words in his important *kitâb* he wrote: "Praise be to Allah who specializes this *umma* (unlike the other *ummah* before Muhammad) with the science of *isnad*."²² Citing the Prophet's words, Maḥfûz suggested that knowledge is a religion and daily prayer is also a religion, so one has to pay close attention to where this knowledge was obtained and how he observes this prayer. Everyone is absolutely responsible in the hereafter. *Isnad* is part of religion, lacking this substantial device one would say whatever he wants (out of control with no religious foundation).²³ As an *ḥadîth* student, Maḥfûz realized and reminded himself and others of the hazard of transmitting false *ḥadîth* by referring to the warning of the Prophet: "Anyone who said what I did not declare (and ascribed it to me), he'd better prepare himself to be a resident of Hell."²⁴ Looking forward to the Prophet's promises and keeping his reminders in mind, Maḥfûz was determined to scrupulously plunge into the science of *ḥadîth* and maintained it as his main object of study and the most excellent religious science as well.

To convince his readers, Maḥfûz quoted some persuasive passages. Al-Shâfi'î suggested that one who is in the quest of *ḥadîth* without *sanad* is like a night woodgatherer carrying the wood and ignoring the fact that there is a viper on it. Some '*ulamâ'* *al-salaf* stated that *isnad* is just like a sword, if one fails to bring it, how could he win in the battle. Yahya bin Mu'în (d. 333 AH.) testified that the *isnad* that is substantially exalted would push an individual to nearness to Allâh and His reliable Messenger.²⁵

Like most other Muslim writers, Maḥfûz wrote mainly for the benefit of his religiosity. The clearest motivation of his collecting *ḥadîth* is, however, the words from the issuer of the *ḥadîth* itself, "Those who preserved forty *ḥadîth* for the benefit of their religion, they would be gathered with Muslim jurists and scholars in the Hereafter. Or they should get into any door of Paradise they like."²⁶ Be-

cause of this promise too, some 'ulamâ', who lived before and after Maḥfūz, were prone to carry out the same mission, namely to collect at least forty *ḥadīths*. For example, before him the most popular one was Abu Zakariyya al-Nawawī al-Dimashqī (d. 675/ 1276), whereas after Maḥfūz was the *muhaddith* and the *musnid* Yasin al-Fadānī.²⁷

It is noteworthy that Maḥfūz obtained many *ijāzas* on different subjects from the authors who mostly lived prior to the fifteenth century. The fields comprise 'ilm al-*tafsīr*, 'ilm al-*ḥadīth*, 'ilm al-*fiqh*, 'ilm al-*ālat*, 'ilm al-*usūl*, and 'ilm al-*tasawwuf wa al-awrād*. Such *ijāzas* with their unbroken chain of transmission could be located in his work, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*.

It is interesting that Maḥfūz attained an authentication on *Tafsīr* transmission which was originally from al-Rāzī (d. 606 AH./1211 A.D.). Although al-Rāzī was an encyclopedic Sunni scholar, his book on *tafsīr* was not generally used by the *santri* community. However, thanks to his resistance against any opponent of Sunnism, his position was always glorious in the *pesantren* tradition. In line with this, Maḥfūz's reliance on Rāzī's *tafsīr* should have given him more credit in the eyes of the *pesantren* 'ulamâ'. Al-Rāzī was believed to be a *mujaddid*, innovator, of the sixth/twelfth century after al-Ghazālī. The *pesantren* community, like other Sunnis in the Muslim world, unquestionably believed in the *ḥadīth* and made their own criterion to identify the renewers of the centuries. Al-Ghazālī, for example, is regarded as the fifth/eleventh-century undisputed and ideal renewer. This is in keeping with a popular *ḥadīth*: "Indeed, Allah will send to this *ummah* in every beginning, *ra's*, of a century a person who will renovate their religion."²⁸

Relevant to Maḥfūz's specialization, it is important here to represent Maḥfūz's series of reliable teachers back to al-Bukhārī as an illustration. The authorization was to teach and to transmit *Al-Jami' al-Sahīh*, the *ḥadīth* collections by al-Bukhārī and to publish another *ijāzah* to eligible *santris* as well. Maḥfūz learned the whole content of the collections in the presence of his main teacher, Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Shatā al-Makkī, waiting for corrections and comments. Maḥfūz accomplished the same task, as he said, at least four times. Beforehand, Abu Bakr performed the same obligation in front of his main tutor. The list of the scholars from Abu Bakr's teacher back to al-Bukhārī were subsequently: Ahmad bin Zainī Dahlān, *Shaykh* 'Uthman bin Hasan al-Dimyati, *Shaykh* Muhammad bin 'Alī al-

Shanwânî, 'Isa bin Ahmad al-Barâwî, Shaykh Muhammad al-Dafrî, Shaykh Sâlim bin 'Abd Allah al-Basrî, the latter's father 'Abd Allah bin Salim al-Basrî, Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Ala' al-Din al-Babîlî Shaykh Salim bin Muhammad al-Sanhûrî, al-Najm Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Ghaitî, Shaykh al-Islam Zakariyya bin Muhammad al-Ansârî, *al-hâfiẓ*²⁹ Ahmad bin 'Alî bin Hajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852/1448), Ibrahim bin Ahmad al-Tanûhî (d. 800/1397), Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad bin Abu Tâlib al-Hajar (d. 733 AH./1332 A.D.), al-Husain bin al-Mubârik al-Zubaidî (a place in Yaman) al-Hanbalî (d. 631 /1233), Abu al-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwâl bin 'Isa al-Sijzî (a *nisbat* for Sijistan), Abu al-Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muzaffar bin Dawud al-Dawudî, Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah bin Ahmad al-Sarakhsî (a place in Khurasan), Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad bin Yûsuf bin Matar al-Faribârî, a place near Bukhara (d. 320/932), *al-Imâm al-hâfiẓ al-hujjah*³⁰ Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad bin Ismâ'il bin Ibrahim al-Bukhârî (d. 256/869).³¹

Maḥfûz obtained another authorization of al-Bukhârî's *ḥadîth* transmission from a different lineage that he conceived to be higher, but less hierarchical. They were successively al-Sayyid Husain bin Muhammad al-Habshî (d. 1230/1814), his father Muhammad bin Husain al-Habshî (d. 1281/1864), Shaykh 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Karîm al-'Attar (d. 1249/1833), Sayyid 'Alî bin 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanâ'î (d. 1211/1796), 'Abd al-Qâdir bin Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Andalusî, Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah al-Idrîsî, al-Qutb Muhammad bin 'Ala'uddîn al-Nahrawâlî, a place in India (d. 988/1580), the latter's father, Abu al-Futtûh Ahmad bin 'Abd Allah al-Tawûsî, Baba Yusuf al-Harwî, Muhammad bin Shad al-Farghânî,³² Abu Luqmân Yahyâ bin 'Ammar al-Khuttalânî (a place in Turkey), Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Faribârî, from al-Imam al-Bukhârî.³³

As a *musnid* and a *muhaddith*, Maḥfûz was certified to transfer the *ḥadîth* collection not only from al-Bukhârî, but from other *ijâzah* issuers as well. The scholars together with their works are as follows: *Sahîh* Muslim (d. 261 A.H), *Sunan* Abu Dawud (d. 275), *Sunan* al-Tirmîdhî (d. 279), *Sunan* Nasâ'î (d. 303), *Sunan* Ibn Majâh (d. 273), *Muwatta'* Malik bin Anas (d. 179), *Musnad* Imâm Shâfi'î (d. 204), *Musnad* Imâm Abu Hanîfa (d. 150), *Musnad* Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 241), *Mukhtasar* bin Abu Jumra (d. 695 A.H. in Egypt), *Arba' al-Nabawiyya* al-Nawâwî (d. 676 A.H.), and *al-Jamî'u al-Saghîr* by 'Alî bin Ibrahim al-Halâbî (d. 1044 A.H.)³⁴

As a *Pesantren* architect

As indicated above Maḥfūz's association with his students and teachers is indeed more significant than that of other 'ulamā' who did not have an authorization to transmit *ijāzah* on 'ilm al-*ḥadīth* as Maḥfūz actually did. The intensity of such scholarship's affiliation to some extent must not have been less crucial than *tarīqa* membership. While the *tarīqah* membership in Java was strengthened mainly by the disciples' devotion and struggle to elevate the quality of their piety under a sufi master, Maḥfūz's affiliation with his students was intensified by his students' eagerness to improve their knowledge for gaining both *barākah* and a future career with such a prestigious science. Bruinessen, a contemporary Dutch scholar who conducted many researches on the *pesantren* tradition, concludes that Maḥfūz had the distinction among present-day Kyai of having been one of the most learned Javanese 'ulamā' ever. This was caused by his prestigious position as the highly respected teacher of several of the NU's founding 'ulamā'.³⁵

Presenting an introduction to one of Maḥfūz's *ḥadīth* collections, *al-Minhat Khayriyya*, Kyai Maimun Zubair, a twentieth century influential *pesantren* leader in Sarang, Central Java, convinced his readers in Arabic that the *mu'allif* was al-'allama al-Shaykh Maḥfūz al-Tirmisī, *Shaykh al-mashayikh al-'alam*, the most knowledgeable master, and the role model (of the *pesantren* community). He recommended everyone in any educational institution in the archipelago to take advantage of the *kitāb* by expecting the *barākah* and reviving the *sunnah* of the Prophet.³⁶

Maḥfūz was unquestionably an attractive teacher. Although there was no precise count of his students, it could be assumed that his students were more than four thousand in number from diverse generations and nationalities. This statistic is based on the span of years he taught actively in the Masjid al-Haram, which was effective from the early 1890's through the later part of the second decade of the twentieth century. Like Nawawi whose students numbered more than two hundred a year, Maḥfūz should have been able to stay with the same number or even more thanks to the widening interest among the Southeast Asian students to learn in the Haramayn by the end of the ninetieth-century. The materials he offered varied in accordance with his multi-disciplined insight with the special attraction of the *ḥadīth* science.

That Maḥfūz did not belong only to Indonesian *santris* has been

illustrated in the first part of this writing. Some important 'ulamâ' from outside Indonesia were Shaykh Sa'dullah Al-Maimânî, a *mufti* of Bombay India, Shaykh 'Umar bin Hamdan, the *muhaddîth* of the Haramayn, and the *muqrî* al-Shihâb Ahmad bin 'Abd Allah from Syria. This worldwide web of transmission of knowledge, for one reason or another, increased his reputation among the Javanese *santris*. To this community, a Javanese 'âlim like Maḥfûz whose writings and teachings were internationally accredited was not only an admirable figure but a beloved example as well. So eminent was this 'âlim that he sometimes becomes a myth that has always been rooted in the society. This myth, indeed, was in many cases responsible for overstatements that materialized when a Javanese reached a distinguished accomplishment such as Maḥfûz.

More important, as seen above, influential *pesantren* 'ulamâ' and leaders in Java always enjoyed his instruction. Among those were the founder of the NU, K.H. Hashim Ash'ari (1871-1947), K.H. Wahab Hasbullah from Jombang (1888-1971), Muhammad Bakir bin Nur (1887-1943) from Jogja, K.H.R. Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959), Mu'ammarr bin Kyai Baidawi from Lasem, Central Java, Ma'sum bin Muhammad Lasem (1870-1972), and Kyai 'Abbas Buntet, Cirebon, West Java (1879-1946). As suggested by themselves, those 'ulamâ' were more impressed by Maḥfûz than by anyone else they met. Hashim Ash'ari, for example, developed the science he gained from Maḥfûz as a *hadîth* transmitter in East Java with thousands of *santris* and 'ulamâ'. How Hashim, as Maḥfûz's former student, paid his special respect to his educator could be seen from his honest encouragement to his *santris* to meet Maḥfûz for themselves in Mecca, while Hashim himself was entitled to engage in the same job as a *hadîth* master.

Although Maḥfûz dedicated nearly his entire life to academic ventures in Arabia, he was born and raised in the milieu of the *pesantren* community in Java. This primordial alignment should have contributed to an image both to himself and his students, who were the *pesantren* 'ulamâ', that a Javanese Muslim does not have to be the foreign consumer of knowledge always satisfied to be a student in another world. The basic nature of the *pesantren* which was self-reliant should have helped an 'âlim like Maḥfûz remain self-confident and faithful to his own knowledge to compete with other Muslims to reach a good position as a top religious and learned man in Arabia. This striving is part of implementing a popular teaching, *fastabiq al-khayrât ayna ma takûnû*, "so vie with one another in good works

wheresoever you may be”³⁷ In other words, the hegemony of Middle East Muslims in terms of patronizing Islamic knowledge seemed to decline in Maḥfûz’s time due to the emergence of new masters from different nationalities.

Suffice it to conclude that Maḥfûz’s network with the *pesantren* ‘*ulamâ*’ was so significant that it brought him to the highest position in the *pesantren* tradition. Its significance lies in several considerations such as his position as an eminent *ḥadîth* teacher, that distinguished him from his contemporaries, and the nature of *ḥadîth* transmission which was in line with the *pesantren* tradition in terms of the teacher’s complete modeling. In addition, Maḥfûz’s personality and quality in teaching and writing which had been recognized worldwide, would have been just as considerable.

End Notes

1. *Pesantren* communities by and large remember him as Maḥfūz Tremas (in Javanese). However, Maḥfūz called himself al-Tirmisī (in Arabic as it was written in his own *Kitābs*, especially on their covers). This ascription was also used by his brother, Dimiyati al-Tirmisī. (Interview with Kyai Dimiyati's grandson, Amak Haris Dimiyati, in Tremas, Pacitan, East Java, on Thursday, June 27, 1996).
2. H. Aboebakar Aceh, *Sedjarah Hidup K. H. A. Wahid Hashim dan Karangannya Tersiar* (Jakarta, 1957), pp. 90-91.
3. Interview with Kyai Habib on Thursday, June 27, 1996 in Tremas, East Java.
4. See Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren*, pp. 90-91.
5. Yasin al-Fadānī, *Bughyat al-Murid min 'Ilm al-Asānid* (Mekka, no date) p. 14-16. Also see 'Umar 'Abd al-Jabbar, *Sir wa Tarājim* (Mekka, 1982), pp. 286-287.
6. Kyai Hariri is currently the director of Pondok Bustan al'Usshaq al-Qur'ān in Beteng Demak, Central Java. This institution emphasizes the memorization of the Qur'ān in its education. This interview took place on Saturday, June 29, 1996.
7. Those people whom the writer interviewed in June, 1996 were: Yahya Arif in Kudus, Kyai Hariri in Demak, Gus Habib, Gus Muhammad, and Gus Amak Haris Dimiyati. The latter three are Dimiyati's descendants in Tremas, Pacitan, East Java.
8. Unlike other important 'ulama, Saleh Darat who was born in Mayong Jepara, Central Java, produced his writings all in the Javanese language. These include: *Majmu'āt al-Sharī'at al-Kafiya li al-Awwām* in fiqh, *Munjiyat Matika Saking Ihya 'Ulum al-Din* in sufism, and *Tarjamah Sabil al-'Abid 'alā Jawhar al-Tawhīd* in theology. That he was not included in this study does not mean that he was less important. The main consideration in not including him is due to the fact that his involvement in the *pesantren* tradition was not that evident, especially in terms of his influence. His most important book, *Al-Sharī'at al-Kafiyyāt li al-Awwām* on fiqh, is sometimes labeled as Javanese fiqh. Not only was it fiqh which was written in Javanese, but it also discusses the Javanese people's own outlook, principles and habits.
9. Kyai Dimiyati was known as knowledgeable and modest. To his son-in-law, for example, he used the *kromo* language to communicate. Concerning his humbleness, he was once asked by other 'ulama why he let his *santris* play football, a game which was rather inappropriate to the religious students. Kyai Dimiyati answered that they had been more respectful than himself, how could he thus prohibit them. Citing the *ḥadīth* about how the Angels used their wings to protect students who are in the pursuit of knowledge, Dimiyati would rather let them play.
10. Tremas *Pesantren* which was established in 1830 by K.H. 'Abd al-Manan (d. in Shawwāl 1282) was probably the oldest *pesantren* in Java in a formal and popular sense. The *pondok* was in a small city called Pacitan, located in a coastal area in East Java. Pacitan was an intersection of East Java and the southern part of Central Java. The *pesantren* was very familiar with its specialization of *farā'id* in the past.
11. Interview with Kyai Dimiyati's grandson, Amak Haris Dimiyati, in Tremas, Pacitan, on Thursday, June 27, 1996.
12. The *musnid* should be defined as someone who is able to narrate the *ḥadīth* with

- its complete *sanad*, a *sanad* is a route to the content of the *hadīth*. See Hasan Mas'ūdī al-Hāfīz, *Minbat al-Mugīth* (Semarang, 1338 A.H), p. 6.
13. The term "*Imām*," has been standardized among the Javanese *santris* so that the four founders of *madhhabs* were never mentioned by local people unless the word "*Imām*" was courteously uttered in advance. The *santris* accorded the same thing to other great knowledgeable and influential Muslim such as al-Bukhārī.
 14. Maḥfūz al-Tirmāsī, *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar* (Mecca: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), Third edition, p. 301.
 15. An interview in Kudus, Central Java, with Ustadh Yahya 'Arif in July 1996.
 16. Al-Tirmisī, Maḥfūz, *al-Minbat al-Khairiyyah* (Demak, 1415 A.H.), p. 53. The terms "part" and "volume" denote different things. While "part" refers to a small bundle consisting of twenty five to fifty pages called *kurrasah* (fascicle) in Javanese and Arabic, "volume" refers to a large book which sometimes contains more than five hundred pages such as *Mauhibah dzī al-Fadl 'alā Sharh Muqaddimah bi Afdal* with 2339 pages.
 17. Yasin Al-Fadani, *Op.cit.*, p. 16. Referring to Maḥfūz's definition, *al-faqīh* which is one who engages in *fiqh* means literally one who masters *ahkām al-shar'iyya al-'amaliyya* as a whole and in detail with utmost sound understanding. Maḥfūz, *Muhibah dhi al-fadl*, (no place and date) v. 2. p. 9.
 18. Muhammad S.H., *Mengenai Pondok Tremas dan Perkembangannya* (Tremas: Pondok Tremas, 1986), pp. 31-32.
 19. Interview with Kyai Hariri in Demak, Central Java, on Saturday, June 29, 1996.
 20. Maḥfūz al-Tirmisī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid* (Beirut, 1987), fifth edition, pp. 7-8.
 21. Al-Tirmisī, *Manhaj*, pp. 172-173.
 22. Al-Tirmisī, *Kifāyat*, p. 5
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. This *hadīth* was very widespread among *santris* and was narrated by al-Bukhārī. As other *hadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī, Maḥfūz acquired the unbroken *sanad* back to al-Bukhārī. See Tremas, Maḥfūz, a *manuscript* being prepared for publication by Maḥfūz's grandson, *Kiyai Hariri* in Demak, p. 1.
 25. Al-Tirmisī, *Kifāyat*, p.5.
 26. Al-Tirmisī, *al-Minbat*, p. 1.
 27. Al-Tirmisī, *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.
 28. This *hadīth* is narrated by Abu Dawud, and others, as cited by Sha'rānī Ahmādī, *al-farā'id*, p. 39.
 29. *Al-Hāfiẓ* is one who is able to memorize a hundred thousand *hadīths* with their *isnad*. See Hasan al-Mas'ūdī, *Op. cit.* p. 6
 30. *Alhujjah* means someone who is able to memorize three hundred thousand *hadīths* with their *sanad*. Hasan al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.* p. 6
 31. Al-Tirmisī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafid*, p. 12.
 32. Al-Farghānī is a *nishab* of Farghana. The latter is a valley on the middle Jaxartes (Sir-Darya), approximately 30 km. long and 70 km. wide, surrounded by parts of the Tianshan mountains. This valley is located between Samarkand and Osh. See W. Barthold-B. Spuler, "Farghana," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, II, Leiden (1965), pp. 790-793.
 33. Al-Tirmisī, *Kifāyah al-Mustafid*, pp. 12-13.
 34. *Ibid.*

35. Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Books In Arabic Script Used In the Pesantren Milieu*, BKI 146, p. 237.
36. Al-Tirmisî, *al-Minhaj al-Khairiyya*, p. 1.
37. The complete verse is "And each one has a goal toward which he turns; so vie with one another in good works. Wheresoever you may be, Allah will bring you all together. Indeed, Allah is able to do all things" (2:148). A Javanese *mufassir*, Nawawî al-Bantanî, interprets *fastabiqû* as *hâdirû*, that is to hurry. As a whole Nawawî recommends everyone to struggle for the highest wherever he is whether on land or on the sea, since Allah would repay the best in the Hereafter. (See Nawawî, *Marah Labîd*, I, p. 40). In line with this interpretation is the widespread understanding of quality in which *santris* pursued and developed knowledge.

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